

Language Policy in Business

Discourse, ideology and practice

ELISABETH BARAKOS

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by Elisabeth Barakos

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Discourse, ideology and practice

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List of abbreviations

CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CLP	Critical Language Policy
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
UK	United Kingdom

Acknowledgements

The seed for this book was planted when I did my internship at the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Strasbourg in 2008. There was an abundance of knowledge on the role of minority languages in public and educational spheres but only little was known about their status and practice in economic life. The intrigue with the complex administrative and bureaucratic policy processes and the lack of knowledge I had over what was going on in terms of bilingualism 'on the ground' (Hornberger and Hult, 2008) in this field stimulated my decision to start a research project on language policy in businesses in bilingual Wales. I did my PhD in Vienna, so most of my research took place from outside of Wales, with extended field trips for data collection. This book is not without its limitations, written through a Western European lens and a *non-Welsh speaking* positionality (as I discuss more fully in Chapter 1). My hope is that it will be stimulating and insightful nonetheless and inspire scholars to challenge and expand what I discuss here. I wholeheartedly thank my research participants for sharing their time and stories with me and for making this book what it is: a book about people's discourses, ideologies and practices of language policy in society. *Diolch!*

Turning parts of this PhD-based research into a book has been a bumpy ride. I started the book in the UK, finished the first draft during an international move and finalised it in Germany during a global pandemic (COVID-19), amidst limited childcare. I would like to thank the series editors (Jo Angouri in particular) of *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture* for their interest and continuous support in this book project, the anonymous peer reviewers for their important critiques and Isja Conen from John Benjamins for her spot-on and kind communication. My warm thanks go out to my academic peers and friends Charlotte Selleck, Ben Hawkins, Ian Cushing, Michael Hornsby, and Bernhard Forchtner for reading and discussing aspects of this book; special thanks go to my loyal, witty and patient writing buddy Maria Rosa Garrido Sardà, who pushed the limits of this book and my thinking with her critical questions. I also thank my global academic network of scholars and the 'language and work' network I have had the privilege of knowing and learning from on numerous occasions. The most flying hearts go out to my family who have been long-suffering with this project and constantly encouraged me to push it through.

To FXJ with all my love.

Introduction

Well, from my personal perspective, I think it is silly, if somebody is in the room is speaking, can speak Welsh, and I don't speak Welsh to them. It is as simple as that. There is obviously a business element to it. And it is an additional service that we can offer, which I am sure that, you know, perhaps some of the partners are keen to promote that. But I, you know, from my perspective, that is not the reason why I speak Welsh to a client. It is just simply because I think it is just something completely natural that you would turn to. Well, I certainly would turn to Welsh, if somebody spoke Welsh, or if I found out they spoke Welsh. I think it obviously does bring benefits. It must do because you have, there is an additional skill that people can use, especially if their business is Welsh-orientated. Because obviously, if you have to look over documents or correspondence, internal communications, then there is no need to get that translated. You can read it yourself. It can make things easier as well.

The extract above is taken from a conversation I had with Bethan, a multilingual (English, German, Welsh) senior solicitor at a law firm in Cardiff, the capital of Wales, UK. When growing up, Welsh and German were the languages of her home, and she attended a Welsh-medium school. Here, Bethan explains that Welsh is often the natural choice for communication at work. She says that speaking Welsh is an additional skill, and offering Welsh services is economically beneficial. Bethan's discourse captures a moment of ongoing sociolinguistic debates about the increasingly utilitarian role of the Welsh language in the context of bilingual private sector workplaces in Wales, alongside more traditional conceptions of language as an index of community, in-group belonging and identity. This example also constitutes one specific layer of language policy – the discourses, ideologies and experiences of language users.

This book is about language policy in business in Wales. Situated in North-Western Europe, Wales is an officially bilingual country within the United Kingdom (UK). The Welsh language, an indigenous minority language, has been historically marginalized and socially as well as politically subordinated to English. With this book, I aim to fill an empirical and conceptual gap in examining bilingualism and minority language discourses that have hitherto been negotiated in spaces such as education and politics and have shifted to the field of business for promoting bilingualism. This discursive shift is shaped by broader societal

transformations over the last 60 years and economic shifts from industrial production to post-industrial service industries and a knowledge-based economy. With these shifts in mind, I examine the nexus of language policy, ideology, practice and discourse about Welsh-English bilingualism in private sector businesses, and offer a conceptual and empirical understanding of the politics of language policy in minority language contexts.

One of the central tenets of this book is that bilingualism is a political issue. Accordingly, one of the agendas is to deconstruct the political aspect of language policy by looking at the ways in which bilingualism and language get bound up with the making of social difference and inequality. We are currently witnessing profound and accelerated political, economic and social changes linked with global and local population movements, global regressions, and a rise in populist rhetoric and nationalism (Wodak 2015). These range from turmoil in American politics and Brexit-related political and social disorder in the UK to tensions between the Global North and South as well as rising global movements of political resistance against the undermining of democracy and human rights and the exploitation of power. The understanding of politics and political issues informing this book is one that centres on power imbalances, conflict-handling, decision-making, and control. Following Wodak and Forchtner (2018, 4), politics is viewed as being omnipresent, ordering social relations in public and private realms and structuring the distribution and negotiation of power and resources within society. To address bilingualism as an omnipresent political issue and an ‘ideological space’ (Hornberger 2002), this book studies language policy through a critical sociolinguistic and discursive lens. Its ultimate aim is to lay bare the discursive, ideological and agentive underpinnings of language policy and examine under which conditions and with which consequences it (re)creates or conceals power asymmetries between Welsh and English.

Another central tenet is that debates over language (policy) are rarely, if ever, about language alone. Accordingly, a mere analysis of language policy documents no longer suffices to grasp the broader ideological, social and political debates central to any language study about bilingualism. The language policy problems we identify, the questions we ask and the data we examine need to be situated in their social, historical, political and economic contexts.

This introductory chapter discusses some of the key themes, ideas and approaches that guide this book in exploring language policy in business in Wales. I begin by problematising my own researcher positionality and setting out the *what* and *why* of this book, including the historical and socio-economic conditions of the research, and the guiding research aims and questions, before moving on to discuss the key theoretical perspectives which inform the analysis. The chapter concludes by providing the structure of the book.

1.1 Researcher positionality

The researcher is someone who conditions the study process across its various stages. In what follows, I acknowledge my own researcher subjectivity and the ways my biography affects the production of scientific knowledge (going back to Cameron et al. 1992, 5).

The works of sociologists such as Archer (2007) and Giddens (1984) as well as Bourdieu (1991) have proven influential in addressing reflexivity and notions of insider and outsidership in research. Pérez-Milans (2016) makes the case that perspectives from social theory do not only bring reflexivity into dialogue with the research process and the researcher self – a common theme taken up by applied linguistics. It also opens up the possibility to move beyond the traditional researcher-focused approach towards reflexivity (Pérez-Milans 2016, 5) and to consider the mutually constitutive and discursive relation between actions and the social conditions these are embedded in. Reflexivity thus requires that “we be the first to examine and explain the position from which we speak both as social scientists and as persons of our times and places and histories” (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018, 10).

In examining language policy processes in businesses in Wales from mainly outside of Wales through extended fieldtrips and through the shared language of English, I adopt a position from both the ‘inside’ and the ‘outside’ (see also Blackledge and Creese 2010, Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010, and Sallabank 2013 for inside/outside perspectives). As a sole researcher working on what was then a PhD project, I take an ‘inside’ perspective in terms of directly engaging with Welsh businesses in the field through survey and in-depth interview data. This ‘inside’ view also relates to my expertise as a sociolinguist and language policy scholar in minority language contexts. The ‘outside’ perspective partly relates to my own ‘linguistic repertoire’ (Busch 2012) and the fact that I am neither a citizen nor a resident of Wales or the UK. This ‘outsiderness’ has inherently raised questions over the legitimacy of a multilingual, yet not Welsh-English bilingual, scholar who examines a Welsh-English business community through the shared language of English.

Another level of ‘outsiderness’ concerns the business and workplace context as the site of data collection. The field of business and the workplace are a novel terrain for me, myself being a sociolinguist and not a company employee or manager. As Sarangi and Candlin (2003, 274) hold, applied linguists examining professional sites and workplaces in particular need to come to terms with their “outside status in relation to the communities and in the sites with whom and in which they seek to work”. While it might be argued that ‘outside’ scholars are at greater risk of being rejected for not fully understanding the experiences of the ‘inside’ community

(Bridges 2001, 371), this very positioning seemed to have helped gain the trust and confidence of the business representatives I worked with.

The deliberate choice for an English, rather than a bilingual Welsh-English research design, has had implications on the type of data collected, the data analysis, interpretation and explanation, and how this was received by the participants. I link this restricted language choice to my own research boundaries and its consequences at the time (such as lack of Welsh language skills, translating and interpreting costs). I acknowledge that a language choice could have enabled my participants to provide different or more nuanced insights. It could have made them feel more at ease and could have attracted an even greater number of study participants. That said, researching bilingualism from the geographical 'outside' does not necessarily make me less of an insider in terms of the challenges the Welsh language and their speakers face in the world of work. Quite on the contrary, my own researcher positioning as an 'outsider' to Welsh society and as someone potentially less "biased from personal, cultural, and historical contexts" (Creswell 2006, 14) has also helped to build trust among my study participants to expose and share with me personal and work-related issues about their experienced bilingualism. Indeed, many study participants valued having someone 'from outside the Welsh bubble' (as one of my bilingual interviewees called it) carry out research on Wales, without ethnic or national attachments, but with a necessary analytic distance to the research and the emergent data (see Selleck and Barakos 2018 for a fuller discussion on insider and outsidership in researcher trajectories). Premised on this reflexive stance, I understand myself as a participant in the very language policy debates that I co-produce, analyse, interpret and critique in this book, with all its shortcomings and limitations (see also Chapter 4 for reflexivity in research practice and the methodological considerations guiding this book).

In this sense, it is important to reflect on, problematise and criticise the negotiation between insider and outsider researcher identities on the following grounds. First, a reflexive approach generates necessary questions concerning the motivation for research, its selected research design and methods, the data collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation. Second, it is possible to provide a richer understanding of complex social phenomena such as bilingualism in minority language contexts and debates over the legitimacy, value and challenges of insider and outsider research practices. Finally, reflexivity is not a mere additional contextual level that is assumed but rather a *dialectical, transformative process* between the researcher and the subject (Selleck and Barakos 2018). Reflexivity is thus an ongoing process that requires self-reflection inasmuch as social reflection on broader issues such as bilingualism, equality or social justice that are transversal with power dimensions. Reflexivity also raises issues over whose story we tell in our research, how, why and through which methodical representation.

In line with the critical stance adopted in this book, I want to echo Lin's (2015, 30) argument and acknowledge "the necessarily partial or limited nature of any single position/study/perspective". It is thus important to treat research as co-constructed knowledge and, following Norton and Toohey (2011), acknowledge the situatedness and partiality of any type of research. As they suggest, researchers must therefore be "reflexive about their own experiences, recognizing that their perspective on that which they are observing or analyzing is not the only one, and that their conclusions will inevitably be 'situated' and partial" (Norton and Toohey 2011, 426). In the same spirit, this book is also situated, and it can only present an account that is partial and selective.

1.2 Bilingualism in business: What and why now?

1.2.1 Historical conditions and socio-economic transformations

Socio-economic and political changes in Wales, the UK and globally have had a significant impact on the role of bilingualism and language policies and practices. Globalisation, mobility, super-diversity and internationalisation have nurtured the ubiquitous role of English as a global medium of communication and *lingua franca* and, at the same time, cultivated power struggles with other languages not only in postcolonial contexts but also the historical nations of the British Isles (see e.g. Blommaert 2010, Coupland 2010a). In this regard, globalising practices have also strengthened the value attached to multilingualism, diversity and equality and have spurred intervention in favour of officially promoting minority languages in national, regional and more peripheral spaces (see e.g. Busch 2013, Hülmbauer, Vetter, and Böhringer 2010, Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013, Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2012, Romaine 2013).

Historically, European minority languages in particular have been framed and legitimised in terms of nationhood, cultural identity, territoriality and heritage under the conditions of nation-state formations. They were considered peripheral and marked as dying and backward languages. They have also lacked in economic status and prestige compared to their more dominant majority language counterparts. It was only until the mid-twentieth century that language revitalisation movements started to strategically combat language decline and shift through politicising minority language policy. Pietikäinen et al. (2016) explain that we are currently witnessing a clash of 'old' and 'new' circumstances for minority languages such as Welsh, Basque, Catalan or Corsican. The growing neoliberalisation of language politics as a self-governing practice of social groups and individuals (Martín Rojo and Del Percio 2019) operates simultaneously with the current revival, if not defence,

of nationalism across many European contexts (Wodak and Boukala 2015) and the concomitant changing powers of the nation state (Heller 2011, Pujolar 2018). Under these shifting circumstances, minority languages have gained additional economic traction and value as a commodity in the field of business. As this book and the various data sets on which it draws will show, such processes co-exist and operate in tension with one another.

As Williams (2013a) put it, in the context of European minority language communities the boundaries of nation states have eroded through the devolution of greater power to regions. This has resulted not only in a partial decentralisation of decision-making amongst political institutions but also in a growing empowerment of a “local level of ‘civil society’” (2013a, 5) and the community to act on behalf of minority languages. Williams speaks of the “rise of the enabling state” (2013a, 5) that seeks to empower certain groups of society and involves them in the decision-making process. Concomitantly, these shifts in power operate under changing market dynamics, competition and citizen choice. Such political-economic reconfigurations, together with the paradigmatic shift to multilingualism and a greater awareness of linguistic difference, has refashioned minority language policy in business, which is now grappling with new powers and responsibilities. Consequently, new values and spaces for minority languages are carved out in struggles over globalisation and localisation, the centre and the periphery (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013).

Against this background, bilingualism in private sector businesses has emerged as an intriguing research site in which “language practices and struggles over social, political and legal language rights are constantly evolving” (Roberts 2007, 408). Language affects employment opportunities and access to the labour market and social services; it serves as a tool for effective communication in national and international trade and the management of interactions at work. A growing number of studies have paid explicit attention to language policy, ideology and practice in private sector institutions and the globalised, bi- and multilingual workplace (e.g. Angouri 2014, Kingsley 2009, Lüdi 2014). Gunnarson (2013) reviews a wide selection of studies on multilingual workplaces from a power and sociologically oriented perspective. Sherman and Nekvapil’s volume (2018) places the role of English and multilingualism in business and commerce in the context of local language ecologies, bridging macro and micro perspectives in language policy. Angouri (2018) offers a critical sociolinguistic approach to analysing language, culture and the workplace. Other studies by critical sociolinguists and anthropologists provide various ethnographies of work, language and language policy (e.g. Duchêne, Moyer, and Roberts 2013, Duchêne and Heller 2012b, Lønsmann 2018, Dlaske et al. 2016) and document the broader connection of language and work in multiple professional settings in late modern society. A range of scholars have

also looked into the role of minority languages such as Basque, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish in economic life and under the conditions of neoliberalism (e.g. Milligan, Chalmers, and O'Donnell 2009, Brennan 2018, Urla 2012, Kelly-Holmes 2006b, McEwan-Fujita 2005). Despite these enquiries, research on minority language policy in private sector businesses is still relatively scarce. With this book, I hope to contribute to minority language policy in the field of business through a critical discursive and sociolinguistic lens.

Moving to the context of Welsh, bilingualism in the private sector is a novel and under-researched field in minority language policy and planning. The issue of language use in the sphere of work and the economy is gaining ever more importance in Wales with the aim to further normalise bilingualism and enhance the prestige and status of Welsh (Williams and Morris 2000, Williams 2010b, Christ Mac Giolla 2005). Indeed, an “over-reliance on education [...] as the main tool in language revival” (Edwards 2006, 18) is not enough for protecting minority languages and may in fact hamper the process of language revitalisation. Williams and Morris (2000) claimed almost two decades ago that the use of Welsh in the private sector was limited, the application of language policies not widespread and that Welsh suffered from low prestige in the workplace. Given the shortage of studies on corporate bilingualism in Wales, it is both timely and necessary to readdress these claims with this book. The need for research into the functioning of Welsh in business and the private sector in particular is further heightened by Williams (2010a) who contends that it is the private sector that is crucial in the role different languages play. From the critical perspective of Williams, there will be “a constantly shifting relationship between the use of language and their embedding as social practice within the different economic and political contexts” (2010a, 214). It is to this closer connection of sociolinguistic enquiries of bilingualism coupled with discourse and social theory (see also Coupland, Sarangi, and Candlin 2001) that this book attends to.

1.2.2 Research aims and questions

In this book, I put forward a way to classify how and where language policy, as multi-layered social and discursive practice, occurs in the under-researched Welsh business context. I will demonstrate how Shohamy's (2006) critical language policy framework and the ‘Viennese’ or Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Studies (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2009) can be used as compatible approaches with which to explore the explicit and implicit facets of language policy processes in socially situated contexts and to map change over time. From a methodological perspective, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) has increasingly been used for studying business discourse but not yet fully (see e.g. Clarke, Kwon, and Wodak

2012, Koller 2008). Koller (2008, 155) even claims that by the lack of research on corporate discourse, “critical researchers leave corporate voices in a position to shape the public sphere to an ever greater extent and thus contribute to the power asymmetries they set out to remedy”. Thurlow (2018, 334) argues further that there is substantial scholarship on workplace discourse, everyday institutional and professional language use and social interactions of workers “but no clear evidence of the ways they themselves make sense of these moments”. He goes on to argue: “Are they, for example, aware of them? How do they feel about the top-down/bottom-up tension? What are their own priorities or concerns when it comes to working with language?” (2018, 334). Such questions need deeper engagement. The dearth of critical discursive studies about political and corporate language policy discourse and about the social actors involved in minority language contexts such as Wales is thus another void this book aims to fill. In view of the need for research about corporate bilingualism in Wales, the following key questions drive this enterprise:

- Which experiences and ideologies shape the use of Welsh in business?
- How is the promotion of Welsh in business realised and discursively constructed in policy documents and how does that compare to managers’ experiences and perceptions?
- How do policies and ideologies inform language choice and vice versa?

To answer these questions, the study draws on a set of official language policy documents and bottom-up quantitative and qualitative survey and interview data collected in Welsh businesses. Such a multi-faceted empirical angle aims to move inquiries of language policy and conventional critical discourse analytic studies away from mere static, text-based or structural inquiries to context-based and sociologically grounded investigations that include the integral role of policy actors and their agency in shaping the discourse and practice of language policy. The crux of the investigation here mainly revolves around the gap between official policy discourse and stakeholders’ various ways of engaging with language policy in situ. In that sense, then, whilst language policy is the rallying point in this book, it is also about people: what they think about language policy, and what they do with it.

In sum, I argue it is important to ask the following broader questions for the study of language policy, bilingualism and linguistic minorities in economic life: what is at stake in terms of language policy and for whom? Who is (not) engaged in language policy processes and with what interests and effects?

1.3 A discursive and critical-sociolinguistic approach

This book finds itself at home in language policy, CDS and critical sociolinguistics. I will discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks in length at a later stage (Chapters 3 and 4). Here, I wish to tease out the main thrusts of these approaches that have inspired this book.

The discursive approach to language policy followed here has its roots in the development of what has been termed ‘critical language policy’ (CLP) (Tollefson 1991, see also Johnson 2009, Johnson and Ricento 2013). CLP research is grounded within the work of critical social theory (e.g. Bourdieu 1991, Foucault 1972, Habermas 1979). Despite varying epistemological and ontological takes, the shared understanding of CLP rests on the acknowledged role of ideology and power in language policy processes, the discursive frame of language policy and the impact of policy on the marginalisation of minority languages and their speakers at the interstices of the global and the local level, as demonstrated by a broad bulk of scholarship (see e.g. the work of Blommaert 2006, Lo Bianco 2005, 2009, McCarty 2011, Phillipson 2003, Ricento 2000).

In Barakos (2016a), I discuss a range of presuppositions that guide the discursive approach to language policy in business, which are grounded in critical, social/discursive and reflexive turns in language policy, discourse studies, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Despite different frameworks within CDS and different nuances of critical sociolinguistics, what these approaches share is a concern over language, power and inequality and for tracing situated practices and the ways in which meaning is produced in context. One of the main thrusts of the approaches is an understanding of discourse as one form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 258, Heller 2007, 2, Martín Rojo 2001, 48, Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018, 4). Building on this premise, I argue that CDS and critical sociolinguistics are indeed well suited to language policy research if we understand the social and institutional world around us in the following ways.

First, both CLP research, CDS and critical sociolinguistics are interested in engaging with “social problems which often involve language, to one degree or another, and in proposing realistic remedies” (Ricento 2006, 11). Rather than purely linguistic phenomena, the scholarly investigation is stimulated by a concern for the individual or social groups who are affected by inequalities in social relationships, hegemony and power in policy formation and practice (Tollefson 2006, Shohamy 2006). One ambition of critically oriented language policy studies is to identify such problems and expose ideological conflicts, hierarchisation and stratification processes. A second ambition lies in the aim to problematise common-sense views and mundane treatments of language as a means of privilege, prestige, distinction, inclusion or exclusion and as symbolic and material capital (Bourdieu 2006). In

studying bilingual phenomena which are inherently tied to the political, Blackledge (2008, 296) cogently argues that CDS proves valuable in that it links “the structural and the interactional [...], connecting language ideologies and linguistic practices”. Likewise, a critical sociolinguistic endeavour questions the centrality of language as “a terrain that enables struggles over ownership, resources and legitimacy” (Del Percio and Duchêne 2012, 44) and that seeks to explain language and linguistic minorities in its networks and social relations (Duchêne 2008).

Second, one central element in CDS and critical sociolinguistics that problematises, and aids to deconstruct, the tenuous macro/micro dichotomy, is the notion of context and the historical embedding of texts and discourses. The common analytic ‘macro, meso and micro’ distinctions are, as Johnson (2015, 171) argues from a language policy angle, inevitably simplified and “convenient” rather than autonomous, delineated boundaries. Similarly, Heller (2001b) provides a critique of the macro/micro dichotomy and draws on Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration to highlight the constitutive and dialectal relationship between social structure, organisations and agentive processes. As Johnson (2011, 269) explains, some language policy scholars foreground agency in language policy processes, i.e. the power of social actors that construct, live and breathe policy, through ethnographic and other accounts. Others emphasises policy structure, i.e. the linguistic and discursive power of the policy per se. In overcoming these tensions, recent ethnographic language policy research has encapsulated both and addressed language policy processes from the angle of “policy power and interpretative agency” (Johnson and Ricento 2013, 13). By treating agency and structure as mutually constitutive and engaging each other (Barakos 2016a), we can better understand the way language use is organised in social life. In a similar vein, critical sociolinguistic perspectives on bi- and multilingualism enable an engagement with both the structures of the state, its institutions and varied social, cultural and economic markets, and the language use by social actors in multiple contexts through analysing language policy via a multitude of data, methods and approaches, including texts, interviews, biographical and trajectory-based ethnographic accounts (Heller 2002, Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012, Hult and Johnson 2015).

These types of research perspectives show that it is important to go beyond the macro/micro distinction by embracing a contextual-historical approach. In Chapter 4, I introduce one such approach, Wodak’s (2008) theorisation of context, that serves as an ideal analytical apparatus in this study. Through tracing various contextual levels, we can thus unravel how “discursive processes operate within and across scales of space and time” (Hult 2010, 8). Heller (2001a) also aptly argues for the importance of integrating the socio-historical and political-economic conditions of and motivations for discourse production and consumption. Inspired by a Foucauldian framework of discourse analysis and genealogies of language policy,

Heller contends that this integration allows for better tracing of the connections between localised, empirically observable phenomena and broader societal issues of inequality and social difference. It also serves as a basis for critique, which is “fundamentally about identifying and explaining the construction of relations of social difference and inequality (and then deciding what position to take about such processes, and what, if any, action that might lead to)” (Heller 2001a, 117).

Finally, and building on the above point, CLP, critical discourse analytical and sociolinguistic enquiries share a reflexive endeavour by addressing, and aiming to remedy, the creation of social inequality and social difference. Broadly, such endeavours are guided by a critique of people’s understanding and treatment of language as a fixed, bounded, homogenous, territorialised and commodifiable entity (as widely discussed by, for example, Heller 2011, Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013, Pietikäinen et al. 2016). The notions of critical, critique and reflexivity rest on different premises in research on language in society. The imperatives of what it means to do socially and politically committed research in our times of late modernity also vary across different disciplines. Here, I refer the reader to Pietikäinen (2016) who provides an acute debate of the different shapes, grades and nuances of ‘criticality’ across sociolinguistics, CDS and applied linguistics and related disciplines.

More centrally, then, where does the critical endeavour of this study lie? A critical approach is problem-oriented, questions the seemingly obvious way things are (or used to be), and challenges prevailing ideologies and normative assumptions. It disentangles problematic discursive and social practices, such as contradictory, vague, essentialising or manipulative language use and the way this manifests itself across different discursive layers and impacts on people’s identities, ways of being and thinking. By addressing both language and its embedded socio-political and economic structures, this study seeks to systematically identify complex language policy processes and their potential impact on policy stakeholders and language practices, asking what resources are circulating and valued by whom, questioning our own roles and investments in this endeavour and being reflexive and aware of changes within the very disciplines we work as scholars. In this regard, criticality also means to clearly position one’s grounds as a reflective researcher and ask questions over our own data collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination practices (Wodak 2001). Following Zienkowski (2017), we can then say that (self) reflexivity is a precondition for the articulation of critique and should be considered key in critical discursive and sociolinguistic studies.

1.4 Language commodification: The ‘thinginess’ of language

Businesses and political institutions in Wales have realised that the Welsh language can make a genuine economic difference, despite English being so omnipresent. What, then, has triggered the recent engagement with treating and discursively constructing languages as commodities and skills? What benefits and compromises does this bring for minority language movements, to what end and under which circumstances? Whilst I will address such questions empirically in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, we first need to understand the conditions underlying the changing and expanding role of minority languages in economic life. We cannot talk about minority language policy in business without acknowledging its politicisation and economisation in neoliberal democracies and multilingual as well as pluri-national states such as the UK, Switzerland or Spain.

If we start from the premise that language is a resource that is imbued with value by the way people use it, then we can argue that languages are part of hierarchisation and stratification processes; they can be ordered, counted, moved up and down the social ladder, depending on the situated needs and demands of a government, a business or an individual (Selleck and Barakos 2019). And, as Gal (1989, 353) posits, “because linguistic practices provide access to material resources, they become resources in their own right”. That said, the ‘value’ attached to a language largely rests on how it is positioned on the linguistic market and how it serves as a vehicle for people’s desired or required access to communication, jobs, education, or services. As a result, we see shifting value allocations of people’s diverse linguistic repertoires (Muth and Del Percio 2018).

The commodification of language, culture and identity has accelerated within the complexities of global and local languages, in particular the dominance of English and its relation to other languages within the political cultural and economic transformations (Tan and Rubdy 2008, Park and Wee 2012). It has also materialised as an aspect of late capitalism and late modernity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Duchêne and Heller 2012a, Heller 2010), new forms of neoliberalised governance (Cardinal and Denault 2007) and the shift from an industrialised to a knowledge-based economy (Fairclough 2006b, Williams 2010a). This development has rendered language a measurable and saleable skill in business, tourism and education and has nurtured competition, contestability, flexibility and entrepreneurialism as core values in the labour market, as documented varyingly by scholars (Duchêne and Piller 2011, Piller and Cho 2013, Urciuoli and LaDousa 2013, Urciuoli 2008, De Costa, Park, and Wee 2016). As such, the modern idea of language as a homogenising system that legitimises bordered ethnic communities, nations, and minority movements coexists with the late modern idea of language as

a set of circulating and complex communicative resources that enter into economic logics and that can be commodified. The commodification of language as a sociolinguistic phenomenon thus shapes language policy processes and captures the rise of (minority) languages as both symbolic and economic capital and resources to users.

To take account of these new changes, there is growing scholarship in the critical language sciences that grapples with the growing ‘commodification’ of linguistic, social and cultural activities in a globalised knowledge economy. In the context of European Union policy discourses, critical discursive scholarship by Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2010) has demonstrated the ways multilingualism “is yet again pictured in a way which limits its understanding to (foreign) language skills and competences viewed only from their economic and not e.g. social importance” (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010, 126). In the context of minority languages, the social value of languages is still looming large but has got re-articulated and re-purposed. Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen’s (2014) work on the commodification of Sámi language and culture in tourism serves as a telling example of the ways some languages get indexed with authenticity, expertise, community and solidarity, which gives them more stake, visibility and utility in niche markets (see also Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, and Rieder 2019).

Critical sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological scholarship has variously discussed the concept of commodification through vivid debates about the changing conditions of the ‘market’ under which language can be rendered a material good in business, tourism, education, marketing, call centres, and other facets of social life (e.g. Heller, Pujolar, and Duchêne 2014, Muth and Del Percio 2018, Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012, Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, and Rieder 2019). The notion of “Multilingualism, Inc.” (Duchêne 2017) captures precisely the current marketisation of linguistic diversity; this turning of multilingualism into a business has palpable consequences for the scholarly field, knowledge production and linguistic advocacy. However, this critical scholarship does not fully erase the realities of monoglot ideologies of language and nationalism as pervasive features of a late modern society.

Relatedly, various sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological scholars have looked at the dimensions of commodified practices with respect to language as socio-cultural and economic resource and language as a marketable means of authenticity (e.g. Da Silva, McLaughlin, and Richards 2007, Duchêne and Del Percio 2014, Coupland 2003). Especially in the context of minority languages such as Welsh, Gaelic, Catalan, and Basque, scholars have traced the ways language gets framed and coupled with values such as enhanced customer service and branding, quality management, niche markets, and unique selling points under the banner of commodification (Brennan and O’Rourke 2018, Brennan and Costa 2014, Barakos

2016b, Pietikäinen et al. 2016, Urla 2012, Woolard 2016). This interest is embedded in current social and discursive shifts towards an “economization of discourse”, as conceptualised by Krzyżanowski (2013, 105). It entails “a way of approaching public and other discourse – and different real-world objects constructed therein – from the point of view of their overall ‘usability’ for the local or global economy” (Krzyżanowski 2013, 105). The economisation of discourse further couples language knowledge with skills and competences that can be turned into economic capital (Urciuoli 2008).

Building on this type of scholarship, I argue that when languages are commodified, they are treated as a thing; a bounded, abstracted entity that becomes invested with material currency and instrumentality and can be reconfigured for market purposes. Commodification is not necessarily a new phenomenon in the scholarly field though. As Heller (2010, 101) rightly stipulates, “language can always be analyzed as a commodity”. Cameron (2012) adds that the “concept of a linguistic market is not new”. And Bourdieu’s work on capital and distinction (Bourdieu 1982, 1986) positions language as a set of traits that people can accumulate in order to improve their social standing. Based on these arguments, we can argue that commodification is something that has always existed. What we are witnessing now though is a shift from old to new debates and shifting ideologies. What is new is the changing policy, organisational and political structures, political and economic movements that have created the terrain for languages to be commodified (given material value) on the linguistic market within a globalised era. What is also new is the way policy makers, businesses and ordinary people change existing norms and conceptualisations of language, and how they name, order, perceive, own, or manage languages identified within a particular system to ensure language maintenance and social mobility. That said, commodification of language is shaped by people’s language ideologies, which act as a mediating force between language and the economy (Barakos and Selleck 2019).

Taking the discussion of commodification further, the concept of neoliberalism and its various epistemological premises as an economic theory, as discourse and as an ideology has been widely discussed from different angles. In this regard, Allan (2019) provides an acute account of the over-generalised application of neoliberalism in the field of sociolinguistics. Whilst I cannot engage in a full discussion of neoliberalism here, I would like to refer the reader to key literature in discourse studies, anthropology, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics that has inspired this book (Williams and Morris 2000, Block, Gray, and Holborow 2012, Allan and McElhinny 2017, Krzyżanowski 2016, Fairclough 2000, Martín Rojo and Del Percio 2019). For the purposes of this study, I treat neoliberalism not just as an “ideology, or even a set of policies, but as primarily a governmentality – certain modes of

governance based on particular premises, logics and power relations” (Steger and Roy 2010, 12). This understanding is aligned with recent sociolinguistic scholarship by Martín Rojo and Del Percio (2019, 3) who centre the debate about neoliberalism on regimes of power and the governance of people, institutions and their practices, including counter-conducts and forms of resistance. As Dlaske et al. (2016, 5) explain further, neoliberalism permeates social life and foregrounds individuals as enterprising selves as well as values of goal-orientedness, competitiveness, flexibility, citizen responsibility, choice and principles of enabling. Following these lines of thinking, my research site aligns more to the investigation of neoliberal tenets and subjectivities and less to counter-conducts, that is, how such neoliberal logics are contested or resisted.

To take account of the phenomena described above, critical language scholars have increasingly turned to the political economy of language (policy) (e.g. Del Percio, Flubacher, and Duchêne 2016, Ricento 2015, McGill 2013 for a critical literature review). This approach holds that language practices are anchored in socio-political, cultural and historical contexts that need to be considered when making sense of the position of language and the production and consumption of language policy in a neoliberal market society. The scholarly inquiry of the political economy of language traces the historical and material conditions of language, with linguistic processes as part of larger systems of inequality and difference. This is something that resonates with critical-discourse and sociolinguistic inquiries of language in society that are concerned with not only gauging shifting language practices, ideologies and their effects on language (speakers) but also shifting policy discourses that get linguistically appropriated to serve new agendas. In this regard, I draw on Heller (2018) and Ricento (2015) when arguing that the positioning of language policy within a political economic frame helps address the complex ways in which government bodies and policy makers, as well as corporate institutions, communities and individuals shape policy processes. It also brings us home to key questions of language, power, and political control central to sociolinguistic and discursive enquiries.

To capture the shifting value allocations to language in society, Heller and Duchêne (2012) apply the interconnected tropes of pride and profit to structure the debate about the role of language in the cultural and socio-economic conditions of late capitalism and the new economy. As I have exemplified earlier via Bethan’s extract at the beginning of this chapter, current sociolinguistic and political debates about language are shifting. The intertwined and often conflated concepts of pride and profit are illuminating here and applied to “justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to convince people to speak them, learn them, support them, or pay to hear them spoken” (2012, 3–4). Language as pride is framed in terms of belonging

and membership, the community, and the nation (Heller and Duchêne 2012, 4). Language as profit is framed in a narrower mode and alienates the traditional value of language as a cultural asset. Rather, the value of language is exploited as “a means to material gain” (Gal 2012, 22). Such lines of thinking link to linguistic commodification and Bourdieu’s work on the conversation of cultural capital into material capital (Bourdieu 1982, 1986). Returning to the pride-profit axis, these concepts work in tandem, are mutually constitutive and conflated, and produce an element of distinction, hierarchisation and ordering of linguistic varieties and speakers. In the context of Wales, then, my particular attention is directed at the logics and interests that transform the key object of national and cultural pride into a marketing feature and (national or corporate) branding strategy in the political and corporate discursive debate on the promotion of bilingualism in business.

Whilst the discussion of language commodification is much more complex than I can do justice in this book, I argue that commodification needs to be problematised in such a way as to ask key questions about what it does to whom under what circumstances. Importantly for this study, the centrality of economic forces and discourses in language policy processes, alongside with the intensification of neoliberalism gives rise to the following questions: What does this ‘thinginess’ (Urciuoli 2016, Urla 2012) of language do? Does linguistic commodification constitute an opportunity or a threat for (minority) languages and speakers? In what ways does it empower or give rise to new forms of constraints and inequalities, and how consequential is this for whom? The globalised knowledge economy that frames bilingualism in Wales along these lines only accentuates the importance of addressing such questions.

1.5 Structure of the book

This book maps language policy in business following a clear heuristic sequence of a contextual framing, theoretical and conceptual approaches, methodology and analytic applications. Chapter 2 will set the scene and provide an account of language policy in Wales, by charting the sociolinguistic, political and historical context. Chapter 3 will discuss the key theoretical influences of this book, first briefly sketching the field of language policy and then drawing on CLP, language ideologies and CDS. In this sense, Chapter 3 builds on the book’s discursive and critical-sociolinguistic premises, which I have sketched here in the Introduction. Chapter 4 sets out the methodology employed, a combination of the Discourse-Historical Approach and a mixed-methods survey, including the levels and categories of analyses undertaken in Chapters 5–7. In Chapter 5, I analyse the

political and corporate language policy discourses that shape the promotion of bilingualism in businesses in Wales. Chapter 6 then reports on the quantitative and qualitative findings of the survey on Welsh-English bilingualism with a range of private-sector businesses in Wales, and Chapter 7 on the interviews with language policy stakeholders, detailing the interplay of language policy, ideology and practice in Welsh business. In the concluding Chapter 8, I will synthesise the findings and outline their significance to the fields of research and the specific language policy context of Wales, and discuss avenues for future enquiries.

Language, power and political control in Wales

Whilst the Welsh language is often cited as a successful example of language revitalisation and a best practice of language policy, there is a contested history of language decline within Wales, with a fraught relationship between Welsh and English, and a linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) lingering in the background. This chapter provides the broader socio-political and historical contexts, within which the discursive and social practices of Welsh language policy are embedded in times of social transformation. Language, power, and control serve as mutual contact points for discussion here: with power taking the form of control of the structures of context, policy texts and debates (Blommaert 1999), but also of how government institutions steer the policy agenda through articulating certain promotional avenues alongside broader norms. It is essentially within this macro-structural site of language policy that ideologies and discourses about language in business are nurtured and power struggles manifest themselves. Whilst I will not delve into a full genealogy of Welsh language policy as such, I will emphasise key moments, ideological divides and ruptures in language policy as relevant to the discussion of bilingualism in business.

2.1 The Welsh sociolinguistic and political context

Wales is an officially bilingual and partly devolved country of the UK. It has a population of around 3 million people, of whom 562,016, or about 19% of the population aged three and over, report the ability to speak Welsh (Office for National Statistics 2012). Despite a drop of 2% compared to the 2001 census, confirming the current fragile state of Welsh, various political, social and economic changes have enabled bilingualism to be gradually institutionalised in education, the media, governance and public life. In that sense, Wales is often exemplified as a successful model of bilingualism. The thriving Welsh-education sector in particular has contributed to increasing speaker numbers over years. Welsh is a compulsory part of the National Curriculum until the age of 16. It forms a core subject in bilingual and Welsh-medium schools, and a foundation subject (Welsh as a second language) in

all other schools. This anchoring in education has raised greater public awareness about the advantages of bilingualism, and opened up avenues for ‘new’ speakers (O’Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo 2015) of Welsh, i.e. multilingual individuals without a native Welsh-language background who learn and use the language (see also Jones and Martin-Jones 2004, Hodges 2012, Selleck 2018, for extended discussions of Welsh education).

Historically, the relationship to England has been characterised by assimilation, which has had consequences for the standing of the Welsh language. Welsh used to be the dominant language and the first language of most people in Wales up to the 16th century until the late 19th century, mainly due to the publishing of the Bible in Welsh in 1588, which standardised the language and backed its survival. With the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1542, the process of Anglicisation started. Wales became firmly situated within the legal system and administration of England, and hence, English was established as the normative language of the courts, public administration, and education in Wales. Welsh was thus largely banned from public life and became increasingly seen as having lower status than English (Jones and Williams 2010). For many ensuing centuries, Welsh was expelled from public life, and the dominance of English, the impact of industrialisation, migration and urbanisation led to a marked decline in Welsh speaker numbers (see Durham and Morris 2016, for an extended discussion). With the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Welsh speakers had declined to 50% of the population, with English as “the language with the greatest power and authority” in Wales (Jones and Martin-Jones 2004, 44). Consequently, this unequal relationship between Welsh and English has opened a terrain on which claims over belonging, nationhood, identity, territory and tradition have been re-negotiated (Bauman and Briggs 2003).

From the mid-20th and 21st century, after many decades of language decline, Welsh speakers started to react to the century-long decline by campaigning for bilingualism and officiality for the language. Wales has seen a surge of language support, characterised by effective language revitalisation activities, thriving government support and political goodwill with the aim to secure, maintain and advance the use of Welsh as a viable means of communication in a variety of domains, including professional life. This revival movement is in common with other Celtic languages such as Breton, Cornish, or Irish Gaelic at that time (for an overview, see Ó Néill 2005, Williams 1999).

