Czech Republic, English in the

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1 Introduction

The use of English on the territory of what is now the Czech Republic was, for many centuries, more of an atypical phenomenon, one that would arouse attention. On this territory, historically the Czech Lands comprising Bohemia, Moravia, and the Czech part of Silesia, German was used extensively in addition to Czech. Other smaller communities, the members of which also used their own languages, such as Roma or Jews, lived on this territory as well. Like elsewhere in Europe, educated people and the church communicated in Latin. Nekvapil and Neustupný (1998), in their historical overview of the language communities on this territory, do not even mention English speakers due to their negligible numbers. Interaction between local inhabitants with rare English speakers or publications was thus necessarily characterized by intensive language management. However, the use of English was also managed on various levels later and has continued up until the present to varying degrees. In other words, the use of English attracts attention, it is the subject of evaluation, sometimes negative and sometimes positive, strategies are developed for strengthening or, conversely, weakening the use of English, and these strategies are implemented or refused, and so on. What is essential is the fact that the use of English on both the historical and contemporary territory of the Czech Republic is not a given, as is the case in many other countries in the world, but rather it is – in the technical sense – managed.

What is meant by this term? One point of departure is Language Management Theory (LMT; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015). Here management is understood as metalinguistic acts focused on the use of language, that is, language management is behavior toward language (including four basic phases: noting, evaluation, adjustment design, and its implementation). For example: an American tourist in Prague, when ordering in a restaurant, *notes* that the waiter does not understand his English, *evaluates* this negatively, and thus *adjusts* his or her speech: slows the tempo and articulates carefully, that is, uses the "foreigner talk" contained in his or her communicative repertoire. This is an example of simple management taking place in a specific interaction. The second basic feature of Language Management Theory is the

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emphasis on the close connection between simple and organized (institutional) management. Organized management relates to numerous specific interactions, and its interplay with simple management can be demonstrated thus: the opening of the borders following the collapse of the communist system in 1989 led to the fact that many Czech inhabitants experienced language and communication problems when traveling abroad, which led to an unprecedented interest in English and stimulated the founding of hundreds of private language schools – and these eventually contributed to the reduced frequency of problems in specific interactions. Finally, as is obvious from the example above, in Language Management Theory there is the emphasis on the connections between the sociocultural, communicative, and (narrowly) linguistic dimensions.

At the beginning of this entry, it is also appropriate to mention the one thing which should be taken for granted, but often is not, that is, that English on the territory of the contemporary Czech Republic has never been only in contact with the Czech language, as the name of the contemporary state, that is, the Czech Republic, might suggest. The topic of "English in the Czech Republic" includes not only the way in which English has been learned, spoken, valued, rejected, and the like, by ethnic Czechs, but also by ethnic Germans and today, for example, ethnic Koreans and members of numerous other minority groups living in the superdiverse spaces of the Czech Republic.

2 The history of English in the Czech Republic

English began to be taught at several secondary schools, primarily German ones rather than Czech ones, in the second half of the nineteenth century (Popelíková & Sudková, 2012). An important milestone occurred in 1903, when the Austro-Hungarian authorities made the decision to introduce English into schools, above all business-oriented schools, which assumed that a university department of English philology would be established. This took place in Prague in 1912 due to Vilém Mathesius, later a leading personality of the Prague Linguistic Circle, who became the first regular professor of English Studies at the Czech University of Prague in 1919 (Leška, 1995). Mathesius also founded the British Society for Czechoslovakia (the Czechoslovak state came into existence following the end of Austria-Hungary in 1918). In the new state, Mathesius promoted the introduction of English into the curriculum of secondary schools as the second foreign language, that is, essentially to the detriment of French, which had been taught extensively. In the curricula for eight-year secondary schools from 1934, the dominant position of German was apparent, as was the non-negligible representation of French and English (Beneš, 1970, p. 9). In the area of scholarly publications, the position of English was minimal – in the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, the international publication venue of the Prague Linguistic Circle, German and French dominated; there were also English texts, but strikingly fewer. And it should be noted that the periodical itself has a French name (Ehlers, 1996). After 1948 (when the Communist Party took power), Russian became the first foreign language; however, English and French, and, following a brief hiatus, even German, continued to be taught as elective subjects.

