

**LANGUAGE POLICY IN MULTILINGUAL
WORKPLACES:**

**Management, practices and beliefs in banks
in Luxembourg.**

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Abstract

For decades the primary focus of language policy research has been activities by states and their agencies, while language policy activities in workplaces have attracted little attention. Addressing this gap, explicit and implicit dimensions of language policies are investigated in financial institutions operating in the globalised context of international banking in multilingual Luxembourg.

Three complementary theoretical frameworks are used to extend language policy research to include not just explicit aspects of language policy (language policy statements), but also implicit aspects (the language practices and beliefs of a community). Spolsky's (2004) theory is used to identify and analyse three components of language policy (management, practices and beliefs); Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987) is used to explore one specific component of language policy (management), and Shohamy's (2006) framework is used to explore the complex interaction between management, practices and beliefs.

The data base for the study comprised two phases: the first phase involved interviews with managers in ten Luxembourg banks regarding language policy, followed in the second phase by questionnaires and focus-group discussions with employees from three case study banks regarding language use and beliefs.

This empirical data suggests that even in banks where English has been formalised as the working language, multilingual mechanisms (recruitment and language courses) contribute to employees' practices effectively creating, a top-down multilingual implicit (de facto) policy. The data from international banks in Luxembourg suggests that a flexible approach to

language management is useful in workplaces where communication is complex, multi-faceted and dynamic. The bottom-up perspective indicates that employees at international banks use English as a lingua franca (ELF) alongside other languages, negotiating language choice across speech communities and linguistic repertoires, for transactional and relational purposes. These multilingual employees highly value English as the most common language in banks for including and involving all, highlighting its vital role in banks. Because the data provides a strong argument for the consideration of both top down and bottom up perspectives, the results have theoretical significance for our understanding of language policy.

Overall, this thesis provides insights into the complex nature of language policy in multilingual workplaces, including the importance of both top-down and bottom-up pressures on language practices, the crucial role of ELF and the relevance of attitudes towards ELF and other languages at local and global levels of management.

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Abbreviations

ECB	European Central Bank
ELF	English as a lingua franca
EWL	English as a working language
EU	European Union
FG	Focus group
HR	Human resources
IT	Information Technology
LPP	Language policy and planning
LMT	Language management theory
MNB	MeritaNordBanken
MNC	Multinational Corporation
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
WLP	Working language policies

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A personal anecdote:

It was a beautiful sunny morning the day I set out to open my first bank account in Luxembourg. With great excitement, I approached the branch of an international bank in a small village outside of Luxembourg city, only to experience difficulty getting through the locked, electronic revolving door. The instructions were printed in two languages on the door, complex French and what looked like Luxembourgish. After some exchanges with a friend in English and German, we realised it wasn't Luxembourgish, but Dutch! We didn't get very far trying to decipher the instructions in French until a Luxembourger explained in Luxembourgish the process of button pushing, handle lifting and a period of waiting that was required to enter the very security conscious bank.

Inside the bank, it was a whirl of languages, Luxembourgish, French, German. The receptionist immediately spoke French, switching into Luxembourgish when responding to my friend. While I waited in the reception for my number to appear on the electronic screen, the young Luxembourgish banking representative seated at the desk spoke Luxembourgish to the clients. Feeling a little unsure about my skills in French or German for discussing my personal banking details, I asked if he spoke English when my turn came. He immediately switched into English and explained the details of my new account. Discussing how to transfer money internationally wasn't so straightforward, so various phone calls were made to other bank clerks for clarification. With each new phone call, the banking representative switched with ease to another language, French, German, Luxembourgish. I was asked which language was my preferred language and was given brochures, a contract, along with information about web-banking, all in English. On receiving my cashpoint card, I was impressed to see that it was also written in my preferred language, English, and all other correspondence was trilingual. My word, what a sociolinguistic adventure at the bank!

1.0 Aim

This thesis explores the nature, importance, and complexity of language policy in a globalising world. Situated in the sociolinguistic field of language policy and planning (LPP), this research analyses official language policies and their relationship to everyday language use in multilingual banks in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Luxembourg has been chosen for exploring the complexity of language policy for four main reasons: (1) as a contribution to the new wave of sociolinguistic interest in the under-researched country of Luxembourg, (2) its position as a multilingual state and a centre of language policy and planning, (3) its character as a microcosm of the EU, and (4) its status as a multilingual and international banking centre. These four factors are explored in part one of this chapter to contextualise the state of Luxembourg and outline the rationale for exploring language policy within Luxembourg and specifically banks. Part two of this chapter outlines the primary theoretical framework used in this study from recent re-examinations of the field of language policy and planning (LPP); part three discusses the concept of language policy and introduces the broad research question of this thesis. Part four provides a broad overview of this thesis by briefly summarising each chapter.

1.1 Why the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg?

Luxembourg, situated at the heart of multilingual Western Europe between the larger countries of Germany, France and Belgium, is a small state with a population of only 483,800 and an area of 2586 sqm (Service central de la statistique et des études économique (STATEC), 2008). Between the 1980s and 2000s, publications written in various languages have focused on the sociolinguistic situation in Luxembourg (e.g. Kloss, 1986; Christophory, 1992;

Kramer, 1998; Fehlen, 1998). Literature has focused on the national varieties of Luxembourgish (Lëtzebuergesch), German and French (e.g. Worgt, 1992; Polenz, 1999; Gilles, 1999; Magère et al., 1998; Bender-Berland, 2000; Gilles & Moulin, 2003; Kühn, 2005; Kramer, 2005). Horner and Weber (2008, p.9) note, however, that very few in-depth empirical sociolinguistic studies have been conducted in Luxembourg; sociolinguistic research has been limited to only a few monographs over the last fifteen years (e.g. Berg, 1993; Davis, 1994; Newton, 1996; and Fehlen et al., 1998). Horner and Weber's (2008) monograph is the most recent on the language situation in Luxembourg and synthesizes a wide variety of sources over many years.

Over the last decade academic interest in Luxembourg has increased substantially, though most new linguistic research in Luxembourg and surrounding countries has focused on the national variety of Luxembourgish; while a very few studies focus on other Luxembourg-related subjects, such as Dutch, identity and historical (written) communication. Nevertheless it is clear that sociolinguistic interest has begun to diversify. For instance, Kristine Horner, one of the leading sociolinguists on Luxembourg, has recently produced some sociolinguistic work in the areas of identity and media discourse (Horner, 2004, 2007a, 2007b), in addition to language, citizenship and Europeanization (Horner, 2009a, 2009c).

Language policy in different contexts is a very recent focus (e.g. Horner, 2009b; Wagner and Davies, 2009; Weber, 2009a, 2009b; Kingsley, 2009; cf Davis, 1994). The lack of empirical sociolinguistic research conducted in Luxembourg highlights the need for further research in this country, not only because it is a linguistically diverse country, but also because Luxembourg represents a multilingual state and a centre of language policy and planning.

In terms of multilingualism, multilingual Luxembourg has been described as diglossic, triglossic, diglossic with trilingualism, two-and-a-half-lingualism, triglossic, triglossic with trilingualism, polyglossic and medial diglossic (see Knowles, 1980; Jakob, 1981; Hoffman, 1990; Pou, 1993; Clyne, 1995; Kramer, 1996; Weber, 2001; Gilles & Moulin, 2003; cf Horner & Weber, 2008). The concept of 'Ausbausprache' (Kloss, 1967) and H-varieties and L-varieties in diglossia (Ferguson, 1959; Berg, 1993, pp. 86-114) have been of particular interest to sociolinguists investigating multilingual language use (Horner & Weber, 2008, pp. 76-77). For native Luxembourgers, "the spoken/written distinction has always been pivotal to understanding language use in Luxembourg, with spoken functions being dominated by the use of Luxembourgish and written functions carried out primarily in French or German" (Horner & Weber, 2008, pp. 70-71; see also Horner, 2004, p. 1; Berg, 1993). However, very little is in fact known globally about multilingualism in Luxembourg, signalling a need for further research in this complex environment.