Indeed, the establishment and expansion of autonomous governance from Westminster in London to the Welsh Assembly in Cardiff Bay has contributed significantly to the linguistic revival of the Welsh language. In 1997, a referendum brought devolution to Wales, making some of its powers politically devolved from the UK government. The Government of Wales Act 1998 established the National Assembly for Wales, which can seek legislative competence from the Parliament

of the United Kingdom in Westminster and may pass legislation in specifically devolved areas. In 2011, a referendum saw Wales gain primary law-making powers in 20 devolved areas, one of which is the Welsh language.

Indeed, the advent of Welsh decentralisation and the gradual extension of cultural and legislative autonomy has contributed to strengthening the position, status and legislative anchoring of the Welsh language vis-à-vis English. It has also paved the way for the resurgence of nationalist ideologies about Wales as a nation and endeavours to create and market a unique Welsh national identity as part of its devolution agenda (see also Blackledge 2002b, Coupland, Bishop, and Garrett 2003, Mooney and Williams 2006). Such developments are complicated by a growing multi-ethnic society which de-stabilises established ethno-linguistic categorisations of ‘Welshness’, and by a growing neoliberal Welsh (language) politics in post-devolution Wales (see Sayers et al. 2017 for a critical discursive discussion of post-devolution policy). As widely discussed by the linguistic anthropologist Woolard (2016), in minority revitalisation movements such as Wales and Catalonia, ideologies of authenticity, which locate the value of a language in its community, territory, culture and identity, become destabilised by ideologies of anonymity, which cast language as a commodity and resource belonging to anybody (see Chapter 3 for a fuller theoretical engagement with ideologies).

Despite these achievements, the current picture in 2019 is a bleaker one. There is a *de facto* coexistence of English as the dominating language of economic capital and globalised practices and Welsh as the less prevailing, dominated minority language in many communities in Wales. This imbalance nurtures ideological conflicts that are played out in terms of unequally distributed resources and unequal access to the ‘linguistic market’ (Bourdieu 1991). As such, Coupland, Bishop and Garrett (2003, 158) put it succinctly when they claim that “Welsh remains the focus of strong and even abrasive politicking across ideological divides”. The current unknowns of Brexit, the departure of the UK from the European Union, poses another conflict for the language. Welsh has not only benefited directly from substantial EU funding for language initiatives, but also more indirectly from funding for the agricultural sector, where Welsh is used as the everyday language in many rural communities. A stop of subsidies to the agricultural sector could well impinge on the status of the Welsh language and its speakers in everyday life. Apart from such financial implications, Brexit may bring with it wider social implications that may affect people’s attitudes, goodwill and support for minority languages more widely (Chríost Mac Giolla and Bonotti 2018).

Such ideological conflicts do, however, not only affect Welsh-English bilingualism. They also spread to the relatively untouched language policy agenda about Wales as a multilingual and multicultural rather than a strictly bilingual country. In this regard, Laughtarne (2007) introduces the notion of ‘beyond bilingualism’ in

Wales, which with she captures the presence and learning of languages other than English and Welsh. As I will discuss further in the course of this book, language policy endeavours have focused on establishing a 'truly bilingual' Wales, based on Welsh-English parallelism and equivalence. As such, Welsh national policy makers have been mainly concerned with planning official bilingualism whilst side-lining the *de facto* linguistic reality of Wales – 'unofficial multilingualism', with Polish, Somali, Urdu, Bengali and Cantonese as widely spoken languages (see Durham and Morris 2016, for debates about multilingualism in Wales).

Ideological divides between Welsh and English are also nurtured in the demographic patterns of Welsh speakers across Wales. While the Western and North-Western parts of Wales see higher concentrations, the eastern parts and the south-east face considerably lower numbers of speakers. The more urbanised south-east of Wales used to be the former industrial centre, shaped by processes of in-migration. The capital city Cardiff has traditionally been associated with anglicisation due to its proximity to the English borders and has had significantly lower numbers of Welsh speakers. Yet, socio-demographic and economic developments such as in-migration, social and geographical mobility as well as language legislation and the growth of bilingual education have resulted in Cardiff having seen the biggest growth in the number of Welsh speakers from the census in 1991 to 2001 (Welsh Language Board 2003). Cardiff constitutes the political, cultural and economic hub of language-planning endeavours: the Welsh Government, the National Assembly for Wales, and the Welsh Language Commissioner, bodies of a bilingual nature, are to be found in the capital. Welsh-medium education is thriving in the capital, along with the growth of the language in middle-class professional circles and even notions of 'coolness' associated with speaking Welsh and simply being Welsh (Aitchison and Carter 2004, Coupland, Bishop, and Garrett 2003, Mann 2011). Similar tendencies can be observed for other minority languages such as Irish, which sees a marked shift in speakers from traditional 'native speaker' areas to urban areas such as Dublin, partly due to the growing urban Irish-medium education and the growing number of new speakers of Irish (O'Rourke and Walsh 2015).

The more rural north is a typical stronghold of the Welsh language. The expression 'Y Fro Gymraeg', which literally means 'the Welsh language area', and the constructed terms 'heartland community' as well as the notion of the 'community' *per se* have formed an essential part of the Welsh Government's language policy agenda. This agenda is driven by key arguments linked to territoriality and culture (Jones and Fowler 2007, 94). As such, the geographical delineation of the Welsh-speaking heartland and its conceptualisation as a homogenous territory has been the focus of increasing scholarly debates (Jones and Lewis 2019). The expression 'heartland community' has traditionally been conceived of as an area of "presumed cultural authenticity, distinguishing a set of favoured enclaves where the 'heart' of Wales

beats loudest”, linked to notions of national distinctiveness and identity (Coupland and Bishop 2006, 35). If we follow Woolard (2008, 304) here, such an ideology of authenticity conceives of languages as “deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value”. In effect, then, the Welsh-speaking heartland has come to be conceptualised much like a nation as an “imagined community” (Anderson 2006 [1983]) or a “culturally authentic locality” (Jones and Desforges 2003, 13) of authenticity and group-belonging. Such ideologies of authenticity can also be found in the context of other minority languages such as Irish. The Gaeltacht, the traditional Irish-speaking area, holds a similar symbolic value of a bounded locality and linguistic-cultural heritage (see O’Rourke and Brennan 2018) to the Y Fro Gymraeg in Wales.

As the recent demographic and sociolinguistic trends within Wales show, the traditional, fixed conceptualisations of the geographical distribution of Welsh and English across Wales in terms of the ‘rural Welsh-speaking heartland communities’ and the ‘anglicised south-east’ are no longer tenable. Globalisation, labour market and population shifts through in- and out-migration, and educational initiatives have reattributed many Welsh speakers from rural to more urbanised areas and shaped the slightly rising number of Welsh speakers in urban and suburban areas such as Cardiff (Barakos 2012, 169).

2.2 Welsh language policy: Between normalisation and normativity

The policy context within which bilingualism in businesses in Wales takes place is a multifaceted one that has seen shifts between normalisation and normativity. The normative logics manifest themselves through a variety of policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006) such as language laws, strategies or grammars, which offer a firm normative and overtly protective basis for the promotion and usage of the language. Linguistic normativity here emanates from the project of modernity that has tried to fix languages and turn them into codified, bounded, territorial and standardized entities (Jaffe 2007, Heller 2011). At the same time, efforts to normalise languages as communicative resources in everyday life, from school and media to the workplace, form part of minority language policy revitalisation processes that we can also observe in different contexts such as Catalonia, the Basque Country or Galicia in Spain.

Over the past decades, many key political interventions have shaped the normalisation of Welsh in many spheres of social and public life mainly through strategies of linguistic marketing than the provision of language rights. Welsh language policy efforts have been underpinned by an equality agenda, i.e. a concern to establish the equality of Welsh and English in status and treatment by creating equal opportunities to access Welsh language services. Equal status differs from official

status, which has only been achieved recently (2011) for Welsh through the legislative formality of the new language law, the Welsh Language Measure. However, the officiality of languages or their legislative protection does not necessarily result in their use or transmission (Romaine 2002, 195, Shohamy 2006, 61). Rather, as we know, the linguistic behaviour of language users is much more complex and is shaped by the existing capacities and infrastructures, the provision of opportunities and the inherent desires to use the language.

In terms of legislation, public and private sector organisations have been subject to different legal obligations under pre- and post-devolution Wales. The Welsh Language Act 1993, a central act of pre-devolution legislation, enshrined the principle of equality between Welsh and English within the public sphere and the administration of justice in Wales. The law established the former Welsh Language Board, whose statutory duty was to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh as well as agree and monitor Welsh language schemes with public sector bodies. The private sector was not affected by the law but was merely encouraged to implement Welsh language schemes on a voluntary basis. Through the privatisation of many former public sector businesses, contracting speaker numbers, and pressures over establishing full equality between English and Welsh, pressures have arisen to strengthen the regulatory regime for bilingualism. Alongside the shift from administrative to greater legislative devolution in Wales, a new language law, the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (hereafter the Welsh Language Measure), was introduced. The Welsh Language Measure includes a statement, for the first time in history, to provide official status for the Welsh language in Wales. It does not affect the status of English in Wales, which is not legislatively anchored in a law. Whilst English and Welsh are both formal working languages of the National Assembly of Wales, only Welsh is explicitly recognised as an official language. This makes it the only *de jure* official language in any part of the UK.

The guiding principles of the law are to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh, to ensure that Welsh be treated no less favourably than English, and to provide for the individual's freedom to use Welsh in Wales (HMSO 2011). The new law dissolved the Welsh Language Board and set up the office of Welsh Language Commissioner, a politically independent body. It imposes, for the first time, duties on certain types of private bodies to provide Welsh services, with the aim of remedying the existing inconsistencies in Welsh language service provision. In steering policy actions, the key role of the Commissioner rests on three pillars: enforcement, promotion and influence (Welsh Language Commissioner 2018c).

Undoubtedly, this step towards legal imposition of Welsh for parts of the private sector in post-devolution Wales constitutes a radical change to the prior voluntary approach of the Welsh Language Act 1993. However, the boundaries between what constitutes the public and the private are blurry. The Welsh Language Measure

explicitly affects those bodies that provide a service of a public nature. These are effectively privatised utilities such as gas, water and electricity suppliers as well as telecommunications companies, and bus and railway services. As I argue elsewhere (Barakos 2018, 78), this incisive move from language marketing and persuasion efforts to greater obligation and standardisation has spurred an ideological debate about linguistic voluntarism and obligation about corporate bilingualism. It gives rise to the essential question of where to draw the line regarding the legal imposition of languages in business, which I will problematise further empirically in Chapter 6. Williams (2013a, 290) raises similar lingering concerns for Wales over the relationship between the “promotion of an official language and regulation of a compliance function (i.e. statutory regulations)”. While the outcome of this normative change in language policy are yet to be established for the private sector, the present study focuses on the hitherto laissez-faire approach of private sector service-providers in their engagement with bilingualism at a time when the Language Measure was in its first stages of implementation in 2012 (see also Carlin and Mac Giolla Chríost 2016 for a fuller discussion of Welsh legislation and its interstices with territory, demography and civil society).

Next to the language laws, a variety of non-statutory language strategies, schemes and action plans have been produced, which have accompanied the process of language promotion, marketing and revitalisation in the post-devolution area of Wales. Planning for linguistic prestige and status, language choice, and language as a cultural, social and economic resource have been salient policy strands in most of the policy interventions, alongside a political concern for steering the linguistic and economic regeneration of communities with both growing and contracting speaker numbers (Barakos 2018, 2012). In this vein, language promotion, facilitation and enabling as well as the values of choice, flexibility and shared responsibility have been among the guiding principles of the Welsh Government’s political discourse to realize its vision of a ‘truly bilingual’ Wales. In Woolard’s (2016) terms, this linguistic marketing approach sees language ideologies of authenticity making room for ideologies of anonymity (see Chapter 5 for a critical discursive analysis of these ideologies in policy discourse).

Under the current conditions of the global economy, such political discourses have become intermeshed with economic rationalities. Most notably, these principles are mirrored in the Welsh Government’s language strategy *Iaith Pawb/Everyone’s Language* (2003), its more assertive and imposing successors *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw/ A living language: a language for living* (2012), and its most recent strategy *Cymraeg 2050: A Million Welsh Speakers* (2017).¹ While the detailed discursive-analytical

1. For brevity, I will refer to these three documents throughout the book as *Iaith Pawb*, *Iaith Fyw* and *Cymraeg 2050*.

discussion of selected discourse fragments from these language strategies and how they impinge on the corporate language policy documents and stakeholders of Welsh companies is presented in Chapters 5 and 6, I contextually embed the policies here to trace the growing focus on Welsh in economic life over time.

2.2.1 *Iaith Pawb* (2003)

Iaith Pawb was produced under a Welsh Labour and Welsh Liberal Democrats coalition under the period of ‘New Labour’ in the UK (from the 1990s until 2010). New Labour’s philosophy was grounded in a free market concept, economic efficiency, community renewal and contributory citizenship as a means of realizing equality of opportunity and social justice. It propagated the concept of “a consumerist or marketised conception of choice as a key organising principle for public service reform” (Clarke, Newman, and Westmarland 2008, 2). So, the politically-promoted citizen’s right to choose health care services, education, public services and the like also stretched to a choice over language matters. The emphasis of *Iaith Pawb* was indeed placed on the principle of equality between Welsh and English, establishing a truly bilingual Wales, strengthening Welsh as a community language, especially in the Welsh heartlands, and providing the right for every individual to make a language choice. The following five key targets formulated in the document to be achieved between 2003 and 2011 were to increase the percentage of people in Wales able to speak Welsh by five percent, to halt the decline in the heartland communities, to increase Welsh-medium pre-school education, to increase language use in the family, and most relevant to this language policy study, to increase the number of “services, by public, private and voluntary organisations” [...] “to be delivered through the medium of Welsh” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 11).

In *Iaith Pawb*, several sections refer to supporting the language through fostering economic activities and vice versa, based on community development, the need for Welsh language skills in the workplace and the creation of business and employment opportunities. However, the private sector is only treated marginally. In the section ‘language choice and use’, the Welsh Government spells out the need to encourage private sector bodies “to take it upon themselves to develop and provide bilingual services and take advantage of the Language Board’s advice and expertise in this area” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 49). So much of the responsibility for promoting and realising the proposed actions in *Iaith Pawb* was shifted to the former Welsh Language Board and its partners (see Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion). Critical commentaries on *Iaith Pawb*, its legacy, ideological directions and the dominant rhetoric of choice have been formulated by a range of scholars (e.g. Coupland and Bishop 2006, Coupland 2010b, Sayers 2013, Selleck 2013, Williams 2004, 2007a, Barakos 2018, 2012).

2.2.2 *Iaith Fyw* (2012)

The ‘One Wales Agreement’ was drawn up between the Labour Party and the nationalist oriented *Plaid Cymru*/The Party of Wales, which favours Welsh independence, during the coalition period 2007 to 2011 (National Assembly for Wales 2007). The policy set the ground for further key policy developments. The government strategy *Iaith Fyw* builds on the visions of *Iaith Pawb* and covers a five year period from 2012 to 2017. The policy was introduced on the cusp of momentous legislative developments in post-devolution Wales: the introduction of the Welsh Language Measure, and the concomitant dissolution of the Welsh Language Board and its integration into the civil servants apparatus of the Welsh Government and office of Welsh Language Commissioner. While *Iaith Pawb* envisioned a truly bilingual society, based on equality and free language choice, *Iaith Fyw* dismisses the notion of true bilingualism and reduces its use of the concept of choice. Instead, it gives priority to “see the Welsh language thriving in Wales” (Welsh Government 2012, 14) and turn it into a living language. Furthermore, the term ‘value’, which only appeared to a minimal extent in *Iaith Pawb*, emerges as an explicit key concept in relation to marketing Welsh in society, mostly coupled with the benefits of Welsh as a skill. These explicit discursive value allocations tie in with the changing ideological directions in Welsh language policy that I discussed earlier, which has seen shifting ideologies of authenticity and anonymity (see Section 2.1).

One possible explanation for the apparent decline in explicit usage of the ideological concept of choice in *Iaith Fyw* may be that the concept of choice has generally seen a decline in contemporary British political discourse, as shown by a recent corpus-analytic study of British party manifestos from 1900 to 2010 (Jeffries and Evans 2013). In seeking an explanation for the decline of choice in these manifestos, Jeffries and Evans argue that the notion of choice may have become worn out and lost its appeal. On the other hand, choice may have become naturalised and common-sense over time to the extent that it no longer needs to be explicitly stated (Jeffries and Evans 2013, 21).

Linked to this visible value-laden discourse, the Welsh Government has been keen on developing a skills-based rhetoric for Welsh in the workplace, as the Economic Renewal Strategy (2010) shows: “the language is now acquiring an increasingly significant presence in the workplace [...] and “Welsh language skills are important to the future success of many Welsh-based businesses” (Welsh Assembly Government 2010, 28). Drawing on these arguments in *Iaith Fyw*, the Welsh Government envisions the following goals with respect to economic life: an increase in people’s awareness of the value of Welsh, both as part of our national heritage and as an important skill in modern life (Welsh Government 2012, 14).

A marked difference to *Iaith Pawb* is that the new strategy explicitly identifies workplaces, the private sector and the delivery of bilingual services to the citizen as key elements in further promoting Welsh and shifting towards greater standardisation of services provided. It unambiguously wishes to see “more voluntary Welsh language policies adopted by private sector companies” (Welsh Government 2012, 42). The new strategy also advances the aim of bringing the use of Welsh into communities across Wales “by developing a clear strategy in relation to how benefit could be gained from the Welsh language as an economic asset” (2012, 34). Unlike *Iaith Pawb*, however, the new policy embraces regionalism and argues specifically for a development model for urban spaces, with the goal of “raising the profile of Welsh and bilingualism in these cities and towns” (Welsh Government 2012, 35) – a development that aligns with a growing urban bilingualism in Wales (see also Williams (2013a, 142-149) for a thematic comparison of *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw*).

2.2.3 *Cymraeg 2050* (2017)

In 2017, the Welsh Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition published a new national language strategy, *Cymraeg 2050* (Welsh Government 2017). This new language policy aims to increase the number of Welsh speakers in Wales to one million by 2050, to increase the use of Welsh and to build favourable conditions, i.e. a coherent infrastructure that enables greater language use. It is considered the most ambitious of all language strategies in terms of its bold claim to almost double its current speaker numbers (see Williams 2017 for a critical review). As Jones and Lewis (2019) argue, the formulation of the new strategy was the outcome of a non-linear process with different strands and drivers, with the rationale for the speaker numbers emanating from the Welsh Labour Party’s election manifesto (2016) and from the overall rising demand for Welsh-medium education. The Well-Being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 also explicitly included the Welsh language within one of its seven well-being goals. Consequently, these radical discursive changes in political discourse paved the way to the formation of *Cymraeg 2050*.

Cymraeg 2050’s vision is “to see the Welsh language as a normal part of everyday life” (Welsh Government 2017, 27) – building on *Iaith Fyw*’s endeavours to normalise Welsh. *Cymraeg 2050* mainly rests on education as the bulwark for this normalisation. It also prioritises language skills in the workplace, a more effective service provision, and the social use of Welsh and foregrounds socio-economic development in the community as a catalyst for Welsh language regeneration. Quite surprisingly though, the strategy does not explicitly mention how to develop Welsh within the private sector, except for increasing Welsh in the workplace training opportunities. In fact, it falls short of including any action points on how the private sector can contribute to reaching the goal of one million speakers by 2050.

Perhaps one of the most striking shifts in policy discourse in *Cymraeg 2050* compared to previous language strategies is the movement away from a concern over a ‘truly bilingual Wales; anchored in the duty of equality and shared cultural and national values to a concern over determining and fixing the social status of Welsh through numbers. Tangible numbers as suggested here, reaching one million speakers by the year 2050, are overtly convincing; a political package that can be traded; evaluated; measured. This shift in policy discourse pushes minority language advocacy to determine the value of Welsh in economic terms. Since speaker numbers have fallen from 2001–2011 in the national census, managing numbers has turned into a clear political agenda that appears to be influenced by the neo-liberal drive for quantification as a means of demonstrating the ‘effectiveness’ of policies. The unintended consequences of this objectification of language, that is, its impact on communities, individuals and workplaces, for example, are not entirely thought-through. Indeed, as Duchêne and Humbert (2018) argue, political claims are often interlocked with language data as a means of argumentation and supporting policy agendas. And Urla and Burdick (2018) describe similar movements of quantifying the vitality of Basque in the Basque country as a feature of late capitalism (see also Sebba 2019 for the politics of Scots in the 2011 Census in Scotland and the language-identity-nation linkage).

At the writing of this book, the actual practicalities of how the ambitions of *Cymraeg 2050* can be turned into reality, are still being debated. What these shifting discursive policy agendas and vivid discursive debates show nonetheless is that the anticipated normalisation of Welsh in everyday life certainly rests on an increasing objectification of the language. We can see this as another political attempt to reify Welsh and make it more meaningful, tangible, and real – something which, as Williams (2005, 65) argues, “can be given value, as a property, involving ownership”. Who, then, is involved in the ownership of Welsh in the field of business?

2.3 Bilingualism in business: Promoting the ‘Welsh Advantage’

If we trace the developments from the first post-devolution language strategy *Iaith Pawb* in 2003 to 2019, we see the strategic discursive fortification of Welsh in the workplace and particularly in the private sector. As previously discussed, *Iaith Pawb* was rather vague in addressing Welsh in business as it mainly positioned language on the terrain of culture to create an ideologically vested ‘truly bilingual’ Wales. *Iaith Fyw* was keen on seeing Welsh thrive and making it a living language in economic life. *Cymraeg 2050* is primarily concerned with normalising Welsh through tackling speaker numbers and puts Welsh at the heart of the workplace, but it is less articulate about how businesses can embrace the Welsh language.

So, what we can see is that over time, a response to the prior nationalist discourse was a concerted growth of strategic programmes of action, commissioned language use surveys, and task groups that argued for the mutually beneficial effect of developing economic activities in the community and the language. What is new here is that the nationalist discourses on language, culture and heritage blend with, or get re-fashioned, with emerging profit discourses on language and the economy (Heller 2011). Back in 2004, under the banner of language revitalisation and economic transformation, the Welsh Government was keen to pursue an “innovative approach to enable the conversion of the potential of the language and culture into new commercial activity” (Welsh Assembly Government 2004, 7). In a later strategy document, the government acknowledges that, in view of the continuous growth of Welsh in a range of public and private sector businesses, “the language is now acquiring an increasingly significant presence in the workplace”. It goes on to argue that “Welsh language skills are important to the future success of many Welsh-based businesses” (Welsh Assembly Government 2010, 28).

The following policy agendas, based on the two influential Welsh Government strategies *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw*, the promotional activities of the former Welsh Language Board and the most recent work of the Welsh Language Commissioner’s office, have played a fundamental role in planning for the usage of Welsh in business:

- Encouraging more companies to voluntarily adopt a Welsh language policy,
- Offering advice and resources to businesses for delivering bilingual services to the public,
- Offering advice and resources to people to use Welsh in the workplace, and
- Emphasising the advantages of using Welsh in business.

In offering advice and resources, the former Welsh Language Board produced a myriad of promotional materials and booklets and launched initiatives to persuade, inform, guide and assist more companies to adopt a Welsh language policy, to commit themselves to operate bilingually, to provide bilingual services in dealings with the public and to encourage the uptake of such services among consumers (Welsh Language Board 2012, 32–33). It also aimed to promote and facilitate the internal use of Welsh in the workplace.

We see the first explicit hints of a new emerging discourse – bilingualism as value added in business – in the Private Sector Strategy 2006–2011. This is just one example that clearly illustrates the growing importance attached to the private sector through strategies of persuasion, as is illustrated in the following extract:

The Private Sector certainly touches the daily lives of the majority of ordinary people more often than any other sector. This in itself makes it a strategic priority if we are to see Wales developing into a truly bilingual country.

(Welsh Language Board 2006, 5)

The strategic aims laid out in the document were to increase and normalise the use of Welsh by companies and at management, staff and customer level. The simplified key message put forward in this strategy was that bilingualism was to be seen “as a commercial advantage” and that “Welsh and bilingualism are assets to any business in Wales” (Welsh Language Board 2006, 4).

Indeed, the potential economic advantages of being bilingual have been linked to employment opportunities, with Welsh being gradually marketed as a valuable skill with material value for the Welsh job market. Although research about Welsh and the labour market is scarce, a few quantitative studies have shown that there is a positive effect of Welsh linguistic ability compared to English-only speakers regarding earnings (Henley and Jones 2001), employment (Drinkwater and O’Leary 1997) and entrepreneurship (Jones, Thompson, and Kwong 2011). As argued in Barakos (2012, 168), being able to offer bilingual skills in the workplace is seen to increasingly empower professionals to advance in the labour market. However, the role Welsh subsumes in professional life has been and still remains a contested issue – especially considering the different legal frameworks, and ensuing differing obligations, for the public and private sector, and neoliberal ideologies penetrating legislative developments and the restructuring of (language services), as I have discussed earlier in Section 2.1.

The Welsh Government runs a dedicated support site *Cymraeg i Busnes/Welsh in Business*, which offers a range of business-centred initiatives such as free resources and tailored support services. Services include the *Iaith Gwaith/Working Welsh Scheme*, which encourages businesses to use both Welsh and English in their operations and helps customers identify Welsh-speaking staff. The site also provides promotional materials, merchandise and resources, such as orange *Cymraeg/Welsh* badges, logos, posters and email footers, provided to Welsh-speaking staff who engage with the public (Welsh Language Board 2012, 33). Brennan’s (2018) work on the commodification of Irish in the Gaeltacht, the traditionally Irish-speaking area, shows similar localised business initiatives that promote the language as a commercial asset, ranging from pronunciation guides for basic greetings to bilingual signs with business names.

In a further attempt to increase the use of Welsh in business, companies have been encouraged to introduce explicit language policy documents. Some of these used to be based on then Welsh Language Board’s language policy template, which has served as an effective catalyst in convincing companies to adopt a policy and to commit themselves to offering Welsh language services. The Board, in 2012, highlighted the fact that since 1993, more than 450 private sector bodies have agreed to formulate a Welsh language policy (Welsh Language Board 2012, 32). Presently, around 500 policies have been created by businesses within the private sector in Wales. Many of these date from the Welsh Language Board’s era, and this

work continues under the Welsh Language Commissioner. There are also a range of private businesses that have committed to a promotion plan with the Welsh Language Commissioner (Welsh Language Commissioner 2018a). Additionally, over 650 private sector bodies have conducted a self-assessment and around a 100 are working on a promotion plan (private communication Welsh Language Commissioner's office).

As can be seen, the Welsh Language Commissioner continues the promotional work of the former Welsh Language Board with its own specialist *Hybu*/Promotion team. In its strategic plan 2013–15, the Commissioner outlines its functions, which include “promoting the voluntary use by the private sector and encouraging Welsh speakers to take advantage of those services” (Welsh Language Commissioner 2013b, 5). The Welsh Language Commissioner directly targets potential companies, business leaders and consumer demands by producing promotional materials, reports, booklets and by embracing a service- and customer-oriented discourse to persuade companies to develop their use of Welsh. To exemplify, a recent report on consumer demands and the opinion of business leaders (Welsh Language Commissioner 2018c) shows that some of the biggest retailers in the UK, including Boots, BT, Lidl and Santander, acknowledge that using Welsh helps attracting new customers and is a means of expanding their business.

What can be drawn from these initiatives is that the socio-economic and socio-political profile of Welsh has been shifting. Indeed, the Welsh Government and the then Welsh Language Board have successfully aimed to promote the economic benefits of bilingualism, to market the Welsh language, and to boost the link between language and economic development in the community. Active campaigns of language promotion, persuasion, marketing, and what Mac Giolla Chríost (2005) envisages as ‘prestige planning’ (see also Ager 2005), have turned Welsh into an increasingly urban and cosmopolitan phenomenon. And yet, despite all these policy advances and promotional agendas, bilingualism in business remains a site of persistent struggle over legitimacy for those wanting to actively use services on the ground. As Sallabank (2013, 206) stipulates, “prestige planning does not necessarily alter language practices”. This is illustrated by a recent telling example of a major UK bank that told its customer who wrote to it in Welsh to complain that some services were not available in Welsh that they should communicate in English rather than a “foreign” tongue (Morris 2019). Such examples of linguistic inequality and discrimination flag up that the possibility for Welsh to be alienated and considered ‘foreign’, despite its promotional policy structure, is quite likely to endure in the form of perceived struggles and lived experiences of people who want to communicate through their chosen medium.

2.4 Conclusion: Changing conditions for a bilingual Wales

In this chapter, I sought to situate Welsh language policy in business in its broader societal context. I have argued that by examining this wider context as a macro-structural site of language policy, we can better grasp the relation between policy texts, discourses and the practices and ideologies of policy agents. The Welsh political policy context and its discursive framing shows that language policies are fraught with political formulations that advance an idealized and imagined Welsh nation, but also a micro-nation within the nation through the Welsh heartlands.

The new normative turn in minority language policy further indicates a shift from hitherto laissez-faire approaches in the field of economic life to greater regulation, overt empowerment and shifting responsibilities for businesses to act in favour of Welsh. The shifting policy priorities across the national policy discourse show a clear identification of Welsh as a commercial advantage and skill in the labour market in recent years, increasing its status in the institutions of business and the workplace. What we yet need to explore further through a discursive lens is the accompanying language ideological shifts from an ideology of authenticity to a quest for anonymity that have shaped the increasing recognition of bilingualism as economically valuable, along with its discursive struggles. We also need to attend to how national discourses that used to centre on identity, place and language are contingent and intertwined with profit-based discourses.

The new conditions for bilingualism in the field of business are tied to elements of control, articulated by various different political and business actors through new policy norms and regulations. This shows that whilst nation states such as Wales have experienced an erosion of their power, their mechanisms of control get re-articulated, power becomes redistributed and re-affirmed in other ways: here, through the tightening of language policy frameworks on the one hand, and new discourses about enablement, responsibility and agency. Language thus becomes a terrain for new debates, here, businesses as new catalysts for linguistic and economic planning and revitalisation in Wales. The ideological and discursive policy shifts we are witnessing thus need to be studied for what they are: struggles over the discursive, political, economic and social legitimacy of minority languages in a globalised society. Paradoxically perhaps, while minority language policy is thought to be essentially about empowerment of speakers and their communities, language policy finds itself in a position in which it struggles to strike a balance between promotion and regulation, normalisation and normativity.

Towards a discursive approach to language policy

This chapter develops a critical discursive approach to language policy that concentrates on both policy structure and agency as mutually constitutive factors. First, I address language policy and ideology as heterogeneous fields of research, and then proceed to discuss CDS as a key perspective to analysing political and economic language policy discourses. I then propose a discursive approach to language policy and argue that such an approach aids to make connections between policy texts and policy actors' production, consumption and appropriation of language policy. This chapter is organised in three major sections and concludes with revisiting the concept of a discursive approach to language policy before moving to the methodological part of the book in Chapter 4.

3.1 Language policy and ideology

3.1.1 Language policy as a heterogeneous field

The field of language policy and planning initially developed as a branch of sociolinguistics and the study of language in society in the 1960s. Many scholars have provided detailed historical overviews of language policy research that has come in different waves (for an overview, see e.g. Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018, Spolsky 2012). I will here focus on a brief genealogy of language policy and specifically on the emergence of the critical and discursive turn, the manifold research orientations, and epistemological shifts.

Similar to discourse studies as a heterogeneous field of inquiry, language policy comprises a broad range of frameworks and conceptualisations, based on diverse theoretical and methodological angles and grounded in interdisciplinarity (Barakos and Unger 2016). The early language policy works of Fishman, Haugen, Kloss and Rubin are characterised by the structural paradigm, which is reflected in the concern for providing national language planning models and the focus of policy activities at the level of the (nation) state. This early scholarship mainly comprised macro-level studies that offered typological and descriptive accounts, language

planning models, corpus (forms of language) and status (uses of language) planning (Cooper 1989, Kaplan 1990, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Within the structural paradigm of linguistics, language policy approaches were mainly concerned with solving language ‘problems’ in decolonising multilingual societies and were largely linear, macro-orientated, and technocratic in nature by identifying problems, articulating a policy, implementing and evaluating it as well as revising it accordingly (McCarty and Warhol 2011). Language policy had a strong focus on the distribution and usage of whole languages within society and rationalities of choice (Pennycook 2017). Language was seen as static and bounded and treated as an object that can be codified, standardised and advance the nation-building project.

In a departure from these earlier structuralist, macro and a-historical approaches, Tollefson’s Historical Structural Approach (1991), later known as Critical Language Policy (CLP), was key in articulating power and inequality in language policy as well as the limitations of hegemonic language planning models. CLP draws on an array of social, critical and poststructuralist theorists such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Giddens, and Habermas, amongst others. A key focus of CLP is on the role of ideology as naturalizing language practices in various political, historical and institutional contexts (see also Unger 2013 for an account of CLP).

Over time, the object of language policy research has been revisited and expanded. The field includes approaches that focus on the specific structure and components of language policy (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003, Spolsky and Shohamy 2000, Spolsky 2004, 2009). In particular, Shohamy’s (2006) eloquent language policy framework offers a holistic approach to explore the explicit and implicit agendas that function behind language policy. Her work is based on the need to capture the “match or mismatch between idealized language policies ‘on paper’ and the practical reality derived from the evidence of personal experience and ethnographic study” (Shohamy 2009, 186). In Barakos (2016a) I discuss the merits and shortcomings of this policy framework.

What these advances in language policy scholarship show is that language policy comprises more than just the language in question and is socially and discursively positioned, and ideologically invested. Accordingly, language policy cannot be viewed as isolated from its social and discursive milieu. The postmodern and poststructuralist turn in the field of language policy does further justice to the social embeddedness of language policy, which is well-reflected in various conceptualisations of policy as “a social construct” (Schiffman 1996, 276), “a complex socio-cultural process” (McCarty 2011, 8) and as a multi-layered “onion” that needs to be unpeeled (Hornberger and Johnson 2007, Ricento and Hornberger 1996, 402). Whilst Ricento and Hornberger (1996, 408) acknowledge the advances made through CLP research, they call to concern ourselves more with bottom-up policy-making in local sites such as classrooms or workplaces, and not only with

policies at the state or institutional level. As a result, one major advance of CLP was the ethnography of language policy, which put at the forefront debates about how to account for critical analyses of policy discourses (as texts) with policy practices through rich empirical accounts. Much work of this ethnographic turn has its basis in critical sociolinguistic ethnography that builds on the foundations laid by e.g. Heller (1999), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), and Gumperz and Hymes' ethnography of communication (1972).

In our current post-industrial world that is shaped by linguistic, ethnic, social and cultural diversity, transnational identities, mobility and migration, language policy scholarship calls for a perspective that sees language policy happening at different levels (e.g. state, institutions, local workplaces) and through a process of connections between texts and multiple agents. As with the field of discourse studies, language policy has seen broad epistemological shifts from policy-as-text based to policy-as-practice based ethnographic, sociological and anthropological approaches. Research in this vein focuses on how texts, ideologies and discourses relate to practices in different sites such as schools, universities, families, (social) media scapes, linguistic landscapes, and varied political, economic and business sites. The work of Hornberger and Johnson in particular zooms into practiced language policy in multilingual, and minoritised educational contexts (e.g. Hornberger and Johnson 2007, Johnson 2011). Methodological considerations by Bonacina-Pugh (2012) suggest a practiced language policy, combining policy theory with conversation analysis of classroom interactions. Hult's (2010) nexus approach to language policy has been instrumental in tracing how "language policies are socially and discursively situated, thereby documenting instances of how LPP [language policy and planning] takes shape in texts and practice" (Hult 2012, 235–236). Other scholars have put forward various ethnographic and critical discourse oriented engagements with policy as text and practice over scales of space and time (e.g. Hult 2010, Johnson 2011, Unger 2013, Unger, Krzyżanowski, and Wodak 2014, Wodak 2006, Wodak and Savski 2018).

Such scholarship shows the current re-conceptualisation of language policy as a dynamic process and efforts to undo the macro/micro dialectic in language policy research (Hult and Johnson 2015); that is, looking for connects between macro-analytic approaches that foreground broader social processes and structures, and micro-analytical approaches, which consider detailed linguistic interactions produced by agents in situated contexts. Evidently, the growing focus on practice through discourse-ethnographic approaches entails a de-coupling of policy from being a thing; or as Mortimer (2013, 69) puts it, "policy is thus more 'things people do' – social action – than a thing itself".

Whilst ethnographic and discursive turns in LPP have gained momentum, there is now an established bulk of research grounded in the economics of language

(policy), language philosophy and political science. The field of language economics and the economics of language (policy) was mainly pioneered by François Grin, a trained economist and language policy scholar. This strand “rests on the paradigm of mainstream economics and uses the concepts and tools of economics in the study of relationships featuring linguistic variables” (Grin, Sfreddo and Vaillancourt 2010: 28) in range of workplace settings and public institutions. It mainly deals with questions over optimal research allocation, evaluation and distribution of language policies from a mostly quantitative perspective and examines variables such as earnings, productivity, costs, and market share in relation to language (see e.g. Grin 1990, 2006, Grin, Sfreddo, and Vaillancourt 2010, Gazzola, Templin, and Wickström 2019).

Such structuralist understandings of language (policy) differ quite radically from political-economic approaches to language policy (Ricento 2015, Duchêne and Heller 2012b) and Foucauldian governmentality approaches (Flores 2014, Johnson 2013, Barakos 2016b, Pennycook 2006, Martín Rojo 2018, Martín Rojo and Del Percio 2019), which have been gaining momentum and been instrumental in understanding the current complexities of language policy in times of neoliberalism and socio-political and economic transformations. Such scholarship treats language as social practice and shifts the focus on official language policies as texts and ideologies away to more localised discourses and practices. It also takes account of the move from more symbolic conceptualisations and treatments of language as an identity marker to language as a material source of capital (as discussed previously in Section 1.3).

Despite the major advancements in the field of language policy, Pennycook (2017) cautions us that we need to remind ourselves what the object of language policy (enquiries) is: “As long as policies deal with languages as countable and fixed entities, there will be a major disjuncture between policies and practices” (Pennycook 2017, 127). The field of language policy has achieved much in de-centering the focus on language, structures and texts and paying attention to practices and processes. Yet, there need to be new and continuing critical, reflexive, discursive and agentive investigations to language policy that do justice to both historical-structural and agentive facets of language policy (Barakos 2016a). This book is interested in undertaking such an investigation.

3.1.2 Language ideologies, power and discourse

Language ideology is an underlying salient concept in this book. It is predicated on the assumption that bilingualism in Wales is a site of “language ideological debates” (Blommaert 1999, 14), or “ideological battlegrounds” (Blackledge 2002b, 206) and that bilingualism exists at the juncture between ideology and practice (Heller 2007). That is, debates, following Blommaert (1999, 9) here, are “more or less historically

locatable periods” where language forms a central topic and an anchor point for articulating and re-producing ideologies about language through a multiplicity of texts and discourses and through multiply engaged actors.

There is no unanimous definition of the concept of ideology, let alone language ideology (see e.g. Blommaert (2005), Eagleton (1991) and Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998) for extensive overviews of the concepts of ideology and language ideology). Rather, scholars have to come to terms with an array of multiple, often controversial definitions, approaches and modes of analysis. Whilst I will not enter into a terminological debate here, I will give meaning to the term language ideology in connection to power and discourse as I use it in this book.

Ideology and discourse are central in the works of poststructuralist and critical social theorists (e.g. Althusser, Bakhtin, Foucault, Gramsci and Habermas), who have influenced work in critical language scholarship. Within CDS, ideology is an inherent feature of investigation, but yet again with different connotations and nuances. To exemplify, and as we shall see later (see Chapter 4), the Discourse-Historical Approach to CDS, which is applied in this book, takes a power-oriented approach which understands ideologies as representations being held by dominant and powerful social groups and as a means for using symbolic forms in order to establish and/or maintain power relations (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 88, Wodak 2012, 220).

