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Ideological Conceptualizations of Language
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Jiří Nekvapil and Tamah Sherman

Introductory Remarks

The aim of this chapter is to examine the language ideologies utilized in linguistic practices in multinational companies. In essence, this issue can be approached in two ways: either by taking a pre-determined set of ideologies discovered elsewhere and observing whether (or to what degree) these ideologies will be utilized in further domains or environments, e.g. in multinationals, or by approaching the new environment without any sort of pre-determined set of language ideologies and only then attempting to identify a set of language ideologies used on the basis of the materials gathered. Researchers who orient toward the first approach can check the validity of a long list of language ideologies identified by experts (see most recently, for example, Weber 2009). Among these are *standard language ideology*, the ideology of *one nation – one language*, the ideology of *societal multilingualism as a problem* (or the related ideology of *monolingualism as natural*), the ideology of *multilingualism as an opportunity* (or the related and more general ideology *multilingualism is good*), the ideology of *the social hierarchy of languages*, the ideology of *informal address*[1] (found in left-wing political parties and in some European countries in the entire society), and so forth. Researchers oriented toward the second approach will most likely identify the same ideologies or some of them in a specific new environment, but will likely be more sensitive to the manifestations of other, thus far unidentified ideologies. The two approaches can also be combined. For example, Julia de Bres (this volume) evidently begins with the first approach ('Language ideologies of potential relevance'), but gradually moves in the direction of the second one ('New language ideologies'). In this chapter, we attempt primarily to apply the second approach, and thus the identification of language ideologies utilized in the environment under study is one of our main aims.

   Why, though, should we focus on language ideologies at all? As the title of this chapter itself may signal, we assume there is an interesting connection between

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[1]   A number of languages, including Czech, French and German, differentiate between formal and informal address, expressed, among others, through the morphology of pronouns and verbs. In the case of some languages, the use of formal address has all but disappeared, in others, it is a continual matter of negotiation of personal relationships, etc.

language ideologies and linguistic (communicative) practices. This connection tends to be formulated in various ways. We begin with the assumption that certain language ideologies *cause* (and in a weaker sense *guide, influence* or *underlie*) certain linguistic practices. For example, supporters of the ideology of *language as a representation of gender equality* (see Kroskrity 2004: 496–497) established in English the use of 'he or she' and other alternatives to the generic use of the pronoun 'he'. Language ideologies, however, need not only lead to a change in the individual aspects of a linguistic system or to the introduction of specific communicative practices, but rather, less visible aspects can be manifested as well. This paper argues that language ideologies represent a normative orientation for the speakers, and in serving as the basis for norms or expectations for communicative behaviour, the ideologies guide, influence or underlie what can be noticed as a deviation from the norm, what can be evaluated (negatively, positively or otherwise) and so forth, that is, they guide management processes in the sense of Jernudd & Neustupný (1987).

Based on what we have written above, it may appear that language ideologies could somehow exist *outside of* linguistic practices. We could even support this idea given that people discuss language ideologies (even though they do not directly use or even know the expression 'language ideologies'), they are able to provide information about them in research interviews, and researchers are able to 'paraphrase' the language ideologies in generalized expert formulations. Even though we essentially remain in this position in this article, at the same time we are aware of the fact that *language itself* is used to formulate language ideologies, and language ideologies can become linguistic practices, when, for example, they are used as arguments in an everyday conversation or research interview (see Laihonen 2008). This is closely tied to the fact that language ideologies are not an end in themselves, but rather, they are used as the means to extralinguistic ends; in other words, their use produces social reality – language ideologies, for example, help reproduce the divisions between groups, they aid in the exclusion of individuals from a specific social or cultural group or, conversely, in the inclusion of an individual in such a group.

As mentioned above, in this study we do not wish to merely check whether one language ideology or another (e.g. 'multilingualism is good') is utilized in multinationals, but rather, we would like to 'find' or even 'discover' language ideologies in a setting that we happened to be researching. Therefore, this chapter should not be viewed as presenting an all-encompassing description of language use in multinationals, or even in multinationals in Central Europe, though it does provide new and interesting information on them. Rather, in this process of ideology discovery, we would like to provide support for the hypothesis that *any given setting* contains a constellation of language ideologies which then influence *observable practices of language management.*

For this purpose, of course, we need a definition of the concept of 'language ideology'. There are many concepts of language ideologies (hereafter, LI), and in this paper we draw on the approaches elaborated particularly in linguistic anthropology. In a classic definition Silverstein (1979: 193) conceptualized LI as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use'. Errington (2001: 110) understands LI as 'the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language'. Blommaert (2006: 241) summarizes this linguistic anthropology concept thus: LI are 'socially and culturally embedded *metalinguistic* conceptualizations of language and its forms of usage'; and, specifically, these are member's 'conceptions of "quality", value, status, norms, functions, ownership, and so forth' with regard to language. Finally, Kroskrity (2004) sees LI as a cluster concept with five levels of organization; these are:

1. Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.
2. Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, etc.).
3. Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.
4. Members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk.
5. Language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity). (Kroskrity 2004: 501–509)

Given that social and cultural groups and national and ethnic identity are at the forefront of the understanding of LI, we will begin our 'discovery' of the language ideologies in multinationals by presenting a brief summary of the broader social context in which they are situated, characterizing the power relationships that result from this context.

Power Relationships in the Central European Multinationals, Their Socioeconomic and Cultural Context

This study concerns multinational companies with branches or plants in Central Europe, and is based on research conducted above all in the Czech Republic. Characteristically, the branches and plants of such companies are located in these countries, whereas the headquarters are usually elsewhere, in the cases of the companies in this study, usually in Germany. This fact is tied to the power relations in the branches or plants, which, in turn, manifest themselves in the linguistic and

communicative spheres. This socioeconomic situation in Central Europe is connected to the recent political and economic development of the Central and East European countries, which represents 'the political matrix of linguistic ideologies' (McGroarty 2008), which is why we will now mention some important aspects of the socioeconomic and cultural context.

The most decisive moment for the access of multinational companies to the territory of the current Czech Republic (but also Slovakia or Hungary) was the profound political change in 1989 which made it possible to transform the Central European economies from command economies of state socialism to liberal market capitalism. Importantly, this transformation was accompanied by the massive penetration of the western capital into the local economies, which manifested itself in the foundation of thousands of joint ventures and branches and plants of western multinational companies. This profound transformation entailed the import of new know-how, changing working habits, different organizational structures, and increased presence of the mediators of the transformation (known in some companies as *expatriates*, in connection with their limited-term contracts and western salaries), who occupied the top positions in the branches and plants almost exclusively. This implies that the expatriates in this case represented a powerful, though not numerous, group of employees who came to 'teach' the locals best practices, where the locals were put in the position of the 'learners' (Czyżewski et al. 1995). Another characteristic of the relationship of these two groups of employees was the fact that the 'medium of instruction' has never been the national language of the locals. Thus, the issue of learning foreign languages has come to the forefront. The point is also that the access of the multinationals to Central Europe has often been perceived in these countries not as a form of integration of the local economy into the world economy, but rather, as a matter of the sensitive binary international relationship, particularly, a Czech-German one, in the case of the Czech Republic. The fear of a high proportion of German capital in the Czech economy was widespread, and in the Czech Republic, the portfolio of the foreign direct investments has been the object of public and media observation ever since.[2] The focus on the growing German capital is not surprising, as in history, Czech-German relationships have been marked by many tensions which culminated during World War II and the years immediately following it (for more details, see, for example, Höhne & Nekula 1997; Bandelj 2008; Piech & Radosevic 2006).

