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Lisa Fairbrother, Jiří Nekvapil & Marián Sloboda (eds.): The Language Management Approach: A Focus on Research Methodology. Berlin – Bern – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Warszawa – Wien: Peter Lang Edition, 2018. 403 pp. Prague Papers on Language, Society and Interaction, 5.

The Language Management Approach is the second edited volume in English which explores language management theory (LMT), the first volume was published in 2009 and was titled *Language Management in Contact Situations: Perspectives from Three Continents* (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009). In this new book, the authors focus on research methodology. Given the fact that language management theory is not widely applied in language policy and planning or in sociolinguistics, the focus on methodology inevitably narrows the number of potential readers of this book, and so does the fact that this publication is the proceedings of a symposium. As a result, the book does not have a stringent structure where the theme is gradually developed, but the contributions are grouped into four larger thematic strands. There is, in addition, an introduction by the editors and an epilogue by the late Jiří Neustupný, the co-founder of and most important contributor to LMT. The book features 16 well-written chapters. In the following, I will first briefly review the chapters and then discuss the contribution of the book to LMT and to neighboring fields of study before I conclude with an outlook on the relevance of LMT today.

The introduction by Fairbrother, Nekvapil and Sloboda familiarizes readers with LMT, outlines its historical development and stresses its importance for a comprehensive study of linguistic and metalinguistic behavior. Put simply, language management looks at processes that are at some stage part of the production, evaluation and adjustments of discourse. It departs from concretely manifesting "language problems" on a micro level, the management of which then usually moves up to the macro level. The ability to straddle the micro-macro divide is rightfully stressed as an important contribution to the study of language problems. The second half of the introduction is a summary of the chapters that follow. It may be skipped by readers who engage in a closer reading of the entire book. The list of references in this chapter is extensive and helpful for all those who want to trace the major developments and contributions of language management studies over time.

Part I of the book is titled "Linking language management research with other theories", and it consists of two chapters. Baldauf and Hamid identify language management as one of four principal schools in language policy and planning. The chapter discusses these schools more or less in the chronological order in which they evolved. Contrary to what the section promises, we find no "linkages" between these schools, but the text

nevertheless serves as a useful introduction to the various approaches to language policy and planning. The strength of language management is seen to lie in its "typical focus on the *interplay* of the top-down and bottom-up, macro and micro and structure and agency metaphors" (p. 51, emphasis in the original). The second chapter by Lanstyák is, strictly speaking, also not an attempt to connect language management with other approaches. What it does is specify that the LMT approach includes "management of particular discourses", "management of the circumstances of language use" and "management of ideas and ideologies concerning language and language use". The chapter is telling for present-day LMT in general. The approach is characterized by a rather strict closure. LMT is able to account for an extremely wide range of issues and it has developed extensive taxonomies to describe and classify language behavior and behavior towards language. Lanstyák's chapter adds further categories to the approach and underlines the fact that very often language management results in activities outside the sphere of language *tout court*.

Part II of the book is dedicated to "Exploring the connection between micro- and macro-level management", and it features four chapters. Jernudd discusses language consultations by two language cultivation agencies in Sweden, and in the following chapter Beneš et al. study language consulting centers in the Czech Republic. The chapters illustrate the management cycle where micro-level management is taken to macro levels (the respective language consulting agencies) before a solution to the language problem may or may not be applied on the micro level again. These two chapters are representative for a bulk of the publications on LMT. The cases serve to illustrate how language management works. We learn little about the specifics of language consultation, and what such consultation implies for students not specialized on language management. The third chapter by Ali et al. discusses the application of LMT for research design, in particular for the framing of interviews. The case under discussion is English language education in the Malaysian school system, but rather little can be learned about this topic, as the chapter is strictly confined to issues of methodology. It concludes by stating that language management "makes a valuable contribution to qualitative research […]. Moreover, it helps to triangulate data by juxtaposing the data within the same sources (i.e. among students) and other sources (e.g. between content-area lecturers and administrators)" (p. 150). The fourth chapter by Rudwick on the promotion of Zulu at a South-African University is one of my favorite chapters. It applies LMT theory to demonstrate that a policy to strengthen Zulu runs into a plethora of problems mainly because it departed from a macro level. It sought to "fix" a problem without first looking at whether there was a problem, and if there was, what its nature or extent was. She also introduces concepts that are absent from more orthodox LMT approaches, for instance hegemony, power inequality and, albeit implicitly, upward social mobility. Various stakeholders are studied and LMT theory enables her to demonstrate the mutual relationships between these perspectives . The chapter stands out in this book, because the data is not simply presented to illustrate a methodological issue as is done in the majority of the other chapters.