Research on language ideology in particular has its roots in North American linguistic anthropology (Coupland and Jaworski 2004, 37, Johnson and Milani 2010, 4). Woolard (1998, 3) conceives language ideologies as explicit or implicit representations that establish the connection of language and society. She goes on to identify three spaces within which these ideologies may be encountered: “[...] in linguistic practice itself; in explicit talk about language, that is, metalinguistic or metapragmatic discourse; and in the regimentation of language use through more implicit metapragmatics” (1998, 9–11). Regarding the first space, ideologies crystallise in language practices *per se*. Extrapolated to this study, language practices refer to the discursive practice of the Welsh Government, realised through a range of language policy documents, and the private sector companies, through their voluntary corporate language policy texts. The second site Woolard identifies relates to ideologies that emerge in explicit talk about language. In this study, ideologies may be manifest in discourse through explicit content, that is, through explicitly discussing and assessing how Welsh is used or should be used. It is at this stage also that the third site of ideologies – implicit metapragmatics – comes into play. Implicit metapragmatics refers to the concealed agendas of discursive practices, i.e. the “unsaid, unexpressed assumptions that implicitly frame a text and enable its coherence” (Woolard 1998, 9). In this study, implicit metapragmatics unfolds, for example, by employing a range of discursive strategies in both the national and the

corporate language policy documents, such as argumentation or intensification and mitigation. These strategies may produce implicit meanings, for example, about the value of bilingualism as a means of promotion. Relatedly, Blackledge (2005, 31), Blommaert (2006, 242), Coupland and Jaworski (2004, 36–37), Duchêne (2008, 27) and Shohamy (2006, 41), among others, persuasively argue that ideologies are tied to questions of identity, power relations and social, economic and political agendas and that they are both explicitly and implicitly negotiated.

Blackledge's (2005, 32) broad account of language ideologies is useful as it provides a meaningful bridge to discourse. Language ideologies are

about more than individual speakers' attitudes to their languages, or speakers using languages in particular ways. Rather, they include the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels.

His understanding of discourse as shaping, and being shaped by, language ideologies is crucial for this language policy study, which approaches language policy, including its ideologies, practices and mechanisms, from a discursive angle.

Based on the conceptions of language ideology discussed so far, it is in terms of the following elements that I understand ideologies, and language ideologies in particular:

Ideologies are context-sensitive and socially situated.

As ideologies are context-dependent and socially situated, it is insufficient to trace them from explicit textual analysis. Rather, it is the socio-political, socio-cultural and historical contexts that nurture their development and need to be considered in their analysis (for similar historiographic notions of ideology and discourse, see Duchêne 2008). In that sense, ideologies also reside in explicit and implicit sites. They are encountered in explicit linguistic practices, in talk about language and in implicit metadiscursive, hidden assumptions that materialise through discursive strategies, lexical choices and social practices.

Ideologies are linked to common-sense reasoning.

In language-ideological debates, the use of common-sense arguments appear to lose their ideological character and emerge as natural, status quo and factual.

Ideologies may have material (social, political, economic) effects.

The disguised nature of ideologies as common-sense may have material consequences in that they are prone to be commonly accepted, shared and 'lived' by the public through discursive and social practices. To exemplify, one material effect of the ideology of full bilingualism in Wales is that the government's envisioned equal treatment of Welsh and English in all aspects of life is often mitigated in service provision to 'wherever practical'—common clauses added to formal language policy documents.

Ideologies materialise synchronically and diachronically in discursive and social practice.

Ideologies come into being in discursive and social practices. They are produced by such practices and also produce them across a spatio-temporal scale.

Ideologies interact with language policy through structure and agency.

Language policy is shaped by language-ideological matters and vice versa through institutional, political and economic structures as well as people's ideologies and actions.

To sum up, (language) ideologies are socially situated and commonly accepted sets of beliefs that may be manifest or latent and that materialise synchronically and diachronically in discursive and social practice. Accordingly, ideologies and their analysis need to be guided by the heuristics of how, where and why ideologies emerge and are reproduced, circulated, passed on and naturalised. This leads us to ask the following key questions: What is going on in terms of meta-discursive action, i.e. debates about language and what people appear to believe about language? How are linguistic resources used in specific contexts, and concomitantly, how do ideologies get transformed in written and spoken interactions across time and space?

Let me address two final points for the purpose of clarity. The first point is the crucial distinction between ideology and discourse. In line with the DHA, I support Wodak's (2007, 2) and van Dijk's (2006, 132) position that ideology is not to be put on a par with discourse. Rather, within one discourse, a range of similar or opposing views and ideologies may be present. The second point relates to the interconnection of texts and ideologies. Here, I share Irvine and Gal's (2000, 36) view that "there is no 'view from nowhere', no gaze that is not positioned". In that respect, all policy texts are created, revised and recreated by multiple actors and engender multifarious ideologies. It is essentially the way people use language in specific contexts and circumstances that makes language ideologically biased.

3.1.3 The nexus of language policy and ideology research

Based on what I have discussed earlier, we can argue that language policy may emerge from ideologies and it can engender them. Blackledge (2005) further contends that language ideologies can direct the interpretation and appropriation of language policies as well as nurture social difference, which may construct certain language varieties as more valuable than others (Blackledge 2005, 33). It is precisely in the valuation of linguistic resources as legitimate or otherwise that control over resources and access to them is exercised (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001, 2–3). One example from this language policy context is the widespread belief among Welsh-speaking company managers that their proficiency level of Welsh has to

be on a par with English. As the dominant majority language, English appears to be afforded greater prestige on the linguistic market than its counterpart. The principle underlying this perception is that of ‘parallel’ bilingualism according to which “Welsh and English must be given equal weighting and prominence, so that the same access is afforded to each language” (Coupland 2010b, 87). In this sense, Heller (2006, 83) uses the term “double monolingualism”. It describes a situation in which “[l]anguages are still seen as autonomous systems; what is valued is multilingualism as a set of parallel monolingualisms, not a hybrid system” (Heller 2006, 5). Ideologies of parallel, or double, monolingualism are driven by the notion of separate language usage and equal linguistic proficiency in both languages, so that “true, real, good linguistic competence is that which takes as its model the way one uses a language in a monolingual setting” (Heller 2006, 83). These (double) monolingual framings flag up deeper tensions that surface in minority language advocacy contexts such as Wales (see Chapters 5 and 7 for a fuller discussion).

Relatedly, a common language ideology encountered in bi/multilingual sites such as Wales is the ideology of the standard, as widely discussed by Coupland (2012, 2010, 2010a). The ideology of the standard conjures up evaluative notions of correctness and purism and is related to language standardisation processes. It privileges only those language varieties which are fully standardised and perceived as functional and elaborate enough to be used in all contexts of social life. In the Welsh context, Robert (2013) rightly argues that the question of what constitutes ‘standard Welsh’ is not straightforward. She argues that there is lack of clarity whether “there is a delineated set of language practices that are oriented to by a powerful group of Welsh speakers as befitting all occasions that is positioned by those in authority as *normal*” (Robert 2013, 97). Hornsby and Vigers (2018) offer a similar account of struggles over linguistic legitimacy in their study on new speakers of Welsh in the heartlands of Wales. Robert goes on to argue that, unlike ‘standard English’, the concept of ‘standard Welsh’ is less stabilised, which is related to the “coexistence of two standard languages in Wales, and the contraction of the domains of standard Welsh in the 20th Century” (Robert 2013, 98). Other minority languages such as Catalan, Galician and Basque face similar ideological tensions over language standardisation processes, which are coupled with legitimising and de-legitimising speakerness (for a fuller discussion, see Lane, Costa, and De Korne 2018, Kristiansen and Coupland 2011).

Coupland (2003, 418–420) further discusses standard languages to the concept of linguistic authenticity, linking that authenticity then to tacitly shared qualities such as consensus through processes of authorisation and acceptance, systemic coherence through linguistic standardisation and codification processes, and value through language indexing cultural/national membership (see also Woolard 2008). Ideologies of the standard often find their expression in discourses on language

skills and competency against normative benchmarks. They also impact the value, status and prestige of languages in the linguistic market and shape individual and collective identity-politics (Wodak 2012, 218).

Ideologies of the standard are undergirded by national language ideologies, which inherently turn language into a key element of national identity and couple it to ideologically-bound categories of nationalism, nationhood, culture and the community (see e.g. Billig 1995, De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, Hall 1994, 1997, Wodak et al. 2009). This ideology is connected to nationalist discourses, which began to emerge in the 18th century and which relied on the assumption that ‘one language equals one nation’ (Gal and Irvine 1995, Gal 2009, Woolard 1998). This conception is driven by colonial ideologies of the nation-state, and has rendered languages essential markers of social difference (Bauman and Briggs 2003) – something that resonates well in the current climate of nationalist resurgences in politically autonomous linguistic communities such as Wales or Catalonia, as Woolard’s (2016) work depicts clearly.

3.2 Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)

As Fairclough (2018, 18) aptly puts it, CDS is “a form of critical social analysis”. CDS is centrally concerned with the discursive traits of social, cultural, political and economic processes, structures and agents. It puts questions of language, power, hierarchisation, domination and social inequality at the forefront of its enquiries. CDS, as a heterogeneous, eclectic and interdisciplinary school of thought, offers diverse theories of discourse and a range of methodological frames and tools for analysing, interpreting and critiquing language use and wider structural forces (see Hart and Cap 2014, Wodak and Meyer 2015, Lin 2014, Thurlow 2018 for an overview).

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) was the common term used in the 1990s and 2000s to capture the development of a multidisciplinary, multi-methodological and problem-oriented research programme linking linguistics with the social sciences. The historical grounds of CDA can be derived from various disciplines and schools of thought, among others Critical Linguistics (e.g. Fowler et al. 1979), various linguistic theories as well as social theories from e.g. Althusser, Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Foucault, Giddens, Gramsci, Habermas, and Marx (Titscher et al. 2000, 144). CDA should not be seen as a single method nor collective theory. Rather, we can understand it as a “complex cluster of practices and approaches at the crossroads of several disciplines” (Noppen 2004, 108), with various theories and methods in dialogue with each other. Amongst the controlling idea behind CDS is that it strives to make visible power imbalances between individuals or groups in society (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Martín Rojo 2001).

The broader term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is now increasingly used to capture the changing theories and practices in the field, transcending its traditional ‘schools’ or ‘streams’ and moving towards novel types of investigations and analyses. I argue that this shift also helps better capture the current phenomenon of the economisation of the social alongside its neoliberal facets that we are witnessing (Martín Rojo 2018). Methodically, CDS captures a growing bulk of research that constitutes a shift from merely analysing discursive data to analysing social action through contextually-grounded, ethnographic, multimodal and sociological approaches through fieldwork, observations, interviews or focus-groups (e.g. Johnson 2011, Unger 2013, Wodak 2011b, Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008, Wodak, Krzyżanowski, and Forchtner 2012). These shifts indicate that CDS has gone beyond ‘classic’ CDA. It has taken stock of the affordances as well as shortcomings of the theories and methods that have guided the field. It has started to advance and embrace multiple discursive media, different analytic apparatuses as well as different social theories to explain language in society (see Krzyżanowski and Forchtner 2016 for a fuller discussion). CDS is also the term that I embrace in this book, aiming to do justice to the changing theories and practices within the field, with a concerted effort to move from a purely linguistic to a multi-disciplinary, reflexive, and social study of language under neoliberal and late modern conditions of society.

3.2.1 Core orientations of CDS

The following core principles, which are not exhaustive, underpin CDS-inspired research to varying degrees.

CDS addresses social problems.

CDS is not only preoccupied with linguistic analysis, but with aspects of social and cultural processes and structures in their wider context. It addresses ‘social wrongs’ by unpacking how inequality (for example, between the Welsh and English language), latent or manifest power dimensions and ideology work within the use of language, and which ramifications this might have on discursive and wider social practices.

Discourse constitutes society.

Discourse and society assume a dialectical relationship, where discursive events shape situations, social structures and institutions but are also shaped by them. Hence, “discursive practices should always be regarded as both structuring and structured actions” (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 10).

Discourse is one form of social action.

Discourse is viewed as one form of social practice that constructs and is constructed by the social, economic, political and cultural reality.

Power relations are discursive.

CDS is interested in the relationship between language and power in society, based on the understanding that “language is not powerful on its own, but gains power by the use powerful people make of it” (Blackledge 2005, 5). Power is thus indexed by language and CDS is interested in making overt or covert power relations more transparent.

Discourse does ideological work.

Language use may not only be shaped by relations of power, but also by ideological agendas. As discussed earlier, ideology is a central concept in CDS, which views it as being circulated and (re)produced in discourse and as generating and maintaining unequal power relations. As I will demonstrate later, language policy is an inherent representation of language ideologies, which manifest themselves overtly or covertly across various texts, discourses and genres.

Discourse is historical.

Discursive practices do not occur in isolation but have a historical dimension in that texts, genres and discourses are linked to each other over time and space. To uncover the spatio-temporal dimension, the extra-linguistic social, political, economic and historical conditions of discursive events are integrated into the analysis.

Discourse cannot be separated from its contextual dimension.

The notion of context plays a central role in understanding the relation of texts to discourses and genres. The shared understanding is that “no text stands alone and outside of its context” (Blackledge 2005, 6). Context is treated as a methodological and theoretical issue. In practice, this means that, in order to make sense of a specific language policy document, it needs to be read not only against a fine-grained linguistic analysis but also against its contextual production, dissemination and consumption and the (social) structures that frame such a reading.

Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.

Discourse can be interpreted in multifarious ways, based on the premise that “interpretations and explanations are never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information” (Fairclough and Wodak 2010, 109). This, however, does not make CDS less scholarly than other research strands. As Fairclough, Wodak and Mulderrig (2011, 358) stress, “standards of careful, rigorous and systematic analysis apply with equal force to CDA as to other approaches” (see Chapter 4 for more methodological considerations for this book).

Discourse (analysis) is self-reflexive and critical.

The notion of critique and self-reflexivity is central to most approaches to CDS. Broadly speaking, critique denotes linking “‘social and political engagement’ with ‘a sociologically informed construction of society’” (Krings et al. 1973, Titscher et al. 2000 in Wodak (2009, 7)). Critique, then, is aimed at disclosing power relations and

structures and uncovering ideological agendas. The term ‘critical’ is interlocked with self-reflexivity as it acknowledges the active embeddedness of the researcher in the research process (see also Chilton, Tian, and Wodak 2010, for an extended and critical discussion of the notion of critique in CDA and the DHA, Forchtner 2011).

3.2.2 Criticisms of CDS

I would remiss if I did not address key critiques targeted at CDS as it is criticism that keeps a field alive and challenges us as scholars to re-position ourselves and the field accordingly. Whilst I elaborate the various accounts of critique more fully elsewhere (Barakos 2016a), the major criticism has affected the methodological and theoretical shortcomings of traditional CDA, centred heavily on critiques of ideology and on merely text-based analyses that fall short of addressing the agency and experience of text producers and receivers (see Blommaert 2005, Luke 2002 for extensive critiques). Although acknowledging the potential of CDS in terms of addressing real problems, ideological agendas and the historicity of texts, Widdowson (2004) raises other concerns over biased interpretation and vagueness in terms of applying concepts, methodologies and disciplines. Another similar point of criticism affects the focus on context as an inherent part of CDS. Proponents of conversation analysis such as Schegloff (1997, 171), for example, argue that researchers would integrate their own a priori ideological dispositions into the analysis and project speculative interpretations, which substantially lack empirical and theoretical contextual knowledge, onto and into discourses and texts.

Earlier approaches of CDS have also been criticised for treating text as a rather bounded-analytic category (Heller and Pujolar 2009, 198) and for treating context, as Krzyżanowski (2014, 419) concedes, as “multi-level yet somewhat ‘static’”. Billig (2008, 787) took another issue with the actual language used by some critical discourse analysts that would be in stark contrast to what they preach. Finally, Pennycook (2010, 1–4) cautions scholars over the “incessant use” of the label ‘critical’ in many fields beyond CDS, which seems to have “reached saturation levels”. In that sense, we should complicate the nuances of ‘critical’ further and demonstrate that critiques of inequality, commodification or power, for example, should not remain at a static level but rather be vested with, for example, more dynamic questions over who is involved in (re)producing it, where does it happen, why, how, and in what moments of time.

In sum, what these types of critiques do is target the orthodox ways of how critical discourse analysis has often operated as a bounded and narrow school and got stuck at an ideological, text-immanent critique. The critique has also flagged up how the banner of ‘CDA’ has been mis-applied to studies that lack a problem-oriented,

critical and social motivation, how salient terms such as ideology and discourse have not been rigorously examined, and how under that banner, linguistically weak studies have been produced. As one way of challenging these orthodoxies, I embrace Luke's (2002, 98) points of critique that CDS needs to "document other forms of text and discourse – the subaltern, diasporic, emancipatory, local, minority [...] – that may mark the productive use of power in the face of economic and cultural globalisation". In this vein, the current book on Welsh minority language policy aims to do justice to at least some of the critiques articulated.

3.3 A discursive approach to language policy

Having discussed language policy, language ideology and CDS, I will now turn to proposing a discursive approach to language policy. As elaborated in Barakos (2016a), this approach is based on Shohamy's (2006) language policy framework and treats language policy as not fixed in texts and ideologies but as a fluid process that unfolds in different times and places at multiple levels. *Language policy* is a social and discursive practice. It is a superordinate category to denote the broad phenomenon of language policy processes shaped by ideologies, mechanisms, practices, and discourses.

As illustrated in Figure 3.1, the discursive dimension of language policy examines discourse as an inherent component of language policy, as policies are constituted, enacted, interpreted, contextualised and recontextualised in and through language (Barakos 2012, 169). Inspired by Reisigl and Wodak's (2009, 89), I view *discourse* as context-sensitive semiotic practices that are located within fields of social action, are related to a macro-topic and encode particular ideologies, values and positions. Discourse is, in essence, one form of social semiotic practice and action-based.

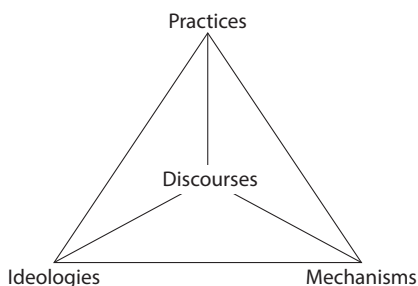


Figure 3.1 Language policy as social and discursive practice (Barakos 2016a)

Language policy constitutes, and is constituted by, discourse and lies close to the core of the factors of ideologies, mechanisms and practices, which have dialogic and mutually influential relations to one another. We can think of language policy as discursive practice that materialises through the process of producing, circulating, interpreting, consuming and (re)contextualising other discourses, texts and genres. Language policy as social practice emerges through living out, experiencing and managing language in personal and institutional settings, such as governments and companies, and through having real social implications for those producing policy and those receiving and consuming it. I further argue that in understanding language policy as a social and discursive phenomenon, it makes sense to differentiate ideologies, mechanisms and practices from one another and treat them as discrete, albeit interrelated factors. Each of these factors merits closer examination in the context of this specific research.

First, *mechanisms* are tangible artefacts such as explicit, written policy statements, strategies, corporate language schemes or language laws. They are explicit in that they discursively construct and determine the position, distribution and function of languages, and negotiate access to languages via allocating resources to realise the policy's objectives. I treat mechanisms in a narrow way as textual in nature and as material products of people's discourses, ideologies and practices.

Second, *ideologies*, as both explicit and implicit sites, materialise in the attached values, practices and beliefs about bilingualism in business and in the national and corporate language policy discourse that constructs certain values and beliefs at the national government and the localised company level. Third, *practices* constitute *de facto* language policy and involve various levels. They (re)-produce and result from systematic policy mechanisms, ideologies and discourses. Practices involve policy-making processes that include policy stakeholders' linguistic practices on the ground, their experiences of the policy process (e.g. how policy texts are produced, distributed and consumed or how people are affected more implicitly by these processes) and the implicated ideologies and power regimes that pervade these various levels of practice in a dialogical way (building on Barakos 2016a, 42).

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to show how key theories relating to language policy, language ideology, and CDS fit the development of a discursive approach to language policy. Language policy research benefits from a transparent delineation of analytical categories used in CDS to carry out fine-grained linguistic analyses, coupled with sociological and political enquires of language in society.

The expansion of Shohamy's language policy framework to concentrate on the discursive element of policy as mechanisms, ideologies and practices allows for a broader analysis of the multi-layered policy processes in place in bilingual business settings in Wales. Power relations between English and Welsh are negotiated and exercised in discourse, and may have implications on social practices, i.e. the social activities that govern political, economic, cultural and social life. A discursive approach to language policy thus aids to elucidate how language mediates, creates and recreates ideologies, power, marginalisation and social difference amongst speakers who are in a position to manoeuvre their lives through their desired language(s), and those who are not. It is concerned with texts, but also agency and the ideological positioning of people.

A discursive lens also offers researchers the affordance to capture local, national and global policy and governance decisions and practices, to examine the underlying motivations for these and to offer solutions or alternatives, which consider the various stakes of the policy stakeholders involved. In this way, perhaps more fundamentally, the fields of language policy, discourse studies, and sociolinguistics return to one of their key strengths: their interdisciplinary nature.

Before turning to data itself in Chapters 5 and 6, the next chapter discusses matters of research methodology and reflexivity when designing and carrying out a multi-method critical discursive policy study. It seeks to contextualise and situate the analytical framework and reading of the data that follows.

How to operationalise a multi-level discourse analysis

Chapter 4 is concerned with the methodological considerations in this book that allow for practising the discursive approach to language policy discussed in the previous Chapter 3. In view of the depth and range of methods and theoretical vantage points within CDS and language policy research, I argue that a transparent analytical framework is indispensable so that the empirical analysis is theoretically and conceptually well-informed. To gauge the ideologies, practices, mechanisms and discourses pertinent to the promotion of bilingualism in businesses in Wales, this book draws on elements of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) and a mixed-methods empirical survey.

4.1 The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as theory and method

The DHA is an interdisciplinary approach within the broad field of CDS. It is a form of discourse analysis that emphasises the historicity of text, talk and other semiotic practices in explaining, interpreting and critiquing problematic discursive and social practices. The origins and developments of the DHA have been amply discussed elsewhere (see e.g. Reisigl 2011, Wodak and Meyer 2015, Flowerdew and Richardson 2018) so I will not revisit them at this stage. Rather, I will present key elements that undergird the apprehension of the data analysis central to this book.

The distinctive feature of the DHA is its “*multi-level and multi-layered context-dependent analysis of text and discourse*” (Wodak 2011a, 624). Since discourse is socially constitutive and socially shaped, it is vital to analyse in my research how the discourse on promoting Welsh in business manifests itself within and across diverse fields of action in texts that belong to specific genres, such as the genres of national language policy and corporate language policy. To do so, the DHA distinguishes between three interwoven analytical dimensions: the discourse *topics* of a specific discourse (‘what are the contents of the policies’); the discursive *strategies* (‘how is the information packaged to achieve certain policy goals?’); and the *linguistic means* and their context-dependent *linguistic realisations* (‘how are these topics and strategies linguistically realised?’) (Wodak 2011b, 38).

The following five *discourse strategies*, guided by five questions, have proven useful in analysing political discourse and discourse on language policy (see Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 94):

- *Nomination/reference*: how are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
- *Predication*: what characteristics are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
- *Argumentation*: what arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
- *Perspectivation*: from what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
- *Mitigation/Intensification*: are the utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

From the discursive strategies listed, argumentation merits closer examination as argumentativity is an inherent element of political and corporate policy discourse. Argumentation strategies may be expressed through a collection of topoi that form part of argumentation and make up people's common-sense reasoning (here following Blackledge 2005, 24). Topoi are best approached from the angle of "commonplace" phrasing, when people draw on a shared repertoire or *topos* to convey and legitimate their (public) viewpoints, often reproduced as an uncritical judgement (Myers 2005, 536). So, less formally, topoi are a means to justify specific viewpoints without having to spell out the argument for them.

In the DHA, topoi are also defined as "parts of argumentation which belong to the required premises. They are the formal or content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument(s) to the conclusion, the claim" (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 110). Topoi can be made explicit as conditional or causal paraphrases such as 'if x, then y' or 'y, because x' (Kienpointner 1992, 1996, Wengeler 2003). For example, in *Iaith Pawb*, the national language policy of the Welsh Government, the following argument is made: "individuals themselves must recognise that they too have a responsibility to the language by passing it on to their children" (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 37). Here the *topos of responsibility* is drawn upon, which can be paraphrased by the following causal phrase: "Because a group/person is responsible for the way things are, that group/person should act to put things right" (Blackledge 2005, 72).

In my analysis of political and corporate language policy documents, the specific aim is to uncover what topoi are chosen "to underline the persuasiveness of certain argumentation modes" (Wodak 2008, 19). In doing so, I draw on topoi that have already been established (Blackledge 2005, Reisigl and Wodak 2001), but also discuss new context- and content-related topoi that have emerged as salient in the political and corporate policy discourse on promoting Welsh in business (see Chapter 5).

4.1.1 Discourse, text, genre, context

Within the DHA, the theoretical conceptualisation of *discourse* explicitly integrates fields of action, genres, discourses and texts. Reisigl and Wodak (2009, 89) define discourse as context-based semiotic practices that are located within fields of action. Discourse, they argue, is constituted by a macro-topic and may be expressed through various perspectives. It is also argumentative.

In my case, the macro-topic relates to the promotion of Welsh in business. Pluri-perspectivity indicates an assemblage of viewpoints present within the discourse on the promotion of Welsh in business. In other words, within one discourse, similar or opposing views and ideologies may unfold. The discourse on the promotion of Welsh in business is then expressed through various argumentative and discursive strategies that relate to the validity of claims in a communicative situation.

Discourses can be assigned to *fields of action* (Girnth 1996, 68), which denote how and where texts are produced and provide the ‘frame’ of a discourse. Different fields of action can be distinguished in terms of their functions and purposes. Discourses may also travel through various fields and thereby relate to other discourses (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 90). Here, the political field, with its functions of political advertising or formation of public attitudes, and the field of corporate governance with its functions of institutional management and regulation, provide the frames of the discourse on the promotion of Welsh in business.

Furthermore, discourse is differentiated from *text*. While discourse is characterised on a more abstract level than text by implying “patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures, a *text* is a specific and unique realisation of a discourse” (Wodak 2008, 6). So texts are discursive products, material realisations, artefacts and tools, which can be assigned to *genres*. Here, I follow Blackledge’s (2005, 8) broad definition of genre as the “type and structure of language typically used for a particular purpose in a particular context”. For example, *Iaith Fyw* – the Welsh Government’s language strategy – is a language policy text that is assigned to the national language policy genre in terms of its typical genre characteristics (see Chapter 5 for a genre analysis).

The analytical contextualisation of discourses is a salient characteristic of the DHA, which is realised by following the four-level *context* model in a recursive manner and as a means of triangulation, as elaborated in Wodak (2008, 13):

- the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation [...];

- the broader socio-political and historical contexts, to which the discursive practices are embedded in and related [...].

To exemplify, in my research the co-text constitutes the specific utterances used in companies' Welsh language schemes. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships refer to the ones between the corporate language policy documents and the Welsh Government's national language policy *Iaith Fyw*. The extralinguistic context refers to institutional bodies such as the Welsh Government or companies. The broader context embraces the socio-political and historical background of Welsh language policy processes.

In this way, the DHA aims to “transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include [...] the historical, political, sociological, and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion” (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 22). This approach to context is grounded in the principle of triangulation (Cicourel 1964, Titscher et al. 2000). It primarily rests on the four-level context model, but also suggests considering a wide variety of empirical observations, theories and methods as well as background information (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 89). In this policy analysis, then, the various contexts of discourse “are not simply a backdrop to text, they are actually embedded within it: the text actually forms part of the context and vice versa” (Keenoy and Oswick 2004, 140).

4.1.2 Intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualisation

The DHA stresses the importance of history in tracking political, economic and social change. Its systematic four-stage approach to analysing context includes the analysis of intertextual and interdiscursive connections between utterances, texts, genres and discourses across a spatio-temporal scale. *Intertextuality* refers to the linkage of a text to other texts, both synchronically and diachronically, through invoking a topic, an event, an argument, or a main actor (Wodak 2011b, 39). Fairclough (2003) refers to the potential set of other voices that may be present in a text by defining the intertextuality of a text as “the presence within it of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to (dialogued with, assumed, rejected, etc.) in various ways” (Fairclough 2003, 218). Intertextual relations may be expressions by reported speech, including direct quotations and borrowing elements verbatim from another text, indirect summaries of other texts that are accurately or less accurately integrated (Blackledge 2005, 11) or invoking general arguments and topoi (Abell and Myers 2008, 153).

Interdiscursivity is linked to intertextuality in that “topic-oriented discourses are linked to each other in various ways” (Wodak 2011b, 40) through intertextual relations between discourse and genres within a single text. In my research, for example, the discourse about the promotion of Welsh in business frequently refers to topics and sub-topics of other discourses, such as Welsh-medium education or the discourse on the Welsh Language Act 1993. Fairclough particularly links intertextuality and interdiscursivity to Bakhtin’s notion of dialogicality by emphasising “the dialogue between the voice of the author of a text and other voices” (Fairclough 2003, 41). This dialogical relationship often unfolds as a process of *recontextualisation*, another salient analytical category in CDS-based research (Wodak and Fairclough 2010, 19).

Recontextualisation is the process whereby topics, topoi (as common-sense reasoning) and arguments are not only exchanged but also textually transformed and altered in new contexts, thereby giving the text certain new functions and meanings for different audiences. The term has its roots in sociology and goes back to Bernstein’s sociology of pedagogy (Bernstein 1990). For the purposes of this study, I draw on Krzyżanowski’s (2010, 78) useful account of recontextualisation:

elements of certain discourses (represented in different texts) can be taken out of their context – this is called decontextualisation – and be subsequently and strategically placed or re-contextualised into a different one. Recontextualisation can result in a particular argument, theme or other discursive element being re-contextualised in its original form, though it is more frequent that elements of discourses are ‘accommodated’, or moulded, to the target discourses in which they are recontextualised.

In other words, recontextualisation always involves some kind of transformation in discourse, whereby emergent meanings may be produced. That said, recontextualisation is not only about shifting elements, but also involves new orders and hierarchies of discourse (Krzyżanowski 2016). In my analysis, I will show that intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualisation processes serve as persuasive means in language policy texts through inclusion and exclusion, i.e. through invoking certain topics (such as planning for a bilingual Wales), discourses or arguments and dismissing others (such as planning for a multilingual Wales). Through continuous reference to other texts, discourses and actors, the (de)legitimacy of the claims, common-sense assumptions and ideologies articulated by authors may be enhanced. In doing so, I suggest that discourse may become more powerful and authoritative through the recontextualisation of key arguments, or topoi.

4.2 Data and levels of analysis

The study brings together three data sets and deploys statistical analysis, qualitative content analysis and close discursive analysis. The first data set, political and corporate policy documents, explore the nature of language policy as explicit, written, textual policy mechanisms to use Shohamy's (2006) terminology here. The second and third data sets, the questionnaire and interview study, gauge employees' reported practices and experiences to identify widespread perceptions and ideologies about the value attached to bilingualism in business in a systematic way and on a larger scale. Used in combination, the three data sources contribute to explore the tensions and opportunities from the interplay of government-driven language policy efforts and local business stakeholders' efforts to shape bilingualism as a value-added resource. Through placing the data sets in their respective contexts, they unite a broader, discursive-sociological picture of language policy in bilingual business settings with a window into the experiences and perceptions of policy agents on the ground.

4.2.1 Political and corporate policy texts

As Figure 4.1 illustrates, the texts chosen for analysis pertain to different fields of action and genres. Yet, they all relate to the same general theme of promoting Welsh in business, represent organisational discursive practices and show the concordant and/or competing claims of different political and corporate spheres. This illustration is modelled on Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) and Unger's (2013) diagrammatic ways of representing the data under investigation.

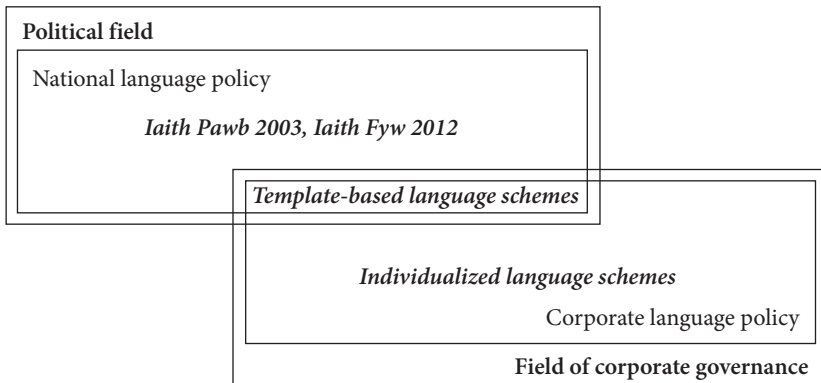


Figure 4.1 Relations between fields of action

Notes: Relations between fields of action (e.g. political field, in bold), genres (e.g. national language policy) and texts (e.g. *Iaith Pawb* 2003, in italics)

The selected policy documents, which are publicly available, are:

- *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* (Welsh Assembly Government 2003)
- *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw / A Living Language: A Language for Living – A Strategy for the Welsh Language 2012–2017* (Welsh Government 2012)
- Three voluntary corporate Welsh language schemes, based on the former Welsh Language Board’s policy template: law firm (policy document 1), business consultancy (policy document 2), estate agency (policy document 3), and
- Three voluntary corporate Welsh language schemes that are individually formulated company policies: consumer transportation (policy document 4), financial institutions (policy document 5), telecommunications (policy document 6).

At the time of research, *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw* were selected as the most influential language policy documents from the Welsh Government with its overriding equality and choice agenda, its strong linkage to the Welsh Language Act 1993, and its persuasive and authoritative character. The texts belong to the political field of action, which includes various functions and purposes such as political advertising or the formation of public attitudes. It provides one of the discursive frames for the discourse on the promotion of Welsh in business. *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw*, as concrete texts, and the national language policy genre are products of this field.

The six company policies, generated between 2008 and 2011, were selected on the basis of the qualitative interview study with companies in Cardiff and Bangor (see Chapter 7). Of the said companies, six operate explicit language schemes, which are at the heart of this analysis. When quoting verbatim, it should be noted that the company names are not revealed in the policy extracts. To guarantee anonymity, no full references can be provided. Instead, the term ‘company’ is used in square brackets, as in [company], and the policy document number (e.g. policy document 1) is provided after each extract.

The field of action of the individualised Welsh language schemes is that of corporate governance. Governance here means an “activity within an institution or organisation directed at managing or regulating social practices” (Fairclough 2003, 217). This field thus entails all the administrative, bureaucratic and governing activities involved in managing organisations, including corporate communication. The template-based schemes, on the other hand, partly overlap with the political field as the policy template was created by the former Welsh Language Board, a political actor.

The policy texts were investigated systematically by paying attention to the *contextual*, *macro-* and *micro-analytical* level. So, the analytical levels involved are the immediate language, i.e. the co-text, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships, the framing of the various policy texts (all examined in this analytical chapter) and the wider socio-political context (established in Chapter 4). For the analyst, this means going back and forth these levels. The macro-analytical level comprises a brief description of the genres within which the policy texts reside. The micro-analytical steps are based on the three analytical dimensions of the DHA, which I have visualised in Figure 4.2 below:

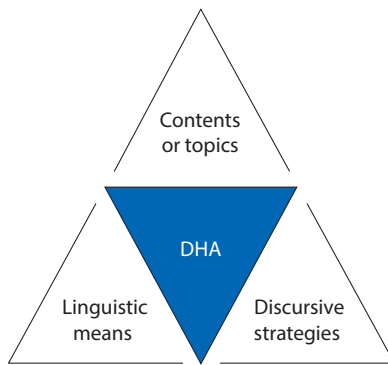


Figure 4.2 Analytical dimensions of the DHA, based on Reisigl and Wodak (2009)

First, the discourse *topics* are established – defined as “the most ‘important’ or ‘summarizing’ idea that underlies the meanings of a sequence of sentences in a discourse, (...) a ‘gist’ or an ‘upshot’ of such an episode” (van Dijk 1984, 56). In my research, topics include, for example, “community regeneration” or “customer service provision”. In a second step, selected *discursive strategies* are investigated in an in-depth qualitative analysis. Finally, the *linguistic means* (as types) and their specific, context-dependent *linguistic realisations* (as tokens) are examined. For the second and third steps, I restrict myself to selected passages of discursive data. As discussed in the previous section, the discourse fragments relate to the following thematic areas:

- The principle of equality between Welsh and English,
- The concept of language choice,
- The promotion of Welsh as a socio-cultural resource, and
- The promotion of Welsh as an economic resource.

The discursive strategies, which are defined as “more or less intentional plan[s] of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social,

political, psychological or linguistic goal” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 94), pursue different objectives and have different linguistic realisations. The following list in Table 4.1, adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2009), provides an overview and includes examples from my analysed data. It should be noted that the linguistic devices listed here are by no means exhaustive. In my analysis, I specifically focus on strategies and devices that have emerged as salient in the data and in the genres under investigation.

Table 4.1 Discursive strategies and devices in the DHA

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Linguistic devices	Examples from <i>Iaith Pawb</i> 2003
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out groups, social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, actions	Membership categorisation devices, metaphors and metonymies, synecdoches etc.	“Welsh as a medium of social, business and institutional interaction in the community”
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits, implicit or explicit predicates, collocations etc.	“The Welsh language is an essential and enduring component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation”
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	topoi (formal or more content-related) used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment and fallacies etc.	topos of definition : “a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all”
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement, positioning speaker’s point of view	reporting, description, quotation of events and utterances, deictics, direct, indirect speech, metaphors etc.	“ We have no doubt that here is a positive future for the language”
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	modal particles, hesitations, vague language, verbs of saying, feeling thinking etc.	“[...] individuals themselves must recognize that they too have a responsibility to the language”

The texts are analysed co- and contextually in a recursive manner and focus on several partially overlapping analytical categories:

- Discourse topics,
- Discursive strategies: nomination, predication, perspectivation, argumentation (realised through a range of topoi), intensification and mitigation,
- Selected linguistic devices through which these strategies are expressed: evaluative lexical items, modality, topoi, deictics,
- Recontextualisation processes, manifested in the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships.

4.2.2 Questionnaire and interview study

The empirical, mixed-methods study reported here was conducted from 2011–2012 and based on a quantitative online survey ($n = 110$) with small, medium-sized and large businesses in North Wales (44%), South Wales (18%) and Cardiff (38%) and nine qualitative follow-up interviews with managerial and senior business representatives. Both methods were applied by using the shared medium of English (see Chapter 1 on researcher positionality). The study is not an ethnographic study. Due to the limited fieldwork in Wales, I was not able to provide a full-scale ethnography that would observe actual linguistic behaviour. While it was not the intention nor possibility of this study to trace linguistic practices through ethnography, it offers vital information about language. That is, it examines policy texts, and peoples' perceptions, ideologies, reported practices and experiences through survey and interview data as policy dimensions, which, as Sallabank (2013) argues, are key to understanding the success (or otherwise) of revitalisation measures for minority languages. The study has invited participants to share their linguistic experiences and reported practices and has not sought to test their language competence.

Questionnaire

I opted for a non-probability sampling type (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011, 174) by including a broad range of businesses of different regions, sectors and sizes. My sample does not claim nor aim to be representative. Nor does the study intend to draw general conclusions and extrapolate the findings from the sample to the entire population, i.e. to be statistically representative of the entire private sector of Wales. Companies were selected on the basis of published lists of businesses that were officially cooperating with the then Welsh Language Board and a listing of the top 300 businesses headquartered in Wales in the year 2009 (Media Wales Ltd 2009). From an initial sample of 251 businesses, I received 110 ($n = 110$) responses, which amounts to a response rate of 44%. SPSS 20 and Excel were used to carry out

descriptive statistics and to process and analyse the data. Cross tabulations were applied to gain a better understanding of the relationship between different questionnaire items (Agresti and Finlay 2009). The interrelation of nominal variables was determined by the application of Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) test, a common method of comparing proportions (see appendix D for questionnaire items). Whilst the overall number of responses was 110, there were lower response rates for various questionnaire items due to some items being unanswered (e.g. $n = 106$).