In connection with this, there are two points worth mentioning expressed by Castells (2010: 120, 121). He notes that a number of analysts question the multi-

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[2]   See, for example, data on foreign direct investment in the Czech Republic (CNB 2010), which, among other distinctions, differentiate between the amount of FDI in various areas of the national economy and from individual countries.

national character of multinationals, arguing that multinationals are 'nation-based corporations with a global reach', and thus raises the provocative question of how multinational these corporations truly are. He later points out that 'the architecture and composition of business networks being formed around the world are influenced by the national characteristics of societies where such networks are embedded' (Castells 2010: 210). If we adopt Castells' emphasis on the *national* in multinationals, we can presume that national ideologies, including language ideologies, will be a structural characteristic of them.

The Researched Company Plant, Data and Methods

Though this study has been undertaken within a broader long-term project aimed at describing the linguistic diversity in multinational companies in Central Europe (see Nekvapíl & Nekula 2006; Nekula, Marx & Šichová 2009; Nekvapíl & Sherman 2009a, 2009b; Sherman et al. 2010), in this paper we focus primarily (but not exclusively) on one large company and one of its plants in the Czech Republic (the plant itself has about 2000 employees). We chose this particular company plant because it represents one type of constellation for the Central European region and more specifically the Czech Republic – thus there might be a specific coexistence of ideologies that can be found within it. This type is characterized by the fact that the company in question is Western European in origin, and there exists a language which is native to the parent company delegates, in this case German. There is a mixed labour force in the plant of local employees as well as delegates from the parent company, and the native language of many of the local employees (which can apply to languages such as Czech, Slovak or Hungarian) is one that is less commonly spoken outside the respective country than the native language of many of the parent company delegates (in this case, German). In addition, this particular company has, like many, selected English as the language to be used in a number of specified contexts and functions, e.g. reporting.[3] Finally, the plant employs individuals from the surrounding countries, as well as those from countries from which there have been traditional, yet increasing waves of economic migration, e.g. Vietnam. It should be emphasized that the plant itself must somehow manage all of the language situations created on the basis of these international constellations.

The ethnographic research took place from 2004 to 2010 and involved visits by different researchers to the plant, with the utilization of as many methods as possible. The resulting data consists of semi-structured interviews conducted with a number

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[3] Here it should be emphasized that this element of the constellation need not be automatic regarding German-owned companies or branches, but rather, that it is merely one model. Other models of German-owned branches in the Czech Republic have been explored by Engelhardt (2009).

of different employees (several dozens of interviews). Initially, interviews were conducted with the members of top management, with a focus on interviewing individuals of different nationalities (e.g. Czech, German, Austrian). To get a more complex picture, we continued with the conducting of interviews with individuals working in production, middle management, public relations, research and development, training, and language education. To deepen the reliability of our research, some individuals were interviewed repeatedly over the course of several years, including by different interviewers and in different languages.[4]

In addition to interviews, our methodology included ethnographic observation and field notes regarding all goings-on at the plant, recording and observation of meetings, the collection of written materials reflecting company policy, and observation (and in some cases, photography) of the linguistic landscape, the signs inside and outside the plant premises. The research is thus designed in order to capture not only the 'discursive' consciousness of social actors which can explicitly manifest itself in the interview, but also their 'practical' consciousness which is tacit, being embodied in the interaction (see Kroskrity 2006: 505, 506, 513, note 8).

Language Management Framework

In this study, we emphasize the normative character of language ideologies. These not only manifest themselves in descriptive and evaluative statements regarding a language, but they also directly or indirectly *require* a particular kind of linguistic behaviour. In other words, they serve as the basis for particular norms. So, for example, the standard language ideology requires people to assume and use the standard language as the only correct variety of a language, and this, by implication, must happen to the detriment of the non-standard varieties. It goes without saying that people do not stick to the norms in each particular case, that is, they violate them; importantly, however, violations of or deviations from the norms presume the very existence of the norms. This implies that the normative character of LI is likely to manifest itself also in deviations from the norms, the noting of the deviations, evaluations of the noted deviations and if such evaluations are negative, in thinking over adjustment designs that could remove the deviations through implementation of the adjustments.

Usually, scholars studying language ideologies are interested in the ideologies themselves, at most paying attention to the relationships between the ideologies and their 'consequences' in the form of intended measures of influencing language behaviour on the macro social level. Here we apply a more complex approach to the study of language ideologies which would be able to capture the above mentioned aspects of the workings of language ideologies and even many more aspects. This

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4   A similar methodological approach is discussed in detail in Nekvapil (2003).

approach is based on the Language Management Framework in the vein of Neustup-ný & Jernudd (1987).[5] Here, language management can be defined briefly as 'beha-vior-toward-language' as coined by Fishman (1971). The framework presumes the existence of norms or expectations for communicative behavior which different participants use in different situations. Drawing on these expectations, participants may produce communicative acts without paying attention to the language they use or to aspects of communication. The management process starts only when they begin to pay attention to language use, that is, they note a language phenomenon, for example, a deviation from the norm, evaluate it (be it negatively, positively, or otherwise), consider what to do with the evaluated item, and finally, implement a given design in communication. The management process can end at any of these phases. This process may assume a form of 'simple management' (when it takes place in face-to-face communication, e.g. a self- or other-correction of a word form) or 'organized management' (when it takes place in social organizations varying in scope, aiming at influencing actual everyday communication, which can be illus-trated by the establishment of the corporate language in a multinational company). Also, the speakers not only pay attention to and act upon what 'has just happened' in the ongoing interaction as the case may be, but also to what will happen in the future interaction, a kind of anticipatory language management which has been labelled 'pre-interaction management' (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009b).

As discussed above, language ideologies are embedded in a broader political, cultural and socio-economic context. The Language Management Framework emphasizes the interplay of language, communicative, and socio-cultural manage-ment, particularly the impact of socio-economic management on communicative and language management (in a narrow sense). In practical terms, an intervention in the socio-economic structure may be a condition for the achievements in the sphere of communication and language. In theoretical terms, an analysis of the socio-eco-nomic structure may tell us much about the working of ideologies as normative orientations which manifest themselves in the sphere of communication and lan-guage, including the respective management.

How can the above-mentioned notions and principles be translated into empiri-cal research? The essential requirement of the methodology used in the analysis of language management is to observe the adjustments designed at the level of organized management in their connections to simple management (macro-micro linkage). Therefore those methods which make it possible to analyze particular interactions are emphasized. However, in a number of social settings the analysts are denied direct access to the concrete interactions (for ethical, professional, or other

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5   For the most recent developments, see Nekvapil (2011), Nekvapil & Sherman (2009a); see also Kimura (2005).

reasons), which is often the case in multinationals. Therefore the Language Management Framework relies also on methods which enable the analysts to at least approach these interactions in a relevant manner, such as various sorts of interviews. Obviously, the summarization of acts of language management in the interview (the so-called 'management summaries') represents a methodological problem which must receive due attention.[6]

Given the language management framework, we would like to address the question how language ideologies are connected to language management, which entails three more specific questions:

- How do language ideologies underlie/guide organized management?
- How do language ideologies underlie/guide simple management?
- What does the relationship look like between language ideologies underlying simple management and those underlying organized management?

Manifestations of Language Ideologies in Multinationals: Acts of Language Management

The data reveal that there are many language ideologies reproduced by various employees and which are connected to the perceived essential features of given languages. We will now explore this reproduction of ideologies in the cases of individual languages, examining excerpts from the interviews as well as elaborating on actually observed management processes.

As our main aim is to demonstrate the way in which ideologies guide, influence or underlie behaviour, we introduce this section by stating that ideologies are intertwined with management in the data in two ways:

1. Management of the linguistic, communicative and socio-cultural reality outside the interview, which can include the management that is described or summarized in the interview excerpts as well as the management from the ethnographic observation and other forms of data gathered
2. Management of the shape/language of the interview – the simple management done directly in the data excerpts

The fact that people manage the way they talk about languages, language situations, or groups of people might indicate that these topics have an air of controversy to them, which in turn might point to the fact that ideologies are present.