Beginning in the 1960s, German was viewed not only as a useful language of the neighboring countries (East and West Germany and Austria), but also as an international language, leading to its extraordinary popularity, lasting until the end of the Communist regime in 1989. This tendency, however, was not established in

internationally oriented scholarship. In the renewed *Travaux*, now called *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague*, published between 1964 and 1971, more than half of the texts were in English, less than one-third were in German, and the rest were in French or Russian (Ehlers, 1996). The competition between German and French after 1945 (and to a certain degree as early as after 1918) mainly concerned the functions of first and second foreign languages. The language used in nearly all domains (in everyday life, in school from elementary to university education, in science, and in administration) was Czech. It should also be noted that in Communist Czechoslovakia, there were never any Russian schools; paradoxically, they existed in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period, and even during the Nazi occupation.

3 Multilingualism in the Czech Republic

After the fall of the Communist system in 1989 and the opening of the borders, essential sociocultural changes took place in the Czech Republic which were also manifested in the communicative and linguistic domains. Czech society began to integrate into Western structures both politically and economically, entering the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999 and the European Union (EU) in 2004. Thousands of foreigners, including from the United States and United Kingdom, arrived and remained, many Czechs began traveling not only to neighboring countries but throughout the entire world, (neo)liberalism was established in economic thinking, and branches of international companies appeared. Soon after the change in 1989, mandatory Russian was abolished and the principle of foreign language choice was declared. The implementation of this principle, paradoxically, led to the strengthening of only two languages: German and English. In addition to the mass teaching of German, English gradually gained strength. It became the most commonly taught language in 1997, and from that point on, the position of German continued to weaken, though it remained the second most commonly taught language. French became a marginal language in elementary schools, but the position of Russian improved slightly with the establishment of the mandatory second language in 2013. The new conditions stimulated above all the use of English and "the ideology of the absolute instrumentality of English" was promoted on various levels (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2013, p. 107). The dominance of English was also manifested in international scholarly communication. It is instructive to again return to the Prague Linguistic Circle, which was re-established in 1990. In the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, re-established at the same time and published beginning in 1995, an English name, that is, *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, was added to the French name. It is also significant that the first issue (1995) does not contain a single article in French or in Russian, only two in German, but 17 in English.

The linguistic, communicative, and sociocultural context of the Czech Republic has also been significantly expanded and diversified through tourism and economically motivated immigration. This has occurred to such a degree that some authors have mentioned the superdiversity of many spaces in the Czech Republic, above all in its capital, Prague (Sloboda, 2016). Tourists include citizens of the neighboring countries and hundreds of thousands of tourists from – in descending order – China (more than 600,000 in 2019), US, Russia, Great Britain, Italy, South Korea, and Ukraine. Tourists from Germany and Austria, however, clearly dominate, constituting more than one-fifth of tourists, which in 2019 was more than 2 million (Dovalil, 2022).

In communication between tourists and staff in restaurants or hotels, there have been reports of various misunderstandings and their communication is intensively managed. Even though the staff may have knowledge of German, Russian, or other languages, the expected standard – for both tourists and staff – is English. In the specific language constellations of Central Europe, there is a strategy used by visitors from German-speaking countries: in first-contact situations they use English with staff, and only after this do they test the possibility of using German (Dovalil, 2022). English also functions as a lingua franca in communication with Asian tourists; in these cases, a commonly managed problem is the tourists' English pronunciation and the adjustment design is often the use of digital translation applications.

Numerous groups of migrants significantly contributed to the diversification of the multilingual context in the Czech Republic. The economic prosperity of the transforming state and its impending EU membership drew hundreds of thousands of foreigners to the country who remain here long term. The largest group of foreign residents are citizens of Ukraine (more than 150,000 in 2020), followed by – in descending order – Slovakia, Vietnam, Russia, Poland, Germany, Bulgaria, and the US (more than 7,000 in 2020). However, several thousand immigrants have also newly settled here from China, Turkey, Japan, Korea, and India, that is, from countries whose citizens rarely spent longer periods of time here prior to 1989. Momentarily there is not a lot of information about the linguistic and communicative behavior of these and other groups. However, it is apparent that English is utilized to some degree in their communication with the majority Czech population and with minority ones, in addition to further lingua francas – primarily Russian and German, and increasingly more frequently Czech, which has experienced growing popularity as a foreign language.