Interviews

In order to understand in depth the way social actors construct their work practices, I interviewed company managers as both consumers and producers of language policy about their experiences with bilingualism in business. The study participants were drawn from different industries, size groups and linguistic environments. The assumption is that each company reacts differently to these diverse linguistic environments, depending on the needs and the linguistic capacities of the firm, the target market and the workforce. The interviews attempted to draw on differentiated cases from two distinct locations: the county of Gwynedd, in the North-West of Wales (70% Welsh speaking) and the more anglicised capital Cardiff (11% Welsh speaking) (see Chapter 2 for the geographical background to these locations). Tables 4.2 and 4.3 summarise the profiles of the interviewees (pseudonyms are used) and whether the company has adopted a written language policy.

Table 4.2 Cardiff interviewees

Pseudonym	Job role	Industry	Company size	Language policy (doc.)
I1, Sarah	Marketing and PR Executive	Consumer Transportation	Large	Yes
I2, Nia	Regional Communications Manager for Wales	Financial institution	Large	Yes
I3, Bethan	Senior Solicitor	Law firm	Large	No
I4, Emma	Partner	Law firm	SME	Yes
I5, Catrin	Senior Account Manager	Marketing consultancy	SME	No

Table 4.3 Gwynedd (Bangor and Caernarfon) interviewees

Pseudonym	Job role	Industry	Company size	Language policy (doc.)
I6, David	Finance Director	Business consultancy	SME	Yes
I7, Huw	Director	Estate agency	SME	Yes
I8, Colin	Welsh Language Policy Manager	Telecommunications	Large	Yes
I9, Adam	Director	Translation services	SME	No

The interviews were carried out between February and March 2011 in Wales at the interviewees' company premises. The interviewees were informed and consented to the fact that the conversations would be carried out through the medium of English. The interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix B). Following Mayring's (2010) model of qualitative content analysis, the interviews were analysed following a theme-based content analysis and coded by using the following procedure: "(a) transcribing the data, (b) pre-coding and coding, (c) growing ideas – memos [...] and (d) interpreting the data and drawing conclusions" (Dörnyei 2007, 246) (see appendix A for transcription conventions). The process of data analysis and interpretation, especially the coding and memoing procedure as well as the identification of recurrent patterns, was supported by Atlas.ti, a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (see appendix C for an extract from the coding journal).

4.3 Triangulation

The concept of triangulation, which emerged in the 1970s, contributed significantly to mixed methods research in order to "validate one's conclusion by presenting converging results obtained through different methods" (Dörnyei 2007, 164). Specifically, triangulation fostered the understanding that "combining data sources to study the same social phenomenon" (Dörnyei 2007, 43) by a multiplicity of methods and mixed forms of data can enrich, add depth to and generate a more in-depth understanding of the object of study. As Dörnyei (2007, 165) points out, however, triangulation may not only generate research validity through the confirmation of findings from different angles. Rather, it may also lead to divergent or even contradictory results (Perlesz and Lindsay 2003, 34). This divergence, then, needs to be dealt with accordingly in order to ensure whether differing results are related to the methods applied or to the complex object of study (see also Flick 2008, for a comprehensive introduction to the concept of triangulation in the social sciences).

In this research, the focus of triangulation is on complementarity and on revealing multiple aspects of the phenomenon under investigation. I triangulate not only data collection methods but also the findings from the quantitative questionnaire and the qualitative interviews. In this way, the complementary combination and triangulation of both methodologies help obtain a richer, multifaceted picture of the current status of bilingualism in businesses in Wales. As mentioned in Section 4.1, triangulation is also a common feature of the DHA, which aims to integrate interdisciplinary approaches and theoretical orientations, a multitude of methods and data as well as contextual background information (Weiss and Wodak 2003, 22).

4.4 Conclusion: Reflexivity in research practice

Chapter 4 has provided the methodological frameworks applied in this language policy study in order to examine the promotion of corporate bilingualism in Wales from a language policy, language-ideological and discourse-analytic perspective. This multi-perspective view draws on an array of methodological tool boxes outlined previously, including the DHA and a mixed-methods survey. I conclude here with a brief reflexive account on my own research practice and propose to understand the analysis of the study data that follows in the next chapters accordingly.

Firstly, we need to understand the data within their contextual constraints of collection and production. This investigation happened at a single moment in time, during different language and political regimes, and is limited to a single site. As such, we need to understand the locatedness and situatedness of the data when we look at them (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018). Furthermore, Van Dijk (2008, 16) emphasises the constructive nature of context as something that is not just ‘out there’ but something that participants construct or subjectively define in interactions and communicative situations.

Secondly, we need to consider the data in terms of their limitations. Each method comes with merits and constraints and leaves the researcher, the subject researched, and the reader with an incomplete picture of what we can access through the data and what we cannot. As in other areas of the humanities and social sciences, there is a lively debate about the merits or irreconcilabilities of quantitative and qualitative research methods in the collection of data on language policy, ideologies and practices (for illuminating discussions and approaches, see e.g. Heller 1999, Hult and Johnson 2015, Codó 2008). Whilst I do cannot engage in a full methodological debate and the underlying epistemologies of quantitative and qualitative approaches here, I wish to emphasise the research process as an act of experience and as socially constructed knowledge within specific place-time frames on the following accounts.

As argued in Barakos (2012, 172), in understanding the type of data collected, we need to be aware that “people’s knowledge and opinions are always constructed in the course of situated communicative events” (Codó 2008, 162). These types of data are self-reported and subjective, based on the participants’ individual perceptions and reported practices and ideologies. Thus, they can “never be employed as a substitute for data on speakers’ actual linguistic behaviour” (Codó 2008, 161). Interviews in particular need to be treated as “situated interactions between two people” (Lampropoulou and Myers 2013, para 6.), with the role of interviewers, as Silverman (2006, 112) observes, being that of “active participants”. As such, interviews are not mere instruments of data collection of instances of social practice

and interactions. Rather, they are co-constructions between the interviewer and the interviewee (following Atteslander 2008, Talmy and Richards 2011, Briggs 1986), with constantly shifting relations and roles of the participants involved.

Scholars have indeed started to engage more explicitly with the predicaments of researching multilingually as well as monolingually and problematise the notion of researcher legitimacy and language choice for study participants to counter the reproduction of a monolingual paradigm (e.g. Martin-Jones and Martin 2017, Clark and Dervin 2014, Sarangi 2002, Selleck and Barakos 2018). This reflexive turn in (critical) applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies (e.g. Clark and Dervin 2014, Pérez-Milans 2016, Sarangi and Candlin 2003, Zienkowski 2017) calls for the need to keep exploring reflexivity in researching language and society in a systematic and coherent way, both from the perspective of the researcher but also from the positioning of the researched subjects (see also Chapter 1). As I have outlined in Chapter 1, this study is limited in that it does not offer a bilingual language choice to its study participants, with the interviews and the questionnaire survey administered through the sole medium of English.

With the above caveats in mind, the next Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will apply the multi-method approach outlined in this chapter and tease out the various components of the discursive approach to language policy. I will turn to the first aspect of this process – the political and corporate language policy discourse, in Chapter 5.

Political and corporate language policy discourse

Shifting discourses across contexts

This chapter offers a window into the operation and manifestation of the promotion of bilingualism in business as enacted in political and corporate language policy documents as explicit and written policy mechanisms. Specifically, the discursive policy analysis charts how the political discourse on a ‘truly bilingual Wales’, which mainly rests on the notion of choice and equality, has shifted to, and gets conflated with, a more instrumental, skills-based and resource-based view of language. As outlined in the previous Chapter 4, at the heart of this chapter is the analysis of two national policy documents and six corporate policy documents. The analysis unpacks to what extent language policy documents encode, reinforce or challenge political as well as corporate values and ideologies, how certain discourses get foregrounded while others get marginalized. Another aim is to provide textually and contextually specific evidence of these shifting discourses across different texts and genres. It is to the latter that I attend first.

5.1 Genres: What kind of language policy texts?

From a critical-discourse analytical perspective, genres, and their specific forms and structures, are tied to their institutional and socio-political context (Fairclough 2006a). In a similar vein, Tardy (2011, 57), stipulates that genres are “socially situated actions” and adds that, despite their conventionalised forms, they are also dynamic and prone to changes with regard to genre users, applications and contextual factors.

Wodak and Krzyżanowski’s (2008, 205) definition of genre as the “conventionalised, more or less schematically fixed use of language associated with a particular activity and with particular functions for a specified speech community” proves useful here. I argue that functions, in this definition, are comparable to Swales’ (1990) notion of communicative purposes, which are a recognisable and defining feature of genres. While no attempt is made to claim completeness, this analysis here, on the level of genre, aims to categorise the policy texts according to their

structure, the involved policy actors, the pursued purposes, the targeted audiences and some general lexico-grammatical features. These categorisations should help justify the delineation of the genres and highlight their distinctiveness and similarities, before moving on to the more detailed discursive analysis in Section 5.3.

As I have established in Chapter 4, we can place the selected policy texts in two key genres pertinent to and characteristic of the language-ideological debate in Wales: *national language policy* and *corporate language policy*. Language policy texts cannot be subsumed under one genre due to their diverse nature. As we will see, the national language policy genre resides at the political level, which is distinct from the voluntary corporate language policy genre shaped by local business actors. Both these genres share elements with the promotional genre, a term which Bhatia (2004, 61) relates to the field of advertising, but also extends its scope: “[W]e may find a number of other genres, which may not appear to be exactly advertisements but nevertheless have a strong promotional concern”. In this sense, both the national and corporate language policy genre have a promotional concern in that they share the common cause of promoting the status and usage of the Welsh language by committing themselves to treating Welsh and English equally and enabling choice in a range of situations. This “genre mixing” constitutes an instance of the interdiscursivity of texts (Fairclough 2003, 216).

5.1.1 National language policy

The national language policy genre comprises policy texts produced by government bodies or government-affiliated actors such as the Welsh Language Board, the prior national language planning body of Wales, and the current Welsh Language Commissioner’s office. Thus, the politicians and politically-related agents of such national language policy texts are “specific and not at all homogenous groups of elites” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 32) which shape public opinions and interests and are in the position to exert power in and over language. The policy texts, together with the genres in which they are embedded, are indexed by power relations and may also (re)enforce them (Tardy 2011). How these power relations are linguistically manifested is explored in Section 5.3.

Iaith Pawb (2003) and *Iaith Fyw* (2012), the Welsh Government’s national language strategies and objects of analysis here, are embedded in the national policy genre. Regarding the macro-structure of the comprehensive 58 and 54-page documents, both start with a foreword by Welsh Ministers (at the time the First Minister, the Minister for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language and the Minister for Education and Skills), outlining the vision and aims. The documents continue with several thematic building blocks, addressing issues the government perceives to be pertinent to achieving a bilingual Wales. Whilst *Iaith Pawb* ends with a

conclusion, reinforcing the vision stipulated in the foreword, *Iaith Fyw* ends with action points pertaining to the last thematic building block.

Within the various thematic building blocks, the texts oriented towards past, present and future achievements for the Welsh language and bilingualism in Wales. They also identify around 60 future action plans as specific means by which the stipulated objectives should be achieved. These action plans are also highlighted semiotically by visual cues (boldface and enlisting) and a boxy layout to further promote the proposed measures, their purposes and the actors involved to realize these (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2 for illustration).

Iaith Pawb

A National Action Plan
for a Bilingual Wales

	Page
Foreword	1
1. The Welsh Language and Welsh-Speaking Communities	3
2. A National Policy Framework	9
3. The Community and the Language	21
4. The Individual and language rights	37
5. Conclusion	53
Contact Details	55

Figure 5.1 *Iaith Pawb* (2003)

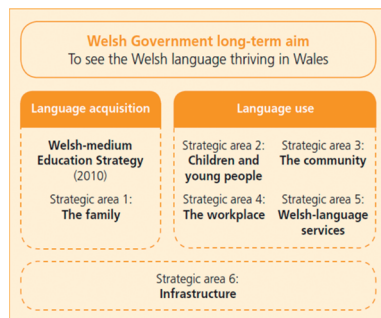


Figure 5.2 *Iaith Fyw* (2012)

In terms of salient lexico-grammatical features, which will be further illustrated by textual examples in 5.3, one key characteristic of the national policy documents is the continuous shift between third person nominal (“the Welsh (Assembly) Government”) and the plural, first-person pronoun “we”. The latter is often used exclusively to refer to the government, or inclusively to subsume the policy stakeholders, or ambiguously. Another telling feature, the co-presence of epistemic

(“officials must share responsibility”) and deontic modality (“we shall ensure”), when outlining specific action programmes, shows alignment of the political actors and producers of the policy text. We may also argue that modality in this policy genre serves as a strategy to reinforce political visions, agendas and values and projects imagined worlds.

The promotional character of the national policy genre is not only strengthened by the use of evaluative lexis such as “viable” or “crucial”, action verbs such as “promote” or “increase”, as well the non-action verb “to be”, which lends authority and certainty to assertions, and positively connoted nouns, such as “heritage”, “culture” or “identity”. It is also characterised by a high degree of intertextuality (the presence of elements of other texts) with other policies, census data, government bodies, institutions, organisations and projects. Interdiscursivity plays out by referring to discourses on other topics, such as marketing or economic development (see Chapter 4 for these notions).

5.1.2 Corporate language policy

The corporate language schemes are voluntary, internal plans of private businesses outlining the type, scope and current (and future) voluntary commitments of their Welsh-language service provision vis-à-vis their existing English provision. There are two types of policy texts that belong to this genre: individualised corporate policy documents produced by the companies, and template-based policy documents that are based on the policy template (including the layout and lexis) offered by the former Welsh Language Board. The schemes are non-compulsory and based on the company’s goodwill and capacities to officially declare some degree of bilingualism in business. They are produced jointly by company-related policy agents, e.g. Communications and PR executives, Regional Managing Directors for Wales, Welsh language policy managers, and political agents such as the former Welsh Language Board and the current Welsh Language Commissioner.

The corporate language policy genre shares similarities to a mission statement. It includes the companies’ orientation and philosophy towards promoting Welsh language use in specific areas in business and outlines its ambitions, goals and means by which to achieve this promotion in practice. With regard to the use of Welsh (or lack thereof) in business, these language schemes function as explicit language policy mechanisms. They stipulate the companies’ individual approaches, commitments and goals, based on the notion of choice. This choice entails the company’s decision to offer certain activities through the medium of Welsh or English or both, such as a bilingual website, and to exclude others, such as a bilingual telephone service. On the other hand, the schemes also carry with them implicit dimensions of language policy. The situated ideological agendas of the companies

are disclosed by picking and choosing the extent to which the company agrees to use Welsh alongside English in service provision and for internal and external corporate communication.

The corporate language policy texts target multiple business stakeholders, i.e. all bodies that have an interest in the company and are affected by its operation and performance: customers, staff, suppliers, managers as well as the wider community or public. The policies are not confidential, internal company documents, but available to members of the public. This availability is also included explicitly in all the texts examined.

Regarding the policy structure, the individualised policy documents include an introduction, vision or statement of intent and then outline various thematic blocks, including sub-themes. These, however, vary depending on the company's contexts, capacities and needs. The shared building blocks are:

- Public image or visual identity,
- Contact options,
- Customer services,
- Training and recruitment,
- Operational media relations and advertising,
- Community and education,
- Corporate social responsibility,
- Policy implementation.

In a similar vein, the template-based policy documents start with an introduction and then move on to various thematic blocks regarding service provision and internal and external corporate communication. These themes, and their sub-themes, can be chosen eclectically from the Welsh Language Board template. They generally include:

- Public image,
- Website and self-service machines,
- Advertising and marketing communication,
- Staff and the workplace,
- Implementation and leadership.

As a shared genre feature, the individualised and template-based policies both integrate the principle of treating Welsh and English equally – an intertextual element based on the Welsh Language Act 1993. The individualised schemes, however, have different linguistic formats: some are available in English or Welsh, while others are bilingual, with the Welsh text shown first. An example of the latter is given in Figure 5.3:

Cod Ymarfer Dwyieithog

Mae [Cwmni] wedi ymrwymo i ddarparu gwasanaethau cyfathrebu ardderchog yng Nghymru, yn cynnwys rhoi dewis i gwsmeriaid dderbyn y gwasanaethau hynny yn Gymraeg, ble'n ymarferol. Mae'r Cynllun Iaith yn gymwys yn bennaf i [Cwmni] Group, [Cwmni] Retail, [Cwmni] Wholesale, [Cwmni] Global Services, [Cwmni] Property a phob adran o'r cwmni sy'n gweithio yng Nghymru, ynghyd â mentrau ar y cyd â chyrrff eraill. Bydd [Cwmni] yn darparu gwasanaeth dwyieithog cyson a dibynadwy, ac yn cynnal yr un safonau yn Gymraeg a Saesneg. Mae [Cwmni] wedi adolygu'r galw am ddefnydd o'r Gymraeg ac wedi clustnodi ardaloedd allweddol ble bydd yn cynnig gwasanaethau dwyieithog.

Bilingual Code of Practice

[Company] is committed to providing excellent communications services in Wales, which includes offering customers the choice of receiving those services through the medium of Welsh, wherever practical. The Language Scheme applies predominately to [company] Group, [company] Retail, [company] Wholesale, [company] Global Services, [company] Property and all [company] divisions that are active in Wales and [company] joint ventures in Wales. [Company] will ensure that a bilingual service is provided consistently and reliably and that the standard of the service in Welsh will be of the same quality as that in English. [Company] has reviewed the demand for use of the language and has identified key areas for bilingual service delivery.

Notes: Policy document 6.

Figure 5.3 Example of a bilingual individualised Welsh language scheme

The template-based schemes, on the other hand, are all bilingual, giving equal prominence to the Welsh text on the left, and the English equivalent on the right, as can be seen in Figure 5.4.

Lexico-grammatical features of both the individualised and the template-based schemes include lexis related to organisational contexts such as “corporate identity” or “staff recruitment” and future “will” for outlining current and future policy commitments and promises. The use of the simple present tense in these policy texts also suggests generalisation, which is common in texts with an informational purpose. Verbs of action/intent, i.e. verbs that suggest action on the part of the subject, such as “support”, “enable” or “facilitate”, are also prevalent. The schemes, however, differ in other features. While the individualised policies are characterised by greater cohesion, more elaborate lexis and the use of the 3rd person narrative mode, the template-based corporate policies lack syntactic cohesion, employ simple linguistic expressions and make continuous use of deictic “we”, which personalises the corporate organisation. Furthermore, the template-based texts are characterised by a tick-box approach, schematically fixed use of language, a highly standardised structure and persuasive features such as repetitions and parallel constructions. The templates are also less argumentative, compared to the individualised ones. They do not include justifications for any suggested actions, but are based on mere informative, declarative statements.

<p>Delwedd Gyhoeddus</p>	<p>Public Image</p>
<p>Arwyddion parhaol</p>	<p>Permanent Signs</p>
<p>Mae ein arwyddion parhaol yn Saesneg yn unig.</p> <p>Byddwn yn cynnwys mwy o Gymraeg ar arwyddion parhaol ble mae'n rhesymol i ni wneud hynny.</p>	<p>Our permanent signs are currently in English only.</p> <p>We will use more Welsh on permanent signs wherever it is reasonable to do so</p>
<p>Arwyddion dros dro</p>	<p>Temporary Signs</p>
<p>Mae ein harwyddion dros dro yn Saesneg yn unig.</p> <p>Byddwn yn cynnwys mwy o Gymraeg ar arwyddion dros dro ble mae'n rhesymol i ni wneud hynny.</p>	<p>Our temporary signs are in English only.</p> <p>We will include more Welsh on temporary signs wherever it is reasonable to do so.</p>
<p>Brand Corfforaethol</p>	<p>Corporate Brand</p>
<p>Mae ein brand corfforaethol yn Saesneg yn unig.</p>	<p>Our corporate brand is in English only.</p>
<p>Papur Pennawd</p>	<p>Stationery</p>
<p>Mae ein papur pennawd yn Saesneg yn unig.</p>	<p>Our stationary in English only.</p>
<p>Cardiau Busnes</p>	<p>Business Cards</p>
<p>Mae ein cardiau busnes yn Saesneg yn unig.</p> <p>Byddwn yn sicrhau bod unrhyw gardiau busnes ar gyfer staff sy'n medru siarad Cymraeg yn gwbl ddiwyieithog.</p>	<p>Our business cards are in English only.</p> <p>We will ensure that any new business cards for staff able to speak Welsh are fully bilingual.</p>
<p>Gwefan a Pheiriannau Hunan Wasanaeth</p>	<p>Website and Self-service Machines</p>
<p>Gwefan</p>	<p>Website</p>
<p>Mae rhannau o'n gwefan yn ddwyieithog.</p>	<p>Parts of our website are bilingual.</p>

Polisi Iaith Gymraeg

2

Welsh Language Policy

Figure 5.4 Example of a bilingual template-based Welsh language scheme

Notes: Policy document 1.

This account of genre shows that policy texts are not some homogenous set of texts but rather group- or community-specific and context-bound. In the light of this, there is no one 'language policy' genre. What is more, the national and corporate language policy genres investigated are shaped by idiosyncratic peculiarities, which set them apart, such as the more informative and less persuasive angle of the individualised corporate policy texts, the tick-box nature of the template-based texts and the more narrative, informational and promotional nature of the national language policy documents. Yet, they share the primary purpose of promoting and managing the Welsh language, though in diverse settings and institutions, through action plans, current and future commitments, and promises to act. The national policy genre finds itself at the nexus of information, promotion, persuasion and argumentation. In contrast, the corporate language policy genre is dominated by a more informative and less persuasive angle, while the promotional character manifests itself more latently in the positive self-promotion of the company. In short, both genres oscillate between "telling" and "selling" (Fairclough 2010, 184), that is, there is a dual focus on informing the readership of the policy agenda and on promoting the political and corporate institutions' goodwill in doing so.

5.2 Discourse topics: What do the language policy texts say?

In this section, I map the key discourse topics, as analytical categories, prevalent in the discourse about promoting bilingualism in Wales (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed background of the national policy texts). The key argumentative themes across all policy documents, which are constructed around certain topics, can be summarized as follows:

1. The commitment to treating Welsh and English equally,
2. The promotion and provision of language choice,
3. The promotion of language use,
4. The promotion of enablement and responsibility,
5. The promotion of language as a skill and resource,
6. The nexus of language and the community (to reinforce culture, identity and language),
7. The nexus of language and economic development,
8. The relation of (corporate or national) identity to language, nation and culture

The lists provided in Table 5.1 distinguish the more specific topics of the promotional discourse on Welsh, which are embedded and recur in the national language policy texts *Iaith Pawb*, *Iaith Fyw*, and the corporate language schemes.

The topical analysis shows that the national policy documents are much broader language policies in that they cover more varied topics and domains, in which the treatment of the field of language in business and the workplace is somehow limited. Rather, they integrate discourse topics of various other discourses, such as the discourse on Welsh-medium education, culture or economic development. The corporate language policy documents, on the other hand, include discourse topics that specifically refer to marketing, public relations and corporate communication such as internal and external business communication, customer service provision and corporate identity. This pattern can be explained by the fact that “topics are very strongly linked to analysed text-types (genres)” (Krzyżanowski 2010, 82), which underlines the strong presence of some topics and the absence of others in the various texts and their genres. Nonetheless, both *Iaith Pawb*, *Iaith Fyw* and the corporate policy texts share a range of recurring topics, such as pride in the Welsh culture and heritage and the focus on language and the community.

The multiple discourse topics in the various policy texts are conveyed through different claims and topoi, which serve to discursively legitimise the promotion of Welsh (see Chapter 4 on the concept of topoi). In the following sections, I trace co- and contextually where and how the discourse topics and their discursive

Table 5.1 Key discourse topics in *national and corporate language policy documents*

<i>National language policy documents</i>	<i>Corporate language policy documents</i>
Welsh national identity	Pride in Welsh heritage, culture and language
– Pride in Welsh language and culture	
– Wales as a nation	– Creating a sense of place
True bilingualism	– Exhibiting Welshness
– Promotion of truly bilingual Wales	Customer service provision
Equality and language choice	– Offering choice of service
– Principle of language equality	– Satisfying customer needs
– Enabling language choice	– Full bilingualism
Language use	Internal business communication
– Increase in usage of Welsh	– Workplace interaction
– Increase in Welsh-medium service delivery	– Employee language training
– Increase in language skills	– Evaluation of language skills
The individual's language rights	– Recruitment and Welsh
– Individual's right to use language of choice	External business communication
Ownership of language	– Advertising, Branding
– Responsibility of the individual for Welsh	– Website
– Responsibility of every political body for Welsh	Bilingual corporate identity
– Political and strategic leadership	– Welsh identity as brand ethos
Language and economic development	– Welsh as added value
– Welsh as a business resource	Bilingualism as quality service
– Generation of business to create sustainable communities	– Reliability and effectiveness of service
Welsh-medium education	Welsh Language Board initiatives
– Education and life-long learning	– Cooperation with companies
– Welsh for adults	Community projects
– Language training	– Engagement with the community
Welsh and the community	
– Community regeneration	
– Welsh as part of the social fabric of Wales	
Welsh and infrastructure	
– Digitalisation and technology	
– Welsh language marketing and promotional approaches	

legitimations appear, are recycled and transformed. I also examine how discursive strategies, which are operationalized through various linguistic devices, are applied to achieve certain policy goals.

5.3 Discursive strategies and linguistic realisations

After having established the genres and discourse topics as the first analytical dimension, I now engage with the second and third dimensions of the DHA: the discursive strategies, or, put differently, “systematic ways of using language – at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity” (Wodak and de Cillia 2006, 718), and their context-dependent linguistic realisations (see Section 4.2 for levels of analysis). The analysis here specifically relates to the themes of equality and choice (see 5.3.1), and constructions of Welsh as a socio-cultural resource (see 5.3.2) and an economic resource (see 5.3.3). It also examines how these themes and constructions materialise across different language policy texts, discourses and genres through recontextualisation processes (Bernstein 1990).

In what follows, I analyse and discuss selected passages of discursive data from the national government policies *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw* and the six corporate language policy documents. The time period covered here is from 2003–2012. I focus particularly on those ‘discourse fragments’ (Jäger and Maier 2009, 47) or traces of policy processes that are most relevant in constructing equality and choice, as well as the link of language and bilingualism as a ‘value-added’ resource.

5.3.1 Language equality and choice as ideological manifestations

In taking up the question of how claims and arguments related to language equality and choice materialise across various policy texts, discourses and genres, the analysis shows that the seemingly liberal approaches advanced by the Welsh Government towards a ‘taken-for-granted’ equality agenda and the construction of language choice are the tangible manifestations of language ideologies that characterise the government’s long-term vision of ‘true bilingualism’. These ideologies surface through the use of *topoi*, which form part of argumentation and are often uncritically and un-reflected common-sense phrasings and repertoires people (here, political and corporate institutions) draw on to legitimise their viewpoints. This, in turn, also indicates the hidden agendas dictating language policy and has consequences for power relations and structural inequalities between Welsh and English, which I will discuss in more detail across this chapter.

Equality

The first fragment in Extract (1) is taken from the national language policy *Iaith Pawb* and details its equality principle:

- (1) The Welsh Language Unit will also take forward action arising from the Assembly Government's own Welsh Language Scheme. The Scheme is based on the principle contained in the Welsh Language Act 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 1998 that the Welsh and English languages should be treated on a basis of equality. Accordingly the Scheme requires the Assembly Government's administration to ensure that in the conduct of business and in dealing with the public and outside bodies it is truly bilingual and it sets out the services in Welsh which others can expect when they deal with us.

(Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 12)

This fragment shows instances of intertextuality in not only explicitly referencing the Welsh Language Act 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 1998 as outside authoritative texts and actors, but by also referring to the Government's own Welsh language scheme. An interdiscursive link to legal discourse is established, with the lexical choices "the Welsh and English languages should be treated on a basis of equality" borrowed almost verbatim from the Welsh Language Act 1993 (HMSO 1993, 3), which aspires to full equivalence (see Extract (2)):

- (2) The purpose [...] is that of giving effect, so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practicable, to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales, the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality. (HMSO 1993, 3)

One noticeable transformation that takes place in the process of recontextualisation from the Welsh Language Act 1993 to *Iaith Pawb* affects the order of languages. In *Iaith Pawb*, Welsh is listed first and English second, while in the Welsh Language Act 1993, the reverse is true. Van Leeuwen (2008, 18) calls this transformation rearrangement, which may be used to "suit the persuasive and hortatory purposes" of texts.

Beside the intertextual and interdiscursive links present in Extract (1), *Iaith Pawb* gains further legitimation and credibility through the use of argumentation strategies that invoke the *topos of authority*. This is based on the following argument: "if an authoritative figure says that something is right or wrong, then it *is* right or wrong" (Blackledge 2005, 70). In this case, the authority of the language and government laws is used to justify a specific stance without having to spell out why authority is crucial. Also drawn on is the *topos of equality*, based on the

principle that “all should have equal rights. Thus, if an action or policy brings about inequality or injustice, that action or policy should be prevented” (Blackledge 2005, 71).

Almost ten years later, in stark contrast to *Iaith Pawb*, the subsequent national strategy *Iaith Fyw* is less concerned with the notion of equality between languages but rather with the broader and more inclusive principle of ‘equality of opportunity’ that goes beyond language, as illustrated in Extract (3):

- (3) No one, in any part of Wales, should be denied opportunities to use the Welsh language, nor denied the opportunity to learn Welsh because of their race, ethnicity, disability, gender, sexual orientation, age or religion.

(Welsh Government 2012, 19)

We also see further shifting discourses between the two language strategies in terms of equality: in *Iaith Pawb*, the principle of ‘treating Welsh and English equally’ was enshrined and justified by the wording of the legal framework of the Welsh Language Act 1993 (as discussed above). *Iaith Fyw*, in turn, discursively shifts to treating “Welsh no less favourably than English” (Welsh Government 2012, 20), which constitutes a recontextualised wording from the new language law, the Welsh Language Measure 2011.

In what ways, then, does this political concern over language equality feature in the context of Welsh companies’ language schemes? All the language schemes analysed contain reference to the linguistic equality principle. To exemplify, the discourse fragment below is from a template-based corporate policy of an estate agency and shows the ways that the principle of equality becomes recontextualised, as exemplified in Extract (4):

- (4) Introduction

We are committed to treating Welsh and English on the basis of equality, so far as we are reasonably able to do so. Our ambition is to treat Welsh and English equally in every situation, without exception. We will ensure that we make constant progress towards achieving this ambition, and this Welsh Language Policy sets out our current commitments in relation to using Welsh. The scope of our commitments in this policy should be interpreted reasonably – they are limited to activities and services in Wales or which are delivered to people living in Wales, and also limited to activities and services which we are able to control or influence.

(policy document 3)

Here, intertextuality and interdiscursivity are realised by linking to and invoking equality and the presence of the text of the Welsh Language Act 1993 and *Iaith Pawb*. The legal commitment towards equality are intertextually and interdiscursively

embedded within the promotional corporate policy genre. Most strikingly, we see that the element of limitedness is added to equality as a built-in commercial mitigation (“The scope of our commitments in this policy should be interpreted reasonably”). With addition as one of the characteristics of recontextualisation processes (van Leeuwen 2008, 18), this disclaimer not only restricts the firm’s provision of equality to certain activities and services, but also protects the firm from accusations of failing to deliver on its promised services. Recontextualisation is also linguistically expressed by the juxtaposition of intensifying and mitigating strategies: on the one hand, the company commits itself to treating Welsh and English equally “without exception”; on the other, it weakens its commitment by adding “so far as we are reasonably able to do so”, with the modal adverb “reasonably” hedging the confidence of the assertion.

With respect to nomination strategies, the corporate language policy integrates a personal voice by representing the social actor through the repeated use of “we” (“we are committed”, “we will ensure”). The use of personal pronouns is a common feature of the template-based corporate language policy documents, in contrast to the individualised ones, which use impersonal authors. As a perspectivation strategy, the use of personal deixis also “clearly has an argument-supporting role” (Krzyżanowski 2010, 131) and points to identity and community constructions. Here, the firm is encoded as “we”, which refers to the firm metonymically as the specific social actor, foregrounding the company’s values and beliefs as a personalised and collective entity, similar to an individual person.

So, what we are witnessing here is the way language is being used as a proxy for other social factors related to equality – with the corporate policies being implemented under the guise of championing an equality agenda.

Choice

The following set of discourse fragments illustrates the shifting discourse on choice and its ideological manifestation in political and corporate policy documents. That is, choice – as an ideology – not only underpins the government’s aspirational vision of creating a bilingual, i.e. Welsh-English, Wales. We will see that it also becomes recontextualised in the corporate language schemes by reconfiguring and appropriating the meaning of choice. In addition, choice gets coupled with discourses on responsibility and language ownership.

The first fragment (see Extract (5)) is taken from the foreword of *Iaith Pawb*, in which the First Minister and the Minister for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language stipulate their vision for Wales:

(5) Introduction, Our Vision

Our vision is a bold one and was set out in our policy statement on the Welsh language, *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future* published in July 2002. Our aspiration is expressed in the title of that document – a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all.

(Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 1)

Although choice does not feature as an explicit discourse topic, the government invokes language choice, which discursively echoes broader neoliberal philosophies of individualisation, and a free market and equality of opportunity philosophy (see also Clarke, Newman, and Westmarland 2008, Jeffries and Walker 2011). The Welsh ministers, who represent the government as authoritative bodies, also seem to draw on choice as the basis for true bilingualism, which is a repetitive element throughout the policy. Regarding argumentation strategies, the government's vision of true bilingualism is realised through the *topos of definition*, which concludes that “if someone or something is allocated a name or definition, then that person or thing shall carry the qualities or attributes contained in that name” (Blackledge 2005, 69). The policy defines true bilingualism on the basis of individual language choice, the parity of Welsh and English and language as a source of pride and strength, with language being framed as inherent part of personal and national identity. However, the policy actor legitimises bilingualism, that is, a truly bilingual Wales in the narrowest sense by including Welsh and English, but neglecting multilingualism, that is, any other languages, such as migrant languages present in Wales. The argument about a “truly bilingual Wales” is further framed by perspectivation strategies. These are expressed through direct opinions of the policy actor (“our vision is a bold one”, “our aspiration”, “we mean”) which legitimate its powerful viewpoints and establish an authoritative voice over its citizens. The degree of involvement is further supported by pronominal “our” and “we” (nomination). The *topos of definition*, together with perspectivation, hence serves as a rhetorical devices of persuasive argumentation in the policy.

In this way, choice in *Iaith Paw* “opens up a decision node between two parallel options – using Welsh or using English in free distribution” (Coupland 2010b, 86). This parallelism is linguistically expressed through the paired conjunction “either or” (“live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English”). *Iaith Pawb*, however, is vague and inconsistent in that it does not elaborate on how the third option, living one's life in “both” languages, should be realised. Elsewhere in the policy, the “both” option is even completely neglected and choice becomes reduced to living one's life “through the medium of either Welsh or English” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 11). Such a discourse, then, demonstrates

an underlying monolingual ethos and a compartmentalised type of bilingualism – something which Heller (2006, 83) explains more fully along the lines of double monolingualism (see also Chapters 3, 6 and 7 for an extended discussion and examples of this concept).

By means of intertextuality to a past policy document (“*Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future*”), greater officiality of the categorical claims that follow is established by drawing on the *topos of authority*, which further legitimises the government’s vision of what constitutes true bilingualism. The presence of deictic “we”, “our” and “us” is vital to note as it serves the discursive strategies of nomination and perspectivation (it expresses the writer’s point of view). The use of metonymic “our”, as in “our vision”, is ambivalent in that it can be taken to refer to the two Welsh Ministers only or to the entire Welsh Government. The use of “us all” in the last sentence, however, appears to be addressee-inclusive as it extends its meaning to all the people of Wales. In addition, the government seems to be inclusively referring to all persons living in the country of Wales, irrespective of their language skills and background by using the collective term “the people of Wales”, realized through the *topos of the people*. This topos is based on “populist appeals to ‘masses’ of people” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 74) and based on the conditional “if the people want / don’t want certain actions or policies then these have to be implemented / rejected”.

We see in the next fragment how the notion of choice gets twinned with responsibility and language ownership. The government’s ambitious commitment to create true bilingualism here also involves individuals’ obligations to act on behalf of government bodies and the collective Welsh community. However, the underlying argument is that it is not only government bodies but also, indeed mainly, the individual who remains responsible for the use and promotion of Welsh. This is especially salient in the conclusion of *Iaith Pawb* (see Extract (6)):

- (6) But survival of the language ultimately depends on individuals taking ownership of the language. This means people getting involved in the community driven initiatives to promote the language, parents passing the language on to their children and individuals being prepared to use it in social and business settings. We have no doubt that there is a positive future for the language if the people of Wales embrace our vision. Working together, we can create a truly bilingual Wales. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 53)

As I also discuss in Barakos (2016, 16–17) responsibility for the language gets discursively shared out here between individual citizens’ actions and concerted government actions. Responsibility gets coupled with moral action. Here, the government mobilises the *topos of responsibility* as part of commonsense reasoning, based on the conditional “if every individual takes ownership of the language then there will be a future for the Welsh language”. The citizen thus appears to be integrated into

decision-making processes by shifting the responsibility from the government to the citizen level. Such discursive drives for empowerment of the citizen to choose to participate and enable individual responsibility is a key feature of neoliberal ideology (Block 2012, 70, Bröckling 2007). What we also see is here is how the government legitimises the need for ownership by drawing on the *topos of ownership*, which can be paraphrased as follows: if a person takes ownership of one's language, he/she actively promotes it, passes it on to their children and is prepared to use it in social and business settings. In other words, the fate of the language depends on the people of Wales who will eventually make a positive future for the language, if they choose it, and true bilingualism possible. Similar to language choice, the notion of 'ownership of language', which treats languages as properties of particular bodies, and not others, and objects to be owned, is another ideology which we keep seeing produced and reproduced in discursive policy practice.

As we see in Extract (6), the government's claims are intensified through perspectivation strategies, realised through verbs of thinking ("we have no doubt") and intensification strategies, realised through the adverb "together". In addition, the use of deictic "we", as yet another means of perspectivation as well as nomination, fluctuates between an addressee-exclusive ("we have no doubt") and addressee-inclusive ("we can create") notion. The latter "we" is used ambivalently as it may refer to all the people of Wales.

In Extract (7) below, we see that the notion of shared responsibility for Welsh gets recycled from the prior policy *Iaith Pawb* into the successor *Iaith Fyw* but takes on new dimensions.

(7) *Iaith Fyw* 2012

It is vital that we continue working to encourage people and organisations to use Welsh, while at the same time making full use of the opportunities afforded by the Welsh Language Measure by enabling the Welsh Language Commissioner to impose duties upon various bodies via standards.

(Welsh Government 2012, 17)

The government acknowledges its own commitments and responsibilities as a policy actor whilst it also aims to "encourage" other bodies ("people and organisations") to be proactive in seeking opportunities for language use. The mentality reflected here is one of encouraging citizens to embrace and use the language, something that Martín Rojo (2018) describes as a neoliberal governmentality. That is, the state strategically shifts responsibilities to the citizen levels through self-government techniques, which, here, instils speakers' desires to use a language in view of its various benefits and speakers' survival commitments for an endangered language. What we also see here is the ways that discourses on responsibility get twinned with discourses about imposition ("to impose duties upon various bodies") via intertextual

references to the new binding law, the Welsh Language Measure, and the Welsh Language Commissioner's role as an authoritative watchdog for implementation.

In the corporate language policy documents, then, we see that the notion of choice, and its concomitant responsibilities, undergoes a transformation to accommodate the companies' desires and capacities. The focus in all the corporate policies is on enabling consumer choice and their choice of service rather than language choice as a right, as overtly stated in *Iaith Pawb*. Corporate language schemes relegate consumer choice to "wherever possible and practical", "if appropriate" or "if it is commercially, economically and logistically feasible to do so". These explicitly stated limitations of choice in the provision of services function as a commercial disclaimer. They may be explained by the companies' voluntarism, as compared to the public sector's legal obligation, to provide bilingual services.