As for LPP, one of the most important steps in the last twenty-five years has been the establishment of the 1984 language law of Luxembourg. French was nominated as the legislative language, and German and French were identified as judicial and administrative languages (Horner & Weber, 2008, pp. 109-110; see also Berg 1993, pp. 20-24; Newton, 1996, pp. 57-58). This formal policy also recognised Luxembourgish as the national language of the Duchy and resulted in elevating Luxembourgish from "what is essentially still only a spoken language to the status of a written one" (Newton, 1996, p.58).

Luxembourgish varieties are Germanic and are related to Moselle Franconian varieties spoken in Germany, Belgium and France (Horner & Weber, 2008, p.3; see also Newton, 1996; Gilles, 1999; Gilles & Moulin, 2003).

However, Luxembourgish is increasingly being regarded as a language, rather than a dialect, due to its importance for national identity (e.g. Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 108; Horner, 2004, p. 155; Fehlen, 2002, p. 81; Berg, 1993, p. 86-114). As a result, in recent years formal language policy and planning in Luxembourg as a state has centred around the variety of Luxembourgish and its codification through the use of dictionaries, and elaboration into both written communication and teaching materials in Luxembourgish (see Horner, 2004; Gilles & Moulin, 2003). Since the 1980s the use of written Luxembourgish has consequently increased dramatically in quantity and quality (Horner, 2004, p. 177 & pp. 185-195).

Clearly, due to the multilingual environment in which LPP is implemented, Luxembourg is a sociolinguistically interesting centre of LPP in which to investigate the complexity of language policy in Europe.

1.1.1 A microcosm of the EU

As one of the most multilingual and multicultural countries of the EU, Luxembourg represents a microcosm of the multilingual EU. It has been a multilingual country for centuries and is a founding country of the current 27 member state EU. As such, it represents an important European focal point for exploring language policy in multilingual contexts within Europe.

First and foremost, Luxembourg mirrors both European multilingualism in practices and the EU's high value for multilingualism. As a country it supports individual competence in more than one language – plurilingualism - which has been promoted by the Council of Europe¹ since well before the establishment of the EU. Indeed, Luxembourg has a complex

¹ The Council of Europe was set up to promote unity between its members and provides specialized knowledge in the realms of human rights, democracy, education, culture and the environment (COE 1) to its 47 member countries (COE 2).

multilingual education system, with different languages being taught as subjects and used as mediums of instruction at various ages. At primary school, German is the primary medium of communication and used to teach basic literacy. French is introduced as a subject around the ages of 6-8 and becomes the sole medium of instruction in the last two years of secondary school. Luxembourgish, meanwhile, is taught as a subject until approximately 13 years of age, when English or Latin is introduced (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 89; see also Horner, 2009b; see also Newton, 1996; Davis, 1994; Gilles & Moulin, 2003).

Second, Luxembourg exhibits some of the changes taking place at a number of levels in Europe as a whole. Horner (2009b, p. 103) argues that people living and/or working in small states, such as Luxembourg, “are experiencing sociolinguistic changes bound up with global processes in a particularly intense manner; for this reason, Luxembourg constitutes an ideal research site (cf Naglo, 2008)”. Particular changes are associated with the globalising world, such as the transnational circulation of information, goods, services and people, and the speed and density of communication (Gal, 2008; Mar-Molierno & Stevenson, 2006c; see also Maurais & Morris, 2003; Gardt & Hüppauf, 2004; Wright, 2004, 2006). These changes are of increasing sociolinguistic interest in the supranational state of the EU (e.g. Mar-Molierno & Stevenson, 2006a), where Europeans enjoy the benefits of frontier-free travel, trade, and work, and this movement of people is clearly seen in Luxembourg. Moreover, by the mid 2000s, massive social, economic, cultural and political changes had taken place in Europe at regional, national and global levels resulting in calls “for a new examination of the key language questions confronting Europe” (Mar-Molierno & Stevenson, 2006b, p. 241). Coulmas argues that “the economic, political, ideological and technological factors associated with globalisation affect changing language

use patterns in multiple and complex ways we are only beginning to understand” (2005, p. 13). Consequently, the years preceding and following the turn of the millennium have marked the emergence of new linguistic interest in the EU (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 1993/1994; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997; Mackey, 2001; De Swaan, 2001; Gubbins & Holt, 2002). A wide range of issues have been of interest to linguists, and Luxembourg is an important European context for exploring linguistic issues in the expanded EU.

Third, the globalisation and expansion of the EU has resulted in a number of sociolinguistic changes within Luxembourg. Since the 1970s, Luxembourg has experienced accelerated demographic growth largely due to immigration. While other European countries have had similar demographic growth, it has not been to the same extent (e.g. the Netherlands). Luxembourg has the highest proportion of resident foreigners in the EU with 42.6% of residents being foreign from a range of EU and non-EU countries; Liechtenstein (34%) and Switzerland (20%) are the only other European countries with similarly high percentages of foreigners (STATEC, 2009a). The largest proportion of foreign residents in Luxembourg is Portuguese (15.8%), followed by nationals from France (5.4%), Italy (3.9%), Belgium (3.4%), other EU countries (7.3%) and non-EU countries (5.9%). Since the 1980s, furthermore, “reliance on cross-border workers living in one of the three adjacent countries has increased continually” (STATEC, 2009b). Some 136,000 cross-border workers (*frontaliers*) comprising 40% of the workforce in Luxembourg commute from surrounding countries; 75% come from France and Belgium and 23% from Germany (STATEC, 2008). Frontaliers from France and Belgium are primarily French-speaking and frontaliers from Germany are mainly German speaking; many are also bilingual in French and German to varying degrees and/or have proficiency in English (Horner,

2009b, p. 104). These tremendous changes contribute to the complexity of language policy in Luxembourg.

Finally, multiple workplaces operate within this complex transnational, multilingual and multicultural context in Luxembourg, since many internationals and cross-border workers come together and interact in workplaces every day (see STATEC, 2007). However, overall, sociolinguistic studies focusing on workplace communication in Luxembourg are rare and only two studies have paid explicit attention to the workplace. As part of a much larger study of language use in Luxembourg as a whole, one study (Fehlen et al., 1998) included some questions on language use in the workplace. Another study explored sociolinguistics in the Luxembourg job market in terms of language proficiency and earning potential (Klein, 2003, 2005). Quite clearly, multilingual workplaces within Luxembourg are under-researched.

1.1.2 An international banking centre

For decades language policy activities in workplaces have attracted little attention (Baldauf, 2005; Baldauf, 2004; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), and the primary focus of language policy research has been activities by states and their agencies. Relatively few studies, moreover, have conducted empirical research in organisations on location, where actual language use choice and practices are analysed (Loos, 2004, p.9; 2007, p. 40). This is despite the need for "greater attention to the complex interplay of language policies and language use in the full range of society's institutions, particularly in the school and the workplace" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 53). Accordingly, workplaces represent valuable micro level sociolinguistic sites in which to investigate language policy, and banks in the international banking centre of

Luxembourg are a particularly important context in which to explore its complexity.

International banking is probably the most important industry in Luxembourg. For its size, a large number of banks (155) are situated in Luxembourg, of which 90% are foreign-owned or international banks (Association des Banques et Banquiers Luxembourg, (ABBL) 2006). The 1970s shift from steel production to the current era of international banking (see Davis, 1994; Davis, 2009) is one of the most significant economic changes in Luxembourg, supporting “an economy that already has grown beyond its national boundaries” (Fehlen, 2002, p. 95). Consequently, Luxembourg has one of the highest living standards in the world (STATEC, 2004) and is often considered one of the wealthiest countries. This status is largely due to a combination of lenient financial tax laws and conducive banking legislation alongside easy access to Europe’s financial capitals (Davis, 1994, p. 3 see also STATEC, 2009c). It is a European hub for investment funds with top ranking banking institutions represented, ranking eighth in the world in terms of assets, and third in the world fund industry (ABBL, 2004). Although banking globally is transitioning through a difficult economic period, the banking industry (and particularly cross-border banking) in Luxembourg is expected to recover in due course (Taylor, 2009). With banks being acquired and consolidated during this difficult period, Luxembourg will continue to be a centre for multilingual banking specialists and the banking industry may well emerge in better shape than before.