Ideologies regarding specific languages do not exist in isolation, but are contextualized in relation to ideologies regarding other languages. As we will see below, many involve relating one language to another (Vietnamese to Czech, English to

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6   For a discussion of this complex issue see Nekvapil (2004).

Czech, German to English, etc.). Therefore, in our analysis, we describe the ideologies in connection with specific languages and we formulate them as what we call 'paraphrases'. In some cases, the paraphrases reproduce statements found directly in the interview data, often repeatedly, while in others, they were extracted from the entire data set and paraphrased such as to represent the core of the ideology regarding a specific language.

We will now discuss these ideologies in detail, language by language.

Czech

Czech is the first language of the majority of employees working in the plant and in the Czech Republic itself. Yet Czech is not the language used in all communication taking place on the plant premises, and it has never been. As has been observed repeatedly over the entire research period, the white-collar employees from abroad, with some exceptions, tend not to acquire a communicative level of Czech after living in the Czech Republic for a number of years. Being connected to a pair of ideologies related to Czech, these facts are viewed as normal in the everyday operations of the plant. One ideology, which we paraphrase as 'Czech is a difficult language' exoticizes or 'others' it, excluding it from the realm of the familiar or the potentially familiar. The other, paraphrased as 'Czech is a small language used only by the Czechs', limits it to the realm of the familiar, which cannot be entered from the outside.

'Czech is a difficult language'

As we will see, the research interview data reveal that the expatriates (delegates from abroad) reproduced the ideology of the difficult language in the case of Czech most often in the context of presenting the multilingual situation of the company plant as a particular challenge. The selection of a language to be used in specific forms of plant-internal communication is a form of adjustment design aimed at the achievement of mutual intelligibility, and 'Czech is a difficult language' serves as an argument used to support the idea that Czech cannot be selected for these purposes.

In an earlier research project (see Nekvapil & Sherman 2009a), this ideology was identified in the following interview excerpt:[7]

> **Example 1**
> ((MAN – German manager of a German company subsidiary, RES – researcher, excerpt translated from German, emphasis by the authors.))
> RES: does it ever happen or occur that you receive Czech texts from the parent company?

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[7]   The transcription conventions can be found at the end of the paper.

MAN: no that (…) that you have to really imagine I can understand, now when I've been here three and a half years, that to somebody who sits in Frankfurt and who is German, to him Czech looks like Egyptian. so it's really a language that you you have to like it's really pretty. but at first glance *you can't begin anything with it, because it simply (…) you can't tell if something is a noun or a verb. it's simply a completely different language.*

The German manager in this excerpt formulates the Czech language as something not even recognizable on the basis of standard grammatical categories (noun, verb), and thus difficult, but also as completely foreign and exotic ('Czech looks like Egyptian'). The observed aesthetic value of the language ('it's really pretty') is a component of the exotic depiction.

In 2009, in the researched plant, the ideology of the difficult language was reproduced, for example, in the following excerpt.

Example 2
((MAN – German head of plant financial operation, RES – researcher, interview conducted in English, emphasis by the authors.))
RES: mhm. and what about Czech,
MAN: ((laughs)) I forgot eh,
RES: ((laughs))
MAN: ((laughs)) hm (.) *pretty difficult language.*
RES: hm
MAN: eh to be to be really honest ehm (..) I do have Czech lessons eh (.) regularly
RES: mhm
MAN: but (.) eh (.) *I don't make the progress as I as I want (.) to have.*
RES: mhm
MAN: so (.) *I applied eh even a different style of learning learning Czech (.) I don't ask eh my trainer now for (.) let's say two people language lessons*
RES: mhm
MAN: *but eh I switched to (.) eh (.) to the style saying ok on hands on hands training I I I call. (.) that means eh in the restaurant (.) in the supermarket (.) eh on the way from one (.) town to another town (.) asking for the way (.) something like that* (.) so i'm let's say (.) I'm so <u>heavy</u> if eh I eh would (.) leave that that environment. so that's basically the task.
RES: hm
MAN: *and it's difficult enough.*
RES: mhm
MAN: *so (..) no (.) this language (.) I am not sure if I will manage. Even in some (usual) (.) no. I feel (it's really) difficult to (.) to learn it.*

The direct statement about the difficulty of Czech appeared in nearly identical form and was attributed to the same individual in the company plant newsletter with an intended readership that includes both white-collar employees (those in office jobs) and blue-collar employees (those in production). In terms of the Language Management Framework, in this excerpt, the issue of Czech being difficult is presented as

a deviation from the speaker's expectations that prompted a change in his language-learning behaviour. He is not making the progress in learning that he had wanted to, and in fact engaged in the management act of requesting 'hands-on training' from his teacher, i.e. practicing the communication situations he is most likely to encounter rather than, we can presume, learning grammar.

In considering LI in Kroskrity's terms, the immediate question to be posed is that of whose interests are served by this omnipresent and, from the perspective of the researcher, nearly predictable ideology. Most apparently of all, the ideology of the difficult language appears to be part of a face-saving strategy of the parent company and top managers from abroad who come to the Czech Republic to work in the plant (the delegates). The delegates, aware of the fact that their lack of competence in Czech could be evaluated negatively, must find a way to legitimize it in a polite and diplomatic manner, both in regard to their Czech colleagues and to the researchers, who represent a Czech institution.

Paradoxically, this ideology may also be beneficial to the Czech nationals. For the company, it is more economical to have gradually fewer delegates in the Czech Republic and to replace them with the local managers (paid according to the standards of the low-cost location). Extensive knowledge of Czech by a delegate may serve as a reason for the delegate to stay, or rather, the opposite – there is little or no motivation to learn Czech if the delegate does not plan to stay long. In addition, the belief that Czech is too difficult to learn may aid in the protection of Czech national networks, thus influencing the flow of information to individuals. As discussed in Nekvapil & Sherman (2009), one of the functions of Czech in multinationals is its use as a 'secret language' with the aim to exclude delegates from certain conversations. In this way, the ideology of the difficult language helps the local employees to reinforce their interests in the company context.

Yet there also exists the opposing belief that 'people should learn the language of their colleagues/the language of the country they are working in'. This can be observed in the following descriptions by the Czech teacher working in the plant.

Example 3
((TEA – external Czech teacher, RES – researcher, excerpt translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
RES: so, how was it with mister Weiner, how- how did it go with him? If you could say
TEA: *it went very well with him, because he had wha:t eh lots of Germans don't have, and that is, <u>utter enthusiasm</u> for this country the people the mentality the culture.*

In this excerpt, the teacher is asked to evaluate her experiences with Mr Weiner[8], the highest-ranking delegate (the chief financial officer). The teacher points out that the delegate was atypical in that he was interested in local culture, which was

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8   All names and identifying details of the individuals concerned have been altered.

reflected in his willingness to learn Czech at all. In this way, Mr Weiner differed from the delegate in example 2, who in the interview subscribed to the ideology of the difficult language, which was, accordingly, reflected in his lack of willingness to learn Czech properly.

A summary of the language management conducted in conjunction with this ideology is as follows. The delegates from the parent company are not expected to learn or use Czech to any great extent. Though Czech is taught to them, there are no major expectations regarding the delegates' progress, the expectation being that they learn the language more or less for symbolic reasons. Deviations from this norm are evaluated only positively. 'Gratifications', as Neustupný (2003) calls positively evaluated deviations, are experienced when a delegate does learn Czech, as demonstrated in the following example.