Part III is on micro-level management and includes 6 chapters. It is the longest section of the volume. This is not coincidental. The study of language problems on the micro level has always been at the heart of LMT. The section starts with a translation of a Japanese article by Neustupný on data collection. It provides for a discussion of two central research methods, the follow-up interview and the interaction interview. This might be very much appreciated by all those who do not read Japanese, but it provides essentially nothing new to anyone familiar with LMT. The two methods are also discussed elsewhere in the book. This is the fate of publishing proceedings. It can at times be repetitive and tiresome to read from cover to cover. Muraoka, Fan and Ko follow with a chapter on ethnographic surveys within the LMT framework. They return to case studies they conducted on language management by migrants to reconsider how ethnographic surveys can shed light on language repertoires as a results of language management decisions. This is a very interesting take on language repertoire formation with potentially far-reaching consequences for language teaching and learning. However, the chapter suffers from a lack of consideration of other approaches and theories – the work of Monica Heller comes to mind here, or Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus. While there are scattered references to scholars outside the LMT paradigm (e.g., Jan Blommaert), their contributions remain by and large unexplored. The three authors could have been bolder and expanded our knowledge of language management and language repertoire formation even further. The following chapter by Saruhashi on personal empowerment and language management is a fresh breath of air, evident already by the fact that it pushes the notion of "empowerment" into the focus, an aspect that is not central in orthodox approaches to LMT. She presents and discusses the case of Burmese restaurant owners in Tokyo, and we find in her paper a real integration of new perspectives into the language management framework. The result is fascinating, rich in detail and insightful both with regard to the subject of the study and with regard how interview questions can unearth sometimes hard-to-relate reactions. The study also shows that self-empowerment and the spirit of self-help has its limits, leading Saruhashi to conclude that "the overall tone of her narrative in phase 3 [on life-long goals P. H.] was negativity and powerlessness, and this was due to the mismatch between her personally meaningful vision [wanting to be an educator P. H.] and her current position as a restaurant owner" (p. 253). It is this kind of research that is sometimes called "welfare linguistics" in Japan – research that engages into the relation between language and subjective wellbeing. The following chapter by Fairbrother studies how email interaction reports by exchange students allow for insights into their language management abroad. This chapter seeks to broaden the scope of subjects that can be studied with LMT, but it could have been pushed further, for example, by including discussions on the acquisition of "symbolic competence" in foreign language learning. The subsequent contribution is Asada's study of longitudinal management of speech styles among Chinese students in Japan. Stylistic expansion is a key issue in advanced foreign language learning, and the longitudinal study of how students are aware of what they do, and the extent to which they seek to adjust and adapt (and how they do this) is insightful. The study reveals a number of difficulties in

Japanese foreign language learning, such as a confusion between formal/informal styles and the reproduction of social hierarchies through language (known as "jōge kankei" in Japanese). Such results are very valuable for Japanese language educators, and LMT is extremely successful in making such problems and the difficulties to resolve them visible. The section closes with Hromadová's application of LMT to discussions of literary texts. This chapter, too, is one of the contributions that seek to expand the application of LMT. The study remains, however, focused on discussions of language, and it is somewhat doubtful whether LMT will come to play a meaningful role in literary studies henceforth.

The last part on attitudes towards language varieties features two chapters. Mrázková organized groups in Prague and Ostrava discussing language use on Czech TV programs. In particular the use of Common Czech and Standard Czech is at the heart of these discussions. Reactions to the program showed differences between the two localities where research is carried out, with Ostrava participants accepting the hegemonic position of Standard Czech and also being more sensitive to the use of Common Czech on TV. These attitudes are not attested in the second group in Prague. This underlines the fact that management is a deeply social activity. Finally, Özörencik's text is a study on language management in Turkish-speaking families in Prague. On the one hand, Turkish families report difficulties in ensuring that their children acquire Turkish that is on par with that of children growing up in Turkey, and parents take various measures to assist their children to this end. On the other hand, Prague is also seen as a place that is very beneficial for the development of multilingualism, and in particular the development of English among their children is positively acknowledged. The study also shows the ambivalent situation in which migrant families find themselves, and this ambivalence often results in conflicting expectations, practices and norms.

The book ends with an epilogue by Neustupný. This chapter is again a translation from Japanese into English. In this paper, originally published in 2004, Neustupný reflects on the position of LMT across time and its potential to open up to research strands taking similar directions. LMT has never been mainstream, and he himself is keenly aware of this. While not being mainstream comes with a number of advantages, in this paper Neustupný argues for developing "language management networks with other theories and overcome the closure of our own network" (p. 377). In a way, we can say that the publication of the book under review testifies to the idea that this has to some extent been achieved. Contributors to this volume are based in Japan, Europe and Australia. At the same time, by far the majority of these contributors are either former students of Neustupný or are students of his former students, i.e., language managements scholars of the third generation. Neustupný himself had studied and worked in Europe, Japan and Australia. LMT is as much a closed approach to the study of language as it is a closed network of scholars, and this is somewhat limiting.