Banks represent important multilingual and globalising workplaces in Luxembourg and are an ideal location to explore the interaction between policy and multilingualism. The banking Association (ABBL) emphasises the multilingual labour pool as an essential factor in maintaining banking success in Luxembourg (ABBL, 2004, 2006; Wagner, 2004, pp. 44-45; see also

Davis, 2009) and a diverse range of nationalities are employed in the finance industry, contributing to this multilingual labour pool. This is largely because as the Luxembourgish economy boomed, it required a new labour force from outside its boundaries (Fehlen, 2002, p. 89), resulting in the influx of cross-border workers and internationals into the Luxembourg labour market and particularly into banks (cf Hoffmann, 1996, p. 100). In 2002, around 30% of employees in financial services were Luxembourgers with more than 40% being resident foreigners in Luxembourg and more than 30% cross-border workers (STATEC, 2007). In addition, many banks in Luxembourg are also subsidiaries or branches of global banking groups (see Kochan, 2009) and could be defined as multinational corporations (MNC) because they consist of “a parent organisation (headquarters) and at least one subsidiary organisation in a foreign country”(Thomas, 2007, p. 82; cf Gunnarsson, 2006, p. 244; Angouri & Harwood, 2008, p. 45). Owing to their international operations, MNCs typically employ multicultural and multilingual workforces, and subsidiaries of the banks under investigation in Luxembourg here are no exception. Clearly, banks in Luxembourg, as linguistically diverse contexts, represent an ideal focal point for investigating official language policy for managing employees’ daily language use.

Banks in Luxembourg provide a complex multilingual context in which to explore the intersection of English and multilingualism. English is considered to have an important function within banks, since globally, banking is one domain in which English has a dominant role internationally (Graddol, 1997, p. 8). Van Els indicates that the originally Dutch-speaking ABN/AMRO have adopted English for its in-house corporate language, which is “the obvious choice given the current situation in banking” (Van Els, 2001, p. 326). Other banks have also implemented English as their corporate working language: ABB (Vollstedt, 2002; Truchot, 2003b),

Scandinavian banks such as MNB/Nordea (Vaara et al., 2005; Piekari et al., 2005; Börestam, 2005), and Scandi Bank (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). Consequently, banks in the multilingual context of Luxembourg are also valuable micro policy sites for exploring language policy and its intersection with multilingualism and English.

In spite of the importance of employees' multilingual language skills for the banking industry in Luxembourg, to my knowledge only one sociolinguistic study on banks has been conducted in Luxembourg, and it focused on language and gender (Cames et al., 2001). This reflects not only the broader dearth of sociolinguistic research within Luxembourg itself, but also the limited number of studies exploring banks globally (e.g. Gunnarsson, 2006, 2009; Yeung, 2003, 2004). Despite the lack of attention paid to such small-scale contexts, Baldauf notes that language policies do indeed exist at the micro level. These small-scale contexts

create what might be recognized as a language policy or plan to utilize and develop their language resources. Such a policy is not a direct result of some larger macro policy, but is a response to the needs of individuals or groups, their own "language problems" their own need for language management (Baldauf, 2005, p. 964).

He emphasises that although they are not necessarily influenced by policies at the state level, they are created in order to meet the particular needs of the organisation. Due to the lack of research into policies at this level and particularly in multilingual and multicultural setting such as Luxembourg, an exploration of policy in linguistically diverse banks, where groups of Europeans with different mother tongues and language proficiencies interact, is both justified and important for understanding the complexity of policy at different levels.

The first part of this chapter has discussed the rationale for choosing banks in the multilingual and multicultural context of Luxembourg as a site to explore language policy. The second and third parts of this chapter discuss the primary theoretical framework for this current study, the concept of language policy and outlines the broad research question of this thesis.

1.2 Language policy and planning theoretical frameworks

It is widely recognised that no single comprehensive overarching theory for LPP exists (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Baldauf, 2005; Ricento, 2006a) and this is one of the primary criticisms of the LPP field. Tollefson suggests that LPP is a ‘complex array of social forces’ which presents a major challenge for LPP theory (2002, p. 423) and criticizes the failure of LPP to recognise the complexity of policy and the consequent failure of LPP to meet its lofty goals. Ricento identifies the “failure of modernization policies in the developing world” as a further factor that led to a rethinking of the field (2000a, p. 14). Despite a recent concerted effort being made “to assemble a body of parallel studies facilitating cross- and inter- national comparability” (Kaplan et al., 2000, p. 138), focusing on polities which are unrepresented and under-represented in LPP literature² (e.g. Luxembourg, Horner & Weber, 2008), no single comprehensive LPP framework has been developed.

Due to the lack of one single comprehensive framework and the lack of attention paid to developing theories to explore the interaction of policy dimensions, three frameworks are drawn on in this thesis to capture and explore the complexity of policy. Spolsky’s (2004a) framework is the

²e.g. the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Current Issues in Language Planning, and Baldauf and Kaplan’s LPP books on a range of countries in the last decade.

underlying theoretical framework of this thesis and two additional frameworks, described in chapter five, are used to operationalise Spolsky's model. Spolsky's (2004a) theory is used to identify and analyse three components of language policy (management, practices and beliefs); Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987; Neustupný and Nekvapil, 2003; Nekvapil, 2006; Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006; Nekvapil, 2008; Spolsky, 2009) explores one specific component of language policy (management) and Shohamy's (2006) framework is used to examine the complex interaction between management, practices and beliefs.

1.3 Language policy versus planning

The acronym LPP recognises both language planning and policy and this recognition is "a way around the lack of agreement on the exact nature of that relationship" (Hornberger, 2006, p.25). Consequently, some academics still use the two terms language planning and language policy interchangeably in LPP literature (Baldauf, 2005, p. 958; see also Spolsky, 2009, p. 5) or as synonyms (Deumert, 2000, p. 384; Cooper, 1989, p. 29). However, when the field of language policy and planning began in the 1950s and 1960s, the term language planning was preferred to describe "any effort to modify language form or use. In the late 1980s, the regular failure of national planning activities seems to have encouraged the more neutral-seeming term language policy" (Spolsky, 1998, p. 66; Spolsky, 2008, 2009) and discouraged its use (Spolsky, 2009, p. 4). In recent years, with the re-evaluation of the field of LPP, language policy has become the focus (Shohamy, 2008, p. 364) and the term 'language policy' has become more widely used. Accordingly this research recognises developments in the field and uses the term language policy, rather language planning.

1.3.1 What is language policy?

The term 'policy' is somewhat ambiguous (Spolsky, 2009, p. 5; Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999, pp. 32-34), but Kaplan and Baldauf's definition of language policy provides a useful starting point for unravelling its complexity: "a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. x-xi; see also Baldauf, 2005, p. 958). However, with the re-examination of the LPP field in the past few years, the concept of language policy has been re-defined and re-visited and additional components have been included "under the umbrella of language policy" (Shohamy, 2008, p. 364). Shohamy notes that in particular, Spolsky's (2004a) framework

introduces a broader concept of language policy, one that incorporates ideology, ecology and management, arguing for a complex relationship among these components and thus providing a fuller and more comprehensive understanding of what language policy really is (2008, p. 364).

For this reason, Spolsky's (2004a, 2007) developing theory of language policy is the underlying theoretical framework of this thesis.

Spolsky's theory illuminates the complexity of policy by identifying three components which make up language policy for a speech community, namely:

its language practices -the habitual pattern of selecting among varieties that make up linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology- the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management (2004a, p. 5).