Example 4
((MAN – German IT manager, interview conducted in English, emphasis by the authors.))
RES:　　mhm. and are you ever complimented on your Czech?
MAN:　　yes.
RES:　　yeah,
MAN:　　yes. (.) because (.) *no one expect from eh German (.) or foreigner that eh (..) on this level eh (.) I am able to communicate.*

'Czech is a small language used only by the Czechs'

Connected to the ideology paraphrased as 'Czech is a difficult language' is another, that is, 'Czech is a small language used only by the Czechs'. The *ideology of the large/small language* is linked with the Herderian tie between language and ethnicity. One prediction connected to this ideology is that the fewer speakers a language has, the more likely it is to be perceived as tied to a specific ethnicity. In the context of Czech, German and English (the languages used by the white-collar workers in the plant), this ideology has considerable bearing on the linguistic behaviour of Czech speakers in particular, their approach to learning 'western languages' and communication with 'western foreigners'.[9]

Large western languages that are perceived not only as foreign but also international in the Czech context are seen beneficial for Czech speakers from the perspective of employment, so individual Czech speakers stand to gain economically through the knowledge of these foreign languages. This was indicated in the earlier research and exemplified by the following excerpt:

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[9]　It needs to be noted that the following discussion deals not with foreigners in general, but only with 'western foreigners' (on this category see Sherman 2001), and is largely not applied to other groups such as Vietnamese or Russian speakers.

Example 5
((MAN – Czech manager of subsidiary of a German company, translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
MAN: I think that, it's hard to find a general model. for communication. yeah. *it's in the Czechs' favour that they're prepared to learn foreign languages. that they're learning them. and that they consider it important.*

The major consequence of this ideology for language management concerns norms or expectations. The norm for communicating with western foreigners, then, can be formulated as 'use a foreign language, above all English' or, conversely 'do not use Czech'. Deviations from this norm may occur and be noted when the foreigners attempt to speak Czech and are responded to, e.g., in English, prompting management on the part of those foreigners. One adjustment design in this management may be to discontinue the learning and use of Czech.

Another management strategy that is a consequence of this ideology is the discontinuation of Czech learning given the end of the job assignment. As it turned out, for example, the former chief financial officer who was praised by the Czech teacher above for his exceptional interest in learning Czech, lost interest prior to his leaving the plant.

Example 6
((TEA – external Czech language teacher, RES – researcher, translated from Czech.))
RES: …so mister Weiner he was here how long? four years five years?
TEA: I think, even longer five. but the the last year with the Czech wa:s
RES: yeah
TEA: not intensive.

In addition, there is a practice of pre-interaction management that relates to both of the ideologies described above, namely the outward presentation of Czech employees' names, specifically the practice of omitting diacritics of Czech names on the company website. In an earlier article (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009:193), we described the following instance of management:

Czech orthography uses the Latin alphabet, but due to the different sound-pattern of Czech and the need for a more precise differentiation of sounds, it uses letters with diacritic symbols such as in the letters "í", "č" and "ů". These letters often cause problems in e-mail communication with foreigners, because they appear as gibberish in many computer systems, which can lead to the unintelligibility of some expressions. Technically, innovations such as Unicode are a way to avoid these problems, but Czech e-mails are still often written without diacritic symbols. This problem is very sensitive in the case of personal names, because it is difficult to avoid them in both written and spoken communication (how should a foreigner – the representative of the parent company or a customer – write or pronounce the name of Czech top manager "Božena Kudláčková", with whom he or she has negotiations?). Individuals and companies often solve this problem by presenting their personal names without diacritics (i.e. as "Bozena Kudlackova"). For example, in one company we observed that on the web pages presenting the company are pictures of the

Czech top managers with their names without diacritics. This pre-interaction strategy thus anticipates problems which could occur in interaction between local employees and foreigners, and prevents a potential fear by the foreigners of using these names.

We then suggested that 'It would be relevant, however, to devote further research to the question of whether this strategy does not document the specific power situations in the multinational companies under study' (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009:193), which we will now expand upon.

The diacritic symbols represent a sort of authenticity of the Czech language, which can evoke beliefs such as 'it's hard to pronounce'. Other common folk-linguistic views of Czech from the position of the Westerners may include 'ř is the most difficult sound in human language to produce' or 'Czech has no vowels'. These beliefs are managed in Czech language textbooks, often in the form of answers to 'frequently asked questions'.[10] The above mentioned management strategy also reminds us of another one from history, that is, what we can call the 'de-ethnicization' of names of people who migrate from one country to another, at least in part to take on a new identity. In particular we can recall the mass migrations from Europe to the United States, where individuals with Czech ancestry either write their surnames without the diacritics or express them in another way (e.g. 'Roubitschek' for 'Roubíček').

Overall, the ideologically motivated behaviour-toward-language on the part of the delegates from the west is analogical in its exoticization or othering to the behaviour of the Czech employees in regard to the Vietnamese. In the larger Czech society, some management practices may even be the same, such as giving Czech names to Vietnamese individuals, as, in turn, the Vietnamese names may be perceived as 'too exotic'. Given this relationship, Vietnamese is the language we will deal with next.

Vietnamese

In the research conducted in 2009, there was evidence of a group working in the company plant which had not been previously encountered there, namely Vietnamese production workers. As will be described below, prior to the world economic crisis in late 2008, due to a shortage of local employees, the plant engaged in what was referred to as the 'trial' employment of Vietnamese workers provided by Czech employment agencies specializing in the import of labour forces from abroad. We will analyze excerpts from two interviews in which this event was reflected, and we

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10 For example, in the textbook Čeština expres 1 (A1/1), in the section 'frequently asked questions', questions such as 'Do all Czech words consist of horrifying clusters of consonants?', 'Why are Czech words usually longer than English ones?' or 'Why doesn't Czech have articles?' Regarding the sound ř, the authors write: 'Czechs know that this unique sound that they are very proud of is difficult and they will have mercy on you!'

will reconstruct the management that occurred in regard to the Vietnamese workers as well as the management that occurred during the explanation of this situation during the interviews.

In the excerpts, the argumentation provided for the 'trial' character of the implementation was *the ideology of the completely different language*. It can be paraphrased as 'Vietnamese is a completely different language (from Czech)'. This argumentation appeared in the context of a socio-economic problem, namely the lack of employees. The management of this socio-economic problem had evolved into the management of a communication problem and subsequently, that of a language problem.

Example 7
((HEA – head of the training center, RES – researcher, excerpt translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
HEA: we had twenty workers here for a trial period, ((inbreath)) uh: there were ten men and ten women.
RES: mhm
((13 lines omitted))
HEA: yeah and they were here last year, maybe up until: November or October
RES: and when you say for a trial period, eh what does that look like?
HEA: they were here for three months, it was an arrangement made with the agencies that they would be here for maybe four months and *we would test, whether it would work, if we as a company could handle it,*
RES: mhm
HEA: because after all, our culture is different than their culture
RES: =mhm
HEA: =*the language is <u>completely</u> different*
RES: =mhm
HEA: *so we had to test whether we would be able to: (.) uh: prepare the conditions for them so that they could work here.*

The ideology of the completely different language (Vietnamese) has several potential functions. More specifically:

1) It could serve as an argument for hiring a Czech employee over a Vietnamese one.
2) It could serve as an argument for why none of the Czech employees began learning Vietnamese[11] in situations when Vietnamese employees began working in the plant.
3) It serves as the basis for the doubt expressed as to whether the 'trial' of hiring the Vietnamese would work out, which could eventually allow for the argument that it is not possible to work with the Vietnamese.

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11 Note that in Example (1), the ideology of the completely different language is related to the Czech language as perceived by a German manager and presented as a part of the argument for why the learning of the language is impossible.

All of these potential functions point to the majority Czech-speaking population as the beneficiary of this ideology. In terms of socio-economic management, the lack of local employees emerged as the noted and evaluated deviation. The company plant's adjustment design was to attempt to create working conditions for imported employees from abroad, both Polish and Vietnamese (though we focus only on the Vietnamese, the situation with the Polish workers serves as an interesting contrast[12]).