In Prague, the multilingual background manifests itself in the most banal areas of everyday life such as recycling. Figures 1 and 2 show a multilingual sign with a text in English, German, French, and Russian, all meaning 'only paper.' The most prominent signs, however, contain the Czech word *papír* meaning 'paper' (Sloboda, 2016). Many languages of smaller ethnic groups are, however, more or less invisible and these languages are truly visible mainly in the urban linguistic landscape. In Hradec Králové (a city to the northeast of Prague with approximately 100,000 inhabitants) the perception scale of the representation of individual languages in the linguistic landscape is as follows (Nekvapil, 2020): Czech (very dominant language); English (first foreign language, fairly frequent); German, Italian, French, Spanish, Russian, Vietnamese, and Turkish (less frequently used languages); and, finally, Chinese, Latin, Arabic, Slovak, Slovenian, and Japanese (rare languages).

In 1992, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist and two new countries emerged: the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In the language dimension, this somewhat lowered the competence in Czech-Slovak semi-communication (Haugen, 1966) and, conversely, led to the intensification of management of communication between Czechs and Slovaks. This, however, did not have a significant influence on the use of English. While there is an observable increase in the use of English between Czechs and Poles, two neighboring Slavic ethnic groups, the same cannot be said of the communication between Czechs and Slovaks (also two Slavic ethnic groups), in which speakers use their own, mutually intelligible languages (and this also partly explains the rare representation of Slovak in the linguistic landscape of the Czech Republic).

Figure 1 Signs on a recycling container in a Prague residential area, the Czech signs dominating, November 2021. Source: Photo courtesy of Marián Sloboda.

4 The status and functions of English in the Czech Republic

English is used in the Czech Republic to varying degrees and in a number of different communicative domains, although not in all of them and frequently in addition to other languages, above all Czech (Kaderka & Prošek, 2014). As early as in the 1930s, Czech became the point of departure of the sociolinguistic theorizing of the Prague School (Nekvapil, 2008), and due to this, standardized Czech is a highly elaborated language, the position of which is, in the minds of both everyday speakers and linguists, very solid, and essentially unbreakable. There is no individual language law in the Czech Republic, even though the use of languages is regulated in specific situations by legal norms varying in force. In addition to Czech and Slovak, this also concerns English, which is allowed in communication with state offices in the production of written documents, above all in the domain of the capital market (for example, stock market pamphlets can be published in Czech or English; Dovalil, 2017). The following sections focus on the position of English in education and business.

4.1 English in education

The available data are rather on the languages taught than on the languages of instruction. In the 2020/2021 school year, the situation at primary schools was as follows:

Figure 2 Details of the multilingual sign on the same container, November 2021. Source: Photo courtesy of Marián Sloboda.

839,814 pupils were learning English, 204,927 German, 60,319 Russian, 10,354 Spanish, 7,135 French, and 458 Italian. The situation in secondary schools was the following: 398,833 pupils were learning English, 161,765 German, 29,708 Russian, 28,021 Spanish, 18,531 French, 6,761 Latin, and 519 Italian (fewer than 500 pupils are listed under the categories "further European language" and "further language"; Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport, 2021a). One can see that these numbers correspond to the trends described above: the obvious dominance of English, several times lower interest in German, many times lower interest in Russian (which nevertheless continues to be the third most commonly taught language), and the marginalization of French, which has been surpassed by Spanish. English is also occasionally used as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools, although not to an especially great degree; precise data are not available, as these are very often private schools. While some schools have English as their main language of instruction (with Czech taught as a foreign language), another increasingly popular phenomenon is the establishment of bilingual schools or classes. For example, first-language (L1) speakers of English may participate in the teaching along with the Czech teacher (as observed in some primary schools in Prague beginning in the first grade), where the basic explanation of the material is in Czech and the practice exercises in English. It is apparent that in such situations, intense management of communication takes place.

In the context of the increasing internationalization of higher education, English is increasingly becoming a part of the teaching at universities, even though Czech, as a multifunctional medium, continues to serve in the realization of the highest communicative aims. One source of information is the list of accredited study programs. In 2021, there were 13,589 officially accredited study programs (bachelor's, master's, and PhD studies). Of these, 3,452 study programs (or around 25%) were accredited in English, 116 in German, 22 in Russian, 11 in French, 4 in Italian, and 3 in Polish (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport, 2021b). For all study programs accredited in languages other than Czech, tuition fees are charged, while programs accredited in Czech are free, in each case regardless of the nationality of the students. Though this list may appear impressive in the context of the discourse of internationalization (in university mission statements), it is unclear how many programs accredited in English are really opened and attended. This is especially the case for doctoral programs in the humanities (Sherman, 2020). Also, many Czech-accredited programs do part of their teaching in English, allowing students the dual advantage of exposure to English and tuition-free studies.