Figure 1. 1 represents the three components of language policy:

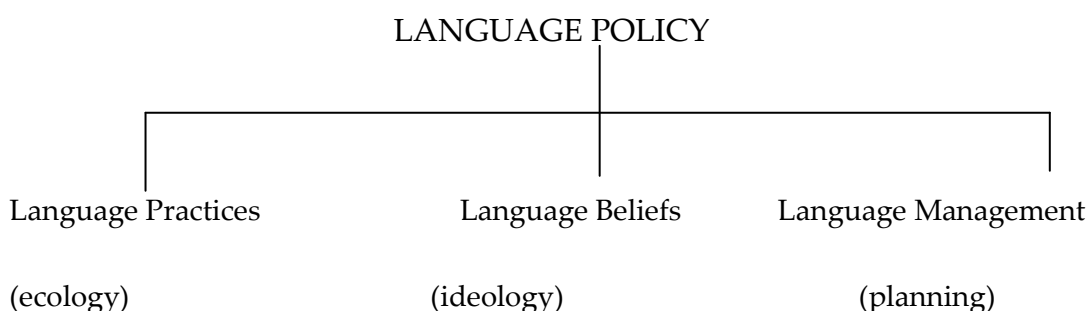


Figure 1.1: A model of language policy based on Spolsky (2004a) as constructed in Shohamy (2006, p. 53)

(1) Language management is “the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use” (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 11).

(2) Language practices include agreed rules about informality and formality of communication and rules of appropriacy in terms of varieties of languages and specific languages in multilingual situations (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 9). These practices are analysed using an ethnography of speaking framework (Hymes, 1967) as well as an ecology of language approach (Voegelin, Voegelin & Schutz, 1967; Haugen, 1972) (Spolsky, 2008, p. 143).

(3) Beliefs or ideology are about appropriacy of use and about language, for example, “a speech community’s consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire” (2004, p. 14). This component of beliefs and ideologies incorporates Silverstein’s (1979) concept of ideology, but also beliefs about language and bilingualism (Spolsky, 2008, p. 143).

The three components of language policy are interrelated and all three components of Spolsky’s model are explored in this thesis.

1.3.2 Broad research question

Spolsky's (2004a) framework clearly identifies the interrelatedness of components of policy, but over the years, a range of terms, for example, explicit (or overt, official, de jure, planned) or implicit (or covert, informal, de facto, unplanned) have been used by various authors to describe policies. These terms acknowledge the discrepancy between formal language policies (management) and linguistic reality (practices). In spite of this, very few language policy researchers have tried to clarify these explicit and implicit dimensions of policy (see Kaplan, 1994; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Baldauf, 2005; Schiffman, 1996, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999; Spolsky, 2004a).

The recent revival in the field of LPP has particularly emphasised this discrepancy between management and practices. Along similar lines, this thesis attempts to re-examine language policy, but in a particular context (banks) which differ considerably from traditional contexts of LPP investigations, namely states. In light of the increasing importance being placed on the complexity of language policy, this thesis attempts to unravel the notion of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in the context of financial institutions in Luxembourg, addressing the primary research question of this thesis:

- *What are the explicit and implicit dimensions of official (working) language policies in multilingual banks in Luxembourg?*

Although according to Spolsky's components, explicit policy overlaps with explicit management and implicit policy with practices (see Spolsky, 2008, p. 143), unpacking the concept of explicit and implicit dimensions is not as straightforward as it may first appear and these dimensions are problematized in this thesis.

Two additional concepts have emerged as a result of the re-evaluation of the field and are central in examining the broad research question and an organising factor of this thesis. Firstly, beliefs and ideologies have been identified as an important dimension in language policy research. Spolsky also includes beliefs as an important component of his framework, noting that beliefs can influence management, or alternatively, a management policy can attempt to legitimise or change beliefs. In addition, beliefs can also originate from practices and at the same time shape practices (Spolsky, 2004a, p.14). Their importance raises questions as to their role in influencing explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and is examined in this thesis. Top-down and bottom-up perspectives have also surfaced in the redefinition of the field and these perspectives are implicit in Spolsky's model, since emphasis is placed on both management and practices, as components of policy. In banks, language management of official languages is largely conducted by top-management, whereas employees are the ones using languages and being managed. Consequently, these perspectives are also considered when exploring explicit and implicit dimensions of policy.

1.4 Overview of chapters

This thesis is divided into three parts with each representing a different focus. Part one sets up the investigation of dimensions of policy, by situating this research in the existing literature, justifying the research questions and outlining the methodology used. Part Two is devoted to analysing the three components of policy (management, practices and beliefs) and is divided into Luxembourgish and German banks with more detailed case studies of three international banks. The last three chapters discuss the role of English as a lingua franca, and the wider implications of the research, with the last chapter providing some final reflections.

Chapter Two draws on relevant LPP research conducted at three levels, the state, the supranational state and the workplace to trace and examine explicit and implicit dimensions of policy, thereby situating this research in the field of LPP and highlighting gaps in existing research along with subsequent research questions of this thesis.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used to examine the three dimensions of language policy (management, practices and beliefs). The rationale, data collection phases (i.e. interviews with management (phase one) and focus groups with employees (phase two)) are discussed alongside pilot studies, data collection issues and data analysis.

Chapter Four explores language policy in three Luxembourgish and three German banks using the categories of Spolsky's (2004a) policy framework. To explore how language management is implemented in banks, even when no explicit policy on the working language exists, top-down language management and beliefs are discussed based on phase one interviews with management.

Chapter Five analyses top-down beliefs and language management of the working language, and recruitment and language courses in international banks. Language management theory (LMT) (Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987) and Shohamy's (2006) framework are used to explore how top-down explicit language management influences employees' practices in their daily working lives. Based on data collected during phase one and two, language management in three international banks is examined in greater detail.

Chapter Six examines employees' multilingual practices and beliefs in these three international banks illustrating the bottom-up pressures on language choices.

In chapters five and six the dominant and vital role of English emerges and *Chapter Seven* discusses the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) across international banks as a language choice to include and involve employees and the implications of this role on policy and the conceptualisation of ELF.

Chapter Eight takes a broader perspective exploring the implications of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in banks in terms of (1) Shohamy's (2006) theoretical framework for exploring de facto policy (2) globalisation and (3) the state of Luxembourg.

Chapter Nine concludes this thesis by synthesising the findings and implications from this thesis and raises questions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is to explore, what was only briefly touched on in the previous chapter, the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. This chapter takes a broad perspective exploring explicit and implicit dimensions of policy at three different levels, the state (countries), the supra-national state of the EU and finally the limited LPP research conducted in workplaces. Two criticisms of the LPP field play an important part in moving the LPP field forward, and consequently, frame the examination of dimensions of policy at the three different levels in this literature review. These include the lack of attention paid to beliefs, and the interplay of top-down and bottom-up perspectives. As a result of this discussion, the sub-research questions of this thesis are outlined in the final section.

PART ONE: MACRO LEVEL STATE RESEARCH

2.1 An overview of the language policy and planning field

The vast majority of research in this field has investigated LPP at the level of the state and the term ‘macro’ is often used to describe LPP analysis at state (or country) level, associating LPP with macro-sociolinguistics or macro-applied linguistics (see Baldauf, 2005, p. 963). The field of LPP at the state level engages with a wide range of linguistic phenomena, e.g. language death, language survival, language change, language revival, language shift and expansion, language contact, and pidginization and creolization and literacy development (Kaplan, 1994, p. 5). Furthermore, a number of languages are involved in the LPP process at the state level (national languages, languages of wider communication, minority languages, dying languages and non-standard varieties) and a range of agencies and organisations also have an impact on LPP (government agencies, education

agencies, communities of speakers, non-government agencies including banks and other bodies) (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 311; see also Kaplan, 1994). LPP also serves a number of different goals, “economic modernization, national integration, national liberation, imperial hegemony, racial, sexual, and economic equality, the maintenance of elites, and their replacement by new elites” (Cooper, 1989, p. 182), and hence Kaplan notes that “any underlying theory that attempts to explain and/or predict events related to language planning must also be fairly broad” (1994, p. 5).