In other words, the chain of management is as follows:

Lack of local employees (socio-cultural or socio-economic deviation)

→ hiring of employees from abroad through agencies (adjustment design)

→ lack of a common language with employees from abroad (communicative deviation)

→ adjustment design in the form of using interpreters and translation of production materials (management of language for the purpose of managing communication)

→ implementation (with some small adaptations) and subsequent implementation of policy for hiring Vietnamese through agencies in the future (pre-interaction management).

The end product of the chain of actions is summarized in the following example:

Example 8

((HEA – head of the training center, RES – researcher, excerpt translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))

HEA: *it was definitely a good experience. we know that we're able to: u:h (.) work with the Vietnamese production workers when eh there's a shortage of Czech Slovak Polish workers and others from around here, so we know that- I think, from my perspective*

RES: [mhm]

HEA: [I don't know how] the whole company perceives it. but from my perspective I think that we're able- as a company to get used to them, to work with them, and to create the right working atmosphere for them.

RES: great, yeah

HEA: *and they were these (.) Vietnamese the Poles the Czechs and Slovaks, four nations*

RES: mhm

HEA: *or languages*, that wor- work worked here

RES: mhm mhm

The ideological statement 'Vietnamese is a completely different language (from Czech)' is presented as the reason why the hiring of Vietnamese workers was just a 'trial' for the company, rather than the committed implementation of an adjustment

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12   This contrast follows from the fact that Poland and the Czech Republic are neighboring countries, both inhabited by speakers of Slavic languages which are mutually comprehensible.

design. In terms of language management, the ideology of the difficult language influenced the selection of adjustment design. In the interview, the speaker, the head of the training center, produces a lengthy management summary beginning with this ideology (see example 7) and ending with the excerpt in example 8 above. The summary itself contains the description of many more micro acts of management that made up the whole of the 'trial' of the adjustment design. The main adjustment design was the production of manufacturing documentation materials in the language of the production workers. This was based on a model that had already been tested with Polish production workers. The Vietnamese workers were supplied by a Czech employment agency which agreed to provide an interpreter (a native speaker of Vietnamese who understood and spoke some Czech) along with them. As it turned out, the interpreter had to attend the training along with the workers and was learning the content of the work along with them. Due to the need for consecutive interpretation and the interpreter's lack of familiarity with the work itself, the training course, which usually lasts one month, was slowed down considerably, ultimately requiring two months for completion. Following this, the workers were employed for one month in four shifts, with an interpreter available for each shift, whose main job was to give the workers their daily assignments. The translation of the manufacturing documentation was partly done by an agency and partly done by one of the interpreters, who received a computer in an office to translate during the shifts. In example 9, the head of the training center summarizes the management and evaluates it positively, i.e. that the 'trial' was successful – the company demonstrated that it was able to overcome barriers caused by 'completely different' languages and provide appropriate working conditions for speakers of those languages.

Example 8 also contains a small act of simple management in that the head of the training center initially speaks of 'four nations', which she then amends, stating 'four languages'. Given the location of the Czech Republic in Central Europe and its historical background, in public discourse and its reproduction in everyday practices, language is a category constitutive of ethnicity. The Vietnamese language, when mentioned or represented in any way, may thus symbolize the Vietnamese nation and culture as also being 'completely different', which represents an instance of iconization in the vein of Irvine & Gal (2000: 37). Given this perceived difference, the perceived amount of work required to integrate the Vietnamese fully into Czech society is extensive. This serves, among others, as rationale for the non-inclusion of the Vietnamese as an official ethnic minority in the Czech Republic, despite the fact that thousands of Vietnamese have been living in the country since the 1950s, and for the overall understanding of the Vietnamese as foreigners.

Example 9
((MAN – production manager, excerpt translated from Czech, RES – researcher, emphasis by the authors.))

MAN: but we tried to see i:f simply we're able: we're able: to guarantee the production
      and the quality <u>even</u> with, *the workers who are entirely exotic to us or the workers*
      who use a (language) that's exotic to us vietnamese
RES: =were were they reliable or how how [(was it)]
MAN: [eh: it's it's very,] it was very complicated,
      because the reliability <u>wasn't</u>, a question of the quality of the interpreter. we came
      to the conclusion, that it's not possible if we ever did it like this again,
RES: hm
MAN: it's not possible to have an interpreter who guarantees the interpreting for four
      shifts,
RES: hm
MAN: and when we have a problem with the shift, we have to look for him because he
      happens to not be on the shift. (.) so the only way for this to work effectively would
      be, for there to be <u>*one person*</u> *from the the eh the given nationality* in the <u>working</u>
      <u>group</u>, who knows Czech <u>well enough</u> to translate like the ba:sic information from
      production like- above all <u>you're not allowed</u> to do that <u>you can</u> do that <u>you have to</u>
      do it like that <u>you're not allowed</u> to do it like that right, that is those are quality-
      related matters *the:y the Vietnamese ha:ve a little bit eh different e:h I'd say e:h*
      different I don't want to say that they have di- different (ergonomics) of their their
      hands, but they're simply much quicker than our people yea:h,

In the course of his overall management summary, the head of production ('MAN')
alters the way in which he describes the Vietnamese workers, moving from labelling
them as exotic to labelling their language as exotic (with the condition 'exotic *to us*').
This extract is interesting because it appears to point to the fact that it is socially
acceptable to directly describe a language as exotic, but not acceptable to describe
people (i.e. the speakers of that language) as exotic (which has to be managed so
that it is done indirectly). When the head of production says 'from the the eh given
nationality', he hesitates and it appears that he does not want to name the Vietna-
mese specifically, does not want to single them out, indicating that the adjustment
design developed for the Vietnamese could be used for other groups from abroad
in the future. Finally, he says 'they the Vietnamese have a little bit eh different e:
I'd say e: different I don't want to say that they have di- different (ergonomics) of
their their hands' and it appears that he wishes to avoid describing the Vietnamese
in terms of their physical characteristics.

Through the interviews and the management of language within them we can
see that, on the one hand, it is socially acceptable to describe the Vietnamese lan-
guage and culture as 'entirely different' (thus protecting the interests of the Czech
national majority), as the head of the training center did, and to use such a statement
to justify the 'pilot' character of the work with the Vietnamese. On the other hand,
it is not socially acceptable to describe the Vietnamese as different in terms of their
physical characteristics or as 'exotic', hence in management summaries, words are
chosen very carefully.

Looking at this chain of events and the role of ideology within them, we can argue that when and if it could be concluded that communication with the Vietnamese was not possible, it would be legitimate to not hire them, which would reflect the interests of the majority Czech nation-state population: national language is closely tied to the existence of a national economy which, above all, protects the economic interests of the ethnic majority. Incidentally, this was in fact confirmed by the fact that with the beginning of the financial crisis, the Vietnamese were the first ones who lost their jobs in the plant.

However, we should also recall the issue of the multiplicity of ideologies, i.e. that members of a given society orient to the presence of several ideologies, sometimes of a contrasting nature. For instance, in example 9, the company plant's head of production manages the way in which he speaks about the Vietnamese, reflecting the fact that there is (minority, but present) intellectual opposition to the idea that Vietnamese people, especially those born in the Czech Republic, are 'exotic' or strange or should be treated any differently from Czechs, i.e. that their perceived difference in language and culture should be relevant or should present obstacles. The realizations of this view include the work of Czech-Vietnamese organizations and organizations supporting migrants. Also, in relation to other large groups of people with non-Czech ethnicities living in the Czech Republic (Ukrainians, Roma, etc.), the Vietnamese have the highest level of social prestige, Vietnamese students are praised by teachers, and so forth (for more details see Vasiljev & Nekvapil 2012). In this case, the language management reflects that the head of production is aware of the fact that there is a politically correct way to speak about the Vietnamese, particularly with researchers representing academic institutions.