4.2 English in business

The 1989 revolution has had a pervasive impact on the economic processes in the Czech Republic, which was becoming rapidly integrated into global capitalism. One aspect of this transformation was the increase in foreign direct investment on a great scale and the entrance of many multinational corporations. As Sherman et al. (2012) state, the establishment of their branches and plants in the Czech Republic has been characterized by specific power asymmetries, which of course was reflected in the language and communicative dimension – "strong" and "weak" in the branches have often been constituted along ethnic lines and bound to the use of particular languages.

There are commonly two basic social groups in the branches of the multinationals: a high number of local employees (for example, numbering in the hundreds) and a lower number of expatriates (for example, numbering in the tens). Essential is the fact that the expatriates initially held the top managerial positions in the company, as a sort of bridge between the branch and headquarters, and (formally or informally) establish the language policy of the company, both in external communication with the customers and, most importantly, in everyday communication in the branches or plants. Overall, it is understandable that they tend toward "their" language, which need not be their first language, but could also be one which they speak with a high degree of competence. This organized and corresponding simple language management may put local employees at a disadvantage and reproduce power asymmetries in the companies.

Because companies with their headquarters in Germany have been represented the most on the territory of the Czech Republic, the issue of the use of the German language came quickly to the forefront (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a). Even though in many German-based companies German functioned as the corporate language, either officially or unofficially, soon – and in some cases even concurrently – English was permitted. The dominant position of English was gradually established for two reasons. First, the German-based multinationals themselves began presenting themselves as global companies. In other words, they adopted – often for strategic reasons – the discourse of globalization, which links globalization to the use of English. In parallel with this, the view of English as a means of emancipation was established among local

employees. This was to enable at least the partial correction of power asymmetries in the companies; the use of English was viewed as a neutral ground which did not a priori discriminate against any of the parties in communication (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b). These language and communicative constellations, of course, stem from the unique position of German in Central Europe and specifically in the Czech Republic.

As concerns multinationals with headquarters in countries where languages other than German are spoken, the situation is different. One example of this is revealed through research on Korean-based multinationals in the Czech Republic (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2018). In companies such as Hyundai Motor Manufacturing Czech, the initial assumption is that the local employees do not have Korean in their communicative repertoires, and it is not even possible for them to acquire it gradually, in contrast to German, directly or indirectly promoted by the German-based multinationals. Both the Czech and Korean employees subscribe to the ideology of the completely different language of the other group, that is, Czech as perceived by Koreans and Korean as perceived by Czechs. The only shared means of communication in the repertoire of both the Koreans and local employees is thus English. The situation is also different from the German-based multinationals when it comes to the use of English. While in German-based multinationals the English of the expatriates was initially often at a significantly higher level than that of the locals, in Korean-based multinationals the English of the locals is often at a higher level than the English of the Korean managers, and in some cases only intense language and communicative management leads to successful communication between the two groups of employees.

5 Features of English in the Czech Republic

The increase in the status of English and the scope and range of communicative situations in which it is used have led to a further development: English as the subject of research with a focus on its local (Czech) features. In the vein of the language management framework, the following question could then be posed: what types of practical language problems stimulate academic research? The predominant approach is the management of English as a foreign language, that is, the management of English from the position of a country in the Expanding Circle. This is most apparent in the study of phonetics and phonology, which has been widespread in the past 20 years, focusing on the segmental and suprasegmental features of English as produced by first-language speakers. Researchers define their position as stemming from the language acquisition needs of the general populace, as well as the need to increase awareness of linguistic features in general among speakers, which could be labeled as a deficit-based or deviation-based perspective. Skarnitzl and Rumlová (2019), for example, discuss the concept of foreign accentedness based on the strength of deviations and their types, stating that not all are "made equal" (Skarnitzl & Rumlová, 2019, p. 109).

When the term "Czech English" is used, it is viewed as an overarching term signifying accented English spoken by second-language (L2) speakers with the shared structural influence of their first language, Czech. The subjects of the empirical studies are typically speakers who wish to improve their pronunciation for the pragmatic reasons described as follows: "In the present study, we are interested in Czech English and we label it as foreign accented due to the pragmatically based aspirations of our

learners of English and due to the general purpose of the English language in the context of our geographical and geopolitical position" (Skarnitzl et al., 2005, p. 12). These authors pose the question of whether there is something distinguishable as a Czech accent in English, and, based on an empirical study in which Czech speakers of English were evaluated by various groups of listeners, conclude that there is. Skarnitzl and Rumlová (2019) later summarily described phonetic features of strongly accented Czech English, including the more closed production of open vowels, the approximation of dental fricatives, the absence of aspiration for some consonants, differences in placement and quality of lexical stress, decreased reduction of unstressed vowels and grammatical words, and a narrower pitch range for intonation.