The birth of the LPP field in the 1950-60s is attributed to the need for large-scale LPP in the new, decolonizing independent states, particularly those in East Africa and in Southeast Asia (Baldauf, 2005, p. 958; see also Spolsky, 1998, p. 66; Deumert, 2000, p. 384; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 30-33). A number of linguists were engaged by these new nations “to develop grammars, writing systems, and dictionaries for indigenous languages” (Ricento, 2006a, p. 12) and to assist in the establishment of an official language(s) for these new nations and as the medium of instruction in education. By the late 2000s, policy studies have been conducted on virtually every country worldwide (Spolsky, 2008, p. 140). However, LPP has evolved “from a field that focused primarily on planning in developing societies (e.g. Rubin & Jernudd, 1971), to one that promoted such studies in all societies (e.g. Cobarrubias & Fishman, 1983), to a mature and even self-critical view of the field itself (e.g. Tollefson, 1991)” (Baldauf, 1994, p. 8). Ricento (2000a, 2000b) also categorises research in LPP into three historical phases: (1) decolonisation, structuralism, pragmatism (1950s-1960s) (2) failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics, and access (early 1970s-late 1980s) (3) the new world order, postmodernism, linguistic human rights (mid-1980s until present). Thus, the third phase of LPP is characterised by “a modest

revival in academic interest in LPP", which differs considerably from early periods of LPP (Hornberger, 2006, p. 27).

2.2. A critical perspective

LPP academics, mainly influenced by critical and postmodern theories, have called into question previous assumptions and beliefs which formed the basis of language planning up until that time (Ricento, 2006a, pp. 13-15; see also Baldauf, 2005, p. 966). Kaplan et al acknowledge that "time and experience have shown that these assumptions -grounded in the best thinking of the time- were naive" (2000, p. 136), and consequently, academic criticisms of LPP are many and varied.

Baldauf highlights two criticisms as the most influential and important for LPP as a whole (2005, p. 967). The first was the neglect of the role of ideologies underlying policy and planning. Early language planning was conceptualised as rational problem-solving, objective in nature and independent of ideology (Nekvapil, 2006, p. 92; see also Neustupný, 1974; Tollefson, 2002; Ricento 2000b, 2006a) and a type of societal resource planning, as in the case of other national and natural resources within a country (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971). It centered on economic planning models to resolve problems (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 153; see also Spolsky, 2008, p. 136) and decision-making theories (See Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Rubin et al., 1977; Eastman, 1983).

Consequently, Ricento (2000a, 2006a) identifies the study of ideologies as a key issue during the critical sociolinguistic phase of LPP. He writes that 'to ignore the role of ideology, or to relegate it to a bin of 'extraneous' variables, too fraught with ambiguity to be useful in empirical research is to engage in ideological subterfuge of the worst sort' (2000a, p. 7). Tollefson also criticizes the lack of attention paid to language attitudes of communities (2002, pp.

419-420) and identifies ideology as playing a key role in constraining plans and policies (e.g. Grove 1999; Pennycook, 1998; Stephan, 1999) (Tollefson, 2002, p. 424). Ideology is continually being explored (e.g. Schieffelin et al., 1998; Ricento, 2000a; Blommaert, 1999, 2005; Kroskrity, 2000, 2001 & 2004) and is now widely recognised “as a crucial topic of debate in the study of language and society” (Blommaert, 1999, p. 1), thus beliefs are important components of language policy.

The second criticism is the top-down approach to LPP research which concentrates on the activities of government agencies and national plans and policies, rather than local (or bottom-up) language practices and attitudes (Tollefson, 2002, p. 419-20). Traditional top-down language planning situations have focused on policy makers with the power and authority to make language related decisions for groups, with little emphasis being placed on language learners or users (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 196; see also Kaplan, 1989). Criticisms pivoted around the need for greater attention to and the important role of bottom-up human agency in future research (e.g. Davis, 1999; Canagarajah, 2002; Freeman, 1998, 2004; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Ricento, 2006a; Hornberger, 2006). The importance of involving communities of speakers whose language(s) are involved in language education planning is emphasized by Kaplan & Baldauf.

In short, while there is a powerful tendency to perceive this activity as top-down structured, it is essential to include bottom-up perspectives. It has been demonstrated that communities of speakers must be ‘sold’ whatever plan is conceptualised, but the cost and duration of the ‘selling’ process can be vastly reduced if there is wide-scale participation in the process (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, p. 225).

Pennycook similarly notes that local communities are capable of altering the outcome of policies (1995). Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008, p. 9) also indicate

that “local ownership is fundamental to the success or failure of the language plan”. The local community’s negotiation of, or resistance to, policies signifies tensions between policy and practice and is often interpreted as language planning from below (bottom-up) (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 164) (see Canagarajah, 1995, 1997; Davis, 1994 (Luxembourg); Hornberger, 1988; Freeman, 1996; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). Eggington similarly recognises the interaction of top-down management and bottom-up practices and attitudes.

Eventually, the ideologically driven language plan is implemented through a top-down, bottom-up compliance process, and it is here that the plan meets its unplanned consequences. The people who were supposed to change their language behaviour do not change. In fact, sometimes they behave in ways that suggest that the top-down language plan has contributed to the “problem”, rather than provided a solution to the problem (2002,p. 408).

In this research, perspectives from the bottom-up (or from bank employees) are regarded as equally important with perspectives from the top-down (or top management) and must be incorporated into any examination of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy.

The above sections have reviewed important criticisms of the field, including the lack of attention paid to the important role of (1) beliefs and/or ideology and (2) top-down and bottom-up approaches to language policy. In light of these criticisms of the field, Baldauf notes that “those interested in language planning have moved to accommodate these issues, and more recent studies of language planning have had more limited aims and have begun to focus on micro problems where context can be more easily incorporated” (2005, p. 967). This policy research in banks is no exception. Given the importance of these criticisms of the field, it is important to keep these neglected areas in

mind when discussing definitions of explicit and implicit dimensions as a basis for this research.

The use of the terms 'explicit' and 'implicit' has largely arisen in an attempt to recognise and explain the failure of LPP to meet its goals at the level of the state. The next section takes account of the criticisms discussed above to further explore explicit and implicit dimensions of policy.

2.3 Definitions of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy

As noted earlier, very few academics focus on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and thus very few definitions exist. Schiffman's and Baldauf's definitions take a very broad perspective of policy including both explicit and implicit dimensions and hinge on the discrepancy between explicit policy and practices. Capturing the exact nature and complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions in a single definition is difficult, whilst at the same time trying to account for all the possible interactions between the components of policy, management, practices and beliefs from both the top-down and bottom-up perspectives. However, the definitions below build on Spolsky's three components of policy and provide a basis on which to explore explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in the under-researched context of banks in Luxembourg.

Schiffman has proposed two definitions of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. His early definition below identifies a discrepancy between two of Spolsky's components of policy, namely, management and practices.

There is usually a difference between the policy as stated (the official, de jure, or overt policy) and the policy as it actually works at the practical level (the covert, de facto or grass-roots policy) (Schiffman, 1996, p. 2).

His later definition builds on his earlier one by acknowledging the criticisms and developments in the LPP, indicating an awareness of top-down and bottom-up, and how attitudes/beliefs and assumptions influence practices on the ground. This definition confirms Spolsky's assertion that "practices are the 'real' policy although participants may be reluctant to admit it" (2009, p. 4).

It is important to view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, *de jure*, official, and "top-down" decision-making about language, but also the implicit unwritten, covert, *de facto*, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the outcomes of policy-making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112)

Using the USA as an example, Schiffman indicates that even though the USA as a whole has had no explicit language policy nominating English as the official language of the country, the attitudes/beliefs and language practices in the USA indicate that an implicit language policy exists which favours English (1996, p. 15). The recent 'English-only' movement pushing for the formalisation of the position of English in some states in the USA underscores this implicit policy (see Spolsky, 2009). This definition confirms Spolsky's assertion that "language policy exists where it has not been made explicit or established by authority" (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 8) and thus is based on an investigation of language practices and beliefs.

