CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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

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1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

https://doi.org/10.1075/wlp.7.01fai

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The classical school: a historical-structural approach developed from the classical theoretical literature with its roots in modernism
2. The domain focused school: an approach that focuses on different domains of language policy (the family, workplace, religion, public space, schools, etc.) and examines related practices, beliefs and planning
3. The critical studies school: an approach that critically questions "the hegemonic approaches found in classical language planning" and aims at "social change to reduce various types of inequalities"
(Baldauf & Hamid, 2018, p. 55)
4. The ethnographic school: "a layered approach that allows policy texts with their underlying constructs of power relationships to be related to various actors in local communities who are engaged in the policy making and implementation process, to illuminate the ways in which policy works or is dysfunctional"
(Baldauf & Hamid, 2018, p. 54)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An LMT perspective, however, takes a different stance to both of these perspectives. In contrast to the first two schools, LMT considers language management an essential, integral part of human language activities (Kimura, 2005). Lanstyák (2014, p. 326) notes that "[o]ne of the great merits of LMT is that it makes the issue of human intervention into discourses or into the language system an organic part of language theory." From the viewpoint of LMT the questions raised by Calvet and Spolsky, regarding whether languages can or should be managed, do not make sense, as humans are constantly intervening in and managing language. As Nekvapil and Sherman (2015, p. 5) point out, "people essentially cannot *not* manage their language", so, in other words, LMT situates 'management' as a part of practice. The question raised by Spolsky makes sense only if we understand 'management' as 'manipulation', as Kikuchi (2010) has suggested. From the perspective of LMT, the questions raised by Calvet and Spolsky can be responded to in the following way: *The question is not to what extent humans can intervene or should manage language. Humans are already incessantly intervening in and managing language. The question to be asked is rather, who is intervening, where (in what kind of situation or social context), in what way, for what purpose and with what kind of consequences?* As mentioned in the previous section, for LMT, management begins in everyday interactions. Thus, the "total absence of social interaction" (Sloboda, 2010) in Spolsky (2009) is one of the main differences between his conceptualization of language management and its conceptualization in LMT. For further differences between the two approaches, see Dovalil (2011), Jernudd (2010), Sloboda (2010), and Sherman (this volume).

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

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

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

On the other hand, there are other approaches that position LPP within the scope of general language activities, without falling into the trap of seeing it as something 'artificial' or 'unnatural'. For example, Gazzola (2014) consciously delimits the scope of policy analysis. While acknowledging the existence of policy in practices, he argues as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The distinction is further explained as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Neustupný's view, then, the macro and micro are ***not*** conceptualized as separate homogenous social stratifications, but rather seen as a continuum without clear boundaries. Furthermore, in a pre-LMT consideration of two types of correction acts, which later came to be termed simple and organized management, he also argued that "there is a gradual transition from one to the other type of correction and little can be gained by an attempt to impose a clearcut boundary between the two" (Neustupný 1978, p. 251).

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

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

In this volume, we aim to expand this line of thought, especially paying attention to the fact that in some cases elements of organized management are observable in simple management and vice-versa. Based on this conceptualization of the micro and macro as a intertwining continuum rather than separate entities, the characteristics so far attributed to simple or organized management, as represented in Table 1, can no longer be regarded as discrete categories but as, at least theoretically, freely combinable elements. Therefore, rather than categorizing 'behaviour toward language' as either macro or micro, it will be more precise to describe it as 'more macro-focused' or 'more micro-focused'. This then demonstrates another distinction from the management concept of Spolsky (2009), who sees the continuum as merely a one-dimensional scale, ranging "from individual to supranational" (p. 13). Our conceptualization also includes more elements than the conceptualization of a scale based on time and space proposed by Hult (2010). While sharing with Hult the same criticism of dualistic conceptualizations, we do not subscribe to his opinion that the terms micro and macro are necessarily dualistic and emphasize 'discrete layers'. Rather, we argue that setting two poles and denoting their elements can be useful to illuminate the 'grey area' between them.

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

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

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

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

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

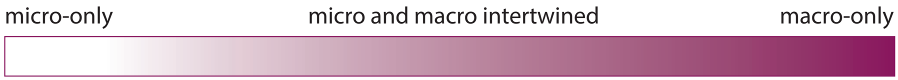

Figure 1. The conceptualization of the micro and macro as a continuum

6. The organization of this volume

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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