Where does LMT stand today, and how is this manifested in the book? For one thing, the "return" of LMT to Europe 15 years ago is worthy of note. Probably the most important development in the past two decades was the publication of Neustupný & Nekvapil's

"Language Management in the Czech Republic" (2003). This contribution led to a new impetus in the development of the theory and also to an expansion of the research objects and networks. In Japan, LMT has by comparison stalled, and it is in decline in Australia. More than 30 years have passed since Neustupný and Jernudd published their seminal paper "Language planning for whom?" (Jernudd & Neustupný 1987), a kind of manifesto for all the research that was to follow. The fact that LMT theory is still around is remarkable, as the two principal fields with which it intersects (language policy and planning, sociolinguistics) have seen fundamental transformations in this time. In the former discipline, the critical approach is by now "mainstream", and we are seeing a number of developments that go beyond this and take an active stance in contributing to social justice and equality. Sociolinguistics developed at the same time from a "relationist discipline" (e.g., the first-wave approaches to language and gender, language and age, language and social class, etc.), to a discipline that sees individuals negotiating their interests in specific contexts for specific ends, drawing therefore on linguistic resources that index age, gender, class, etc. Just like LMT 30 years ago, contemporary sociolinguistics is firmly zooming in on individuals and cultural contexts, but it has developed a complex apparatus to do so which is absent in LMT (enregisterment, indexical function, scales, etc.).

LMT as presented in this book cannot keep pace with either of these developments. I have difficulties to find advantages in simply perpetuating the entire "classic LMT" apparatus, instead of applying selected elements of LMT and integrating them into "mainstream" sociolinguistic and language policy and planning approaches. The follow-up interview is a powerful method that should be much more widely applied. In a similar vein, the language management cycle deserves attention outside the networks of LMT scholars, in particular for research design. Integration of LMT "success stories" with other approaches is vital, because it remains unclear throughout the entire book what LMT does better. Clarifying this and concentrating on these areas seems a viable way to contemporize LMT and to ensure it stays relevant. Everywhere where LMT does not have an edge over other approaches, research is well-advised to shift to approaches developed outside the LMT paradigm. For example, the two chapters on language consultation could have been discussed within the framework of "verbal hygiene", an approach that goes beyond the analysis of the language management process and sees discourse on language cultivation as a constitutive feature of language.

A real problem of the book is the repeated introduction of the "classic" LMT apparatus, making the book at times tiresome to read. Repeating the basic tenants of LMT is more often than not done at the expense of data collection and presentation. It is not by coincidence that the most exciting chapters in this book were written by authors on the "margin" of the LMT network. Stephanie Rudwick's contributions comes to mind, or that of Junko Saruhashi. These are world-class contributions to sociolinguistics and such works, in my mind, point out the development that LMT needs to take if it wants to remain relevant. Loyalty is obviously an important motivation for the LMT tradition – loyalty to Jiří Neustupný as a teacher and friend, and loyalty to his work which reflects

the man and his life. Loyalty that results in orthodoxy is not a good idea, though. LMT stands at a crossroads. It could open up and become more "contemporary", or it will risk to slowly fade as it did in Australia. If there should be another book on LMT, it would need to be bolder, more interdisciplinary, better structured and with a real purpose. LMT has the potential to be the subject for such a book, and with this, LMT might remain useful for enhancing our understanding of what language does to people and what people do to language.

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Marek Nekula: Franz Kafka and His Prague Contexts: Studies in Language and Literature. Parts translated by Robert Russell, Carly McLaughlin. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press, 2016. 244 pp.

In *Franz Kafka and His Prague Contexts* Marek Nekula (University of Regensburg) builds upon his earlier research of Kafka's usage of diverse languages and their interrelationship, published as *…v jednom poschodí vnitřní babylónské věže / Jazyky Franze Kafky* […On a floor of the inner Babylonian tower / Franz Kafka's languages] by Franz Kafka Publishing in 2003. Most of the chapters included in the present volume are reprints, translations, and modified or updated versions of earlier articles or conference presentations. What unifies the book under review thematically is the focus on language and discourse. In his Foreword, Nekula writes that he focuses on the role of Kafka's family language in interpretations of the writer's work from the 'Prague perspective' (highlighted at the 1963 Liblice conference by the Marxist literary critic Eduard Goldstücker), which continuously distorted the authenticity of reading Kafka's Czech texts and sustained their misinterpretations. He takes care to explicate his intentions behind exposing the languages Kafka used, the fictive languages present in his fiction, and the ideological ones used to frame and interpret Kafka's literary works and his biography.