Baldauf's definition emphasises a slightly different element of the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. He stresses the importance of the intended purpose (goal) of the explicit policies (see also extended and revised framework in Baldauf, 2004, 2005). He suggests that implicit policy may be inferred from discourse and that it may not be clearly stated or may even be hidden.

[Language] policy may be realized in very formal or overt ways, through language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legalization, policy statements), which may have either symbolic or substantive intent. Alternatively, policy may be inferred from more informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or policy may be left unstated or covert. (Baldauf, 2005, p. 958)

Although Baldauf's definition does not explicitly account for the lack of attention paid to ideology and top-down and bottom-up perspectives, he clearly recognises the importance of these criticisms (see Baldauf, 2005, p. 967). Liddicoat and Baldauf note that the traditional view of language planning

locates research with a theory of power which sees the top-down exercise of power (or domination) as the relevant construct for understanding decision-making about languages. Such a view of power in language planning is however problematic as a delimiting agent for constituting the focus of language planning research (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 3).

Hence, the investigation of language policy in local contexts, rather than just the top-down agencies such as governments, is "a fundamental and integrated part of the overall language planning process" (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p.4).

A further notion underlying this definition are implicit dimensions of policy or "unplanned" elements, including "planning" and "changes", which can provide additional information about the LPP process. Spolsky notes that the concept of "unplanned language planning" is a concept proposed to "account for what goes wrong in language policy" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 10) and may be best described as ineffective management (2008, p. 141). Although this concept recognises the complexity of policy, the notion of "unplanned planning" appears to be rather confusing and unhelpful.

However, Baldauf's notion of unplanned changes underlying this definition of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy is the most relevant and forms part of practices or (implicit policy) (see Spolsky, 2008, p. 143). Kaplan & Baldauf highlight that language change "that is unplanned in a formal sense also occurs to language in a community" (1997, p. 297; See also Baldauf, 1994). Kaplan and Baldauf suggest that unplanned language change can "occur by accident or as a result of a laissez-faire stance toward language in general" (1997, p. 297). This unplanned change or implicit dimensions of policy often "goes unnoticed and therefore unrecorded by language planners. This has an impact on language change and the ability of language planners and bureaucrats to implement language change" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 299). Tollefson also notes that "although early LPP specialists believed that the unexpected could be avoided as long as adequate information was available, recent work in LPP assumes that unexpected outcomes are a normal feature of highly complex social systems" (Tollefson, 2002, pp. 419-420; see also Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 299). Thus the notion of "unplanned changes" underlies Baldauf's above definition and recognises the complexity of implicit dimensions of policy.

In summary, Schiffman's and Baldauf's definitions indicate that explicit and implicit dimensions of policy involve a wide range of factors, including the importance of ideology, top-down and bottom-up perspectives and unplanned changes. These definitions encapsulate some of the inherent complexities of policy and recognise the limitations of policy to implement change in practice. Building on these definitions and the recent developments and criticisms of the field of LPP, the following section illuminates further the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy at the state level from available research and discusses how beliefs and practices locally or bottom-up influence implicit policy.

2.4 Explicit and implicit dimensions of language policies at state level

The study of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy recognises the complexity of policy, nevertheless it is only a fairly recent focus in LPP research conducted at country/state level (e.g. Schiffman, 1996, 2006; Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999; Spolsky, 2004a, 2005; Shohamy, 2006), even though the “gap between law and practice provides full scope for the many detailed studies of language policy in monographs and academic journals” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 151).

Explicit language policies appear to be the exception rather than the rule in states (Spolsky, 2009, p. 256), making the USA where no explicit policy on official languages for the country exists, the norm (see Schiffman, 1996). “Language laws constitute marked cases; most nations whatever their language policy, tend to establish by practice and consensus rather than by specific acts of language management” (Spolsky, 2009, p. 167). Furthermore, very few nations formulate explicit multilingual policies (Spolsky, 2009, p. 256), even though most countries in the world are multilingual (Spolsky, 2008, p. 145). The following section discusses three countries, including Luxembourg, where explicit multilingual policies on official languages do exist in order to illuminate the implicit nature of language policy.

Firstly, in New Zealand (NZ), even though an explicit language policy exists, nominating Maori and New Zealand Sign Language as the only official languages of NZ, in practice, English is the dominant language and there is a widespread belief that English is the only language needed in communication in NZ. These practices and beliefs on the ground suggest English as the dominant language in an implicit language policy for the country (see Benton, 1996; Spence, 2004; Spolsky, 2005; Bell et al., 2005).

Secondly, research in Israel indicates that although Hebrew and Arabic are both official languages, in practice, Hebrew is the major language used in all domains of life and is valued as the national language; Arabic is only used and valued to a very limited extent. No other languages are declared as official, even though English and languages associated with the large number of ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups living in Israel are also used widely and valued. The linguistic reality in Israel suggests that an implicit language policy for Israel would differ considerably from the explicit policy which identifies only two official languages (Shohamy, 2006; see also Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999).

Thirdly, in Luxembourg, the language law of 1984 explicitly recognises three languages. Until that time these languages had only been implicitly recognised through the education system (Horner, 2009b; Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 106-107; see also Davis 1994). As discussed in the introduction, Luxembourgish became the official national language in 1984 and German and French were given some formal status (legislative, judicial and administrative), but not nominated as official languages (Newton, 1996, p. 57; Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 107). Although the explicit policy recognises to some extent the trilingual nature of Luxembourg, in practice, Luxembourgish is not widely used as a written language (Horner, 2009b) and not all Luxembourgers are trilingual (Horner & Weber, 2008). All three languages are used in complex ways alongside other languages which are the languages of the immigrants. Two views encapsulate the division in beliefs about language use within Luxembourg. Horner (2004) discusses the struggle in Luxembourg on the one hand between promoting the use of more Luxembourgish as the national language and at the same time discouraging the use of French, and on the other hand promoting the trilingual ideal because of its international appeal. The complexity of

language use and beliefs in Luxembourg combined with the large number of resident internationals in Luxembourg, suggest that the implicit policy of Luxembourg is considerably more complex than the explicit policy for the country suggests.

These examples illustrate the complexity of language policy and its explicit and implicit dimensions in countries/states and how beliefs and practices locally or bottom-up practices influence implicit dimensions of policy. Although financial institutions are small scale and differ considerably from the large-scale context of countries, fundamentals in the LPP field still apply. In order to situate this research within the LPP field, the next section broadly synthesizes commonly accepted concepts and fundamentals of the field that have emerged from years of state level research.

2.5 Fundamentals of the field of LPP

No single theoretical framework from state level research exists, but many attempts at theorizing have been undertaken and the field is “rich in frameworks and typologies” (Hornberger, 2006). Models of language planning began with the pioneering research of Garvin (1973), Ferguson (1968) and Haugen (1983) and thereafter other models of language planning began to appear in great numbers (See Anita, 2000, pp. 1-9 for summary). Hornberger (1994; 2006), Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) and Baldauf (2004, 2005) have in recent years attempted to review and consolidate the fundamental concepts and models developed in previous decades into an integrative framework for research on states (Models such as, Cooper, 1989; Ferguson, 1968; Haugen, 1983; Hornberger, 1994; Kloss, 1968; Neustupný, 1974; Rabin, 1971b; Stewart, 1968) and on language planning goals (Nahir, 1984).

Two fundamentals of the field are relevant to the current research, namely status management (Kloss, 1969), and acquisition management (Cooper,

1989) (otherwise known as planning) which are interconnected in many ways (Hornberger, 1994, 2006). Issues associated with corpus management, the third fundamental which includes codifying, modifying and elaborating a language for example in orthographic reform, lexical modernisation etc. have not proved particularly relevant to this research exploring primarily spoken communication, and will not be examined here.