On other linguistic levels, it is possible to observe "Czenglish" mainly in lay contexts, denoting a variety of English which is strongly influenced by Czech (or in some cases, Czech which is strongly influenced by English), above all on the lexical and phraseological levels. This has led to management on the part of English teaching experts. A very well-known publication by a university English teacher, "English or Czenglish: How to avoid Czechisms in English" (Sparling, 1991), consists of an extensive list of observed words and phrases that are calques or translations from Czech along with the idiomatic English version of them. Some examples include the use of the word *give* instead of the word *put* in the sentence *Give the goose into the oven*, or the transfer of the reflexivity of some Czech verbs to non-reflexive English ones in sentences such as *I'd like to apologize myself for being late* (Sparling, 1991, pp. 40, 86). On a more systematic level, efforts have been devoted to the creation of learner corpora of Czech speakers of English (Gráf, 2017), as well as studies of academic writing (Povolná, 2015) and the interactional aspects of teaching and learning English (Tůma, 2018). The recent boom in research of this type is partly connected to the increasing pressure to publish and present orally in English.

Based on the ways in which English is written about, one may conclude that in research and education, it remains primarily a foreign language. In practice, mainly in the international workplace, it is managed as a lingua franca, that is, when English-speaking employees are recruited and English instruction is provided to employees, the focus is on being able to successfully communicate in workplace situations and, eventually, developing a strong passive understanding of the varieties of English spoken by superiors and other colleagues from abroad (especially in the cases of companies based in the Far East). In general, it can be argued that the lingua franca perspective looks to manage different sets of problems, above all communication and sociocultural ones, than the deficit-based or deviation-based perspective, which departs from the structural language level. The differences in the sets of problems managed may create points of conflict in the Czech educational system, the main one being that English is being taught primarily from the deficit-based perspective, but when pupils become employees, they encounter a greater scope of varieties than they were originally prepared for. Some of the research thus calls for the lingua franca orientation to spread more into the research on English as a foreign language in the Czech Republic (Quinn Novotná, 2016; Hanusková, 2019).

One final area of interest concerns the ways in which the knowledge and varieties of English used by the general populace in the Czech Republic also have an influence on the lexicon of the Czech language, into which English words are increasingly borrowed, some examples being *deadline*, *shopping center* or *wellness*, all of which have Czech equivalents (Bozděchová, 2017). One particular study of the adaptation of loanwords in

Czech considers more variationist sociolinguistic aspects based on demographic data (Havlík & Wilson, 2017). Their results indicated that the social variable with the greatest influence on the way in which a speaker pronounces a loanword is age. That is, while older speakers tended more towards "old" pronunciation rules such as the use of the phoneme [k] at the end of a word such as *marketing*, younger speakers were more likely to produce the phoneme [g], as in the one closer to the original English, in the same position. However, differences for selected linguistic variables were also found based on differences in education, sex, and region or origin (Havlík & Wilson, 2017, pp. 217–219).

6 Cultural aspects of usage

Here, there are two main questions: (i) When are various aspects of English on various levels viewed as deviation and how are they managed? (ii) In which contexts has the use of English become part of a largely unmanaged norm? The management of English when viewed as a deviation has two main components: (a) the management of English when it is used instead of Czech, and (b) the management of "deviant" English. In the first case, situations can be observed in public offices in which the use of Czech is demanded. In one heavily discussed instance from 2017, a sign in the window of the drivers' registry at the Prague city hall stated, "You are in Czech office, so you have to be able to speak Czech. Or you have to come with translater. It is written in our law č. 500/2004 Sb. §16" (Sattler, 2017). The resulting online discussions on media servers were extensive, pointing out, among other things, the deviant character of the English in the sign and the question of whether or not the statement regarding the law was actually valid. On the other side, however, a frequent topic of discussion among non-Czech-speaking English speakers is the availability of English speakers in various types of institutions, particularly in commercial enterprises. One reaction to this can be found on the website of the financial institution AirBank, which states, "We are sorry that we cannot serve you the way that you expect. We normally speak and write Czech and our online mobile banking systems and contracts are in Czech too" (AirBank, 2021). This is followed by instructions on other ways to successfully communicate with the bank, including bringing a Czech speaker to the branch.