We will now move from the ideologies regarding what we can term 'ethnic' languages, i.e. languages which are primarily represented in the interviews as the native languages of specific ethnic groups (Czech and Vietnamese) to what we can term 'foreign languages' (German and English) in the Czech context, or languages primarily represented in the interviews from the perspective of learners or potential learners. We are aware of the fact that it is possible to classify the languages in other ways, for example, as 'the language of the locals' (Czech) vs. 'the language of the delegates' (German). Such a classification, which was utilized in some of the earlier work on the German or Austrian based multinationals in the Czech Republic (e.g. Nekvapil 1997), depicted an older situation in the companies, from the 1990s in which the Czech white-collar employees, to a large degree, were expected to learn and use German. This situation persists even today in some German companies. In other companies, however, which have German ownership but which have gone increasingly global, English has been utilized in addition to German or has replaced it entirely. From the local and in particular Central European perspective, this translates into the question of which foreign language to learn – German, English, or another language.

German

Kroskrity (2004: 512, note 1) points out that it is necessary to view language ideologies not merely as beliefs about languages, but more precisely as 'beliefs or feelings' about languages. He claims: 'I use "feelings" here to connect with the less acknowledged aspect of language ideologies as relatively automatic aesthetic response'.[13] The aesthetic qualities of language tend to be presented not only as serious arguments in the language management of individuals (e.g. when choosing a foreign language at school), but also for the management of entire language situations in a country. For example, Heinrich (2004) deals with a serious proposal made in 1946 to replace Japanese in Japan with French, the 'best and most beautiful language in the world'. Conversely, language ideologies can involve the aesthetic quality of 'ugliness'. This is the case of German, the ideology regarding which can be paraphrased as 'German is a "harsh" or "ugly" language necessary for business contacts and the tourist industry' (See Nekvapil, Sloboda & Wagner 2009). And in a recent sociological survey in which respondents were asked to list the reasons why they had not learned German, one of the choices was 'I didn't want to learn German because I don't like it as a language' (Matějů 2010: 3).

This ideology, while not necessarily reproduced literally in the interview data, is observable in the fact that employees present their learning of German as not being a choice, but rather, something they are required to do, or in fact, will go to great lengths to avoid doing. English, on the other hand, is presented as something done voluntarily, as in contrast to German, 'one can get by in English in all situations' (see the section on English below). An example of this can be found in an excerpt from an interview with an employee who could have learned German, but opted not to do so.

Example 10
((EMP – employee in production management, RES – researcher, excerpt translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
RES: [so] you had to somehow learn German?
EMP: no: I lu- luckily they didn't require it of us *English was enough*.
RES: aha so-
EMP: but of course it was I'll be straight with you whoever knew German had an advantage because (.) (I'm saying) it was a purely German company
RES: eh eh
EMP: with purely German management, and they preferred it of course
RES: eh and that means then eh: so- so you you had English in secondary [school,]
EMP: [hm]
RES: and that simply was <u>enough</u> to be the department manager.
EMP: we:ll it was enough (   ) now I still take English classes you (somehow) keep working on yourself because it's (   )

On the extensive discussion of 'structures of feeling' in relation to language ideologies see Weber (2009: 29ff).

RES:　which courses do you mean?
EMP:　hm
RES:　and: they're courses here?
EMP:　there are courses here but I go to I actually have a private teacher I go to his house
　　　　once a week and
RES:　hm hm so so eh (.) simply simply German did not affect you.
EMP:　*I successfully avoided it*　[(laughs))to be frank because]
RES:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[((laughs)) yeah]

The speaker is employed as the leader of a production station in the plant, a job for which foreign languages are required. However, as he states, German would have been an advantage but was not required at the time the company was 'purely German' (as he says). His attitude toward German is reflected in the fact that 'luckily' he did not have to learn German and that he 'successfully avoided it'. The contrast with English can be observed in the fact that the speaker continually attends English classes, pointing out that one always needs to work on oneself.

As this example shows, the language ideology in question is utilized in the interests of (Czech) individuals whose only foreign language is English and/or for whom the German language represents the German nation, to which they have a negative relationship either in the past or in the present (see, for example, Nekvapil 1997). Resistance to the German language and culture was one of the major pillars of the Czech National Movement of the nineteenth century, and the Czech national identity in general has been reconstituted through its opposition to all things German (see Hroch 2007). Moreover, as we indicated above, at present, many Czechs are aware of, and some of them even fear the fact that, the Czech economy is very much dependent on the German economy.

This ideology appears in several phases of language management in the company plant. Firstly, it serves as the basis for a norm, paraphrased either as 'German is not used here' or 'German should not be used here'. In this sense, the application of this norm was observed in several cases, particularly in connection with our research on the company's linguistic landscape. One example of this was when we informed the public relations employee who was leading us around that we were interested in the different languages that were used on the company premises. His initial reaction can be paraphrased as 'German is not used here'. Immediately following these comments, however, we observed German on one of the bulletin boards on which cleaning schedules were hung. The public relations employee, when asked, stated that the signs were 'old'.

Similarly, in the ethnographic research conducted on the production floor, various signs were observed in German as well, very often without equivalents in other languages. The computer software used at several work stations was also in German. When asked about this, the employees replied that they did not have proficiency in German, but rather, they had been trained to use the software such that they 'know

where to click', i.e. they understood the German commands as a sort of specific code. This was confirmed in the interview with the head of production.

Example 11
((From an interview with the production manager, translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
MAN: *now they don't come into contact at all with eh with some, (.) with the language* they do on some machines but even that is against the law, right? for example I don't know these days you have the controls on the touch-screen of the computer,
RES: hm
MAN: and the programs aren't in Czech.
RES: hm
MAN: yeah: *so it has Germa:n Germa:n or some German and some English terminology,* *but it's like that you have something like a button you have a touch-screen (.) so there* *there's something like what button you have to press, or that you have to touch, that* *it's misleading there's like a button and there's a (.) German or English label*
RES: (right)
MAN: well in some- in some places it's in Czech but I- I saw somewhere on ( ) that's- that the- that the program is in German for example right,
RES: hm
MAN: *in other words* <u>there</u> *the people have to learn the terminology of the screen they're* *they're communicating with*

Due to the expectation that the employees do not speak German, the deviation consists in the fact that *the software is in German* (whereas fifteen years ago the deviation might have consisted in the fact that *the employees did not speak German*, see also below). The adjustment design in this case here is the special training in using the software without knowing the language, including the translation of at least the manuals into Czech. It was stated that it would be too expensive to create a Czech version of the software.

We analyze the language management described above in the context of previous acts of management in which this ideology served as the basis for an adjustment design – to replace German with English as the language used in certain spheres, particularly top management meetings and during visits from the headquarters. The adjustment occurred, among others, at the same time as the arrival of a new Czech CEO (this is discussed in detail in Nekvapil & Nekula 2006). Changing German to English as the language in this setting was perceived by the CEO as asserting neutrality in power relations: the Czechs are 'liberating' themselves from German (and, in effect, the Germans). That management process, then, began with the norm 'German should not be used here'.

A further consequence of these developments is the number of German classes offered in the plant in both 2007 and 2009, four, versus the number of English classes, ten. As all of the language classes in the plant are offered only to those employees who need the languages for their jobs, German teaching was limited primarily to

employees working in logistics, which involved contact with the customer. Again, as in the case with the software, the deviation is the fact that some specific customers (e.g. representatives of strictly German automobile companies) prefer German, whereas fifteen years ago it might have been understood as being that the plant employees did not speak German. Outside of the company and even in the immediate surroundings of the plant at the technical secondary school in the local town, the ideologies related to German are also reflected in the fact that the teaching of German has been all but discontinued.