2.5.1 Status management (planning)

Status management is essentially about the uses of a language in a given context (Hornberger, 1994; Baldauf, 2005). Where two or more languages are available, status management is “any attempt to set up norms or rules for when to use each” (Spolsky, 1998, p. 66). Status planning has always included two dimensions, firstly, the form of the language and secondly, the function of the language (Ammon, 2004, p. 179). Hornberger (1994, p. 78) and Baldauf (2005, p. 960) summarise the various goals of status planning: for the form of the language, they include officialisation, nationalisation and proscription; the various functions of the language include revival, maintenance, interlingual communication (international, and intranational) and spread.

In the case of banks, officialisation is the primary focus of this investigation of explicit language policies on working languages. A number of distinctions within officialisation are relevant in analysing the choice of languages in banks. Firstly, officialisation is commonly known in LPP literature as the nomination of a given language as official (see Stewart, 1968; Nahir, 1984). Secondly, Cooper (1989, pp. 100-103) extends Stewart’s (1968) original definition of official language and distinguishes between statutory official (declared official), working official (languages used in day-to-day running of governments) and symbolic official (languages used for symbolic purposes

or as symbols of the state). Based on these categorisations of official languages, this research examines the explicit and implicit dimensions of working (official) languages for the daily running of financial institutions.

Many multinationals, such as banks in Luxembourg, use a working language as one way to manage language use (see Feely & Harzing, 2003) and a number of terms are used in existing workplace research, for example, corporate language (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Vaara et al., 2005; Piekkari et al., 2005; Loos, 2007), company language (Marschan-Piekarri et al., 1999; Vollstedt, 2002), working language (Dhir & Savage, 2002), official language (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a). However, all of these different terms describe the language(s) formally associated with the day-to-day running of companies.

In terms of function, interlingual communication is the most relevant function of explicit language policies on working languages in financial institutions. Nahir (1984, p. 312) defines interlingual communication as “communication between members of different speech communities” through the choice of either artificial or auxiliary languages, languages of wider communication (*lingua francas*) or by adapting cognate languages (see also Cobarrubias & Fishman, 1983, p. 66). The multilingual and international context of Luxembourg in which this research takes place influences to varying degrees the multilingual and multicultural nature of workplace interaction in banks; accordingly, this research focuses on the function of explicit policies on working languages to manage interlingual communication within these workplaces.

2.5.2 Acquisition management (planning)

Although status management of working languages is the primary focus of this research, management of language courses (or acquisition) also emerges

as one of the few or only areas where explicit management is taking place in the private sector (e.g. Huhta, 1997; Marschan et al., 1999; Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Feely & Harzing, 2003). Thus it is important to pay attention to this type of management “in which users are targeted to receive opportunity and/or incentive to learn a given language” (Hornberger, 2006, p. 32; see also Cooper, 1989, pp. 157-163). Furthermore, the theoretical category of status management can often overlap with the acquisition management category (Cooper, 1989; Van Els, 2005a, p. 972). For example, “a language status decision often produces a situation where some people need to learn a language that they do not normally speak” and hence acquisition policies on foreign languages are needed (Spolsky, 1998, p. 67).) It is also often necessary to support the function of status management (interlingual communication) by establishing specific language acquisition goals to enable language learning programs to meet these status planning goals (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

As with status management, acquisition management can be divided into form and function. Hornberger’s (1994, 2006) and Baldauf’s (2005) integrative frameworks take different approaches to the form of acquisition management. Baldauf’s (2005) framework is further developed and in terms of form, management of acquisition can include policies on access, personnel, curriculum, methods and materials, resourcing, community, and evaluation. Of particular relevance to this research is the banks’ policy in terms of access of personnel to the acquisition of languages. In both integrative frameworks, the function of acquisition planning involves reacquisition, maintenance, foreign/second language and shift. As noted for status management, due to the diverse multilingual and multicultural workforces in banks, this thesis is largely concerned with acquisition policies within banks for foreign or second language acquisition.

2.5.3 Stages of LPP

Four fundamental stages of the LPP process, namely selection, codification, elaboration and implementation (Haugen, 1966a, 1966b, 1983, 1987), have emerged from LPP research at the state level. These stages of LPP also bear some resemblance to language management theory (LMT) which is discussed in chapter five. Importantly though, there is not a perfect match between the types of management (planning) discussed above and Haugen's stages of LPP (Hornberger, 1994, 2006, p. 28; Deumert, 2000, p. 393-394), but the primary stages of relevance to this research are the selection and implementation stages of a working language in the context of financial institutions. These stages are more closely associated with status and acquisition planning, whereas the codification and elaboration stages are more closely associated with corpus management, which is not explored in this research.

2.5.4 Summary

Criticisms and developments in the field of LPP have framed the above discussion of the complexity of policy dimensions and underscore their importance for policy exploration within the workplace. This research builds on one of the primary criticisms of the LPP field, i.e. the prevalence of the macro (top-down) approach to language policy which explores activities of governments. Recognising this criticism of the field, workplaces, as language policy sites, are investigated and represent part of the micro level (or bottom up sphere) in society. However, the interplay between top-down and bottom-up has also been drawn on to discuss the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and enlighten definitions and policy examples at the state level.

Consequently, within the context of individual workplaces, this language policy investigation is not confined to a top-down investigation of management by top managers, the bottom-up in the form of employees' practices are also crucial for investigating policy dimensions. Given the importance of beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, discussed above, the inattention to beliefs at the state level are also not replicated in this study, instead beliefs from both the top-down perspective (top-management) and bottom-up perspective (employees) are explored.

This research in banks has also been situated within the fundamentals of LPP, status and acquisition management and stages of management. Whereas the majority of studies conducted in LPP have involved the status choice of an official or national language at the state level (Spolsky, 1998, p. 66), this thesis focuses on the status choice of languages at the institutional level. However, this policy investigation does not fit exclusively within status management, since acquisition management of foreign or second languages goes hand in hand with this exploration of official working language policies in multilingual banks.

Finally, often the failure of language policies is connected with explicit and implicit dimensions. The failure of a language policy may include the failure to implement a management policy; or the failure, even though efforts to implement the policy were taken; or the failure due to unanticipated results of language management or finally failure because a policy has not yet achieved its goal (Spolsky, 2004b, p. 1; see also Spolsky, 2004a, p. 223). Underlying these failures is the complex interaction of top-down management, bottom-up practices and beliefs. Having examined this complexity at the state level, this literature review turns to policy research at the level of the supranational state of the European Union (EU) and its

institutions to explore its relevance to the multilingual banks in Luxembourg.

PART TWO: LPP RESEARCH IN THE EU

2.7 EU language policy

Traditionally, states have been the focus of much LPP research conducted in Europe (e.g. Kaplan & Baldauf 2005 and 2006 for recent studies) and the geographical context of Europe is made up linguistically and culturally diverse states. However, LPP research at the level of the supra-national state is also relevant with the increasing importance and expansion of the European Union (EU)³ and the establishment of multilingual institutions.

In 2009, the European Union is comprised of 27 member states within the geographical context of Europe. Member states of the EU retain their independent sovereignty as countries, but delegate their decision-making powers to shared EU institutions. Treaties agreed to by Presidents/Prime Ministers of EU states and ratified by their parliaments both outline the powers and responsibilities of the EU institutions and the rules and procedures they follow (Europa, 1 n.d.). Thus, this union has changed the European landscape in political, economic, social and linguistic terms,

³ The purpose of the EU is to promote political, economic and social co-operation for its almost 500 million citizens. In 1952, the EU was founded by six member states; by 1995, the EU included fifteen member states (Luxembourg, Belgium, France, a reunited Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Sweden and Finland). In 2004, the EU significantly expanded to include the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia totalling twenty three; in 2007 Bulgaria and Romania also joined the EU. The current number of member states of the EU stands at 27, with Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey being future candidates for membership (Europa 2 n.d.).

resulting in a multilingual and multicultural supranational state in which to investigate LPP.