The following fragment in Extract (8) illustrates some of the recontextualisation processes affecting choice in business. It is taken from the individualised policy of a telecommunications business:

(8) Bilingual Code of Practice

[Company] is committed to providing excellent communication services in Wales, which includes offering customers the choice of receiving those services through the medium of Welsh, wherever practical. [...] All corporate material published by [company] will be provided bilingually where practical, with both languages given equal prominence. (policy document 6)

As we can see, the business treats choice as 'choice of service' and adds the discursive element "wherever practical" as a mitigating strategy, which hedges the assertion and reinforces detachment from the text. The determiner "all" ("all corporate material") intensifies the status of the utterance, while it is mitigated in the same sentence through the concluding adverbial clause "wherever practical". Choice thus becomes recontextualised from the national policy discourse into the corporate policy discourse by means of addition (van Leeuwen 2008). Evaluations are used in the form of evaluative adjectives, e.g. "excellent" and "practical", and the firm's main purpose to provide same quality services in Welsh and English. Further, giving both languages "equal prominence" establishes an intertextual link to the principle of linguistic equality promulgated in *Iaith Pawb* and the Welsh Language Act 1993, with intertextuality here functioning as a promotional means. The corporate policies' concern with the customer, equal service provision, standards, consistency and reliability is certainly part of business discourse and may be characteristic of this text type. However, the service-based rhetoric may also reflect the wider globalising and political discursive – and eventually social – practices, which shape planning for bilingualism in Wales.

As we can see from the last extract, ideologies of equality and choice take on different stakes and prominence in different policy documents at different points in time. In other words, they are “re-cycled’ into a context that is different in kind and historical circumstances from its initial production” (Chilton, Tian, and Wodak 2010, 501). They feed not only into the explicitly declared national policies, but also become recontextualised by permeating corporate policies of Welsh in business, as the re-appearance and appropriation of the complimentary principles of equality and choice in the corporate policy texts has shown.

In the next two sections, I engage with the question of how the perception of Welsh as a socio-cultural and economic resource is discursively constructed and recontextualised across national and corporate policy discourse. What I aim to chart here is the discursive transformations in the relationship between language and identity in the minority language context of Wales across policy discourses from 2003–2012, rather than opening up a dichotomous gulf between singling out Welsh as a symbol of pride and an object of profit. Welsh may not have lost the language-culture-identity association through ongoing commodification practices, which are “not necessarily linear” processes in Heller and Duchêne’s (2016, 141) terms. Rather, as we shall see, the association has become re-appropriated to fit policy efforts to boost the economic status of and possibilities for the Welsh language – against a certain historical continuity. This finding broadly supports the work of other studies in this area, such as Woolard’s and Frekko’s (2013) argument about the transformations of bilingualism and language policies in Catalonia that have shifted from a polarised “either-or” bilingualism to a more flexible and hybrid “both-and” model that opens up ways of profitability.

5.3.2 Welsh as a sociocultural resource

A key anchor point in the ways that state-led language policies such as *Iaith Pawb* and *Iaith Fyw* negotiate Welsh language promotion is the cultural and political framing of language as central to modern nation-state building (as discussed previously in Chapter 2). The analysis shows that *Iaith Pawb* in particular appears undaunted in promoting Wales as a nation and linking language to a collective national identity. As Coupland and Bishop (2006, 44) critically identify, the policy document “consistently recycles the Welsh language-Welsh identity associative myth”. Examples of the creation of such nationalist ideologies are given below in Extract (9):

(9) Our Vision

The Welsh Assembly Government believes that the Welsh language is an integral part of our national identity. The Welsh language is an essential and enduring component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation. We must respect that inheritance and work to ensure that it is not lost for future generations. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 1)

As exemplified in the first fragment, which is taken from the foreword of *Iaith Pawb*, Welsh is positively labelled by predication strategies, which are realised through evaluative attributions, as in “the Welsh language is an integral part of our national identity”. The use of deontic modality (“must”) and the verb of thinking (“believe”) act as intensifying strategies and lend further authority and certainty to the claims made. Through perspectivation strategies, the government perpetuates a strong association of the Welsh nation with language as an essential identifier signalling group identities. These group-constructions are expressed through the personal pronoun “we” (“we must respect”), which seems to ambivalently refer to the government and possibly also the policy stakeholders, and the possessive determiner ‘our’ (“our national identity”, “our nation”), which indexes a sense of ownership, control and belonging over an abstract concept such as identity.

In the next fragment in Extract (10), *Iaith Pawb* ties language specifically to cultural activities through invoking the *topos of a common culture* (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, 158) as a means of legitimising and promoting the link between culture and language:

- (10) The Welsh language is an important element in our national culture and identity. Cultural activities strengthen and promote use of the language and help embed it in all aspects of everyday life. They also provide an avenue for expressing our creativity as a people. The Assembly Government provides support to a myriad of cultural activities. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 50)

Here, the argument implied is that because Welsh forms part of Wales’ national culture, the action of promoting and fostering cultural activities should be carried out. Further, repetition emerges here as an intensifying strategy (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). The repeated use of discourse topics, such as culture and identity from the strategy’s foreword (see policy Extract (1) in Section 5.3.1), reinforces the government’s positioning and serves as a means of persuasion. Both discourse fragments illustrate the policy’s collective (re)production of a national culture, identity and even a unified “people” through discursively fortifying language, culture and identity (see also Da Silva and Heller 2009). Even the title of *Iaith Pawb*, “Everyone’s Language”, suggests a sense of belonging and implies ownership (see also Selleck 2013, Musk 2010). In that sense, Welsh unreservedly belongs to everyone in Wales

as a means of social cohesion. Such expressions indeed disclose the policy's inherent ideology of ownership of language, nation and culture – a repeated element throughout the national language policy discourse.

What is notable here is the ways the historical dominance of English as the language of economic and political power vis-à-vis the minoritised language gets re-appropriated. The resurgent national language ideologies that undergird the political language policy discourse are a reproduction of ideologies of linguistic nationalism. Similarly, scholars such as Jaffe (2007) or Urla (2012) have established that European language revitalisation movements, which had started out as a reaction to the powers of the nation state and its linked monolingual bias, appear to be trapped in the same ideologies, which had dominated them in the first place.

In *Iaith Fyw*, we see a marked discursive shift from symbolism to a more material approach to language, which constitutes a new push to revitalise the language, as expressed in the strategy's aims to “breathe new life into the language” and to “see it thriving in Wales” (Welsh Government 2012, 4–12). The new strategy has shifted from overtly constructing Welsh as an idealised token belonging to everyone in Wales to Welsh as an increasingly instrumental, living language with material worth (as is also suggested by the document's title “A living language: a language for living”). The language as living organism metaphor serves as a framing device for the way Welsh is conceptualised within this national policy document and lends more credibility to their proposed measures. The ‘livingness of language’ argument we find here also forms part of wider endangerment and language death discourses that characterize minority language policy processes and wider fears about the loss of cultural diversity in a globalised world (Duchêne and Heller 2007).

Additionally, there is a discursive erasure of links to identity, nation and heritage throughout the policy. An exception is given in Extract (11). The discourse fragment flags up the only instance of Welsh portrayed as an enduring and stable sociocultural resource, linked to a collective Welsh national heritage:

- (11) We would want to see [...] an increase in people's awareness of the value of Welsh, both as part of our national heritage and as a useful skill in modern life.
(Welsh Government 2012, 14)

This discourse fragment exemplifies the interdiscursive conflation of symbolic and more material value allocations attached to Welsh. Here, language is valued as “national heritage” and concurrently commodified as a “useful skill”. Noteworthy is the fact that, unlike the prior policy *Iaith Pawb*, whose rationality has been one of a truly bilingual Wales, discourses about promoting the value of Welsh both economically and culturally emerge as a strongly repeated element throughout the new strategy. Such claims point to the transformed value of language; that is, the ‘thinginess’ of language as an abstracted entity that can live, thrive and breathe

by itself, which here links back to the metaphor of language as living organism discussed previously.

In the individualised corporate policy texts, the dimension of pride in the nation, the culture, and the Welsh language is a recurring interdiscursive element and gets re-appropriated from the political discourse. Evidence of this can be seen in the following discourse fragment in Extract (12), taken from the language scheme of a telecommunications business:

- (12) In 2004 [company] celebrated the tenth anniversary of its Bilingual Code of Practice. It was established in response to a genuine commitment to the culture of Wales. [Company's] code of practice states that [company] is intent on communicating with its customers in an open and helpful manner and on demonstrating genuine care and concern for Wales' economic and social well being [sic], as well as its cultural and natural environment. The Welsh language is spoken by approximately 20% of the population, a figure that has been increasing in recent years – particularly among young people – and so is a very real part of the nation's culture. (policy document 6)

Recontextualisation processes unfold by strategically placing dominant elements of political discourse, such as *Iaith Pawb's* commitment to the culture of Wales and its well-being, into a more localised, context-sensitive business discourse. Thereby, elements of discourses may become accommodated. Here, the telecommunications business prides itself on its long-standing Bilingual Code of Practice. The company further articulates its rationale for having a policy – showing commitment to the culture of Wales, but adds the element of enabling customer communication in an “open and helpful manner”. Throughout this introductory fragment, bilingualism becomes promoted as a “key feature of maintaining and reproducing ‘cultural heritage’” (Blackledge and Creese 2012, 116). However, the business commits itself not only to the culture of Wales but also more holistically to its “economic, social well-being, as well as its cultural and natural environment”. By specifically promoting the “well being [sic]” of Wales, the scheme establishes an intertextual link to the national policy *Iaith Pawb*, which in Section 2.1, claims: “We consider the Welsh language to be integral to the identity of our nation and we shall continue to do all we can to promote its well being [sic]”.

In the final sentence of the discourse fragment, the policy draws on the *topos of number* by intertextually establishing a link to official census data (“The Welsh language is spoken by approximately 20% of the population”). This *topos* serves as an instrument of argumentation, which can be paraphrased as follows: because the percentage of Welsh speakers has shown an increase over recent years, especially among younger people, it is a real part of Wales' culture. Linked to this is another argumentation scheme, which is realised through the *topos of reality*. It

can be characterised by the following conclusion rule: “because reality is as it is, a specific action/decisions should be performed/made” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 79). Here, the telecommunications business relates reality to the increasing numbers of Welsh speakers, especially younger ones, which confirm the material role of Welsh in Wales as “a real part of Wales’ culture”. The implied suggested action is that because of the rising speaker numbers, companies should act and embrace bilingualism in business.

Regarding predication strategies, the telecommunications business is positively evaluated by ascribing positive characteristics to the social actor (“[company] celebrated”, “is intent on communicating”, “is intent on demonstrating genuine care”). This evaluation adds to the positive self-portrayal of the company and is further strengthened by the high density of positively connoted adjectives (“genuine”, “real”, “open”, “helpful”) as a means of intensification.

The telecommunications business’ language policy document also incorporates a range of visual markers of national belonging. The scheme includes various images of the Welsh national flag, rural Wales, the capital Cardiff and the daffodil, Wales’ national flower – emblems of authentic and traditional Welshness and Welsh life. Such ‘banal artefacts’, following Billig’s (1995) arguments on banal nationalism, index national identity constructions and serve as powerful policy mechanisms that circulate essentialist ideological claims over the link of language-identity-territory-nation (see also Barakos 2016a). The recycling of such emblems of the nation, its culture and identity into corporate discourse flags up the ways discourses travel across different fields of action, and become recontextualised in different public spheres (Krzyżanowski 2010, 47).

What we are witnessing here, then, is how the symbolism around Welsh as heritage and pride gets re-articulated under ‘management speak’ in the corporate context. Companies as policy makers take ownership of normalising Welsh in economic life by actively (re)defining and shaping the public meaning of Welsh as a new form of added value, pointing towards the trope of language as pride (see Urla 2012 for similar observations for Basque language revitalisation).

5.3.3 Welsh as an economic resource

In order to zoom more into the shifting terms and forms in which minority language advocacy is taking place, this section is concerned with the ways national language policies promote the language on economic terms and how corporate policies identify bilingualism as a mechanism for marketing, publicising and advertising.

As I have discussed previously (see Chapter 2), targeted actions on Welsh in the workplace or in private sector businesses have been limited. The government

rather pursues a more holistic strategy of fostering the nexus of economic development and language, as one commitment of mainstreaming the Welsh language to all policy areas, and generating business and enterprise to create socially and economically sustainable communities. In doing so, *Iaith Pawb* mobilises and rearticulates notions of identity and bilingualism to nurture economic development in the communities in Wales through numerous local and rural development projects. At the same time, the value and legitimacy of the Welsh language is reconstituted by commodifying Welsh as a skill and bilingualism as a resource with economic utility.

The following discourse fragment from *Iaith Pawb* (bolded elements are original) in Extract (13) specifically relates to the construction of Welsh as an economic resource and the promotion of bilingualism as beneficial for businesses.

(13) Raising Awareness and Profile

The Assembly Government is working hard, through the Welsh Language Board, to **market and promote the language** in all aspects of Welsh life. Many organisations and businesses in the private and voluntary sectors already provide services in Welsh, or are taking steps to do so. Whilst we will not seek legislation to compel these sectors generally to deliver their services through the medium of Welsh, we will strongly encourage them to take it upon themselves to develop and provide bilingual services and take advantage of the Language Board's advice and expertise in this area. Providing services through the medium of Welsh should be seen as a way of providing distinctive and better quality services to customers. We shall build on the Language Board's successful first **Iaith Gwaith** campaign to increase use of Welsh in business and we shall encourage the Language Board to develop further campaigns. We have made available additional funding to enable the Board to develop its work in persuading, encouraging and supporting the private and voluntary sectors to make greater use of Welsh and **Welsh in the Workplace** will be actively promoted. Other marketing campaigns by the Welsh Language Board will focus on promoting and marketing the benefits of bilingualism as an important skill and business resource. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 48–49)

From the outset, this fragment is characterized by adverbs indicating vagueness (“sometimes”, “surprisingly”, “generally”), mitigating devices (“or taking steps to do so”) and lack of evidence (“there is a widespread notion”) regarding the status of Welsh in business. These hedging devices, which reduce the confidence of the assertions, seem to suggest that the private sector is a sensitive terrain for policy regulation. Rather than legally obliging private sector bodies to deliver bilingual services, the government pursues a strategy of promotion, persuasion, encouragement and (financial) support. The implicitness present in this discourse fragment is a vital characteristic of political texts (Blackledge 2005, 96).

The *topos of advantage/usefulness* is used to conclude that bilingualism in business is a benefit and resource. The promotional argument appears to be that adopting bilingualism in business is a useful marker of distinctiveness and niche marketing for companies; therefore, they should adopt it. This finding ties in to Kelly-Holmes' work, in which she aptly demonstrates how languages are constructed as tools which can be used for "differentiation and segmentation" (Kelly-Holmes 2010b, 68) and for blending the local with the global (see also Kelly-Holmes 2010a, 2005). In this fragment, the national language policy is clearly argumentative in that it sets out intended actions for the future and gives reasons for these actions, and for how they will be implemented. Intertextual elements of successful campaigns such as *Iaith Gwaith/Working Welsh* and the work of other bodies such as the former Welsh Language Board, which are positively evaluated, add to the government's tendency towards self-promotion. Intensification strategies are also realised on the visual surface by emboldening lexical items.

The high density of transitive verbs of intent throughout the extract is likewise noticeable, such as "encourage, promote, work hard". These lexical choices serve as predication strategies and discursively qualify the government as a social actor, with the transitivity invoking agency, that is, something is being done to something else. The prevalence of personal deixis throughout, especially the use of "we", is another recurring element, which serves as a nomination as well as perspectivation strategy and so further intensifies the government's claims and expresses its alignment and gives the impression of a close social relationship with the language.

From an interdiscursive perspective, the national language policy recontextualises elements of the discourse on Welsh as an economic resource by drawing on business-related discourse topics and watchwords such as "marketing campaigns", "bilingualism as a skill", "distinctive and better quality services" or "business resource". This interdiscursive link aids to legitimise the government's promotional endeavours for the Welsh language.

Under *Iaith Pawb's* sub-section "the community and the language" (see Extract (14)), the government promotes actions in relation to economic development by collectively (re)producing the Welsh-speaking community as a warrant for the survival of Welsh.

- (14) 3.3 The Assembly Government is clear about the crucial importance of maintaining Welsh as a living community language if the language is to thrive and flourish. A social and economic future for Welsh-speaking communities equates to a viable future for the Welsh language, and this Action Plan outlines how we intend to achieve this policy aim. [...]

3.7 The strategy identifies key drivers of the economy, such as innovation, entrepreneurship, skills development and promoting information and communication technologies, and there are a range of programmes in place for promoting these throughout Wales. Welsh-speaking communities will benefit from the economic and employment opportunities that business development will bring the local population. (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 21–23).

The underlying key argument in 3.3 is that the Welsh language will only succeed provided that it is maintained ‘as a living community language’. In what follows, the policy goes on to equate the well-being of the community with the well-being of the language. The *topos of comparison* is appealed to, which concludes that if the Welsh-speaking communities are socially and economically sustainable, then the language is, too. The government employs another argumentation strategy in 3.7 by invoking the *topos of advantage*, which concludes that if an action brings about economic benefits, then it should be carried out. Here, it is used to conclude that economic and employment benefits will accrue for the local Welsh-speaking communities if business development in these areas is forged. We can find similar observations made by Heller (2011) in terms of boosting the economic development of French-speaking rural Canada.

Next to these argumentation strategies, the discourse fragment shows interdiscursive links to business discourse, which render the top-down argumentation for economic development and the language more persuasive. The central traces are the lexical choices such as “entrepreneurship”, “skills development” and “economic and employment opportunities”—key drivers of a neoliberal market, as Martín Rojo (2018) explains.

In terms of forging the language-community link, *Iaith Pawb* markets ‘a sense of place’ toolkit for tourism operators to entice them to “use Welsh as a selling point” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 24). In the national policy discourse, Welsh is valued as a marker of local distinctiveness, which in turn, may generate competitive advantage. Language is mobilised as an authentic cultural tourist attraction and a means of creating a competitive edge, and profit, at the same time (Del Percio and Duchêne 2012, Duchêne and Piller 2011, Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). Mobilising a collective “marketing of place” (Kelly-Holmes 2013, 123, Urry 2005, 23) may also “reconstitute local identities as commodities in tourist markets in which language plays an important role” (Pujolar 2007, 86). In that sense, Welsh is constructed and marketed as “the most obvious symbol of a culturally distinct country” (Pritchard and Morgan 2001, 170). As I have demonstrated in Barakos (2016), various arguments from this political rhetoric of ‘a sense of place’ get recontextualised and re-appropriated into corporate policy discourse as part of holistic branding exercises (see also Chapter 7 on how managers locally engage with this brand ethos).

Iaith Pawb's strong focus on revitalising local Welsh-speaking communities is also reflected in corporate policy discourse. In promoting bilingualism in business, the individualised language policy documents draw on discourse topics and sub-topics of other discourses related to the community, such as education, community funds or staff involvement. The following Extracts (15) and (16) from a transportation business and a financial institution illuminate how the nexus of language and the community becomes recontextualised from the national into the corporate language policy discourse:

- (15) All community activity undertaken by the [company] is branded as 'The [company] Touchdown Programme' and the Welsh language will be integrated into this programme. The Touchdown Programme focuses on Charity Support, Community Fund, the Learning Programme, Staff Involvement and Community Contact. (policy document 4)
- (16) The 'Group' is one of the world's largest banking groups, and we make it our business to ensure the communities we serve benefit from our success. In 2007, we invested £57.7m back into the UK community, making a genuine difference to peoples' lives in every corner of the UK. Our approach goes beyond providing financial assistance – we take time to build relationships with charities and encourage our staff to use their expertise and enthusiasm to the benefit of their communities. (policy document 5)

In both extracts, intertextuality to other programmes or funds plays an important role in positioning the policy actors' points of view, reinforcing their claims and arguments and increasing the persuasiveness of their actions. While both companies pride themselves on establishing rapport to the community in their formal Welsh language policy documents, they also appear to exploit their community endeavours as a strategy of company self-promotion. In other words, in planning for Welsh language use and service provision, the community becomes a central site of commodification. In Extract (15), the transportation business realises its commodifying practices by branding community activities and assigning an explicit role to Welsh in these programmes. In Extract (16), the abundance of evaluative lexical items ("success", "benefit", "enthusiasm") and predication strategies used to positively label the financial institution ("we make it our business", "we invested", "we take time"), point to the underlying self-promotional intentions of the company. The company justifies its claim that their investment in the community made a "genuine difference to peoples' lives" by drawing on the *topos of numbers*, as parts of persuasive argumentation. The *topos*, which is also closely linked to the *topos of advantage*, suggests that the numerical evidence means an action should be performed. Hence, the conclusion is that this action, i.e. providing financial assistance, has a positive impact on the community.

In terms of nomination strategies, Extract (16) points to an oscillation between the naming of the social actor as “the Group” and “we”, which also serves as a form of perspectivation. The use of deictic ‘our’, as in “our success”, “our approach” and “our staff”, is important to note as it functions as another perspectivation strategy and as a means of intensifying corporate identity-construction and in-groups. Further, “our staff” reinforces corporate group identity and points to the construction of workers, or employees, as “not just producers but embodiments of their companies” (Urciuoli 2008, 213).

Other commodifying practices in national and corporate policy discourse relate to the explicit value of Welsh language skills as vehicles for socio-economic mobility, inclusion and advancement. Throughout the Welsh Government and corporate policy discourses, interdiscursive traces of skills discourses are visible, though in differing contextual and textual realisations. Urciuoli (2008, 212) defines these skills discourses as “discourses that sell skills or skills-related products or that offer workers advice or exhortation about acquiring, assessing, and enhancing their own skills”. Evidence of this will be seen in the following corporate policy discourse fragments, which illuminate language skills as commodified products.

An instance of economising on language skills in corporate language policy discourse is mirrored in the fragment in Extract (17), taking from a financial institution, which links Welsh language skills to providing quality customer service:

(17) Training and Recruitment

[Company] considers applicants’ linguistic abilities as one of a number of skills when assessing their suitability for posts in Wales. [Company] recognises its role in the training and development of staff and encourages them to exercise and improve their fluency in Welsh. [Company] appreciates the importance of a satisfactory quality of bilingual service and has recently undertaken a linguistic skills audit of its Welsh workforce. The results will be used to inform future planning decisions in order to best satisfy the diverse requirements of the branch network in Wales. (policy document 5)

The discourse on Welsh as an economic resource finds expression primarily through references to the role Welsh subsumes in training and recruitment. Interestingly, knowledge of Welsh is not explicitly deemed essential for employment but is considered only one of many skills an applicant may have. On the other hand, language skills appear to be especially relevant for delivering “a satisfactory quality of bilingual service”. The financial institution is positively evaluated as an active policy agent that appreciates Welsh language skills and offers support to its workforce in improving these by predication strategies which discursively attribute characteristics to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, actions and processes (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 94). In the predicates discernible in the fragment, positive attributes

are attached to the company through the verbs “consider”, “recognise” or “appreciate”. Regarding argumentation strategies, the *topos of responsibility* is invoked. Here, the *topos* suggests that it is not only the financial institution that plays an active role in the promotion of Welsh language skills. Responsibility is also implicitly shifted to staff that is ultimately accountable for delivering a quality bilingual service. By these means, employees are covertly turned into “entrepreneurial agents responsible for company success” (Urciuoli 2008, 213). Further, language skills are coupled with “fluency” here – a language ideology which becomes manifest, produced and reproduced in the financial institution’s policy discourse.

Another factor is the companies’ preoccupation with offering ‘full bilingualism’ – an ideological construct and a means of commodification. As I have discussed elsewhere (Barakos 2018), the promotional strategies used in the corporate policy documents rest less on supporting Welsh as a business language. Rather, the focus is placed on creating and marketing a positive image of an authentic, “fully bilingual” organisation. The corporate policies specifically share their endeavour of delivering a ‘fully’ bilingual approach to its customers wherever possible and practicable. They detail what type of service provision is available in Welsh, English or both, and to what degree, using the options “fully bilingual”, “bilingual”, or “English only”. The difference between the “bilingual” and the “fully bilingual” linguistic choice remains elusive though. An example of this discursive construction of full bilingualism, which is a recurrent phenomenon in the other corporate language schemes analysed, is given below in Extract (18). The fragment is taken from the template-based language scheme of a business consultancy:

(18) Account documents

- Every internal account document is fully bilingual
- Cheques, Invoices and Receipts are bilingual
- Our statutory account documents are in English only

(policy document 2)

Here, the company sets out which services are made available through which linguistic format. The adverbs “every” and “fully” strengthen the claim made in the first bullet point, functioning as an intensification strategy. In the second bullet point, the company remains vague in explaining in what ways the bilingual option for cheques, invoices and receipts would differ from, for example, a fully bilingual one. In the third bullet, it’s made clear that account documents are only available in English; however, no indications are added about future plans to potentially offer a bilingual option here. What this example ultimately highlights is the ‘thinginess’ of language that has pervaded language policy discourse in late capitalist times (see Section 1.3 on language commodification). Language gets abstracted away from the speaking agents; it’s treated as a countable, autonomous entity that can be

measured on terms of fullness and defined boundaries. Noteworthy here are also the visual boundaries and hierarchies created between Welsh and English in these language schemes in the way that bilingualism gets discursively ordered: from the “fully bilingual” option listed first, via the “bilingual” one to the “English only” option listed last.

5.4 Conclusion: The politics of commodified bilingualism

This chapter has examined how the promotion of Welsh in business is realised and discursively constructed in policy documents and how cardinal principles of equality, choice and language as a resource get diffused across different policy contexts. As we have seen, the political language strategies offer an illustrative example of how authoritative knowledge gets dispersed, and how the promotion of bilingualism gets caught up between empowerment (through enabling free language choice and service choice) and regulation (of this choice). The corporate language policy documents replicate and recontextualise the key ideological commitments of the Welsh Government by incorporating the choice and equality agenda. However, recontextualisation shows how meaning is altered, namely that the companies treat equality and choice more pragmatically, defined by their operative and strategic settings. What is more, an ideological dichotomy is created; the status of Welsh is elevated by allowing access to certain fields of business and by company endeavours to offer full bilingualism to its customers. At the same time, the role of the language is subordinated by reducing equality and choice to ‘wherever practical’ through mitigation strategies, highlight the persisting structural inequalities between Welsh and English. This ideological dichotomy has to be seen in the context of the role Welsh has played in business, in which bilingualism has so far been voluntary. These strategic mitigations thus aid to cover the companies from any promises that cannot be fulfilled.

What, then, do we make of these discursive policy shifts? As we have seen, the discourse on language frequently slides between the two poles of “pride” and “profit”, to use Heller and Duchêne’s (2012) terms. The commodification of Welsh has played out in the sense that the language has been mobilised as a source of authenticating Welsh identity and of added value of distinction, marketing, and uniqueness. What we see, however, is perhaps not strictly a move from the trope of pride to profit, but rather a re-orientation and re-articulation of pride in Welshness and of cultural heritage. Similar observations are made by Woolard (2016) for the Catalan context. These shifting constellations of language revitalisation have consequences: responsibilities for the language get shifted from the political to the individualised or corporate sphere, opening up a disconnect from the collective

tradition towards an enabling of the individual or companies to act on behalf of political bodies. From these discursive constructions of value-added bilingualism in official government and corporate language policy discourse, let us next move from the regulatory state-centric and institutionalised policy mechanisms to a multitude of corporate bodies, managers' voices and practices. The next chapter problematises the mutual connection and tensions between government rationalities and the managers' experiences and practices of bilingualism. It is also here that the ideological debates unfold and develop: in the alignment of the administrative structure of political and corporate bodies with the knowledge locally produced in other sites, here businesses and workplaces.

Language policy, ideology and practice in Welsh business

Stakeholder perspectives

As the previous chapter made clear, government-centred discourses on the promotion of bilingualism have flagged up the discursive commodification of language with practical, professional and occupational value, and how such discourses get recontextualised and appropriated in corporate policy discourses. What is of key interest in this chapter is the ways these discourses are shared with, interpreted, appropriated, and manifested in the perceptions and reported practices of those affected – private sector businesses. Chapter 6 thus draws together findings from the questionnaire survey of this language policy study, with the aim to provide a window into the reported language practices, experiences and attitudes of businesses about minority language promotion, use and language policy issues. Whilst I will report on key quantitative findings, I will also focus on qualitative open-ended questions, which allowed the participants to elaborate on their attitudes, experiences and understandings of bilingualism in business in more depth. It is important to emphasise that the findings obtained are not generalizable to a wider population. I also align with Sebba (2019) who reminds us that whenever we ask direct questions about identity, language, race or religion, “both the question posed, and the answer given, are likely to be ideologically charged” (Sebba 2019, 339). With this in mind, the data here provide one specific multifaceted angle to *de facto* corporate language policy in Wales and reveal some of the bottom-up forces operating in business.

6.1 Language choice and marketing bilingualism

This section elicits the driving factors that business stakeholders consider instrumental for the use of Welsh (or lack thereof) in business and the marketing angle that undergirds companies’ approach towards bilingualism (see Chapter 4 on methodology and appendix for questionnaire items). The findings show that speaking and using the minority language is not merely a matter of personal choice but is compromised and determined by the contextual infrastructure of the operating business in the marketplace.

In asking respondents about the factors determining their use of Welsh (or lack thereof) in business, they had to indicate their responses from a set of multiple choice items. Table 6.1 summarises the results.

Table 6.1 Factors governing Welsh language use (or lack thereof) in business

Factors – Use of Welsh		Factors – Non-Use of Welsh	
1. Meeting customer needs/choice	87%	1. Lack of customer needs	46%
2. Identification with Wales	66%	2. Shortage of bilingual staff	40%
3. Corporate identity/image	62%	3. Cost implications	28%
4. High-frequency area of language use	61%	4. Specialist nature of area of work	23%
5. Unique selling point/marketing	48%	5. Management/ownership	22%
6. Management/ownership	39%	6. Non-availability of services	13%
7. Economic asset	35%	7. Lack of staff support	12%
8. Policies/contracts	34%	Increased workload	12%
9. Size of business	9%	Size of business	12%

Notes: Questionnaire items 8 and 9; $n = 100$.

As can be seen from the left column, the top four pertinent factors determining language use in business are “meeting customer needs/choice”, “identification with Wales”, “corporate identity/image”, as well as “high-frequency area of Welsh language use”. With almost 90% agreement, “meeting customer needs/choice” is considered the most vital factor in shaping the use of Welsh in companies. This finding thus suggests that the use of bilingualism in business is indeed largely determined by customer needs and demands. Interestingly, only about a third of the participants perceive Welsh as an “economic asset” to be determining the use of the language in their respective businesses.

In providing additional comments, two respondents specifically mention corporate social responsibility and sustainability as vital aspects for the culture of the workplace and the customer base. The following comment from the open-ended category illustrates this point more accurately: the Welsh language is “as much part of ‘sustainability’ as protecting the planet and the economic bottom line”. This type of comment aligns with the ideology of language as part of biodiversity and the broader circulating discourses on the endangerment of the environment, cultures, species and language loss. In this regard, Muehlmann (2007, 24) aptly explains that language endangerment discourses increasingly disconnect from the idea of homogenous nation states and now “appeal to the legitimacy of ecological discourses by drawing on the paradigm of biodiversity conversation”. Another respondent’s comment summarises a widely held view on native speakerness: “Welsh is my native language – my use of Welsh is natural and not determined by an external factor”. Such views cultivate an ideology espousing the assumed naturalness to use Welsh as

a native speaker. As Woolard (2016) observes, such discourses mirror ideologies of common-sense, naturalism and authenticity which characterise many legitimisation processes in minority language contexts.

As can be seen from the right column of Table 6.1, the major factors perceived to determine the non-use of Welsh in business are quite pragmatic ones such as the “lack of customer needs”. They are also related to the companies’ human and financial resources, i.e. the “shortage of bilingual staff” and “cost implications”. In the open-ended comments, seven respondents identify a range of internal factors as decisive for impeding Welsh language use, summarised below:

- Translation costs for written materials,
- The complexity of technical terminology,
- The non-availability of professionally qualified translators/interpreters,
- The difficulty of learning Welsh for non-Welsh speakers, and
- The costs for tuition and allocation of time for staff training.

Next to the perceived factors that govern language choice, respondents were asked about the major benefits that accrue to companies as well as challenges involved when offering bilingual services. Table 6.2 reveals the following four factors as the most striking advantages: “offering a choice of service” is listed as the biggest benefit, followed by an “increased company reputation”, language as a “marker of national identity/heritage” and the general perception of “bilingualism as an asset” to businesses.

Table 6.2 Advantages and challenges involved in offering bilingual services

Advantages		Challenges	
1. Offering a choice of service	73%	1. Lack of staff’s Welsh language skills	49%
2. Increased company reputation	72%	2. Cost factor	36%
3. Marker of national identity/heritage	71%	3. Time restraints	33%
4. Bilingualism as an asset	70%	4. Recruitment of Welsh-speaking staff	29%
5. Promotion of customer loyalty	59%	5. Lack of opportunities to use Welsh	27%
6. Unique selling point/marketing	59%	6. Lack of language training for staff	26%
7. Maintenance of corporate brand	42%	Increased workload	26%
8. Available funding/grants:	18%	7. Quality control written interaction	22%
		8. Lack of Welsh language policy	15%
		Lack of translation services	15%

Notes: Questionnaire items 10 and 11; $n = 100$.

A range of additional advantages were mentioned in the open-ended category of the questionnaire, which include:

- Effective communication with local stakeholders,
- Relationship-building,
- Increased customer satisfaction with the aim to make local customers and suppliers feel more at ease, and
- Bilingual service provision as a moral obligation.

To find out more about which language(s) are employed for a variety of language use contexts in business, the following patterns emerge for the parameter “bilingual” and “English only” in terms of self-reported accounts on language use in selected areas.

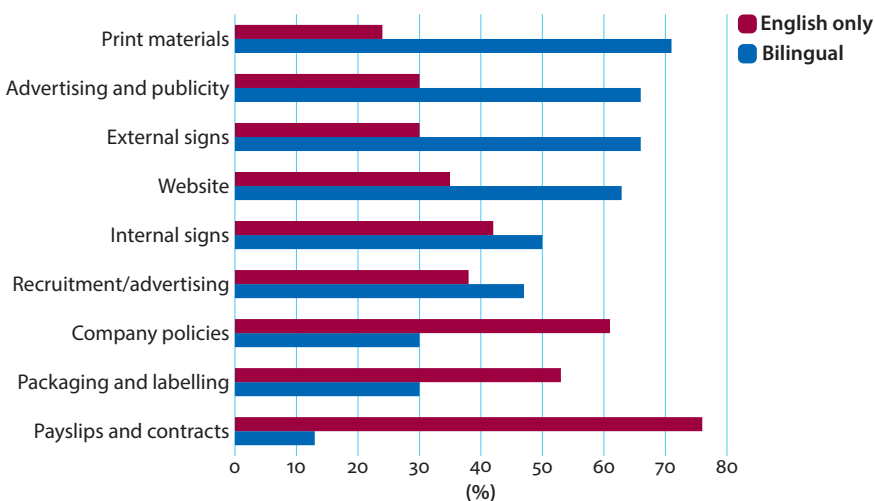


Figure 6.1 Areas of bilingual and English-only language practices in business

Notes: Questionnaire item 5; for all areas, $n = 106$, except for website, packaging and labelling and company policies ($n = 105$).

As evidenced in Figure 6.1, external business activities with a promotional role attached to them such as print materials (leaflets, posters, menus, booklets and flyers) (71%), advertising/publicity (66%), external signage (66%) and websites (63%) involve more bilingualism than internal activities involving contracts, policies and legal documentation. In contrast, payslips and contracts, packaging and labelling and company policies are mostly produced in English only.

We may see the greater external visibility of corporate bilingualism as a reflection of the former Welsh Language Board’s and current Welsh Language Commissioner’s as well as Welsh Government’s activities centred on increasing

bilingualism in private sector businesses as a means of marketing, brand recognition and publicity, as well as the broader circulating discourses on the benefits of bilingualism. Indeed, such promotional policy discourses to propagate Welsh as a viable and visible business language seems to have had positive effects – especially for areas that affect the external image, brand and marketing of an enterprise. These findings on the promotional role of minority languages in business have also been confirmed by Puigdevall i Serralvo's (2005, 333) comparative study on language planning for Welsh and Catalan in the private sector (see also Christ Mac Giolla 2005, Williams 2007b). Other authors such as Cunliffe and Roberts-Young (2005) as well as Kelly-Holmes (2006a) have also established the importance of corporate branding in minority language regions for not only enhancing the business brand but also making stronger ties to the regional economy.

Regarding the challenges involved in operating bilingually (see Table 6.2), the five major problems reported by the respondents are the “lack of staff’s Welsh language skills”, the “cost factor” in bilingual service provision, “time restraints”, the “recruitment of Welsh-speaking staff” and the “lack of opportunities to use Welsh”. It is interesting to note that only 15% perceive the lack of a written Welsh language policy document as problematic as far as offering bilingual services is concerned. This perception may imply that operating a language policy document is not considered a necessary means for conducting one’s business bilingually (see also Section 6.4 for the impact of explicit language policy mechanisms). The findings obtained by means of the open-ended commentaries mirror the quantitative findings: the major perceived constraints of operating bilingually are the costs associated with a bilingual approach, especially for small businesses, and “little return on investment”.

The strong impression from the data about the perceived factors governing language choice and the concomitant advantages and challenges of bilingual service provision show that there is a clear gap between company aspirations and capacities. Angouri (2018) argues that questions over resource and capital allocation are indeed key for companies to grow, be competitive and respond to market changes. On the one hand, company-external factors, such as accommodating customer needs and providing customers with a choice of service, identifying with Wales and the companies’ corporate identity, drive the use of Welsh in business. On the other hand, companies report on a range of hindrances and pressures to realising language choice in business, with fundamental challenges existing in the provision of opportunities for Welsh language use externally and internally. The reported lack of customer needs, the lack of employees’ Welsh language skills, as well as financial and time constraints to recruit Welsh speakers and provide training in Welsh for existing staff are considered major impediments in effectively realizing bilingual practices.

These perceived hindrances in resource mobilisation and allocation are real, and seem not to have been fully problematised by the Welsh Language Commissioner's (2018b) recent survey, which asked business leaders about the barriers and opportunities for using the Welsh language. Interestingly, in terms of barriers, the Commissioner's report would list issues such as political pressures, corporate responsibilities and the challenge of persuading the head-office of businesses, often located outside of Wales, of "how the Welsh language is a living, breathing language". Again, the biodiversity metaphor of language as a living entity features prominently here in this policy discourse. But more importantly, tangible issues such as costs and recruiting Welsh-speaking staff were not mentioned in this government report, which demonstrates a form of disengagement with the reality on the ground and possibly reflects the types of questions asked in the survey per se.

6.2 The perceived value of Welsh as an identity marker and asset

This section of the questionnaire included 10 attitude statements connected to the Welsh language and bilingualism per se, its perceived relevance, value and status in economic life, and its relation to national identity. It should be noted that the reported attitudes held about Welsh in business may not translate into actual language practices. Attitudes and linguistic behaviour do not necessarily correlate. For example, identity-wise people may feel very strongly about the Welsh language. However, they may be reluctant or compromised to actively use the language in their everyday work practices (see previous Section 6.1 for the reported challenges of operating bilingually in business). Furthermore, attitudes are, similar to identity, not fixed entities but rather unstable and fluid, as Sallabank (2013) notes. Nevertheless, for research on minority languages, attitudes provide valuable insights into the participants' perceptions and experiences, and favourable attitudes towards the minority language constitute a vital condition for language revitalisation to occur.

In terms of attitude statements about the Welsh language, the participants had to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement, using a Likert-type scale (strongly disagree, disagree, slightly disagree, slightly agree, agree, strongly agree). Figure 6.2 provides an overview of the frequency results for the attitude statements.