Given the ideologies related to German, we will now examine those related to the 'foreign' language which is its greatest competitor in the Czech context, that is, English.

English

In the previous section, German and English were often placed in opposition to one another. German was represented as an unpleasant language, a language to be avoided, and, in cases where avoiding it was impossible, as a necessary evil. The image of English, on the other hand, is the image of a language that people are eager to learn, enjoy using, and consider to be an important component of their professional development. But why is this so? Given the blend of ideologies that we have discussed above, which make the use of both Czech and German as foreign languages nearly impracticable, the prominent ideology can be paraphrased as 'One can get by in English in all situations'.

It is necessary to state that English is the declared official language of a number of white-collar domains in the plant and in the company in general. First and foremost, it is the language of reporting between the plant and the headquarters abroad. It is also the language of top management meetings at which there is minimally one non-Czech employee present. In the company plant, similarly to many situations in Europe and the world, *the ideology of the absolute instrumentality of a particular language*, that is English, is utilized on behalf of anyone who either does not speak any other language than English (i.e. its native speakers), or who does not speak any other *foreign language* than English. In this sense it also appears as 'English is enough', above all in educational contexts (see e.g. Dovalil 2010). Incidentally, this was advocated recently by the Czech government's National Economic Council (NERV), an advisory body, which stated in a report that it would be more efficient for the Czech school system to teach students computer skills than a second foreign language after English.[14]

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[14] http://domaci.ihned.cz/c1-50839450-experti-druhy-jazyk-ve-skole-je-zbytecny-misto-nemciny-ucte-radeji-pocitace

Speaking English may, in given situations, help to erase identities of 'Czech' and 'German' in a workplace, particularly if it is an international company in which all individuals in management functions can communicate with all others around the world. In this regard it is worth noting that in our research conducted in a different company, namely Škoda-Volkswagen, as early as in 1995, one of the German informants reported that Volkswagen was aware that it was more advantageous to present itself as an international company rather than a German one. Consequently, either the knowledge of German or English were required from the Czech employees from the very beginning of the joint venture founded in 1991.

An initial example utilizing this ideology in the data follows:

Example 12
((MAN – Austrian senior manager, RES – researcher, interview conducted in English, emphasis by the authors.))
MAN: *but it's definitely not in the- eeh: easy the situation in that- in this company, <u>not all</u> are speaking the same language.*
RES: mm hmm
MAN: this is definitely: (.) <u>one</u> of our: <u>challenges</u> I would say
RES: mm hmm and how do you think it could be (.) uh changed?
MAN: [easy]
RES: [the situation] yeah?
MAN: *everybody has to learn English.*
RES: yeah. yeah.
MAN: for me, for me it's a must and I, I do not (.) I do not understand I get really: angry with pe:ople for example, (.) um: also in the German area,
RES: mm hmm
MAN: refusing to learn English.
RES: mm hmm
MAN: for me it's- it's really something (..) um: it has maybe something to do with <u>proud</u>ness, [or something] like that
RES: [mm hmm]
MAN: some people really refuse English
RES: mm hmm
MAN: *but for me English is (.) is <u>one kind</u> of possibility,*
RES: mm hmm
MAN: *to speak with nearly the whole world.*
RES: mm hmm
MAN: *and I would say, it's a <u>stupid</u> language,*
RES: mm hmm
MAN: *it's a <u>simple</u> language, so: nearly everybody can learn it.*
RES: mm hmm
MAN: *it's (.) the complete opposite of: Czech.*

The speaker, an Austrian manager, depicts the need for a lingua franca in the company operations. English is the only common-sense candidate for this, and it is unreasonable to refuse it. Multiple groups in the company (including German speakers)

are guilty of such refusal. In the final lines of this excerpt, the speaker sums up the ideological opposition in which English and Czech find themselves. The differing first languages of the company employees must somehow be overcome. English (the 'simple' language) is presented as a part of the solution (though being 'a stupid language' at the same time), on the other hand, Czech is perceived as part of the problem (that is, by implication, 'a difficult language').

In terms of language management framework, the ideology reproduced in the statement 'English is one kind of possibility to speak with nearly the whole world' serves as the basis for a norm which may be deviated from. In the interviews, the ideology could be observed in the conviction of some managers that English either a) is the only language used in the white-collar sphere, or b) should be the only language used in the white-collar sphere. An example of a) is that of employees who declared that they used English in all situations. The particularly *ideological* nature of such declarations, i.e. Silverstein's description of ideologies as (mere) 'beliefs', can be somehow 'verified' through observations of employees declaring the sole use of English, then receiving phone calls in which they spoke German. In the case of b), the company managers depict the universality of English as a norm which is deviated from, as in the following example, in which an Austrian manager summarizes his behaviour in situations in which he receives an e-mail in Czech.

Example 13
((From same interview as in example 12))
MAN: …okay I do not always write back. (.) pff bring it to me in English or forget about it.

The deviation in question is the use of a language other than English when English is normatively expected. In example 12 above, the Austrian manager (the same person as in Example 13) notes and negatively evaluates this deviation ('I get really angry with people for example um also in the German area… refusing to learn English…for me it's it's really something um it has maybe something to do with proudness or something like that… some people really refuse English').

Moreover, the ideology serves as inspiration for the specific form of an adjustment design. For example, influenced by this ideology, English is listed as a requirement in nearly all advertisements for white-collar jobs. The fact that, in the Czech context, it is listed as a requirement rather than simply assumed (in which case it would not be listed), indicates the expectation that deviations from the norm 'Everyone should speak English' occur in the hiring process. Another example is the policy for providing for the teaching of languages in the company. In general, financial support for language teaching is provided only to those who need it for their jobs, and languages other than English are required for only very specific jobs, such as logistics work.

A contrasting ideology can be traced in the opinion that other languages are useful and that 'English is not enough' (given the deviations discussed, e.g. in example

13 above). This is displayed in interviews with employees from R&D (research and development), and individuals who have, through their own personal experience, 'falsified' the idea that English is sufficient for all situations, as well as teachers of languages other than English in the company. It is also hinted at in regard to logistics employees, whose jobs involve contact with the customer and often need languages such as German and French.

Overall, the contrasting ideology can be paraphrased in terms of the language management framework as '"English only" is not an appropriate adjustment design'. However, this was depicted in the interviews as an issue of individual interests in the context of the company as individuals who learn foreign languages other than English may gain their own individual benefits, as suggested in the following example:

Example 14
((MAN – German manager, RES – researcher, interview conducted in English, emphasis by the authors.))
RES: mhm. (..) and then how did how did this transition occur (.) to (.) eh the use of Czech,
MAN: ehm result (.) *if you use a (.) transfer language like English*
RES: mhm
MAN: *for example is eh (..) very difficult (.) lot of eh information is missing* if you communicate
RES: mhm
MAN: with some other because (..) eh we have (.) how can i say (.) basic knowledge of s- eh language we and also our partners Czech partners (.) and lot of information eh (.) was missing.
RES: mhm
MAN: because eh (.) you have eh do not the words do not know exactly how to describe (.) and so on. it was a (.) very difficult. yes.
RES: mhm. (.) so you think it wouldn't be sufficient (.) to use English
MAN: yes.
RES: yeah,
MAN: and it's better (.) each time this is also my experience (.) *if you eh try to communicate in their native or home language (.) eh they are more opened (.) and you (.) got a lot of more information.*
RES: mhm.
MAN: *as for example as a colleagues which are only eh (.) communicate in English language. or in German or,*

The interviewee, a German manager who has declared that he himself speaks Czech, creates an opposing pole, pointing to a problem caused when English is used as a lingua franca – loss of information. Conversely, he claims, when using your interlocutor's native language (in this case, Czech), one can gain an advantage – more information. And this may be true particularly in cases in which a speaker of a 'larger' language learns a 'smaller' language (e.g. when a German learns Czech – which is also corroborated in Sherman 2003 in regard to native English speakers learning Czech).