The second case, the management of "deviant" English, concerns situations in which an individual or group's level of English is the object of complaint or mockery. There have been two recent public instances in which Czech politicians were placed in this position. In 2014, prime minister Bohuslav Sobotka was publicly mocked in a video containing children laughing at his English. This was a response to the fact that he had sent the school inspector to these children's school, which was offering extra classes in English with a "native speaker" for a very high fee, potentially discriminating against other students. In 2020, finance minister Alena Schillerová was the extensive target of ridicule after repeatedly not participating in negotiations of EU finance ministers due to her alleged lack of English, which was further tested by Czech journalists, who attempted to interview her in English. There are also various general lay lamentations on the level of English among everyday speakers in Czech society, with criticism of the teaching methods in schools, and especially the lack of exposure to English through the media being presented as the main argument for this state, leading to movements promoting the cessation of dubbing (as opposed to subtitling) of imported TV and film

production (Sherman, 2018). As for the use of English as a largely unmanaged norm, for instance, examples of this abound in the use of English on Czech social media; the mixing of English and Czech, mostly among younger users of these media; linguistic landscapes, including names of establishments and menus in some restaurants which are predominantly in English, such as Coffee Room or Bowl and Tonic; and local cultural production in English, such as literary journals or theater groups. It is also noteworthy that many Czech cinemas indicate whether the given films are "English friendly" in their programs.

Finally, it is also significant that English has become an expectation in the sphere of scholarly publication. The "unmanaged" nature of this phenomenon is field-specific: while the natural sciences largely presume publication in English (even in journals published in the Czech Republic), the social sciences and humanities have fought to maintain the option to publish in Czech as well.

7 Conclusion

The position of English in relation to other languages in Czech society is not only the object of management in the present, or in a historical sense, it is also the object of management in regard to anticipated future developments. Some of this management is done by the lay public and some by experts whose perspective is highly influenced by the situation in other countries. Interestingly, these areas of management can be divided into two general positions which are viewed in different ways by each group, the major difference being between what each group notes as a deviation and how they evaluate it. The first can be called "English as a threat to the language situation in the Czech Republic," and the second "The Czech Republic and the English divide." As for the first position, lay management is observable in the public sphere almost exclusively concerning the anticipated gradual influence of English on Czech linguistic structures. This is a continual topic in media interviews with representatives of Czech language institutions, for example, in discussions of gender-neutral language, naming conventions, or the increasing use of English lexical items (Adam, 2012). In language management terms, these changes are noted and evaluated negatively, as they signify a potential loss of the cultural heritage that the language represents.

Expert management in regard to this position lies elsewhere. Observing the situation in other European countries, particularly in Scandinavia, stimulates a greater sensitivity to the fact that certain domains of life, for example academic publishing and certain university teaching (as discussed above), are increasingly English-based, to the detriment of Czech. This potential domain loss appears all the more threatening given the high degree of elaboration of Czech from the last century. In addition, experts have pointed out that the increased role of English, particularly in school education, and the preference given to it in Czech educational policy, can lead to the homogenization of foreign language knowledge and, overall, of the knowledge provided through given linguistic channels. Earlier, this entry discussed the strong position previously held by languages such as German or Russian. Among other things, the knowledge of these languages has led to benefits for the whole society (as well as individuals within it) in the areas of business, diplomacy, and culture, to name a few.

As for the position "The Czech Republic and the English divide," again, there is a difference between what lay and expert language managers view as a problem.

Similar to the "digital divide," the idea here is that not having access to English (analogically to not having access to computers and the internet) puts individuals and societies at a significant economic, social, and cultural disadvantage (Lupač & Sládek, 2008). Here the observable lay management concerns the society as a whole, especially from the international perspective, while expert management tends more toward the position of the individual in society and his or her welfare. That is, numerous lay and semi-professional voices can be heard which note and evaluate Czechs' knowledge of English as poor or non-existent and in need of improvement overall in order to avoid embarrassment on the international stage (Rafaelová & Bílá, 2011). There have been movements aimed at stopping or decreasing the Czech tradition of dubbing audiovisual content in order to increase Czechs' exposure to foreign languages (primarily English), that is, to emulate the Scandinavian model (Cameron, 2013). Expert voices, however, point to the problems associated with acquiring foreign languages at an advanced age (only people born approximately in 1993 or after have had more or less mandatory English in school), and to the fact that while English may be viewed ideologically as a universally instrumental language, this is far from the case in many Czech contexts.

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SEE ALSO: English-Medium Instruction in Europe; European Englishes; European Union, English Language Policy in the

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