As can be seen, there is a high level of agreement among all respondents towards the importance of Welsh in the workplace (S1), especially in terms of offering customers the choice of English and Welsh (S6) and in terms of Welsh forming part of corporate identity (S8). There is also widespread agreement that Welsh language skills offer businesses a competitive edge (S4) and put them at an advantage, while high levels of disagreement can be recorded for English only being sufficient for

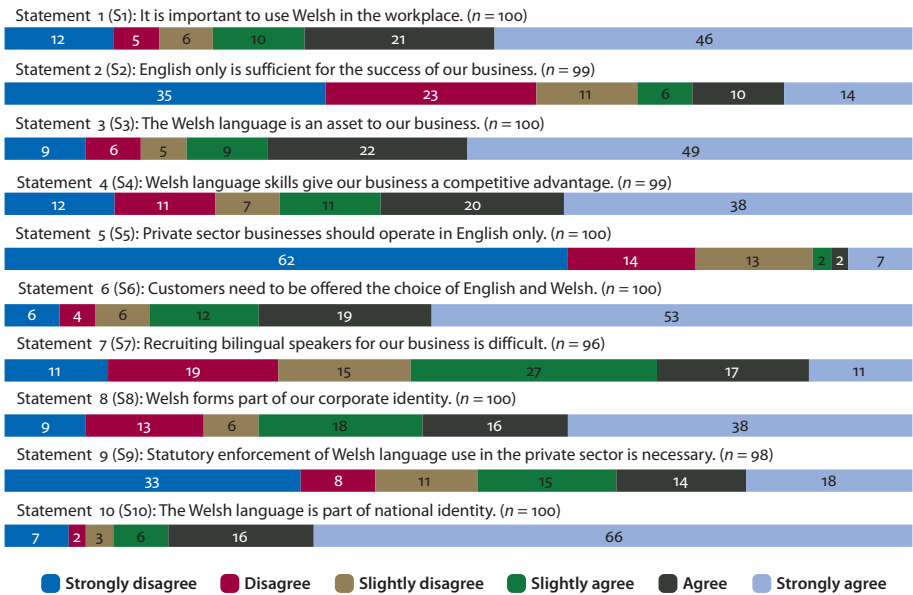


Figure 6.2 Attitude statements about the Welsh language

Notes: Questionnaire item 7; figures in percent.

the success of businesses (S2). Many respondents feel that it is relatively difficult for businesses to recruit bilingual staff (S7). This specific result corresponds to the findings for the perceived problems in offering bilingual services in business. The results have shown that almost 50% of the participants perceive the lack of staff's Welsh language skills as challenging. As regards the statutory enforcement of Welsh in the private sector (S9), attitudes are ambivalent – lower levels of agreement can be recorded, with attitudes being slightly more negative than positive. Respondents appear to be most positively inclined towards the emblematic function of Welsh as a determinant of national identity, which accounts for the highest level of recognition from all statements. Interestingly here, Welsh is clearly afforded symbolic value indexing authenticity rather than instrumental value as an anonymous language for everybody, if we follow Gal and Woolard's (2001) distinction of ideologies of anonymity and authenticity here (see also Chapters 5 and 7).

In comparing the attitude statements with the main language of the respondents through cross tabulations, the following patterns can be identified. For all attitude statements, the “Welsh as a main language” group tends to show significantly strong levels of agreement or disagreement. The “English as a main language” and “Welsh and English equally” groups rather express slight agreement or disagreement. The following selected four statements reveal some interesting patterns in terms of the

distribution of agreement.¹ They were selected on the basis of the strong levels of agreement expressed (S1, S3 and S10) and on the ambivalent levels of agreement and disagreement (S9).²

S1: It is important to use Welsh in the workplace

As evidenced in Table 6.3, there is overwhelming agreement with this statement from all three language groups. The strongest agreement is discernible among the “Welsh as a main language” group (with 100% agreeing and strongly agreeing) and the “Welsh and English equally” group (with 96% agreeing and strongly agreeing). In comparison, the percentages for the “English as a main language” group are slightly lower, with 62% expressing some level of agreement (slight agreement, agreement and strong agreement).

Table 6.3 Statement 1 and main language of respondents

Main language	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slight agree	Agree	Strongly agree
English	19%	9%	11%	18%	23%	21%
Welsh	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	92%
Welsh and English equally	3%	0%	0%	0%	24%	72%
All	12%	5%	6%	10%	21%	46%

Notes: $\chi^2(15, n = 100) = 42,2$

S3: The Welsh language is an asset to our business

Table 6.4 reveals that 49% of all respondents strongly endorse this statement. By contrast, only 9% disagree with this proposition. What is noteworthy is that 14% of English speakers strongly disagree, compared to 0% of Welsh speakers. Compared to the previous statement, slightly more respondents with “English as a main language” (69%) express some level of agreement (slight agreement, agreement and strong agreement). This pattern indicates that favourable attitudes towards Welsh as an asset to businesses are indeed shared by all groups and also voiced strongly by a significant proportion of respondents with English as their main language. Yet,

1. It should be noted that the chi-square test shows a statistical dependence between the variables ‘main language’ and the selected statements 1, 3 and 9. For statement 10, no statistically significant correlation was found to exist.

2. Note that the most relevant numbers have been bolded in the cells of the tables.

the overall pattern suggests (in decreasing order) that the stronger agreement and higher percentages are held among Welsh speakers, followed bilingual speakers and then English speakers.

Table 6.4 Statement 3 and main language of respondents

Main language	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slight agree	Agree	Strongly agree
English	14%	9%	9%	16%	25%	28%
Welsh	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	83%
Welsh and English equally	3%	3%	0%	0%	21%	72%
All	9%	6%	5%	9%	22%	49%

Notes: $\chi^2(15, n = 100) = 29,38$

S9: Statutory enforcement of Welsh language use in the private sector is necessary

Table 6.5 reveals that, overall, attitudes towards this statement are highly ambivalent, with attitudes from all participants being slightly more negative (52%) than positive (47%). This ambivalence points to a key language-ideological debate about language voluntarism and imposition – a debate that has been spurred by the Welsh Language Measure (for more detail, see Section 6.3 and Chapter 2). One interesting finding is that the “Welsh and English equally” group shows higher levels of agreement (with 81% slightly agreeing, agreeing and strongly agreeing) than the “Welsh as a main language” group (with 75% as a summative agreement). The “English as a main language” group clearly disapproves of this statement, with 77% showing some level of disagreement (summative). An exception is provided by the “Welsh as a main language” group, which has shown overwhelmingly positive attitudes across all statements. However, a sizable proportion of 25% disagrees and slightly disagrees with legally enforcing Welsh language use in the private sector, as indicated in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Statement 9 and main language of respondents

Main language	Strong disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
English	54%	5%	18%	13%	7%	4%
Welsh	0%	17%	8%	17%	33%	25%
Welsh and English equally	7%	11%	0%	21%	21%	39%
All	33%	8%	11%	15%	14%	18%

Notes: $\chi^2(15, n = 100) = 53,81$

S10: The Welsh language is part of national identity

Table 6.6 shows that there is fundamental agreement among all respondents about this proposition, with 88% slightly agreeing, agreeing and strongly agreeing.

Table 6.6 Statement 10 and main language of respondents

Main language	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
English	11%	4%	5%	11%	21%	49%
Welsh	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Welsh and English equally	3%	0%	0%	0%	14%	83%
All	7%	2%	3%	6%	16%	66%

Notes: $\chi^2 (15, n = 100) = 20,20$

There is also overwhelming agreement with this statement from all three language groups. Most strikingly, the results show a 100% level of strong agreement among those participants that have indicated Welsh as their main language. A remarkable 81% of respondents with English as their main language endorse Welsh forming part of national identity.³ This result can be interpreted as an indication of the ways that competence in the minority language influences people's self-evaluation of their own feelings of ethno-national identity and unity (May 2012, Dunmore 2011). Cole and Williams (2004) relate the overall association of Welsh with a sense of national identity to the dynamic language normalisation processes from the mid-20th century that have also fortified the debate about the linkage of language and identity.

The relation between language and national identity is further heightened by the findings about the perceived advantages of offering bilingual services in business, which have been demonstrated in Table 6.2 in the previous section: 71% of the respondents report bilingual services in their companies to be advantageous in that they serve as markers of national identity and Welsh heritage. This type of 'nation branding' practice through using language as promotional tools in the commercial world has been well documented by recent sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological scholarship such as the special issue on nation branding by Del Percio (2016). Kelly-Holmes' (2016) work in particular highlights the ways that marketing discourses mobilise banal nationalism in the form of territory-language

3. It should be acknowledged that the interpretation of the results may be difficult because the statement relates to Welsh forming part of national identity in general. It does not imply any self-identification with the respondents' own feelings of national identity.

links and how certain products (or as in the Welsh case here, business services), can be given a national identity.

These findings undeniably show that “language is one of the strongest symbols and boundary markers in having a group, regional, cultural or national identity” (Baker 2011, 398). However, language alone does not define ethnic affiliation, as the data above on respondents with English as their main language reveal. As Coupland and Bishop (2006, 44) note, the assumptions made about the strong interrelation between language and identity in Wales are often too “glib” and, mistakenly, too self-evidently portrayed (see also Blommaert 2006, May 2012). Although the attitudinal findings here have indeed confirmed the emblematic function of language and identity for the respondents, it is vital to consider that sentiments about ethnic or national affiliation transcend the minority language and may be determined by factors other than language. In this sense, then, such directly elicited claims about language and identity are reductionist in nature.

What we do see, however, is an alignment of the findings to wider socio-political debates currently shaping bilingualism in Wales. As discussed in Chapter 5, the centrality of identity is embedded in the political policy discourse about the promotion of bilingualism in its various language strategies and promotional activities. In this discourse, the Welsh language is discursively constructed as a crucial element in Welsh identity formation in a post-devolution era. As such, Wales keeps re-designing and reinforcing its distinctiveness, through claims over language, culture, heritage and other means, in the United Kingdom. Sebba’s (2019) study on the inclusion of Scots, a historical vernacular language in Scotland, as a language question into the 2011 Scottish census yields similar findings. They show up the political relevance of Scots as an important marker for Scotland’s autonomy and its distinct national and cultural identity. Such nationalist discourses are circulating widely, become recontextualised into corporate discourse and seem to have partly materialised in the company stakeholders’ perceptions reported in this study. In that sense, as Brennan and O’Rourke (2018, 140) discuss for the case of Irish as a business resource, the market-based discourses on language as a commercial asset do indeed “co-exist with, draw on, or confront more traditional valorisations of minority languages rooted in cultural or political notions of identity, place, and authenticity”.

6.3 Corporate language policy as a tool of promotion and regulation

This section traces business stakeholders’ perceptions with respect to, first, legislative and political developments in Wales at the time of research and, second, explicit corporate language policy documents in the surveyed businesses.

Perceptions about legislative and political developments

As far as the advances in legislation and politics with respect to the Welsh language are concerned, the survey included a question on the Welsh Language Measure, which became law in February 2011 (see Chapter 2). In order to obtain a clearer picture about the awareness among businesses of this new language law, participants were asked whether they were familiar with the new law (questionnaire item 12). Indeed, 70% had heard of the law, while 30% were not aware of its existence ($n = 96$). Since the new language law lists a number of private sector bodies which would be bound to provide Welsh language services to the public (such as utility and transportation companies, see Chapter 2), respondents were asked to indicate whether Welsh could become a legal requirement for businesses in the future (questionnaire item 13).⁴ 49% agreed that Welsh could become a legal requirement, 33% disagreed, and 18% reported they did not know ($n = 96$).

In order to express attitudes more fully, participants were encouraged to provide reasons for their choice of response by means of an open-ended item. From 96 participants, 32 provided an additional comment. 12 respondents are positively inclined towards Welsh becoming a legal requirement for the private sector, while 18 adopt a rather negative stance and two are ambivalent about the issue. Among those participants that indicate a positive viewpoint, the following diverse issues emerged:

- Bilingual services are a USP (unique selling proposition).
- Bilingual services enable relationship-building with customers, based on a shared language of communication.
- English-only services show lack of respect to Welsh speakers, reduce language choice and marginalise Welsh.
- A statutory obligation may contribute to an increased use of Welsh in business.

The comments of the more negatively inclined respondents with respect to making Welsh a legal requirement mainly focus on financial and human resource issues as well as the attractiveness of doing business in Wales:

- It constitutes an increased financial burden for small businesses.
- It may be impeded by the lack of Welsh language skills among the workforce.
- It could lead to businesses shying away from Wales.

4. The results for this statement should be treated with caution. The question “Do you agree or disagree that using Welsh could become a legal requirement for private sector businesses in the future?” seems to have been unclear and ambiguous. The open-ended comments to this question showed that it was interpreted in a range of ways by the participants. While the modal verb ‘could’ suggests ability, the intended meaning of this statement was one of necessity, which should have been expressed by ‘should’.

An illuminating narrative is provided by one specific respondent who is negatively inclined towards making Welsh a legal requirement in business.

Whilst we must pre-face any comment with a message that we wish to support development of the Welsh language and culture we must ask that the costs of providing Welsh language services are understood. It is potentially a big burden to small businesses that are on the edge of profitability. If such legislation were introduced some way of achieving the goal of full bilingualism must be mapped out including funding for tuition, translation and covering the costs of staff time whilst learning. We wish to focus our investment on improving services something which is key to the sustainability of our business. We cannot afford investment in activity which detracts from this goal.

Whilst we may argue that this type of comment echoes the Welsh Government's ideological vision of 'true bilingualism', which the respondent here perceives of as "full bilingualism" (see discussion of this concept in Chapter 5), it also acknowledges the financial burden involved in realising this goal. The respondent appears to be positively inclined towards supporting the Welsh language and culture. Yet, investing in bilingual service provision emerges as a disadvantage for the firm and is considered a detraction from the goal of achieving sustainability of the business.

As exemplified by this quotation, the costs for staff training or translation services are a recurring argument among companies, as the findings in Section 6.1 have also shown. To date, this issue has only been vaguely dealt with by official policy makers, as discussed previously in Section 6.2. The Welsh Language Commissioner's booklet *Making Welsh Your Business* (Welsh Language Commissioner 2013a, 12), demonstrates how the potential financial burden for companies is side-lined and kept deliberately vague: "Through careful planning, additional direct costs of your investment can be kept to a minimum. Also the benefits both financial and otherwise of using Welsh will almost always outweigh the additional expenditure". The relatively strong resistance among survey respondents towards making Welsh a legal requirement in business indicates that the Welsh Government needs to develop an unambiguous and business-solution-oriented approach in order to successfully convince the private sector of incorporating Welsh, along English, for their operations.

In view of the Welsh language legislative competence order, which defers legislative powers from the Parliament of the UK to the National Assembly for Wales to pass laws on the Welsh language (see Chapter 2), participants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that the Assembly in Cardiff was now able to legislate on issues relating to the Welsh language (questionnaire item 14). The overall response to this question was very positive, with 75% agreeing, 17% disagreeing and 8% remaining undecided ($n = 96$).

In an open response, participants were encouraged to give reasons for their agreement or disagreement. 16 commentaries were provided, which were overall ambivalent. The positively inclined respondents reveal the importance of devolution on matters of the Welsh language, as illustrated by the quotes below:

- “It’s nonsense that the Parliament in London handles the legislative powers on the Welsh language. This should be fully devolved immediately”.
- “Welsh should be legislated upon in the country of origin that being Wales. No other country”.

By contrast, the more negatively inclined informants share negative sentiments towards the deferred law-making powers to the Welsh Assembly. They also shift decision-making processes about the language down to market forces and the general public.

- “No need for more bureaucracy, rules and regulation. Concentrate on getting economy sorted”.
- “There are more important things in this world – let the market/public decide if they want Welsh”.

These polarising views about the language legislative changes at the time of research need to be understood against what Williams (2013b) labels the ‘legislative turn’ in minority language regimes such as Wales, the Basque Country or Ireland. This turn has seen a strengthening of the legislative apparatus for minority languages, here in Wales, for example, through more devolved power and extended language laws. After having established a supportive infrastructure for minority languages in education, the media and local government, questions over the legal obligations of authorities, public and private bodies to deliver bilingual services are becoming more perennial in times of lingering language marginalisation of Welsh. After all, the language remains fragile, subject to the hegemonic role of English across most services and domains of social life, globalisation processes and neoliberal state politics.

That said, the polarising views of the company employees exemplified above tellingly mark up the ways language remains the focal point of ideological divides. As the varying comments have shown, such divides are, on the one hand, shaped by boundary-making processes and an ‘us-them rhetoric’ that brings to the fore identity concerns. Devolution in Wales and the legislative separation of the Welsh Assembly in Cardiff from the Parliament in Westminster in London may (re) produce feelings of a separate Welsh identity. Such identity sentiments, as Wodak (2012, 216) argues, presupposes the existence of similarities and differences; that is, boundaries between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers, boundaries within Welsh speakers, and between administrative power in Wales and in England. On the other

hand, ideological divides over greater devolution are further shaped by the use of mundane arguments about minority language legislation increasing bureaucracy, and in turn, costs.

Perceptions about corporate language policy documents

Respondents were asked about the existence of a written Welsh language policy within their respective workplaces, which stipulates the type and scope of Welsh language provision to the public and seeks to promote language use in the workplace. Table 6.7 provides an overview of the results.

Table 6.7 Existence of written Welsh language policy in the surveyed companies

Welsh language policy (<i>n</i> = 97)	Yes 58%	No 34%	Don't know 6%	
Accessibility of policy (<i>n</i> = 56)	Staff 20%	Customers 4%	Both 77%	
Basis for language policy (<i>n</i> = 55)	WLB's policy template 35%	Company's internal formulation 25%	Both 29%	Don't know 11%

Notes: Questionnaire items 15, 16 and 17.

58% of all businesses report to have an explicit, written Welsh language policy, 34% do not have one, and 8% are not aware of the presence of one within the company. Among those companies that have a written Welsh language policy, for 77% the policy is available to both staff and customers, for 20% the policy is accessible to staff only and for 4% the policy is exclusively made accessible to customers.⁵ Concerning the basis of the language policy as such, 35% report that the company's language policy is based on the former Welsh Language Board's policy template. 25% report that the policy is based on the company's internal formulation.

Participants were encouraged to give reasons for why their company had implemented a Welsh language policy. The responses are discussed below in terms of the following recurring themes:

- Policy as a means of promotion,
- Policy as a means of adaptation to the market,
- Policy as a means of regulation and clarification,
- Policy as a means of accommodating the needs of staff.

5. Note that the sample sizes are different for the variables 'accessibility of policy' and 'basis for language policy' because a rooting question was used.

The most recurring reasons for the adoption of a policy are based on “policy as promotion” and “adaptation to the market”. Respondents report that a written language policy forms an important part of a company’s brand value, its corporate identity and corporate social responsibility. Policies are also essential for acknowledging the customer base. Many respondents voice similar sentiments to the example below:

to give better service to local customers and to encourage Welsh-speaking staff to use the language with which they feel most comfortable at work. To help non-Welsh speakers understand the importance of the language in Welsh culture.

Other respondents particularly emphasise their commitment to the Welsh language, as exemplified by the following comment: “as a company headquartered in England we felt it important to adopt a Welsh language policy to demonstrate our commitment to Wales and the Welsh customers we serve”.

In terms of “policy as a means of regulation and clarification”, some respondents consider it necessary “to ensure standards are met”, to ensure that “all members of staff understand the procedures required in a bilingual workplace”, and “to make clear our position concerning the use of Welsh within our business”. In this context, an explicit language policy document serves as means of managing corporate communication. The necessity of a written policy for regulation is also well reflected in the following response: “It is important to stick to a written policy and strategy to ensure a continuation of services at the highest level”. “Policy as a means of accommodating the needs of staff” is another theme, though less commonly reported. The following comment illustrates the respondent’s perceived need for a policy in order to acknowledge the firm’s bilingual workforce and the Welsh-speaking area of operation: “The majority of employees are Welsh speakers in a predominantly Welsh-speaking area”.

The major reasons for not adopting a Welsh language policy within companies are varied, with the common themes including:

- The lack of customer demands,
- The perceived lack of urgency at management or board level,
- The lack of capacity of Welsh speaking staff (including management),
- The lack of financial resources.

The importance of using Welsh naturally, irrespective of the existence of a formal language policy, is also repeatedly raised, with six respondents voicing similar sentiments to the next example: “We have a policy, which is to use Welsh whenever possible. Like breathing!”. Such beliefs provide an insight into the powerful implicit dimensions of language policy (Shohamy 2006), showing that the ‘real’ language policy materialises in the grassroots practices and ideologies of people and not necessarily in written out documents. The above comment mirrors an ideology

of naturalness and common-sense reasoning that establishes Welsh is a natural condition (like breathing) that doesn't need a prescriptive policy approach (see Chapters 4 and 7 for an in-depth discussion of this ideology).

6.4 Explicit language policy mechanisms and bilingual language use

In this section, the influential factors for having an explicit, written, corporate Welsh language policy and the relation between the existence of such a policy and language use in business are examined. Table 6.8 gives an overview of the factors examined. By means of cross tabulations and the application of the chi-square test, the relationships of interest to be discovered are those between the factor "language use" and the existence of a "written language policy".⁶ This analysis aids in establishing whether language use is related to the existence of a written Welsh language policy in business. Secondly, the relationship between the existence of a "written language policy" and "language use" is established. This analysis aids to establish whether the existence of a Welsh language policy correlates with Welsh language use in business.

Table 6.8 Factors entered into chi-square analysis

Impact factor(s)	Measured factor(s)
Language use – Language provision – Stakeholders' use of Welsh	Language policy (yes, no, don't know)
Language policy (yes, no, don't know)	Language use – Areas of bilingual language use – Internal/external and spoken/written communication

In comparing the relationship between the existence of a language policy and the stakeholders' use of Welsh (Table 6.9), the chi-square test established a statistical relationship between language policy and the variables white-collar employees, blue-collar employees and customers.

6. The significance level for all calculations is chosen to be 0.05 (5%). To establish whether the variables are statistically related, the calculated χ^2 value, which is listed below each table together with the degrees of freedom and the sample size, is compared with the critical value listed in the chi-square distribution table. If the calculated value exceeds the critical value listed in the distribution table (for the given degrees of freedom and the significance level of 0.05), then a statistically significant association between the variables can be assumed.

Table 6.9 Influence of stakeholders' use of Welsh on Welsh language policy

Stakeholder's use of Welsh		Language policy		
		No	Yes	Don't know
While-collar employees	All	18%	82%	0%
	More than half	19%	81%	0%
Blue-collar employees	All	25%	63%	12%
	More than half	14%	82%	4%
Customers	More than half	23%	77%	0%

Notes: While collar: χ^2 (10, $n = 93$) = 21,66; blue collar: χ^2 (10, $n = 93$) = 25,61; customers: χ^2 (6, $n = 96$) = 15,76 (the variable 'all' is not applicable for customers)

In businesses where respondents report that all or more than half of white-collar employees can communicate in Welsh, a Welsh language policy is operated in more than 80% of these companies. 63% of respondents that report that all blue-collar employees can communicate in Welsh have a language policy. This rate is even higher (82%) for companies which claim that more than half of blue-collar employees can communicate in Welsh. Of all companies where more than half of customers can communicate in Welsh, 77% have a policy implemented.

The following pattern emerges from the data: the greater the Welsh language competence among staff and customers, the more common is the existence of a Welsh language policy. This finding suggests that the Welsh language abilities of a company's workforce and customers determine the extent to which bilingual communication is regulated by means of an explicit language policy. There are different scenarios for interpretation here to which a definite answer cannot be given. Yet, it may well be the case that having a Welsh language policy in places may encourage employing more staff with competences in the language; equally, a business may have many Welsh speakers in the workforce and be inclined to explicitly adopt a formal policy.

In comparing the relationship between language policy and specific areas of reported bilingual language use, the chi-square test established a statistical dependence between all areas, except for internal signs and payslips/contracts.⁷ Table 6.10 displays the figures for companies having a Welsh language policy and their use of bilingualism for external and internal business contexts. Table 6.11 shows the percentages for companies without a policy.

As is evidenced in Tables 6.10 and 6.11, businesses operating a Welsh language policy record substantially higher levels of bilingualism, compared to companies without a policy. Here, the findings for areas of bilingual language use in business

7. For the sake of completion, the variables 'internal signs' and 'payslips/contracts' have been included in the tables.

Table 6.10 Companies with a language policy and areas of bilingual language use

% of companies with a policy and external areas of bilingual use		% of companies with a policy and internal areas of bilingual language use	
– External signs	86%	– Internal signs	64%
$\chi^2 (6, n = 97) = 34,59$		$\chi^2 (6, n = 97) = 12,34$	
– Print materials	84%	– Company policies	45%
$\chi^2 (10, n = 97) = 29,74$		$\chi^2 (8, n = 97) = 19,76$	
– Website	82%	– Payslips/contracts	18%
$\chi^2 (6, n = 96) = 12,34$		$\chi^2 (6, n = 97) = 6,65$	
– Advertising/publicity	82%		
$\chi^2 (8, n = 97) = 37,47$			
– Recruitment	71%		
$\chi^2 (10, n = 97) = 55,61$			
– Packaging/labelling	35%		
$\chi^2 (8, n = 96) = 24,61$			

Table 6.11 Companies without a language policy and areas of bilingual language use

% of companies without a policy and external areas of bilingual use		% of companies without a policy and internal areas of bilingual language use	
– Print materials	52%	– Internal signs	36%
– Advertising/publicity	45%	– Company policies	9%
– External signs	39%	– Payslips/contracts	6%
– Website	30%		
– Packaging/labelling	24%		
– Recruitment	12%		

Notes: The chi-square values and sample sizes are the same as in Table 6.10

show that bilingualism is most widely applied for external and promotional purposes, such as external signs, print materials, websites, and advertising/publicity. This finding suggests that there is an impact of having an explicit language policy on the use of Welsh in business. Nevertheless, a relatively high percentage of companies carries out their business activities bilingually without operating a formal policy.

What is interesting about recruiting is that only a small percentage of companies without a language policy (12%) conducts their recruitment activities bilingually, compared to companies with a policy (71%). As far as company websites are concerned, only 30% of companies without a policy run their websites bilingually, whereas 82% of companies with a policy have a bilingual website. These findings suggest that the use of the internet for the benefit of bilingualism in business is increasingly recognised (see also Evas and Cunliffe 2016, Kelly-Holmes 2006b). Offering a bilingual website is frequently considered the first step in embracing

bilingualism in business since the implementation of a bilingual website is usually relatively straightforward and cost-effective. Similar patterns of the impact of a language policy on bilingual language use can be observed for print materials and advertising/publicity.

The data reveal that bilingual signage is significantly more widespread among companies with an explicit language policy. At the same time, it is noteworthy that in companies without a policy, the level of bilingual language use for internal and external signage is relatively high. This finding points to the strong role of bilingual commercial signage for a company's image, branding and formation of corporate identity. As part of the linguistic landscape, the visual presence of Welsh via internal and external signage is considered an effective and simple means of generating a strong and positive company image to customers. Language here serves as a tool for tailored advertising and public relations strategies that mobilise a sense of "marketing of place" (see Urry 2005 and Kelly-Holmes 2013). In that sense, key issues of language awareness and (corporate) identity formations come into play when displaying language "in places and spaces" (Shohamy and Gorter 2009, 1).

6.5 Conclusion: From positive attitudes to tokenistic usage

This chapter has provided sociolinguistic and attitudinal information on bilingualism in business through the lens of company stakeholders. It was directed at uncovering the reported practices, experiences and perceptions that shape the use of Welsh in business, the driving factors governing language choice and how businesses engage with Welsh language policy issues. The findings demonstrate that Welsh is valued and used mainly as a vehicle for promotion, branding and advertising, that is, for external corporate agendas that aim to project a positive bilingual image of the company. Indeed, there is positive support for the Welsh language and a high degree of endorsement of bilingualism in business on value-added terms, but the role of the language as a day-to-day means of communication is rather tokenistic. So the perceived instrumental value of Welsh is quite limited, whilst Welsh manifests itself symbolically in terms of identity work, that is, as a brand enhancer, a marketing tool and a customer relations instrument. In that sense, then, language enters the picture not necessarily as a nationalist sentiment but as a value added tool under a neoliberal frame that helps to realize the choice of service, with language rendered one such tangible service, and contributes to offering a choosing experience for clients and an extra level of professionalism.

As the results have shown, the implementation of explicit policies largely depends on the companies' resources as well as their desires and willingness to invest in Welsh. Welsh language use and bilingual service provision appears to be higher

in businesses operating a Welsh language policy than in companies without a policy. So overall, the findings point to the pivotal role explicit language policy documents may play in strengthening corporate bilingualism as a new form of language revitalisation. This, on the other hand, makes private businesses powerhouses for policing the type and scope of bilingualism; in other words, how much bilingualism is allowed into business practices, if at all. As Cavanaugh argues (2018, 264), “[l]inguistic markets, as with other types of markets, always involve various types of policing”. The type of policing we see from the businesses in this survey manifests itself not only in their decisions to implement an explicit policy (or not) but also in the ways they allocate resources and enable language choice. Brennan’s (2018) work on the policing of Irish as a commercial asset is similar in this regard. Whilst her study focuses on non-profit language advocacy organisations, she documents the ways these organisations regulate and promote the use of Irish as an economic resource for the surrounding business communities through commodifying discourses about language as an asset.

The political debate, and its resulting tensions, about widening language legislation to parts of the private sector is also well-reflected in the survey. The findings suggest a cleavage between two polarised groups; on the one hand, respondents view language laws and further devolution as an essential step towards safeguarding Welsh and providing more consistency in the provision of bilingual services. On the other hand, the move from encouraging businesses to operate bilingually to imposing statutory duties on them engenders substantial opposition and resentment, due to the anticipated struggle with the required financial, time and human resources to comply with such regulations. This polarisation shows the ways the debate about bilingualism in business is framed by classic neoliberal market logics (Martín Rojo 2018) that position language as a resource that either can or cannot be capitalised on, alongside with an underlying fear of growing government interventions into ongoing business operations.

The need for sensitisation to regional and local differences in addressing issues over resource allocation is especially pressing for the context of businesses in Wales, which is characterised by extremely differing practices, desires and capacities for language use. It is to two such specific localities in Wales, the capital Cardiff and the county of Gwynedd in North-West Wales, that I now turn in the next chapter.

Managers' local promotion of bilingualism in business

This chapter delves into company managers' local promotion of bilingualism and the negotiation of language policy in business and focuses on the underlying interests that condition the circulating discourses on bilingualism as value added. The data are based on interviews with company representatives in two selected locations – the capital Cardiff, which used to be more anglicised and is currently facing growing bilingualism, and the county of Gwynedd in North-West Wales, an area where Welsh constitutes a vibrant community language with a greater density of speakers (see Chapter 2 for a sociolinguistic overview and Chapter 4 for methodology). The qualitative, theme-based content analysis and its findings presented here needs to be understood against the particularities of the historical and socio-political conditions in which they were produced – at a time in 2011 when the legislative and policy framework for the Welsh language was changing from a promotional approach to greater regulation, standardisation and conformity for private sector businesses. The managers' insights from these locations provide an essential window on the way company managers locally promote, manage and appropriate corporate bilingualism, what informed decisions they make about offering language choice, what assumptions and ideologies about bilingualism as value added linger, and on how they *experience* language policy in their everyday routines of doing business. The practices and discourses of these company managers also shed light on the ways they buy into, appropriate and/or resist the official Welsh government language policy discourse that has been premised on institutionalised ideologies of equality, choice and ownership as the basis for realising 'true bilingualism' (as discussed in Chapter 5).

7.1 A linguistic marketplace for Welsh

This section demonstrates some of the ways a linguistic marketplace for Welsh gets created and negotiated by the sampled Cardiff and Gwynedd-based businesses. The central role of language as a commodity and key tool within the globalised economy, where the tertiary sector and service-orientation constitute key elements, becomes apparent in all the business cases studied. One prevailing theme running across the

interviews is that perceptions about bilingualism fall between the twinned notions of pride and profit – transformations of value allocations to language in late capitalism that I have discussed across this book by borrowing the tropes used by Duchêne and Heller (2012a). The business managers alternately attach value to language according to pride that finds itself in the understanding of language as an identity attribute, an indexical marker of authenticity, belonging and heritage, while profit materialises in the economic potential of the language as a managerial tool and skill on the labour market. What we are essentially witnessing is the commodification of cultural, national and linguistic pride that is turned into a marketing, branding, entrepreneurial and managerial feature. In other words, traditional conceptions of minority languages whose value used to be anchored in the cultural realm, get destabilised and move together, with their speakers, in the economic realm.

Indeed, all respondents perceive Welsh as a resource that adds value – be it cultural, social or economic. Many businesses treat Welsh as a source of symbolic value that creates pride in the Welsh culture, heritage, nation and identity and communicates authenticity as a marker of distinction that helps setting oneself apart from another, thus bearing a material dimension (Shankar and Cavanaugh 2012). There is also consensus among all informants that language and identity are inextricably linked, although the linkage is expressed and negotiated to varying degrees at a personal, company or national level. Evidence of this will be seen in the following data extracts.

In Extract (1), the perception of Welsh as a carrier of culture and heritage is eloquently voiced by Emma who has grown up speaking Welsh and is partner at a Cardiff-based law firm:

- (1) I: Are there any downsides or challenges you can think of as well in operating bilingually or offering bilingual services?

Emma: [...] I sometimes try and explain but some people don't want to understand and see it as something very provincial, very parochial and therefore quite narrow-minded. It is sort of something that only weirdoes and druids do, is to speak Welsh to each other. The Eisteddfod being this weird kind of festival that we all go to speak this odd language. But I kind of give up on persuading people like that because I think they won't be persuaded. You know, there is only so far you can go to explaining. Well, it's a bit more than that. It's part of my identity, it's what I am, you know. So there is that downside of perception. It's a constant fight (...) why do I fight for a language? Well, that's quite a complex, psychological kind of thing that has probably got myriad of different reasons why I would want to do that. But you do feel, I do feel an obligation to the language. I feel that I would let people down if I did not promote the language. There are hurdles, and I suppose that's a downside, the feeling that if I don't do it, the language might die.

In this affective account, Emma clearly defines Welsh as an element of her own personal identity. She stresses that she feels intrinsically obliged to support the language in order to prevent it from dying. These references interdiscursively invoke discourses about language endangerment and loss (Duchêne and Heller 2007, Hornberger 2006, Mühlhäusler 1996) – key arguments used in minority language advocacy. Emma also draws on the Eisteddfod as an intertextual element here, an annual national festival celebrating the culture and language of Wales and a symbol of the discursive construction of the nation (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999). Her experience with the widespread stigma attached to Welsh as a “provincial, very parochial” and “odd” language and Welsh culture underlines her “constant fight” for legitimation. This shows that the historical marginalisation, repression and stigmatisation Welsh has experienced is still very real in contemporary Wales and may contribute to curbing the language revitalisation process on multiple levels. Such experiences highlight the power constellations between minority and majority languages that play out in differences in social status, legitimation, institutionalisation, and prestige (Darquennes 2013).

In a similar vein, Nia, the regional communications manager of a large financial institution in Cardiff, especially emphasises the nexus of language and cultural identity through drawing on a discourse on otherness in Extract (2). As part of our conversation, we were discussing her job role. Nia explains:

- (2) Nia: Because I am not on the operational side, my input really is looking at which parts of this [the language policy] will help us to improve our reputation and show that we acknowledge as having a different cultural identity in Wales.

For Nia, pride here seems to function as a trope for culturally demarcating Welshness in a corporate context. The “spectacle of the other”, to use Hall’s (1997) term, is implied here to positively frame the uniqueness of Welsh culture. The ethos of the company is based on the need to collectively acknowledge cultural difference and otherness, with fundamental boundary work going on here. Nia’s snapshot of her operational role depicts the negotiation process of personal and collective group roles and responsibilities and the establishment of certain norms of doing business in everyday work life (Angouri 2018, 191).

In her narrative, Nia also intertextually refers to the company’s explicit language policy document, which should support this corporate endeavour to mark up distinction and to set the company apart from competitors. She also adopts a first-person organisational narrative (“our reputation”, “we acknowledge”), which shows up the blurring of boundaries between individual identity and corporate identity expressions (Mautner 2016, 105).

The predominantly symbolic value of Welsh outlined in the above extracts is embedded in the participants’ shared conceptualisation of Welsh and bilingualism

as value added. Many informants consider enabling communication in the clients' language of choice as part of their explicit business strategy. The concept of pride, as it appears from the managers' discourse, is often appropriated to legitimise profit-making endeavours. As many informants agree, if a company shows commitment to the Welsh language, then this may also prove advantageous for conducting business. As such, Welsh is not only marketed and reified as a 'tool' to underline companies' affiliations to Welshness. It also becomes a key branding strategy. The latter is exemplified by Sarah, who works a marketing and PR executive for a transportation company in Cardiff. In Extract (3), Sarah explains the development of bilingualism at the company over time. Here, she stresses the nexus of language and corporate identity as a means of demarcation and links it to marketing endeavours with the aim to build a distinctive 'brand Wales':

- (3) Sarah: So what came out of the rebranding was that we were the national [company] for Wales and that we need to emphasise our Welsh roots. And that is how we are going to be marketing ourselves. And then that obviously incorporates the Welsh language so that's how the emphasis grew after rebranding. After the rebranding exercise, or as part of the rebranding exercise, the emphasis grew then on the Welsh language as well as everything else celebrating being Welsh.

I: Ok.

Sarah: So it's more than just language. You see visuals across the place of like Visit Wales branding. And it's just kind of playing on this whole brand Wales thing.

For Sarah, the rebranding exercise entailed an incorporation of the Welsh language, with Welsh being used to project Welshness and the Welsh nation and culture. The added value of authenticity in such practices is used as an explicit marketing strategy to sell certain products or services. In this regard, Jaworski and Thurlow (2013) provide a detailed discussion of the semiotic landscape of transportation businesses. Specifically, they identify the interplay of "localising and globalising communicative practices [...] where languages, and especially 'small', minority languages are used as a resource for creating 'a sense of place', authenticity, distinction, and exoticity of travel destinations" (2013, 189). Drawing on Appadurai, Coupland and Robertson (Robertson 1995, Coupland 2010a, Appadurai 1996) to understand this type of glocalising practices, I would argue that branding and tailored advertising is one means of reaching out to niche markets and creating the required distinction and authenticity that the globalised new economy demands. In this regard, Kelly-Holmes' (2005) work on multilingual advertising in a globalised marketplace also points to multilingual practices that are geared towards national and local identity formations in a minority language context. Such emblematic

re-branding activities enable companies to build linguistic capital. By this, then, businesses can profit from the application of the minority language irrespective of the actual language use by employees or customers.

The commodification of Welsh is further exemplified through the managers' rhetoric geared towards skills and competence, an exemplar of neoliberal underpinnings of language as human capital, as discussed widely by discourse analysts, applied linguists and linguistic anthropologists (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011, Urciuoli 2008, Kubota 2013, Park and Wee 2012, Krzyżanowski 2016). Linguistic competence is reported to be a key strategy in HR management as the ability to speak Welsh is seen to influence employees' access to the job market. In this vein, Urciuoli (2008, 211) argues that "workers' employment value depends on their skills", with language forming one part of their skills set. Indeed, all interviewees value Welsh language skills as a desirable asset that produces greater flexibility in the workplace. This shared valuation resonates with the Welsh Government's official articulation of a skills agenda in their language strategies, notably *Iaith Fyw*, which promotes "the value of the language as a skill for work" (Welsh Government 2012, 29) and the current strategy *Cymraeg 2050*, which is keen to "develop Welsh language skills for use socially and in the workplace" (Welsh Government 2017, 34).

If we follow Bourdieu (1986), knowledge of language (here Welsh) is a form of social capital that affords value and distinction. This, then, begs the question of who can mobilise this social capital for material purposes and what does it do in terms of selection processes in the job market. From the study data, ambivalent perceptions about the role of Welsh as a desirable or an essential employment criterion are discernible. As illustrated in Extract (4), David, finance director of a Bangor-based consultancy, perceives language to be a desirable rather than essential skill:

(4) I: Perhaps talking a little bit about recruiting bilingual or multilingual staff, are there any difficulties that you find from employing bilingual staff?

David: We don't have a rule that the candidate has got to be a Welsh speaker. In fact, we would say that the first criterion is always that the best suited candidate gets the job, irrespective of language. On the other hand, if all else was equal, then we would, especially up in Bangor, we really would prefer to employ a Welsh speaker.

Here, David discusses the relevance of language skills in recruitment. From a company perspective, drawing on a collective "we", he first explains that candidates are recruited on the basis of their suitability for the job. He then implies that recruiting a bilingual candidate in more Welsh-speaking areas such as Bangor would indeed be the best choice. This implication mirrors a recurring ideology of naturalness that ties language to place; here, the heartland region of Gwynedd that occupies a

special linguistic position – predominantly Welsh-speaking – but also occupies an iconic position “within the national imagination” of Wales more broadly (Evans 2019, 168). Similarly, for Bethan, a senior solicitor in a Cardiff-based law firm, Welsh language skills denote an added advantage: “If two candidates were on a par, if I was recruiting, then that is going to be an extra tick in their box, you know”. Language can thus function as a gatekeeper for success and employment in specific linguistic marketplaces and for those who hold the required (or desired) language skills, under the condition that all other skills are equal. Interestingly though, neither of the respondents specify any hierarchies of language acquisition, that is, that they would prefer employing a traditional ‘native’ Welsh speaker over a non-native, new speaker of Welsh.