Given this, and that multiplicity is essentially a structural characteristic of ideologies, it can be assumed that over time in any such situation of a plant of a multinational company, there will be minority individuals who speak the first languages of other employees and who declaratively oppose the ideological statement of 'One can get by in English in all situations' because, among other reasons, it suits their own interests (see also de Bres, this volume).

In sum, the ideology of the absolute instrumentality of English is particularly strong in the company we have researched and has extensive influence on the practices of management in it because:

– It can be shared among Czech and German employees.
– It serves the interests of those who are already in considerable power, i.e. white-collar employees, who are increasingly likely to enter the company with some knowledge of English.
– The individuals who actively and openly oppose it are in the minority, and this opposition serves in many cases the personal interests of those individuals, making them less likely to try to topple it.
– There are no native speakers of English in the company who would use this ideology to exert power over another group that would oppose it en masse.
– It is widespread even in the immediate or more remote surroundings of the company.

The last point is worthy of a brief comment. In the Czech Republic, where English teaching has experienced a boom, political parties utilize this ideology during campaigns, hoping to interest parents of school-age children with the promise of making English the mandatory first language in schools beginning at a certain grade level. In the research conducted in the headquarters of our company in Germany, many of the German employees stated that they only spoke German and English. The ideology of the absolute instrumentality of English is often put forth by the English teaching industry. As mentioned above, the research revealed that it is also reproduced by secondary school students in the town where the company is located, where, incidentally, the teaching of German has been all but discontinued, as example 15 below demonstrates.

Example 15
((STU – 18-year-old student specializing in information technology, in his final year of a technical secondary school located in the town where several German-owned multinational companies have plants; he has thus far learned only English and has been asked if he would like to learn another language in the future, e.g. German; the student has stated that he would have nothing against doing so. RES – researcher, translated from Czech, emphasis by the authors.))
RES: mm hmm. and do you think you'll actually do that in the future?
STU: well if it's necessary then I probably will
RES: and do you think it'll be necessary? ((laughs))

STU: ((laughs)) hmm. hard to say. it depends on where I get a job and stuff like that, right
RES: mmhmm mmhmm
STU: even though I think that English completely supersedes German that it's not
       necessary to have both languages there ((at work)) that (.) at this point *I can get*
       by anywhere with English.

In this vein, it can be observed that the company has not undertaken any recent acts of management to ensure that speakers of German would be available in the immediate surroundings of the plant. In other words, the lack of German speakers *is not noted as a deviation* currently, nor as a potential deviation in the future. This can be largely attributed to the constellation of ideologies we have analyzed in this section, in which English is the language of choice and German is the language learned 'if it's necessary'.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this paper has been to identify and examine the language ideologies utilized in the linguistic practices in multinational companies. We began with the assumption that there is a causal connection between language ideologies and linguistic practices, be it in a stronger or weaker form, then argued that language ideologies guide, influence or underlie various aspects of the process of language management, both simple and organized, and found that their interplay is worthy of further attention.

In the company researched, we have identified language ideologies related to the use of Czech, Vietnamese, German and English. These ideologies can be labelled as follows:

- the *ideology of the difficult/easy language*
- the *ideology of the small/large language*
- the *ideology of the completely different language*
- the *ideology of the ugly/beautiful language*
- the *ideology of the absolute instrumentality of a particular language*

Furthermore, through the various examples presented, we have connected these ideologies to the individual phases of language management, including:

- Noting – what in particular is noted as a deviation from which norms or expectations and by whom
- Evaluation – which noted phenomena are evaluated and by whom, and the manner in which they are evaluated
- Adjustment design – whether an adjustment is designed, who designs it, the form of the design
- Implementation – whether an adjustment design is implemented, which of several proposed adjustment designs are selected for implementation, the form of the implementation, who implements it

In terms of simple management, ideological constellations guide issues such as the choice of language to be used in a particular turn at talk or other communicative medium in the everyday operations of the plant – for example, the fact that English, not German, is used to open a particular top management meeting or that Czech e-mails sometimes do not receive a response – and also the way in which it is acceptable to describe the reality of the everyday operations of the plant to researchers, i.e. which expressions are noted, evaluated negatively and eventually corrected – for example, the careful and highly managed description of the cooperation with Vietnamese employees. In terms of organized management, the presence of these ideologies in the company plant guide issues which include a) which language(s) are declared as the official languages of certain domains or activities (i.e. reporting); b) which languages are taught and financed by the company; and, c) which languages are actually required of employees in various workplace situations. And as in any type of socially stratified organization, many acts of simple management can lead to a change in the company's language policy, and, conversely, an act of organized management is highly likely to be reflected in subsequent concrete interactions and numerous acts of simple management.

The constellation of language ideologies found in the plant of the multinational company draws specific attention to the fact that the plant is located in what is known as a *low-cost location*. This means that, in a given country, a highly qualified labour force is available at a lower price. With the gradual change in status of low-cost locations has come a decrease in the number of parent company employees at the plant, an increase in collaboration with other countries with which there is no other common language than English, and the import of production employees from abroad. The major consequence of this constellation as reflected in language management practices is that the plant constitutes a setting where the predominant language of the white-collar activities is English (and not German or Czech), and the predominant language of the blue-collar activities is Czech (and not German, English, or Vietnamese). Despite these tendencies, not a day goes by in the plant operations without multiple interactions in four or more different languages. It is the concurrent existence of these two realities which characterizes the language situation of the plant most succinctly.

Our major argument, then, is that regardless of how global multinationals become, the element of the local never disappears from the practices of their branches and plants. In the European context in particular, the *national* element strongly influences the local, which reflects the points made by Castells (2010) about the 'national' in multinationals, as mentioned above. Our analysis has been dominated by the perspective of the low-cost location, more specifically, given that this plant is located in Central Europe, in the Czech Republic (the economy of which remains dependent on export), our vantage point is one that links language and national identity.

The associated everyday language ideologies, typically reflected in Czech national education policies and practices concerning all of the languages analyzed in this study, are thus predominant in the ideological constellation of the plant. We presume that some of the ideologies described here, i.e. the *ideologies of the large/small language, difficult/easy language*, or *ugly/beautiful language*, the *ideology of the completely different language*, or the *ideology of the absolute instrumentality of a particular language* can be found in ideological constellations in other types of multilingual organizations or situations, but also in other countries or parts of the world – none of them are necessarily specific only to multinational companies.

If, then, we subscribe to the more general ideology of 'multilingualism is good' as it is put forth by European institutions[15], we must look in particular at the ways in which ideologies put certain languages at an advantage or disadvantage in certain types of institutional settings, and, in essence, how these ideologies interfere with the realization of societal or institutional multilingualism or limit its forms, e.g. by creating societies in which the only foreign language spoken by most of the population is English and in which the languages of significant ethnic groups ('national minorities') are considered inaccessible.

Transcription conventions

[ ]	the onset and ending of simultaneous talk of two speakers (overlap)
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
:	lengthening of the preceding syllable
=	sudden insertion of the following expression or turn, without pause (latching on)
(.)	short pause
(..)	longer pause
(…)	long pause
( )	unintelligible point
(but)	presumed, but not completely intelligible expression
((laughs))	comment by the transcriber
–	sudden interruption of the word or construction
never	strong emphasis on a syllable or word
…	omitted portion of the transcript

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[15] And which has been assigned to us in the task of the LINEE project, in the context of which this article came into being. On LINEE, see <http://www.linee.info/>.

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