The type of linguistic commodification we can observe from the extracts leads us to ask further questions about existing tensions and struggles over who can participate in and has access to the job market, and with which skills repertoire. Emma, who is partner of a Cardiff-based law firm, draws on the notion of “equal opportunities” to justify her decision to stop recruiting any more Welsh speakers at this stage because the firm already employs a large number of Welsh-speaking staff. Her justification flags up the complexity of language ideological debates in a business context, where arguments surrounding the promotion of bilingualism get conflated with debates over diversity and equal opportunities that appear to be based on race and ethnicity, rather than on language. In this regard, in the context of Ireland and Scotland, Walsh and McLeod (2008, 33) report on similar underlying difficulties and controversies in HR management decisions about the recruitment of staff for jobs which require Irish / Gaelic competence, based on what they label an ideological fear of “shutting people out”. In this regard, the Welsh Language Commissioner (2016) has issued a comprehensive guideline on recruitment and Welsh language considerations. These guidelines should aid organisations in creating a bilingual workplace and offer specific support on workforce development, how to consider language requirements in job advertisements and the wider recruitment process.

Another important finding regarding the role managers attach to Welsh in business is the link between community development and the Welsh language. Almost all interviewees emphasise the importance of liaising with the local community and, at the same time, actively engaging with the Welsh language. Colin, for example, the language policy manager from a large telecommunications company in Bangor, strongly perceives Welsh as a community language: “it’s a living thing, and not something we just promote to tourists. It’s a community language, it’s alive”. This concern with the community and the metaphorical construction of Welsh as a ‘living entity’ mirrors the dominant Welsh Government’s political discourse we can find in the language strategy *Iaith Fyw* 2012. Therein, the Welsh Government’s (2012, 19) vision is premised on “encouraging the sustainability of Welsh as a living

language within those communities” (see also Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion). As I have demonstrated throughout this book, such policy goals, with entrenched ideologies of language as a material thing with utilitarian value, also objectify language, and show that Welsh has moved beyond an emblem of identity and culture. Hence, we can argue that political discourses and their products as artefacts have real consequences. Or in the words of Da Silva and Heller (2009, 113), “institutionalised texts have material consequences, which shape what can be said and done by actors positioned by those texts in certain ways”.

Colin, at a later stage of our conversation, offers another example of the objectification of Welsh as part of the company's wider social responsibility agenda, as shown in Extract (5):

- (5) Colin: Moving on now to more of our CSR investment, and how we support communities, the Welsh language, and the people who work for us. (.) [Company] in Wales delivers programmes designed specifically for Welsh communities, and they are taken to the Council of Education. Much of the activities focus on education skills, social and the inclusion as well as climate change. The sustainable report is produced bilingually and is available on the website. It makes people aware of this company's credential as a responsible company. And [company] produces now annual bilingual reports of its economic impact on Wales. That covers what [company] does for Wales, how much revenue it generates for the country, how many people it employs, the value of that as an employer, how much wages it pays the people in Wales. It shows the benefit of that.

Here, the manager's reported goal is to forge the relationship between economic development and the community, to focus on the local, to enhance group solidarity and to promote Welsh from the bottom-up through “CSR [corporate social responsibility] investment”. What, then, are the intended and unintended consequences of making Welsh part of socially responsible behaviour? And where does this leave the Welsh language? As Ireland and Pillay (2010, 96) argue, CSR's defining characteristics is one of voluntarism and self-regulation. Colin's case aptly shows the ways the company demonstrates its willingness to keep Welsh alive by taking ownership of the language through embedding it in social entrepreneurial activities. So more space is carved out for the Welsh language in this regard. On the other, we can argue that the shared corporate endeavour to forge community activities in Welsh also implies a policy agenda: while companies as this one explicitly attempt to prioritise community development, they implicitly pursue strategies of marketing and public relations that should ultimately lead to financial growth and increase profit margins. In Ireland and Pillay's (2010, 90) more cynical words, CSR is “an effective way of carrying on business as usual – including prioritizing

maximisation of shareholder value – while claiming to be caring and socially responsible”. In this vein, Welsh may not hold more than an emblematic function in CSR, which may veil its actual usage.

7.2 Language choice and equivalence as ‘regulated’ freedoms

The discourse fragments discussed in this section demonstrate the ways language choice and equality get debated and used alternately as a means of empowerment (through enabling free linguistic and service choice) and regulation (through mitigating this choice). The findings indicate that companies not only make language choices on a daily basis, but that such choices also constitute both individual and company-collective identities. Language-related choices range from HR management and recruitment to marketing strategies and explicit language policy documents, aimed at promoting Welsh in business, to individual linguistic choices for written/spoken or formal/informal interactions. These language choices are voiced differently by the respondents across the interviews as the choices are always locally contextualised, and “the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use” (Blackledge 2009, 85) vary across different social contexts.

One key discourse that is omnipresent in the managers’ narratives is that of ‘free choice bilingualism’ between Welsh and English. As I have discussed earlier in Chapter 5, in the political field, choice is a main policy thrust of the Welsh Government. What we see from the respondents’ perceptions is that the concept of choice becomes recontextualised from the political field into the corporate governance field of the company managers and thereby undergoes changes. The top-down promulgated parallel approach seems to turn bilingualism into *de facto* double monolingualism (Heller 2007, 2006), which foresees separate language use and equal proficiency in both Welsh and English (see Chapter 5 for how the notion of double monolingualism has materialised in policy discourse). Indeed, the ideology of double monolingualism has become a defining element of the managers’ reported linguistic practices and experiences. The company managers’ understanding of choice is based on the neoliberal concept of the customer’s free choice of service between Welsh and English, which are kept separate. A clear choice between the two languages, susceptible to availability and the speaker’s wishes, should be enabled, as exemplified by David, finance director in a business consultancy in Bangor: “We go on the basis that we always offer the choice to the client. Obviously, if they don’t speak Welsh, then their choice is going to be English”.

The managers articulate language choice as a preference rather than an absolute need and base their argument on language voluntarism as opposed to compulsion

(May 2000, 119). Nia, regional communications manager in a Cardiff-based financial institution, elaborates the notion of choice in Extract (6):

(6) I: And if you think about the main reasons for offering customers a bilingual service, could you pin that down a bit?

Nia: Well, the business case that we have seen is that it builds brand loyalty. Customers appreciate the fact that you make an effort to do something which you are not required to do because it is a private sector company. At the moment, we are not obliged to provide bilingual services. We are encouraged to, but we are not required, for example, to give somebody a cheque book in Welsh, but we do that because we see the business benefits of it. It generates goodwill with our customers. And some people genuinely are not comfortable writing and reading in English. Their preferred choice would be to read and write in Welsh. We try and give that option as much as we can. Because certainly, we don't want our competitors to offer a really good bilingual service, and then they leave us. So obviously, we want to keep up with things, make sure that, whatever we see in customer demand, that we try and meet that.

Nia's understanding of choice, which is representative of the other interviewees, is based on offering customers a voluntary choice as to which language they would like to conduct their business affairs or receive their service in. She stresses the economic benefits that such a choice of service entails, for example, increased "brand loyalty" and providing the cutting edge over market competitors. Nia foregrounds that the voluntary approach the company adopts contributes to establishing "goodwill" with its customer base.

As exemplified in the case of Nia, the interviewees pursue a cost-opportunity approach in embracing bilingualism for business activities. Linked to this approach are more contextualised factors that govern language choice, namely the existing capacities, opportunities and desires (Grin 2003, Barakos 2012) as well as the given infrastructure to allow for bilingual practices. Here, the interview data correlate with the questionnaire findings, which have also shown that the factors shaping Welsh language use in business are the speakers' linguistic competence, their willingness to use the language and the creation of opportunities for language use (see Chapter 6).

The informants' responses throw up numerous issues that illustrate the managers' personal experiences and perceptions of Welsh-English language choice. Managers perceive the linguistic capacity of both staff and customers to be a decisive factor for a company to function in both Welsh and English and, thus, enable choice. Such capacities are reported to depend mainly on staff's language skills, and concomitant recruitment strategies, as well as resources spent on staff language

training. Interestingly, when managers reflect on their own linguistic choices, there seem to be inter-group frictions and conflicts of interest among the informants in terms of ideologies about linguistic purism and a standard Welsh language. The importance of competence and the notion of grammatical accuracy, especially in a business context, feature prominently throughout all the interviews. As Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015, 186) observe, we can understand such ideologies of the standard and minority language purism as part of traditional language preservation discourses in minority language communities, complemented by nationalist discourses that link language with identity and territory (see also Milroy (2001) for a discussion of standardness, Coupland and Bishop (2006) and Robert (2011) for a discussion of standardness and the Welsh language).

Bethan, senior solicitor in a Cardiff-based law firm, illustrates the existing minority language purism and ideologies of the standard that are linked with the choice to use Welsh in a formal business context. For Bethan, flawless mastery of Welsh forms part of the professional image of the business and your persona (see Extract (7)):

(7) I: So is the written skill just a little bit more difficult?

Bethan: It is for me. Yes. It is. And then also, I think, you have got to get the grammar right. And mutation is, unless you use it, or I find anyway, unless I use it often, then it is easy to slip up. And it does not look particularly professional if you have got grammatical errors in your Welsh, so < laughs >.

In that sense, as Bourdieu (1991) argues, competence in the legitimate language variety (here standard Welsh) is endowed with more value on the linguistic market. On the other hand, most informants acknowledge the grammatical complexity and difficulty of Welsh compared to English and voice concern about their own lack of Welsh business terminology and especially their written Welsh language skills. As a result, many respondents report they would choose English over Welsh in cases where they feel they lack the necessary linguistic capacity, which would, in turn, harm their professional appearance.

Respondents from both the Cardiff and Gwynedd sample raise concerns about the perceived intolerance of Welsh native speakers in accepting a form of Welsh that is less 'standard', i.e. characterised by hybrids, code-switching and mixing. They also acknowledge that Welsh is constantly evolving and changing and needs to keep pace with English as regards the coinage of new words. For example, Colin, the Welsh language policy manager at the Bangor branch of a large telecommunications firm, calls for steps towards eradicating the ideology of purism if Welsh is to prosper and survive in the long run. In Extract (8), he was responding to my question of what the main perceived hurdles were when communicating in Welsh:

- (8) Colin: My personal view is that there is a lot of snobbery. You get a lot of Welsh speakers who think, there is a perceived vision that you got BBC Welsh, which is the proper Welsh, and anything else just isn't as good enough. And you get some people that if you don't speak the BBC Welsh, they look down and they belittle people.

As Colin's comment displays, ideologies of correctness and accuracy, and the belief in standard or pure forms of language as the legitimate forms are ingrained in the managers' perceptions. At a later stage of the conversation, Colin argues: "And really, get rid of the snobbery from the language. If people speak Welsh in a poor quality, well, it's still better than not speaking it at all". Following Colin, this purism, then, appears to threaten the revitalisation and status of the language. Such perceptions about linguistic snobbery and standardness mirror the conflictual debate about minority language preservation. As Lane, Costa, and De Korne (2018) explain, drawing on Gal (2006), a 'double stigma' arises for minority languages and their speakers. When measured against official national languages, they are stigmatised vis-à-vis their dominant, fully standardised counterparts (such as English), and they are de-valued when measured against the standard variety of the minority language.

Colin's narrative further reflects Coupland and Bishop's (2006, 47) concern that the "truly bilingual' ideal", as propagated by the Welsh Government, might contribute to nurturing such ideologies of the standard. Consequently, the dangers of such linguistic purism and eliteness may play out in social and linguistic inequalities through the exclusionary ideologies of speakers of standard Welsh. What is at stake here, then, is not merely language but tensions over social class and stratifications of speakerhood in terms of 'good' and 'bad' language, between the norm and deviant linguistic forms (Barakas and Selleck 2019). In a Bourdieuan sense, such linguistic hierarchisation denotes "relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized (Bourdieu 1991, 37).

The informants' responses point towards an overt willingness to offer customers a choice of service by providing a range of opportunities to communicate in Welsh and/or English. However, despite the reported willingness to adopt bilingual practices and offer services to the public, the respondents report several factors that impede bilingualism in practice. First, the existing company infrastructure may hinder the bilingual endeavour, such as the lack of available human, financial and time resources for operating bilingually. These restricted resources limit the companies' Welsh service provision. As a result, demands to provide equal language choice cannot be met. Second, an ideology of pursuing a full bilingual approach, premised on the provision of equal access to both Welsh and English, is indicative of the managers' discourse. At the same time, managers acknowledge the difficulty

of realising what they refer to as “full bilingualism”, the perceived need to having to provide a holistic bilingual service (see Barakos 2018 for a fuller discussion of this concept).

Several vital concerns that permeate the interviewees’ ideologies of full bilingualism are repeatedly raised and illustrate the *de facto* uneven distribution of linguistic resources. The most common factors reported are the lack of awareness of existing services among both customers and staff as well as the low visibility of certain services in comparison to their English counterparts. The unequal distribution requires customers to consciously make an effort and request a service through the medium of Welsh, based on the presupposition that English functions as the default language in Wales. Other perceived restraints include the companies’ failure to provide sufficient services, and their customers’ failure to require and use them. Such failures are mostly related to issues of availability, mutual expectations, confidence and perceived relevance. In Extract (9), Nia outlines the existing restraints in bilingual services and the distorted measurement of actual demand:

- (9) Nia: Lots of people don’t like to make a fuss or ask, and if they only saw it right in front of them on the desk, they would like to take up that opportunity, but they don’t always know there is an option. I’m guilty of it as well, you don’t really want to ask for the Welsh version, because you don’t want to make a fuss. Because it is not given to you at the same time as the English version. That also creates a false sense of demand then as well, because people who would like it but don’t want to make a fuss by asking for it, you don’t know what the real demand is then because they are not asking, so you don’t have a trace that there is a demand. It is quite difficult then to measure the demand for Welsh services sometimes for that reason. Everyone is so polite and they don’t want to make a fuss.

Nia perceives the lack of active offer for the delivery of Welsh-language services as a major hindrance. The concept of an active offer would require service providers to advertise the bilingual service in a clear and definite way to their customers so that they are more confident in demanding the service and that language choice is more equally provided. Nia’s account exemplifies the shared perception of other managers who argue that, as service providers, they need to promote active offers, i.e. advertise bilingual services in a clearer and more explicit way to their customers. This explicitness may then stimulate customers’ confidence in demanding the service and may contribute to providing language choice more equally.

Language choice and the promotion of bilingualism in business is also determined by the market-driven principles of localisation and internationalisation (Duchêne 2009, 30). One of the patterns identified in the interview data, especially

with the Cardiff-based internationally-operating companies, seem to foreground the value of multilingualism rather than Welsh-English bilingualism because they also conduct business beyond the borders of Wales. By contrast, companies that cater for the local Welsh market only, tend to foster bilingual practices. Furthermore, interviewees from Gwynedd, the county with a higher percentage of Welsh speakers, claim that offering a bilingual language choice to the customer is perceived as the norm, which implies an ideology of naturalness. Based on the higher density of Welsh-speaking employees and customers in this region, it is more natural to use Welsh both internally and externally with clients. As David, finance director from a Bangor-based consultancy, explains, “the main language of communication within this office is Welsh, for the very simple reason about the first comment I made: we are predominantly natural Welsh speakers, first language”. Such statements reproduce the essentialism that drives language-ideological debates in Wales and other minority language communities such as Catalonia (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015, Pujolar 2007) or Brittany (Hornsby 2019). They not only flag up an existing us-them dichotomy; with ‘us’ demarcating native, first language Welsh speakers and ‘them’ implying the rest; such positions also re-affirm constructions of the heartland community as a natural space for the geographical and social presence of the Welsh language (Evans 2019).

The reported experiences and multiplicity of perceptions illustrate that choice is aspired to ideologically, but its realisation is prone to numerous challenges. The managers’ understanding of choice reflects the neoliberal trope of the citizen-consumer’s (Clarke et al. 2007) free language choice and choice of service between Welsh and English, an ‘either-or bilingualism’ which treats languages as separate codes for separate functions (Blackledge and Creese 2010). The Welsh Government’s propagated true bilingualism in *Iaith Pawb*, based on the individual’s preferred choice of language or languages, “conjures up a sociolinguistic fantasyland where code choice is free and non-normative” (Coupland and Bishop 2006, 46). This aspirational bilingual ideal has become manifest in the managers’ perceptions. However, the informants’ experiences and ideologies show that code choice is *de facto* not free and within normative boundaries and socio-cultural norms. The analysis has illustrated that language choice depends on multifarious factors, including the stakeholders’ linguistic repertoires, opportunities and desires, the nature of customer contact, as well as the existing corporate infrastructure, human and financial resources and market-driven principles of localisation/internationalisation. As I explain in Barakos (2016b, 386), the overtly promoted freedom to choose to live your life through Welsh or English gets eroded and is often no more than “an empty signifier” and an oxymoronic “regulated freedom” (Cruikshank 1999, 44).

7.3 The (de)legitimacy of English

All the participants acknowledge the status of English as the perceived official language, the language of globalisation and the world's common language in business. This systematically shared ideology of English as the dominant majority language in Wales serves as an example of the implicit dimension of language policy. Here, language policy materialises implicitly from the commonly shared ideology of English as the legitimate language. This ideology appears to affect practice by legitimising English over Welsh in a range of situations and gives way to new formations of power relations in the workplace. These power relations are undergirded by existing language hierarchies, valuation processes and claims over ownership of legitimacy and authenticity, as Selleck (2018) argues in her own work on hierarchies of belonging in Wales. The perceived officiality of English in Wales and beyond functions as a policy device that is “used to grant preference to certain languages in given territories” (Shohamy 2006, 61) and affects decisions about language choice and use.

Some respondents perceive the role of English as an international language of business and the existence of a common language in Wales as a given fact rather than a hindrance. Bethan, senior solicitor of a large Cardiff-based law firm, explains: “I don't think there is any need to say that English is the official language of the UK, it is obvious, you know”. Others voice caution about the increasing dominance of English and call for a balancing act: they perceive the supremacy of English, which functions as the default language, to create inequality in terms of the status, prestige and use of Welsh. Such tensions over the empowering or depowering role of English have been documented widely by various critical scholarship on English as a global language (Park and Wee 2012, Tupas 2015, Ricento 2015).

To exemplify, both managers from the Cardiff and North-West Wales companies repeatedly voice discomfort about the necessity to linguistically adapt to English in meetings if there is a non-Welsh speaker present. The respondents stress that people's underlying assumption here is that speakers of Welsh could speak English anyhow so they could easily revert to English. One such scenario is illustrated by David, finance director in Bangor, North-West Wales, in Extract (10):

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

Such business scenarios confirm that language choice is not free but may even be enforced through assumed practices, based on contempt, which legitimise the use of English over Welsh. Such mechanisms are accompanied by the inclusive ideology that knowledge needs to be made accessible to all participants present in a specific communicative event through one commonly shared language. In other words, everyone present has to be able to understand everything being communicated. As a result, language choice becomes a non-negotiable matter. Through the de-legitimisation of certain language practices (here: the normative accommodation to English), speakers seem to “advance or marginalise the interests of different groups” (Heller 1996, 141).

In Extract (11), David goes on to acknowledge the role of English as the prevailing language of business and commerce in the UK. However, he questions the overall legitimacy of English in a predominantly Welsh-speaking environment, as is the case in the consultancy he works:

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

David's comment illustrates conflicting perceptions at play. On the one hand, he shares the common-sense ideology of English as the *de facto* official language; from a *de jure* point, English is, however, not a legally declared official language in the UK (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, David conjures up issues of dominance and power and points to genuine inequalities arising from the imbalanced status and usage of Welsh and English. He perceives the use of English as a corporate obligation in order to secure business transactions, although the consulting firm is situated in a Welsh-speaking heartland and its employees share Welsh as the language of the majority.

Respondents also perceive two other factors to be legitimising English as the common language of choice in business settings: formality and linguistic competence in Welsh. Huw, director of an estate agency in Bangor, elucidates this point. As a bilingual, Huw concedes he would lack certain vocabulary in Welsh and therefore prefers using English for formal interactions. Similarly, David compares using English to wearing a formal suit and using Welsh to wearing jeans, as illustrated in Extract (12):

(12) I: What are the challenges involved in operating bilingually and providing bilingual services?

David: I suppose the biggest challenge is actually having to do it bilingually, which actually I would have to say is a bit of a pain. I prefer to either do it in Welsh or do it in English. And given the fact, the straight choice, I prefer to do it in Welsh. It might be a silly analogy but I'd say it's a bit like 'do you prefer wearing jeans or wearing a business suit?'. To me working through the medium of Welsh is equivalent to coming to work in my casual clothes, as you see, and working in English is sort of a bit more formal, and I don't feel quite as relaxed. So I certainly prefer to work through the medium of Welsh.

Several observations are in order here. First, David perceives the obligation to have to offer services bilingually as a challenge and burden. Indeed, I wish to argue that David's account confirms the allusion of 'true bilingualism'; an aspiration that is in fact premised on separate code choice and results in an 'either-or' bilingualism. This, then, makes the quest for a bilingualism where both Welsh and English resume their various roles in everyday life as flexible linguistic resources a misnomer.

Second, the clothes metaphor, which associates English with formality ("business suit"), and Welsh with casualness ("jeans"), addresses concerns of competence and context-sensitive language choice that consistently run through the interviews. The clothes analogy also demonstrates explicit value allocations, hierarchisation and legitimacy that people attach to language, from casual to formal. The question we could reasonably ask here though is why Welsh is relegated to casualness, whilst English holds up its position as a formal language of business. Answering this question brings us back to debates over legitimacy in contemporary minority language contexts. Inspired by Bourdieu, Costa (2015) defines legitimacy as "the ability to utter the right linguistic forms at the right linguistic moments in the right situations, and to comply with the type of discourse that society expects one to produce" (Costa 2015, 129). Societal expectations about the role of English as *the* business language are looming large here and seem to de-legitimise Welsh as an equally viable medium of business communication. Above all, such findings suggest that ideologies of the standard are implicated in the managers' perceptions about linguistic correctness and accuracy. This, then, ties in to broader policy debates about what counts as acceptable and legitimate and who counts as a legitimate speaker in times where the language is used by a growing repertoire of speakers, including new speakers, alongside traditional speakers (see Blommaert 1999, Bourdieu 1991, 1982, Costa 2015).

7.4 Language policy mechanisms as promotional and managerial tools

Explicit policy mechanisms such as voluntarily adopted language policy documents serve a dual purpose for the sampled businesses. In an earlier paper (Barakos 2012, 174), I argued that they were a means of promotion for distinct objectives: (a) to raise the status of the Welsh language and advance its use and/or (b) to promote the bilingual corporate identity and/or (c) to show symbolic commitment to the heritage and culture of Wales. The documents also serve as bottom-up tools for managing internal and external as well as spoken and written stakeholder communication and the institutional boundaries of bilingualism.

Six out of the nine sampled companies (in Cardiff, a law firm, a transportation business and a financial institution; in Bangor a business consultancy, an estate agency and a telecommunications company) have adopted written language policy documents. These stipulate each firm's individual approach and commitments towards the use of Welsh in business (see Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of the corporate policy documents). The six respondents from the companies with explicit policy documents perceive them as mechanisms of promotion, regulation, backing up practice, action commitment and an explicit creation of language choice – functions that are overlapping and intertwined. Most interviewees agree that an explicit language policy document not only promotes and acknowledges bilingualism, the Welsh culture and heritage, but may also raise awareness of the company's image and corporate identity, the brand and the bilingual services offered. The notion of pride in particular is exemplified by Nia, regional and communications manager of a large financial institution in Cardiff. She argues that the company's formal language policy document “makes it very clear to the Welsh Language Board that we are quite serious about it as a commitment, and that we want to put our name on a document to say, actually, our [company] is quite proud to be able to offer some services in Welsh”.

Apart from promotion, many interviewees consider language policy documents as regulatory tools and mechanisms of intervention. Policy documents also serve as external justification and as a means of backing up practice, in case of customer complaints or demands for specific services that cannot be provided. Colin gives the following account of policy as a means of backing up practice, as illustrated in Extract (13):

- (13) Colin: It gives you the justification. It's all long and good supporting the language, because it's the right thing to do. But in business, you need something to actually, I wouldn't say to force people's hands, but I think you need a solid reason to do things. Because we got the written policy, that's the foundation. So we can build on that.

The interviewees agree that a written policy functions as an action commitment to how far companies go to deliver bilingual services, and it also creates expectations which have to be managed. As the creation of a policy is voluntary, companies may easily pick and choose the type and scope of bilingual service to be provided. Colin, however, mitigates the scope of his company's language policy document by claiming: "So, what our policy does, we will provide everything we can within reason". Similarly, Nia stresses that the policy document produces an explicit impression of Welsh-English language choice to customers, even though this choice is confined: "It is really trying to encourage people in the business to make customers aware that they do have a choice, for some parts of the service".

Huw, director of a Bangor-based estate agency, puts the Welsh language policy document on a par with anti-discrimination or health and safety policies, which all form part of the normal fabric of the company – so, having a Welsh language policy is seen as a means of normalising Welsh: "It's like equality, isn't it, non-discrimination, and all that sort of stuff. They are just there as part of the fabric, of the make-up of the company these days".

Despite these overtly positive perceptions about language policy documents in business, the reported impact of policy on practice is evaluated more sceptically. Emma, partner of a law firm in Cardiff, and David, finance director in Bangor, devalue the policy-to-practice effect. Although both companies have introduced an explicit document, it is compared to being a mere tick-box exercise and a piece of paper. As Emma argues: "unless you live it and train people to operate in the way that's consistent with it, they are not worth the paper. So having a policy is a tick-box exercise". David also stresses that his company would still be a bilingual organisation, whether a policy was formulated or not. These perceptions confirm Shohamy's (2006, 51) claim that "[t]hose, who introduce language policy are often sceptical about the extent to which policy will actually be implemented and adopted by the population". So unless 'lived and breathed' by management and staff, policy documents may result in mere aspirational statements (see also Barakos 2012, 176), which re-affirm the policy-to-practice gap.

Among those three companies without an explicit, written language policy, the following perceptions are prevalent: Catrin, senior account manager in Cardiff, reports that possible reasons for not having a policy is that she is the only Welsh-speaking person in the team, that no customer requests for a policy have been noticed so far and that other policy areas such as environmental sustainability or health and safety policies would be given priority. For her, using Welsh is a natural condition. This perception mirrors the widely-shared ideology of naturalness, which implies that using Welsh is common-sense if you are a Welsh speaker – a line of thought that has cropped up varying among the interviewees and that I have problematised across this chapter.

In a similar vein, Adam, director of a translation company in Caernarfon in the North-West of Wales, points to the fact that his firm would be naturally Welsh-speaking, which is related to the firm's core business activities (see Extract (14)). He thus does not see any merit in formalising a policy. They would need an English language policy rather than a Welsh one because written as well as oral communication is naturally carried out in Welsh:

- (14) I: So you haven't produced a written document?
 Adam: No, because for the simple reason that we would probably need an English language policy more than a Welsh language policy, if you understand what I mean. Because everything we do would first naturally be done in Welsh. All our written internal policies are only available in Welsh. Our staff handbook is only in Welsh. So I suppose we are an exception really. We wouldn't need a Welsh language policy. We probably need a bilingual or English language policy.

This passage represents a powerful representation of the implicit dimension of language policy – conducting business internally and externally through the medium of Welsh without the presence of an explicit policy document. Adam's account also points to ideologies of (Welsh) monolingualism rather than Welsh-English bilingualism. Furthermore, for Adam, the use of Welsh constitutes a natural condition in his community. The ideology of naturalness of Welsh in Caernarfon, conventionally thought of as a heartland community, mirrors the Welsh Government's language policy discourse in *Iaith Pawb*. This policy document in particular frames the community as a homogeneous and bounded entity “where the language is heard and spoken on a normal basis in a natural everyday environment” (Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 21). As Extract (14) illustrates, Adam has bought into this and re-affirms this ideology, which acknowledges the intricate connection of language and place in minority language regions.

7.5 Ideological divides over the Welsh Language Measure

The Welsh Language Measure, as discussed widely in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6, managers' perceptions about the (then) proposed Welsh Language Measure show a consistent lack of awareness of the existence of the future law, its contents and goals and the political debates surrounding it. This low degree of awareness seems to indicate some companies' lack of interest in current language policy related developments. It may also be a sign of the failing channels of communication from top-down government bodies to private sector bodies, which will partly be affected by the new legislative framework.

The majority of the interviewees show favourable attitudes towards the Welsh Language Measure as a tool that guarantees some level of protection for Welsh and that enhances its status and prestige. In Bourdieu's sense, the official status that the new law provides for Welsh can thus be considered linguistic capital that affords symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991). Sarah, Bethan, David and Adam also emphasise the explicit impact of legislation on language behaviour. They claim that without language laws, Welsh-medium education or bilingual road signs would not have achieved such considerable success and uptake. However, some of them also concede that legislation alone is not enough to keep Welsh alive, as exemplified by Adam in Extract (15):

- (15) Adam: It's more than just legislation. If we are depending on legislation to keep the language alive, it's gonna be dying. You want people out there to use the language naturally, and that will boost the numbers as well as having legislation backing you up, if you like.

Adam's account seems to correspond to Huws' statement that "[l]egislation is able to alter behaviour, but in order to do so it must go further than equal treatment and strive towards equal perception" (Huws 2009, 73). For Adam, then, equal perception of the Welsh language is linked to its active usage. It implies having the opportunity to use the language naturally, without any major constraints.

Despite the overly positive attitudes towards the new language law, two major constraints shape the managers' discourse: the divide over language compulsion and voluntarism (May 2000, 119). As the new law would foresee extending Welsh language services to parts of the private sector, the majority of the managers resist the shift from voluntary bilingual provision towards imposition of duties. They believe that strategies of persuasion, promotion, encouragement and enabling prove more effective in making companies embrace bilingualism. Statutory enforcement may lead to resistance, intensify power struggles and make companies even turn away from the Welsh market because of cost issues. Emma's account below points to conflicting ideologies about her assumed professional role as a lawyer who is supposed to make people abide by laws and regulations and her own perceptions about language:

- (16) I: Ok. I mean the interesting bit is actually that this measure would put legal obligations on telecommunications companies, for example. Do you think that legally obliging some private sector businesses to offer bilingual services, is that the way to go?

Emma: I am not a great fan of that and that's terribly ironic, given that I am a lawyer. You would expect a lawyer to say "we will make laws and then make people stick by them". That's what I do. However, when it

comes to something like this, I think that persuasion is more effective. I think that the potential strength of the feeling against the language in certain parts of Wales and in certain sectors, it makes it a bogeyman, it makes it something that people have to waste money on when they haven't got money. It's a bureaucracy and it's not worth it. So forcing people only serves to make those views even more entrenched. I think that it should be by persuasion.

Clearly, Emma is sceptical about the consequences of legally enforcing bilingualism, which may evoke additional feelings of resistance. She propagates an approach based on persuasion rather than enforcement. By contrast, other respondents are not alarmed at all by the new law. Bethan, senior solicitor in a Cardiff-based law firm, foresees no future impact on the companies' corporate practices. She argues that the firm will continue supporting Welsh and does not have to be persuaded of the benefits of Welsh anyway, as opposed to other businesses that have not embraced bilingualism yet. As a stark contrast to all other businesses interviewed, Adam fully endorses the Welsh Language Measure by stressing that "naturally, as a Welsh speaker, we welcome it wholeheartedly really". The use of deictic 'we', as a means to signify group identity, constructs the assumption that Welsh speakers naturally endorse language laws in favour of Welsh. Adam's translation company is based in Caernarfon, one of the Welsh-speaking heartlands of Wales, which might serve as an explanation for Adam's overtly positive views about the promotion of Welsh and the new language law. Another explanation might be the core activities of his Welsh translation business, whose profit naturally depends on incoming requests for a translation service.

Adam goes on to argue that the new law would strengthen the rights of language users and that goodwill alone is not sufficient in keeping Welsh alive. Rather, legislation would provide a benchmark and would require a certain level of compliance, which, then, may keep the language thriving. He concludes by advising companies to exploit legislation regarding bilingualism in business as a means to an end, i.e. to deploy bilingualism as a tool for marketing rather than seeing it as a threat. This suggestion re-affirms the market potential of minority languages and the ways businesses turn into sites where language becomes a central terrain for commodification:

- (17) Adam: So use it as a marketing tool rather than a threat over your head really. [...] It's a way to market yourself so that you are up there with your competition really and stay ahead of them as well. The Welsh Language Measure is another step along the process towards trying to achieve the bilingual Wales that was identified in the Iaith Pawb, the strategy document.

A further important aspect in Adam's account here is his explicit intertextual reference to the Welsh Government policy *Iaith Pawb*. This not only points to his awareness of language policy developments in Wales, which was found to be rare among the business representatives of this study. Adam's beliefs are also reminiscent of the pervasive ideologised vision articulated in Welsh political discourse about a truly bilingual Wales, premised on an either-or bilingualism or double monolingualism, as I have elaborated varyingly across this chapter. Adam's account shows that he buys into this vision as a common-sense goal to be achieved in future – something we can also trace earlier when he acknowledges that his business mainly operates through the medium of Welsh, and not bilingually (see Extract (14)).

7.6 Conclusion: The market potential of bilingualism

This chapter has addressed language policy mechanisms, ideologies and reported practices as salient elements of language policy processes from company managers' perspectives. The managers are socially constituted policy actors that are in powerful positions to produce and transfer knowledge about bilingualism in business. The findings have pointed towards the centrality of the company as a nodal point that brings into dialogue various powerful forces: global, national, regional and local ideologies and practices of language and identity, of choice and equality and of the pride/profit potential of corporate bilingualism. Private sector businesses function as separate linguistic markets with their own policy frameworks, decision-making processes and institutionalisations of communicative practices. The market for Welsh in business seems to be a secured and controlled space, alongside its overall laissez-faire character. Since private sector businesses have so far not been legally obliged to provide bilingual services and operate bilingually, providing choice is framed as a flexible and voluntary phenomenon. Such choices, however, have wide-ranging implications for *de facto* language policy. The lived out policy practice shows that Welsh and English are not afforded equal status, resources or treatment. In that sense, since the “linguistic market does not start out equal” (Blackledge 2002a, 84), every market, including linguistic ones, creates winners and losers, which complicates the rhetoric of free language choice.

In terms of the institutionalisation of bilingualism in business, the adoption of explicit language policies serves as a means of inward and outward language promotion, which affords more space, power and prestige to Welsh. On the other hand, such policies also function as a means of corporate governance and regulation to manage the scope and type of internal and external corporate communication and to manage customers' expectations about bilingual service provision. Ultimately,

language policy documents emerge as badges for public relations and marketing the company's bilingual corporate identity and image.

As the findings have demonstrated, the linguistic marketplace for Welsh in business has slightly different constellations in Cardiff and Gwynedd. One of the major discrepancies appears to be the motivation to embrace bilingualism for business affairs due to the companies' distinct sociolinguistic environments, the type of business and the staff's linguistic profile. The sampled companies in the Welsh capital identify the need to (a) cater for a potentially increasing bi- and multilingual customer base, (b) incorporate Welsh language skills in their recruitment strategy and (c) differentiate themselves from the competition. For companies in the more Welsh-speaking North-West Wales, the location is also decisive. As a result, businesses tend to employ a greater number of Welsh-speaking staff for purely practical reasons in view of the more Welsh-speaking setting. Linked to this is the recurring ideology of naturalness or authenticity (Woolard 2008), which partially affect language choice and use in the Cardiff and Gwynedd corporate settings. In particular, managers from Gwynedd, a traditional 'heartland' community with higher concentrations of Welsh speakers, perceive Welsh as an authentic language of communication. The use of Welsh as a viable and legitimate medium of communication thus gets implicitly negotiated, without the need for explicit policy mechanisms to manage this natural state of affairs.

Conclusions

Taking stock of minority language policy in business

Businesses across Wales are getting involved with a Welsh Government campaign to share their reasons for using Welsh. The campaign, called #100kReasons, is urging business owners to help inspire others to start using Welsh by sparking a conversation about the benefits it can bring to a business. Wales is built on an economy of around 100,000 active small to medium enterprises, each with an opportunity to explore the positive impact using even just a little Welsh can have. To help these SMEs, the Welsh Government launched their Welsh in Business project in 2017 offering free, tailored advice on using Welsh in business. By offering the service, the Welsh Government hopes more business owners will start to think about how Welsh can become more seen and heard in their businesses, giving more people the opportunity to use Welsh in their communities – all to align with the *Cymraeg 2050* strategy. (Mentrau Iaith 2019)

This extract about the Welsh Government's new social media campaign with the hashtag #100kReasons shows the explicit efforts to spark a debate about the benefits of using Welsh in business and explains the free government support services offered for doing so. This campaign is hoped to be an inspiration for businesses to share their motivations and reasons and to urge other businesses to start using "even just a little Welsh". What this extract demonstrates is the ways that boosting bilingualism in business now forms a salient part of language policy and planning strategies in Wales. The political agenda to get businesses on board is important in order to realise the goals of the recent language strategy *Cymraeg 2050*, which envisions reaching one million Welsh speakers by the year 2050.

This book contributes to the under-researched role of Welsh-English bilingualism in private sector businesses in Wales. My point of departure for this investigation has been to argue that language policy in business is primarily an ideological, discursive and social practice. Language policy comes alive through people using language, debating and managing it; as well as appropriating and resisting it in social life. Language policy is a social construct that emerges from the interactions between social, economic and political structures and people's agency. As such, language policy has a life beyond the written policy document. The case of Wales demonstrates that businesses are a growing ideological site for debates, and struggles, over language revitalisation; a debate that has been characterised by tensions

and discursive shifts from essentialist ideologies about language, identity, nation and territory, to an increased commodification of bilingualism as 'value-added' in a globalised knowledge economy.

The book has demonstrated the centrality of discourse, and the role of bilingualism, in constituting corporate activity in its various formations and at various levels, from companies' expression of corporate identity, values and culture, to concerns over the outward projection to stakeholders in Wales. Discourse is a complex dialectic that does not operate in isolation but constantly reproduces and legitimizes itself across different contexts (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). The book has also made an argument for language policy as a site where struggles of various kinds are played out by different actors. These include concerns about national and corporate identity, access to material and symbolic resources, opportunities and capacities for language use, choice and equality of status between Welsh and English and amongst different types of speakers and workers. Such concerns are then inherently tied to power claims over who has the right and privilege to speak what language with whom, when, where and to which end, and who experiences a language-based marginalisation and is put at a clear disadvantage.

Many different critical discursive and sociolinguistic approaches to bilingualism and language policy offer a breadth of theories, concepts and methodologies to address such issues. In this book, I make the conceptual and methodological case for an approach that emphasises language policy as a process. That is, I propose a discursive approach to language policy and situate the locus of the study on the discourses, practices, ideologies and mechanisms of language policy. The Discourse-Historical Approach and a mixed-methods study provide a holistic account of the discourses, ideologies and practices surrounding the promotion of corporate bilingualism. Such a combination of approaches and methods helps explore how language serves to construct different accounts of social reality. It also allows integrating the various policy stakeholders and their agency in (re)shaping the enactment of language policy.

In order to take stock of what the current study has aimed to achieve and how to move the debate forward, the final chapter of this book will attend to two key questions relating to bilingualism and language policy in business: what type of bilingualism is aspired to in businesses in the Welsh minority language context? What does the market potential of bilingualism do to languages and speakers? I may not be able to offer straightforward answers or solutions to these questions, but discuss them in a contextualised way that reflect the study at hand. What is key here is that such questions are put up for debate in the first place so as to stimulate further critical and reflexive enquiries. The book concludes by charting avenues for future research related to the issues raised here.

8.1 What type of bilingualism is aspired to?

I have argued in this book that Welsh has seen a marked shift: from a historically marginalised language characterized by a fight for survival, and marked by the identity-culture-nation idea, to one that recasts utilitarian values and entrepreneurialism and that satisfies customer needs and wants. It has also moved from a language of monolingual ‘native speakers’ in relatively homogenous communities to a language of bi- and multilingual speakers in linguistically and culturally diverse spaces, with varying values and ideologies attached to both English and Welsh in policy discourse and practice.

The study has identified that bilingualism in business is planned and marketed on the premise of the citizen-consumers’ choice and an overt equality agenda between Welsh and English. As the combination of the policy texts, survey and interview data shows, language policy has materialised as the epitome of customer choice and as a powerful terrain for explicitly and implicitly articulating access to, and ownership of, Welsh as a resource but interestingly not English, which is assumed to be everyone’s language and given knowledge. The Welsh Government, the former quasi-autonomous Welsh Language Board, the current Welsh Language Commissioner, as well as the sampled companies, circulate authoritative knowledge over what constitutes a bilingual Wales via different public policy texts, discourses, genres and social practices. The study has borne out that shifting discourses are circulating, which point to situated constructions of a bilingual Wales.

For a start, the political conception of a bilingual Wales has largely rested on social, cultural and linguistic unity as well as difference. It is by far not a homogenous discourse but one that has seen marked shifts over time and place: at one level, a bilingual Wales largely rests on the principle of treating Welsh and English equally, on an ideal of equal mastery in both languages and on making Wales a place where people can choose from linguistic alternatives. At another level, the politicised idea of a bilingual Wales rests on colonial nation-state ideologies and nation-state branding (Bauman and Briggs 2003, Del Percio 2016) that tie language to homogenous claims over territory, identity, culture and community, with a view to preserving and revitalising the Welsh language. Yet at another level, a bilingual Wales is one that conceptualises and markets Welsh as an instrumental, living language that adds economic and social value.

To what type of bilingualism do companies then aspire? Again, we can identify, following Blommaert (2005) here, shifting discourses across contexts. What we can say, however is, that businesses are largely concerned with questions over the added value of operating bilingually and in what ways showing responsibility for language, nationhood, identity and culture can be economically adapted. So for the

businesses I surveyed, the question of a bilingual Wales is mainly one that rests on the utility role of Welsh for business purposes. A bilingualism that caters to customers' preferences; one that can be branded and gain the support and loyalty of the community; a bilingualism that is flexible and can adapt to the needs and wants of business stakeholders, on the one hand, but equally one that can be managed and controlled, on the other.

These varying discursive constructions are not mutually exclusive but co-exist and overlap. Yet, what the political and corporate conceptualisations share is an underlying monolingual bias and a bilingualism based on compartmentalised terms. The discursive shifts have also entailed shifting relations of power about who makes language policy, who consumes language policy, who benefits from it and who and what is included and excluded in the process of policy production, mediation and consumption. In this process, each policy actor carves out different interests. Government bodies need to ensure they meet their targets, which they set out and promote in their official language strategies and broader national policy frameworks, amidst changing economic, social and political landscapes that affect public service provision and public spending. Corporate bodies need to ensure they provide satisfactory customer services and brand themselves as standing out from the competitive market. In the words of Shohamy, all these actors "use the public space as an arena for conducting their battles for power, control, national identity, recognition and self-expression" (Shohamy 2006, 111).

As Kelly-Holmes and Mautner (2010) contend, the linguistic marketplace is one vested with discourses of belonging, place, and language. In expressing their sentiments through group memberships and constructing boundaries, the business managers of this study oscillate between adopting a collective company-perspective (in terms of economic valuations of language and bilingualism) and a personal perspective (in terms of more emblematic valuations of language, identity, nationhood and culture). In this sense, most company stakeholders reveal their multiple and multifaceted identities at work. What this shows is the ways discourse shapes, and is shaped by, identity formations, implicating different power dynamics at the individual manager and collective company levels. Above all, what this also suggests is that the language, and the choices people make, gets mobilized as part of the identity work of businesses in minority language contexts as much as it gets mobilised for the identity sentiments of its Welsh and English-speaking employees. Language gets vested with affective interests and purposes, and the collective, institutional corporate ideologies and managers' individual, personal ideologies get actively re-worked and re-negotiated at the level of the self, the level of the organisation and the level of society.

What the various data sets show is a clear mismatch to the Welsh Government's ideal of a bilingual Wales as a "desired state of social and political parity between

the two languages – as a state of balance” (Jaffe 2007, 53). The evidence from this study suggests a rationale for querying the seemingly common-sense ideal of ‘true’ and ‘full’ bilingualism as a model and a gradable typology to which to adhere. What counts as ‘true’ or ‘full’ in bilingualism is discursively constructed by Welsh political and corporate bodies on largely monolingual ideals, and has ramifications for how language policy documents are designed and policies are put into practice. As such, the perceived problematics of bilingualism is not necessarily located in language, but in individual and institutional monolingual and essentialist ideologies about what it means to be bilingual as a person and as a business in a bilingual Wales.

Language policy is riddled with choices and compromises. It is one thing to say that people have a choice whether to use Welsh or English and quite another when it comes to putting such discourses into practice. As the study has borne out, the role of Welsh as a fully functional and legitimate choice in business settings is limited. Furthermore, choice discourses are largely undermined by ideologies that may hinder the freedom of this linguistic choice, especially in the context of historically hierarchical relationships between English and Welsh. While the business representatives’ experiences and reported practices demonstrate that language choice is overtly aspired to, it is *de facto* not free. Choice is conditioned by historical power relations between the dominant and dominated language, societal structures, hierarchies, as well as the institutionalised, sociocultural norms and normative boundaries of localised business settings, with lingering ideologies of convergence into English as the dominant language.

The study has shown that the incisive move from language marketing and persuasion efforts to greater obligation and standardisation has spurred an ideological debate about linguistic voluntarism and obligation about corporate bilingualism. This shift has given rise to the essential question of where to draw the line regarding the legal imposition of languages in business, premised on goodwill or enforcement. The debate about free-choice bilingualism and the related discourse on voluntarism vs. obligation is further connected to ideologies of the standard and linguistic purism as part of traditional language preservation discourses in minority language communities: who gets to choose to speak which language variety in which context, to whom, where, why and when.

As I problematised in Chapter 7, Colin’s comment on the perceived language snobbery amongst speakers of Welsh demonstrates the re-creation of existing linguistic regimes that overshadow the drive for increasing speaker numbers and the professional and social use of Welsh. Selleck’s (2018) and Hornsby and Vigers’ (2018) work on new speakers, that is learners, of Welsh demonstrate the ongoing stigma that these face in their attempts to integrate into traditional Welsh-speaking communities. They problematise the existing dilemma over monolingual purist language ideologies and their implications for new speakers of Welsh. As Blackledge

(2000, 25) once argued, within all language ideological debates, there are winners and losers: “‘who is in?’ and ‘who is out?’”. Certainly, such issues tell us something about the key nature of language ideological debates: they are premised on linguistic and social difference, hierarchisation and classification in late modern society.

Likewise, the aspired “bilingualism as the coexistence of two linguistic systems” (Heller 2007, 1) – an ideology we have seen in circulation in political and corporate policy discourse and in the business representatives’ discourses and reported practices – is one fraught with difficulty. Accordingly, both top-down policy agents (such as government bodies that construct language ideologies in policy discourse) and bottom-up policy stakeholders (such as managers that partly buy into these ideologies) need to work together to question their own perceptions and practices about the flawed ideal of ‘parallel monolingualism’. If such bodies act in favour of the constant interplay between English and Welsh as dynamic, shifting and evolving languages, and acknowledge the complexity and messiness of the bilingualism project, and then they may contribute to institutionalizing Welsh language use as social practice and to allowing Welsh to further permeate hitherto English-dominated domains. It is only in this manner of openness, tolerance and recognition that Welsh can move beyond a mere token of differentiation and establish itself as a legitimate means of communication alongside English in bi- and multilingual companies, where language contact is a common linguistic practice.

Returning to the question of bilingualism and equality, there is no doubt that all people living in Wales should have access to the same rights, opportunities and resources. Whilst full parity is difficult to realize, Piller’s (2016) understanding is helpful when she questions whether it might be a matter of re-framing the question around language equality in the first place. She urges us to ask instead how we can ensure ‘equality of opportunity’ for a linguistically just world (Piller 2016). Such a question would inherently couple language with social agency, for it would require policy stakeholders in politics and business to think about how to create opportunities for language use. As shown in the course of this book, the ‘value-added’ bilingualism in business seems to generate genuine conflicts about resource allocation and the fair provision of opportunities for practice. Such struggles revitalise seemingly old questions over which language(s) to use with whom, when, where and how. Or as Wodak (2012, 216) puts it:

who determines who can speak with whom, and how? Who decides on the norms of language use; who sets these norms and enforces them; who determines whether languages, linguistic behaviour and identities are accepted?

These questions may appear mundane but are, ultimately, part of the essence of any debate over language policy and what type of bilingualism is aspired to.

A final point I would like to raise here relates to lingering concerns in language advocacy over the official status of minority languages. New policy regimes, such as the Welsh Language Measure, create more structured conditions for minority language use. Language officiality is indeed key for language survival and revival. The recognition of Welsh as an official language provides the necessary terrain to improve the status of and resources for the language and serves to counter discrimination, marginalisation and stigmatisation. And yet, as the study has borne out, minority language speakers are still stigmatised and do not hold the same type of social agency in certain communicative contexts than their predominantly English-speaking counterparts. Legislation can thus not erase pervasive language ideologies and people's related linguistic actions.

The new language officiality of Welsh also creates new research opportunities. Here, I agree with Williams (2014) who argues that future research needs to “define and finesse the relationship between the promotion of Welsh as an official language and its regulation in terms of the compliance functions of the Welsh Language Measure, that is, the statutory regulation” (2014, 266). Similarly, the Language Commissioner's dual mandate of promotion and regulation deserves further scholarly attention insofar as this duality reflects the current ‘coercive’ and ‘economic’ turns in Welsh language policy: moving from the previous *laissez-faire* approaches in the private sector, which rested mainly on language promotion and persuasion, to greater standardisation, imposition and conformity. This produces a type of bilingualism that blurs the lines between empowerment and disempowerment by offering people a language and service choice on the one hand, and by regulating and constraining such choices, on the other.

8.2 What does the market potential of bilingualism do?

In current times of globalisation and localisation, resurging ethno-nationalism and its neoliberal component (Heller 2011, Pujolar 2018, Wodak 2018), it becomes clear that minority language policy agendas are fluctuating and that mere symbolism is not sufficient as a promotional argument in political policy texts to make people learn and use the language. In this book, I problematise the ways that minority languages such as Welsh figure increasingly in the economic sphere and in what ways bilingualism gets commodified and invested with indexes of distinction, authenticity, locality and market opportunities. As the study has borne out, bilingualism is increasingly marketed as a material economic resource and skill with instrumental value for commercial purposes and employment advantages. In this regard, it echoes and expands the existing critical literature on the growing commodification of

language in constituting corporate activity (e.g. Duchêne and Heller 2012a, Muth and Del Percio 2018, Flubacher, Duchêne, and Coray 2018).

Crucially then, what does the market potential of bilingualism do for the Welsh language and its speakers? For many businesses, bilingualism means entrepreneurship, which requires taking linguistic initiatives (such as offering Welsh language courses) and being innovative (in terms of branding services or managing bilingual communication in the workplace and with customers). For others, it means proclaiming their pride in Welshness and celebrating difference amidst processes of localisation and globalisation. As Boutet (2012, 207) points out, localisation processes unfold politically through “nationalistic claims”. Indeed, this study demonstrates that the link between language and nation-identity is still very much part of the official language policy discourse. According to this, Welsh lends itself to be treated as a territorially bound and homogenous entity that can be owned and commodified for marketing a ‘brand’ Wales. Regarding this type of regional branding in minority contexts, Burdick’s (2016) work on place branding in the region of Alsace in France and Brennan and Costa’s (2016) study on the rebranding of place in Shetland and Western Ireland resonate with the findings here. Whilst these studies prioritise place branding and the tourism industry, my research has foregrounded the unique re-negotiation of identity and locality in private sector businesses and the increased role of Welsh language competencies within the workplace. Brennan’s (2018) study on Irish language commodification and Urla’s (2012) enquiry into Basque companies’ total quality management strategies are amongst the very few studies that deal with minority language promotion in private sector businesses from a critical-sociolinguistic and anthropological perspective.

The empirical findings of this study provide new understandings of the ways essentialist ideologies about language, identity, nation, and the community have become economically appropriated in corporate and political language policy discourse and practice. The aim here is to negotiate Welsh language survival and revival on the one hand and to benefit commercially from a positive image of an authentically bilingual organisation, on the other. The study highlights further that companies, as sites of linguistic commodification, carve out new values and spaces for bilingualism through strategies of linguistic marketing in terms of catering for an authentic, local market but also in terms of niche marketing and branding. In this regard, commodification has not emerged as a necessarily limiting thing for the Welsh language. The business representatives’ practices, ideologies and policy mechanisms show that language policy can empower the language and the minority language groups as both citizens and consumers to exercise and actively demand choice. This, in turn, affords the language and its speakers more status, space and visibility. The study shows that commodification can indeed play a liberating, empowering and emancipating role for the language and its speakers.

Another novelty of the study lies in the growing role of corporate social responsibility (CSR) as an index of market potential for bilingualism. The commodification of Welsh unfolds not only in the ways the political and business actors tie the language to economic objectives such as effective service provision, competition, customer needs and wants, marketing and branding. Rather, the language is tied to broader social agendas of CSR, similar to ecological or diversity concerns, by twinning the goodwill to promote bilingualism with community service and social cohesion.

This development shows a clear shifting of responsibilities from the political sphere to the private sector sphere down to the citizen-consumer level to act in favour of Welsh and to take responsibility for the language's survival by promoting, learning and / or actively using it. As argued throughout this book, this overt freedom to choose the language and the self-responsible citizen-consumer is framed by a neoliberal governmentality (Martín Rojo 2018) and the neoliberalisation of language and language policy processes more broadly. This shift fractures the cultural continuity and legacy of the language-identity-nationhood idea but also shows that linguistic commodification processes operate in tandem, and not necessarily in conflict, with nationalist claims.

That said, there is still an ongoing and strong sense of local and national identity and attachment to place. 'Language' and 'identity' are discursively constructed as boundary markers and symbols of unity that provide stability and can be owned through exerting choice and capitalising on them. While this study has acknowledged that identity – be it personal, national or corporate – is vital to the minority language debate in Wales, the framing of minority languages has shifted and taken on new roles. In an era where normative assumptions of the nation as a natural unit of political organisation get de-stabilised and the power of nation states gets re-distributed, the key object of national and cultural pride, which has traditionally underpinned state language policy in Wales, has been turned into a marketing feature and an explicit national and corporate branding strategy.

Whilst new meanings, markets and opportunities of usage are opened up by twinning language and economic development, debates over legitimacy, access, distribution and (in)equality remain. Brennan and O'Rourke (2018) point to continuing tensions here, especially over "whether commodification of the language is a price worth paying and a feasible means to regenerate its use in everyday life". What, then, does the commodification of bilingualism enable us to see? The findings reported here shed new light on the ways that linguistic commodification leads to an objectification of languages and recasts speakers as commodities. This, in turn, results in a rather abstract treatment of languages and speakers as countable and bounded entities that lend themselves for commercial exploitation. The discursive conceptualisation of bilingualism in terms of 'fullness' and on terms of language

separation between Welsh and English, visible in the corporate language policy documents of many businesses, is one telling example of this consequential ‘thinginess’ and ‘thingification’ of language. Likewise, the government’s recent concern with quantification, illustrated through its plan of reaching one million speakers by 2050, exemplifies the commodified turn in many administrative language revitalisation agendas that has shaped minority language policy.

We are consequently led back to a modernist and fixed understanding of the language-culture-identity link, with the major difference being that the once peripheral and traditional conceptions of Welsh language competencies (as part of national collectivities) are now economically recognised and exploited for the world of work. Whether commodification is then a good or a bad thing is not a straightforward assessment, especially if we view commodification as an ideological process that infiltrates the language market and its stakeholders. If lawmakers, policy makers, institutions and other social actors assign economic value to minority languages, then this means they are vested with certain privileges and powers. This, in itself, is not necessarily a bad thing if it has the result of boosting the linguistic and social standing of the minority language and their speakers (see also Brennan 2018).

The question is rather: which/whose agenda and which actors are empowered through commodification? That of the language, that of political institutions or that of businesses? Such questions also lead us to another central concern, namely, who is ultimately responsible for bilingualism? The state, the economy, or the citizen? The analysis presented here suggests that a variety of agents and institutions define the status and fate of a language against the dialectic of structural and agentive factors that shape them. The answer, I believe, lies in the broader changes of language policy regimes in Wales that see a tightening of institutionalised bilingualism through greater standardisation measures, statutory compliance mechanism and a more prominent role of linguistic rights. Answers to such questions are inherently nuanced. They urge us to re-think our theoretical, methodological and empirical focus and can only be addressed by paying attention to the structural and agentive dimensions of language policy in local implementational spaces.

8.3 Implications and avenues for future research

A range of implications for Welsh language policy spring from this research. First, the findings call on Welsh policy makers to consider the situated policy practices of companies when planning for corporate bilingualism. Targeted corporate language policy initiatives may be a good starting point for addressing companies’ constraints over a bilingual approach. With businesses as powerful institutional bodies and workplaces as interactional environments, political decisions about how

bilingualism should be lived and managed in businesses may have far-reaching socio-economic implications. In view of the new language law, the Welsh Language Measure, and the new Welsh Government policy *Cymraeg 2050*, it will be important to foster a constant dialogue between political and corporate bodies, especially those that fall under the Measure's legal remit. Even if the goals of creating a total of one million Welsh speakers, as envisioned by *Cymraeg 2050*, may be seen as idealistic and lofty, this doesn't necessarily mean that language advocacy efforts and planning mechanisms cannot be intensified. They remain, at the very least, an important catalyst for future debate.

From a business perspective, one useful avenue here could be to reach out and tackle the existing communication gaps. That is, to seek more active engagements through various communication channels such as social media platforms (e.g. the Welsh Language Commissioner's active twitter platform) and the Commissioner's supportive website. This could help debunk existing myths about bilingualism in business and serve as a contact point for information-gathering and seeking advice. Government consultation processes are also ideal platforms for knowledge-sharing and an active responsabilisation of citizens and bodies from the public, private and voluntary sectors to contribute their voices. Such consultations help understand how laws or policies might not only affect them but also how the public can improve them through their input. The existing *Mentrau Iaith* / Language Initiatives, which are community-based organisations that help promote and develop Welsh at a local level, serve as another key anchor point for businesses to gather information, seek advice and initiate a mutual conversation. In all, this reaching out process via such platforms could help ascertain how the interventionist language policy measures, aimed at improving and expanding service provision through greater regulation, standardisation and imposition of duties, are responded to by the companies that have so far pursued a voluntary and flexible approach, and by those that may struggle under the new regulations.

Second, this study has identified the need to compromise between the goals of political actors and the situated practices of companies. The results presented above indicate that more opportunities need to be provided at the societal and especially at the individual level to allow individuals to live their lives in a bilingual manner in the workplace and in corporate communication, without being required to make 'either Welsh or English' decisions that would eventually result in monolingualism again. The results also suggest that corporate bilingualism is a resource-intensive endeavour in terms of the required human and financial supplies. There is an urgent need to offer effective and efficient support and knowledge-sharing mechanisms if persuasion is to result in the desired adoption of more language policy standards by the private sector. Only then can companies better align their own language policies, identify and plan for a multilingual workforce that brings a repertoire

of Welsh, English and other linguistic competencies, including migrants and new speakers, and adopt explicit customer-facing strategies accordingly.

Third, to further incentivize and facilitate policy implementation and make bilingualism the norm rather than the exception, the Welsh Government and the Welsh Language Commissioner may need to acknowledge the scale of challenges faced by companies, understand their hesitancy towards bilingualism, and support them accordingly. Businesses are also not isolated, fixed, self-governing entities. Whilst they have certain autonomy over their own structures and work policies, they are influenced by wider societal norms, policies and legislative frameworks. Outside an organisation's boundaries, as Mautner (2016, 2012) argues, there are "cultural, religious, economic and political structures that impinge on what can be done within it". As argued in this book, language policy and practices in the workplace are created within a net of power relations, ideologies and values within and beyond the institution that shape bilingualism and its market potential.

In addition to the scholarly insights and policy implications set out above, this study has generated many questions in need of further investigation. Language policy is a dynamic and fast-paced phenomenon and is always a product of specific contexts and times. As it evolves, the conditions for policy-making and implementation change alongside wider societal, economic and political transformations. Therefore, language policy research is necessarily always historically situated and needs to be a continuous undertaking in order to capture the ways in which language policy reacts to socio-political, historical and economic changes. Such work entails analysing the symbolic and material conditions of language, as well as the politics of language use 'across the scales of space and time' (Hult 2015).

This book offers an approach to language policy analysis that is mainly inspired by CDS and critical sociolinguistics – two disciplines that come with their own ontological and epistemological stances. In this book, I have aimed to draw from each of these strands of scholarship and establish conversation points. Much more nuanced conceptual and theoretical work is needed amongst critical discourse analysts and critical sociolinguistics over the shared and differing takes on discourse, text, practice, context, ideology and critique, their assumed (in)compatibilities, and the ways this affects scholarly enquiries and academic knowledge production and dissemination. Pietikäinen's (2016) critical thoughts on discourse, boundaries and social change are illuminating here. From a critical discourse perspective, and inspired by Cicourel's (1964) orientations, Wodak and Chilton (2005, 9) remind us to couple empirical work with social theory

both in the interests of the self-reflexivity that is vital for researchers of social action and its products, and because theory inevitably plays a role in the interpretation of empirical data, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Drawing on social theory gives us a meaningful lens on the workings of unequal relations of power in minority language contexts. This study strengthens the need to work with social theory if we are to make sense of critical discourse and sociolinguistic inquiries of language policy in late modernity.

In order to move the debate on a bilingual Wales forward, scholars and policy makers need to embrace the various components of bilingualism, that is to say, where (debates over) bilingualism have succeeded, where they have failed and what the challenges are that language users and service consumers experience. Perhaps more fundamentally, continuing research needs to focus on the political sphere of policy-making and on the politics of bilingualism.

As I stated at the outset of this book, language policy is inherently political at various levels. From the institutional field of politics, it would be interesting to understand in greater depth what challenges governments face on the ground in their promotion of bilingualism in the face of austerity, budget cuts and wider political changes such as Brexit in the UK (for the latter, see Chríost Mac Giolla and Bonotti 2018), and the implications of changing political landscapes on other minority language contexts elsewhere. What challenges do institutional bodies such as Language Commissioners face in their dual mandate to promote and regulate minority languages? After all, the state and political actors are very much involved in language policy efforts to safeguard minority languages and, as such, deserve continuous scholarly attention. Likewise, it will be essential to keep examining other social fields (such as the workplace, the community and families) and multiple old, new and social media of communication, where political ideas are (co) constructed, recontextualised, absorbed and / or resisted through people's beliefs about language and their actions in everyday life.

In a time where discrimination is on the rise, based on the grounds of language, gender, class, ethnicity and race, amongst other factors, it is timely to address linguistic and social battles in future language policy enquiries by taking comparative work across issues and disciplines into account. The fields of language policy and sociolinguistics must continue in their endeavours to articulate discursive and ideological critique and suggest alternative ways of 'doing' language policy. Following the call of Moore, Pietikäinen and Blommaert (2010), work on minority languages requires a shift of analytic gaze away from abstract notions of 'languages' and 'speakers' to practices and actual resources that people deploy in their everyday social lives through ethnographic approaches. I would add here that it also requires a move away from examining mainstream topics to more niche and peripheral phenomena in the political economy of language policy. Such a shift in analytic gaze entails taking risks as researchers by employing new methods of data collection and analysis, such as virtual ethnographies (e.g. Lenihan 2018) or social media discourse studies (e.g. KhosraviNik and Unger 2015). Likewise, it requires

questioning the theories and concepts we use, and assumptions we make, in the same way that we oblige others to question their own orthodoxies.

One peripheral scientific and political topic in language policy in Wales has been that of multilingualism. The field of minority language policy might indeed gain more critical purchase if policy makers and researchers looked into the *de facto* linguistic reality of bilingual Wales: ‘unofficial multilingualism’. As this study has shown, political and corporate language policy discourses have been centred on a strict Welsh-English bilingual agenda. Discourses about multilingualism and especially non-native English and Welsh speakers in the context of bilingual Wales have been largely absent in policy debates. Further research could fruitfully explore the political motivation for a bi- rather than multilingual Wales, alongside research into multilingual speakers, their identity politics and practices in workplaces and other institutional and social settings in minority language communities. After all, a multicultural Wales that juggles a multitude of languages, and language varieties, may also turn into a more inclusive and cohesive place as regards its national identity ethos. Such work would be an enriching avenue to pursue and add to the growing critical, discursive and ethnographic scholarship on multilingual discourses and practices (see e.g. Unger, Krzyzanowski, and Wodak 2014, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Duchêne, Moyer, and Roberts 2013).

Relatedly, another area with which this book could not engage but merits greater scrutiny is a more systematic engagement with ‘monolingual’ non-Welsh speakers who resist speaking or learning the Welsh language for different reasons or companies that resist adopting a bilingual approach. To understand multilingualism in society to the full, research needs to concentrate on both monolingual and multilingual ideological language regimes and its conglomerate and heterogeneity of speakers. Here, I want to remind readers of crucial work carried out back in the 1990s by Coupland and Thomas (1990) who invite us to examine the historically contingent relationship between Welsh and English and to focus on the dominant majority in as much as the dominated minority. Beyond this focus, the multilingual turn (May 2014), along with the global and social transformations of our time, has re-positioned the role of languages for education, work, leisure or migration purposes. Despite an overall acceptance and celebration of bilingualism as an advantage, the monolingual mindset (Clyne 2008), native speakerism (here both between Welsh and English and within Welsh), and norm-centred models of language learning and language use prevail. In that sense, then, the field of language policy and bilingualism would benefit from tracing the historical imperialism and colonial ideologies that have historically constructed linguistic hierarchies and led to social and linguistic marginalisation. Likewise, it is perennial to trace existing practices of resistance towards the celebratory policy promotion of bilingualism.

8.4 Concluding remarks

In this book, I have provided the conceptual framework, methodological operationalisation and practical application of a discursive approach to examining language policy in a minority language business context. The book is premised on the understanding that language is a focal point for articulating and living out power relationships, and that language policy processes are never apolitical. It adds to a body of literature about bilingualism in minority language contexts and, more broadly, about how the fields of politics, business and society are inextricably related. The study, it is hoped, will be a catalyst for policy makers, academics and people interested in minority language issues alike to understand that the private sector is a unique and highly relevant terrain in which to investigate opportunities for bi- and multilingual communicative practices. Future critical discursive, ethnographic and sociolinguistic studies on the Welsh context are needed in order to understand the complexities of bilingualism, language policy and their mutual relationship with the economy. That said, the politicised idea of bilingualism premised on choice and equality is much more complex in the everyday practices of businesses. There is not one type of bilingualism, but many. Similarly, there is not one bilingual Wales, but many. The current marketisation of bilingualism as a material resource undermines the assumed simplicity of a bilingual Wales. Whilst the country is certainly a successful example of language revitalisation and policy, we shouldn't miss the fact that promotional and regulatory policy interventions of any kind open up new avenues for conflict over insiders and outsiders, who has access and who hasn't, whose voice is heard and whose isn't. These issues are precisely what we need to be more aware of as critical language scholars. We need to interrogate mundane assumptions and ask the difficult questions in order to further debate and make sense of the confusion of a multilingual world, and to promote mutual respect and tolerance. As such, I hope that this book will help build an understanding of the situated ways in which language policy and bilingualism as practices are tied to the changing conditions and transformations of late modern society. Bilingualism is evolving and in flux, so language policy needs to be, too.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Transcription conventions

These conventions are based on Froschauer and Lueger (2003).

[.]	pause of approximately 1 s
[..]	pause of approximately 2 s (etc.)
[]	omitted data (e.g. [unclear])
I	interviewer
>...<	situational noises; laughter (e.g. > telephone rings <; > starts laughing <)
<u>word</u>	emphasis on specific words (e.g. > some people don't <u>want</u> to understand <)

Appendix B. Interview guide

Date:
Place:
Time:
Interviewee:
Job Title:
Interview length:
Date online survey was completed:

Interviewer's Notes

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet up with me today. I am conducting this interview as a follow up to the web-based survey you filled in. I would like to talk to you about the use of Welsh and English in your business, the reasons for and against offering bilingual services, and the attitudes towards using Welsh for business activities.

Before we start, I would like to briefly explain what we'll be doing during the interview, which will take about 45 minutes.

Record: With your permission, I would like to audio-record our interview since this will help me to better focus on our conversation and to analyse the data later on.

Data: This interview will be kept strictly confidential. The name of your company will not be disclosed and your identity will remain anonymous when I write my follow-up report on the results of the study. Extracts from the interview will be used in academic publications. Would it be ok if I quoted what you said verbatim?

Procedure: Basically, I will ask you some questions touched upon in the online survey you already completed and some other questions related to the topic of research. We will be talking about *three major areas*: (a) the use and relevance of Welsh for your company, (b) the implementation of a Welsh language policy in your company, and (c) the recently agreed Welsh Language Measure.

Warm-up questions

1. Can you describe your job role/function within the company?
2. Which languages do you speak?
3. What is the main working language of your business?
 - Last contact with Welsh: stakeholders (customers, colleagues, management)
 - Internal (workplace) vs. external (clients), written-spoken communication

Main questions**A. use and relevance of Welsh for company**

4. Tell me more about the factors determining Welsh-English language choice in business.
 - Reasons for using Welsh/offering bilingual services/operating bilingually or English-only?
 - Benefits and challenges of bilingualism when conducting business? Experiences? Examples?
 - Identity marker for business?
5. Talking about recruiting staff, what are the benefits or difficulties regarding the employment of bi/multilingual staff?
 - Value of (Welsh) language skills for business?
 - Is Welsh considered in HR planning?
 - Did language skills play a role for your own employment?

B. Welsh Language Policy

6. When you responded to my online survey, you indicated that you had/didn't have a WLP. Can you tell me more about it?
 - Why policy (not) adopted? Is written policy necessary?
 - How effective? Awareness among staff and customers? Author of policy?
7. What would be a reason/an incentive for adopting a policy in the future?

C. Welsh Language Measure

8. What is your opinion on the new language law?
9. What does it mean for your company?

Closing

10. In how far can policies/legislation contribute to increasing the use of Welsh in the private sector?
 - Shift from voluntarism to obligation in the private sector?
 - What about further devolution and language?
 - How can you picture the future of Welsh in your company?

Appendix C. Sample interview coding journal (atlas.ti)

Code	Description	Quotation
0. Background respondent [0–3]		
0.1 Job function [18–1]	Job description; position	
0.2 Education [8–1]	Welsh-medium, English-medium or other type of school	I4 (021): “I was not actually educated through the medium of English until I went to university when I was 18. So up to 18, it was completely Welsh-medium education”
0.3 Linguistic repertoire [18–1]	Self-perceived competence	I5 (045): “I think my spoken Welsh I am really comfortable with. But the written side of it, I’ll write informally, and I can translate the odd thing”
1. Reasons for operating bilingually [0–8]		
1.1 Meeting customer needs and wants [23–3]	Service-orientation; meeting customer demands	
1.1.1 Offering customers a choice [17–1]	Offering customers to receive services in their preferred language	I2 (147): “You know, you don’t have to take Welsh language services, if you are not a Welsh speaker, and you don’t particularly want them. But if you know they are available and you are interested in using the services, then it gives you a choice”
1.1.2 Creating customer goodwill [14–1]	Enhanced brand and customer loyalty	I9 (051): “I would say that it’s good PR and good customer relations as well to provide a service through the medium of Welsh”
1.2 Marketing of Welsh services [6–1]	Welsh forms part of companies’ explicit marketing strategy; marketing bilingualism and its advantages	I3 (141): “On my CV, with the firm, it says I am happy to receive instructions through the medium of Welsh, so I suppose, in that sense, it is promoting that the door is open there to give advice in Welsh or in English”
1.3 Marketing of brand Wales [5–1]	Language forms vital part of brand Wales	I1 (035): “So it’s more than just language. You see visuals across the place of like Visit Wales branding. And it’s just kind of playing on this whole brand Wales thing”

Code	Description	Quotation
1.4 Establish relationship to community [13–1]	Community development; language and the community	I8 (049): “Supporting our communities is another thing we do (...). Community connections, this is one where we give ICT equipment to community groups, for example”
1.5 Perceived naturalness to use Welsh [19–1]	Perceived as natural to use Welsh language as native speaker	I6 (125): “it is driven by the fact that we are Welsh. Welsh exists, that’s why we use it, you know”
1.6 Commitment to Welshness [5–1]	Make a commitment to support the Welsh language and support Wales, its culture and heritage	I8 (017): “That’s a compliment in a way that people associate our company with supporting Wales and supporting the Welsh language and culture”
1.7 Commitment to Welsh language [8–1]	Make a commitment to supporting the Welsh language	I5 (031): “we think it’s an advantage from a business point of view to show we do support the Welsh language”

Appendix D. Web-based questionnaire

This survey seeks to capture the status quo of Welsh and English language use in businesses and the prevalent attitudes towards mainstreaming Welsh in the private sector. Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire and for your invaluable input to my research.

1. What is your main language, i.e. the language you command best?

- English
- Welsh
- Welsh and English equally
- Other (please specify) _____

2. Please rate your Welsh language competence.

	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Not at all
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Considering those people who you have contact with at work, how many of them can communicate in Welsh?

	All	More than half	Less than half	None	N/A	Don't know
Management	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
White collar workers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Blue collar workers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Customers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Suppliers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please specify _____

4. Which language is used in your business for the following situations?

	Only Welsh mostly	Mostly Welsh	Both Welsh and English equally	Mostly English	Only English
Internal spoken Communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Internal written Communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
External spoken Communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
External written Communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. Please specify whether your business uses the Welsh language for the following areas.

	Bilingual (English/Welsh)	Welsh only	English only	N/A	Don't know	Other languages
Website	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Internal signs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
External signs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Print materials (e.g. leaflets, menus)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Payslips and contracts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Packaging and Labelling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Advertising and Publicity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recruitment Advertising	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Company policies	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other areas: please specify _____

6. Which Welsh language provision does your company provide when conducting business with customers? Multiple answers possible.

- No Welsh language provision
- Visible language provision (e.g. branding, leaflets, signs)
- Language provision upon request
- Complete Welsh language provision

Other: please specify _____

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
It is important to use Welsh in the workplace.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
English only is sufficient for the success of our business.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Welsh language is an asset to our business.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Welsh language skills give our business a competitive advantage.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Private sector businesses should operate in English only.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Customers need to be offered the choice of English and Welsh.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recruiting bilingual speakers for our business is difficult.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Welsh forms part of our corporate identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Statutory enforcement of Welsh language use in the private sector is necessary.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Welsh language is part of national identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. Which factors determine the use of Welsh in your business? Multiple answers possible.

- Customer needs/language of the customer
- Policies/Contracts/Tenders
- Management/Ownership
- Size of business

- Unique Selling Point/Marketing advantage
- Corporate Identity/Image
- High-frequency area of Welsh language use
- Identification with Wales
- Economic asset
- Other

Other: please specify _____

9. Which factors determine the non-use of Welsh in your business? Multiple answers possible.

- Lack of customer needs
- Management/Ownership
- Size of business
- Cost implications
- Non-availability of services
- Shortage of bilingual staff
- Lack of staff support
- Increased workload
- Specialist nature of area of work
- Other

Other: please specify _____

10. Name the advantages, if any, involved in offering bilingual services in your business. Multiple answers possible.

- Offer customers a choice of service
- Access to available funding/grants
- Increased company image/reputation
- Maintain corporate brand
- Unique Selling Point/Marketing advantage
- Bilingualism as an asset
- Marker of national identity/Welsh heritage
- Promote customer loyalty/support
- Other

Other: please specify _____

11. Name the problems, if any, involved in offering bilingual services in your business.

- Lack of opportunities to use Welsh within company
- Lack of Welsh language skills among staff
- Lack of language training for staff
- Recruitment of Welsh-speaking staff
- Quality control of written Welsh business communication
- Lack of Welsh language policy
- Lack of translation services
- Cost factor
- Time restraints
- Workload
- Other

Other: please specify _____

12. The Proposed Welsh Language Measure, published by the Welsh Assembly Government in March 2010, lists a number of organisations which would be bound to provide Welsh language services to customers in Wales. Companies affected would be those providing essential utilities such as gas, water and electricity suppliers, as well as telecommunications, bus and railway services. Have you heard of the Proposed Welsh Language Measure?
- Yes
 - No
13. The Welsh Language Act 1993 places duties on public sector bodies providing services to the public to treat English and Welsh on the basis of equality. The Act does not include the private sector. Do you agree or disagree that using Welsh could become a legal requirement for private sector businesses in the future?
- Agree
 - Disagree
 - Don't know
- Can you give reasons _____
14. Do you agree or disagree that the Welsh Assembly Government can now legislate on issues relating to the Welsh language?
- Agree
 - Disagree
 - Don't know
- Can you give reasons _____
15. Does your business have a written Welsh Language Policy?
- Yes
 - No
 - Don't know
- Can you give reasons _____
16. To whom is the policy accessible? Multiple answers possible.
- Customers
 - Staff
 - Both
17. What is your company's language policy based on?
- Welsh Language Board's Policy Template
 - Company's internal formulation
 - Both
 - Don't know
18. If you have adopted a Welsh language policy, please give reasons.
- _____
19. If you have not adopted a Welsh language policy, please give reasons.
- _____

20. Would you like your company to have a policy in the future?

- Yes
- No

Why? _____

21. The Welsh Language Board has launched an “Investing in Welsh” Scheme which enables businesses to demonstrate their support for the Welsh language by following and reaching a number of commitments. Have you heard of the Investing in Welsh Scheme?

- Yes
- No

22. Does your business use the “Investing in Welsh” Scheme?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

23. Please give the name of your business

24. What is your current job title?

25. Which of the following options best describes your job function?

- Owner/Partner/Senior Executive/Board Member
- Manager/Executive/Supervisor
- Professional/Specialist
- Junior/Entry level/Intern
- Other

Other: please specify _____

26. Please specify the type of business unit:

- Headquarters
- Subsidiary

27. Please specify the operational area of your business. Multiple answers possible.

- International
- Britain
- All Wales
- Regional/Local: please specify _____

28. Please give the size of your company.

- Small (0–50 employees)
- Medium (51–250 employees)
- Large (250+ employees)

29. How often do you use Welsh in your workplace for the following situations?

	Every day	Several times a week	About once a week	About once a month	Never
Internal spoken communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Internal written communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
External spoken communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
External written communication	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

30. What language do you use in the following situations?

	Only Welsh	Mostly Welsh	Both Welsh and English equally	Mostly English	Only English
Interaction with family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Day to day activities (e.g. shopping)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Leisure/Hobbies	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other: please specify _____

31. Please state the highest level of education you have completed.

- Primary school
- Secondary school
- Undergraduate University
- Postgraduate University
- Specialist qualification
- Other

Other: please specify _____

32. Please indicate your age range.

- 21 and under
- 22–35
- 36–49
- 50 and over

33. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Thank you very much for completing the questionnaire!

Your answers from this questionnaire will be used to identify the current use of Welsh and English in private sector businesses and to elicit the motivations and underlying reasons for businesses to operate bilingually or not.

Once again, thank you for your participation!

34. **Would you be willing to participate in an interview with me to further investigate the topics of the survey?**

Yes

No

35. **Do you want to be informed about the results of this survey?**

Yes

No

If yes, please enter your e-mail address: _____

36. **Please use the space below for any additional comments concerning the topics addressed in this survey you would like to give.**

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Language Policy in Business: Discourse, ideology and practice provides a critical sociolinguistic and discursive understanding of language policy in a minority language context. Focusing on Welsh-English bilingualism in private sector businesses in Wales, the book unpacks the circulating discourses, ideologies and practices of promoting bilingualism as a sociocultural and economic resource in the globalised knowledge economy. It sheds light on businesses as ideological sites for struggles over language revitalisation, which has been characterised by tensions and discursive shifts from essentialist ideologies about language, identity, nation and territory, to an increased commodification of bilingualism.

The book is premised on the understanding that language is a focal point for articulating and living out historical power relationships and inequalities, and that language policy processes are never apolitical. It adds to a body of literature about bilingualism in minority language contexts and, more broadly, about how the fields of politics, business and society are inextricably related.

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