Interest in multilingual language policy at the level of the supranational state of EU has steadily increased over the years. Coulmas (1991a) opened the debate of language policy and practice for the supra-national state of Europe (formerly the European Community (EC)) addressing a wide range of issues facing this economic union of twelve European countries. Linguistic interest in all language-related issues developed over the next twenty years (e.g. Ahrens, 2003). Phillipson's (2003) book marked the first full scale monograph on the subject of EU language policy (Van Els, 2004, 2006) with a particular focus on LPP in EU institutions and provided an "extensive and detailed coverage of the various aspects pertaining to the problem area"(Van Els, 2004, p.166). Underpinning Phillipson's (2003) book are his controversial beliefs about "linguistic imperialism" (e.g. Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999) and this standpoint is one of the major points of criticism of his work (Ammon, 2003; Van Els, 2004, 2006). Furthermore, interest in EU language policy increased considerably in 2004 due to numerous language management challenges faced by the EU owing to its expansion from fifteen member states to twenty three.

2.7.1 The relevance of EU language policy

EU language policy is of particular relevance to this study for a number of reasons. From the outset, it is important to note that EU language policy governs both institutional and non-institutional communication (cf Van Els, 2001, 2004, 2005b) and the dimensions of policy related to institutional communication are of primary interest to this study.

Firstly, in contrast to the very little research conducted in workplaces, considerably more is available for EU institutions (e.g. Wodak, 2000, 2002;

Wagner et al., 2002; Bellier, 2002; De Cillia, 2003). Thus, research on EU institutions is essential for situating this study within LPP institutional research and contributing to the development of research questions for workplaces. Secondly, EU institutions also represent some of the most multilingual institutions worldwide. Spolsky emphasises the importance of language policy in supra-national organisations, noting that “by their make-up, supranational organizations are multilingual. Their first decision must therefore be how to manage the language in internal operations at both the law- or policy-making level and the bureaucratic administrative level” (2009, p. 258). Hence, broad issues influencing policy dimensions relevant to financial institutions are discussed, leaving aside those aspects more closely associated with the political nature of EU institutions. Finally, EU institutional research is particularly relevant, since explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in EU institutions are currently being debated, highlighting both the complexity of policy in institutional contexts and the need for further research.

2.7.2 Explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy in EU institutions

The number of academics investigating EU Language policy has significantly increased in recent years due to the EU’s continued expansion. Of particular interest is the ever increasing number of languages recognised by the multilingual EU policy which has contributed to the discrepancy between management and practices. Concern over EU policy has led to academics increasingly calling for a re-thinking and further discussion of the EU’s language policies (e.g. Mar-molierno & Stevenson, 2006b; Ammon, 2006; Van Els, 2005b; Phillipson, 2003). Truchot notes that the EU

will sooner or later have to take measures to regulate their use, and to state clearly what their role should be, which languages would be concerned and

how the functions of all the official languages should be distributed (2003a, p. 109).

Concerns such as these have resulted in a range of steps by the EU. For example, Ammon and Schloßmacher's five year project has been funded by the EU to explore communicative and political aspects of an EU working language regime (see Ammon, 2006). EU language policy issues have also featured in a symposium at AILA (International Association of Applied Linguistics) 2008 World Congress in Germany, where a range of academics presented proposals for reforming the current EU language regime. This debate illustrates both the relevance of EU institutions to this research and the importance of research exploring the complexity of policy into other multilingual institutions. The following section takes both a top-down and bottom-up perspective examining the three components of policy in EU institutions, and what is known about the interaction between these components.

2.7.2.1 The complex interaction of explicit management and beliefs

The Treaty of Rome (1958) is the founding document for language use within EU institutions and assigns equal status to all national languages of the EU member-states, with some exceptions (Extra & Yağmur, 2004; see also Gazzola, 2006). Thus, equal status has been given to the 23 official languages and these languages officially represent 27 member states (Europa, 3). Van Els describes the EU as having adopted a non-restrictive plurilinguistic model, which allows each member state to use its own national language. This model is "based on the idea that everyone should be enabled to speak their own language and that translations should be provided from and into all languages" (2001, p. 325) or into various constellations around a sole target language.

The EU with its plurilinguistic model is regarded as the ‘odd one out’, as other institutions confronted with a large number of languages have chosen a restrictive model. These models can either use one language or a small number of languages (Van Els, 2001, p. 325) and the council of Europe⁴, representing more countries than in the current EU (27 EU member states plus an additional 20 member states), exemplifies this restrictive model. It has given official status to significantly fewer languages (two official languages, French and English, with German, Italian and Russian recently being recognized as working languages) (Council of Europe (COE), 2, 2008). Other supra-national organisations, such as the United Nations, similarly have a restrictive language policy in place; The United Nations began with two working languages (English and French) with Russian, Chinese, Spanish and (later Arabic) being added later as official languages (Spolsky, 2004a). Clearly, the EU language policy is quite unique compared to other institutional contexts and has been described as “a policy of particular complexity and interest” (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 55) and “a test case for the maintenance of linguistic diversity, in its institutions and in member states” (Phillipson, 2003, p. 11).

In the EU, multilingualism is guaranteed at the highest level of political representation (Van Els, 2003). The EU’s charter of fundamental rights indicates the fundamental value for linguistic diversity (Europa, 3) and according to the European Constitution, no citizen should be discriminated against or disadvantaged on the basis of language (Van Els, 2005b). Hence, from the top-down the EU is “generally presented and readily presents itself

⁴ The Council of Europe was set up in 1949 prior to the EU to promote unity between its members and provides specialised knowledge in the realms of human rights, democracy, education, culture and the environment (COE 1) to its 47 member countries (COE 2).

as a multilingual institution” (Truchot, 2003a, p. 100) and is described as “a place where diversity can be celebrated as an asset” (Europa 3 n.d.).

The top-down belief underlying this multilingual non-restrictive policy is the value and importance of multilingualism and this equates to the equality of languages of member states, which was established at the very beginning of the EC/EU (Nic Craith, 2006). Beliefs about the link between language and identity influence the EU’s explicit multilingual policy and although this research impinges on the complex nature of identity, an in depth analysis of identity is not the focus of this research. Nevertheless, the link between language and identity is key to understanding beliefs about multilingualism at these political EU institutions. The national language is considered “the quintessential instrument for the realisation and maintenance of the nation-state” which developed in the 19th century in Europe (Van Els, 2005b, p. 268). Although by the beginning of the 21st century, this connection of language and nation-state was increasingly being criticised (Nic Craith, 2006, p. 40), described as “the ideological dead weight of the nineteenth century” (Coulmas, 1991a, p. 27), Nic Craith indicates that “the link between official languages and nation state is effectively endorsed by EU institutions” (2006, p. 40).

However, the interaction between beliefs and top-down management is complex, exemplified when beliefs across other institutions within Europe are compared. The council of Europe in their explicit language policies, like the EU, also state that they value multilingualism and linguistic diversity (cf Council of Europe language policy, COE, 3). It is noted that “language diversity is considered to be a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for a united Europe in which all citizens are equal (not the same) and enjoy equal rights” (Council of Europe, 2000; cited in Extra & Yağmur, 2005, p. 36). However, although value for multilingualism at an official level underpins

language policies at the council of Europe and the EU (Mar-Moliermo & Stevenson 2006b, p. 240; see also Extra & Yağmur, 2005), two different types of explicit policies are selected, one restrictive and one non-restrictive, highlighting the complex interaction between beliefs and explicit language policy nominating official languages.

Clearly, an explicit value for multilingualism does not necessarily equate with non-restrictive multilingual policies. These institutions at the supra national level take different approaches to explicit language policies, even though both the EU and the council of Europe value multilingualism and diversity. This complexity highlights the need for further investigation into both the underlying beliefs of top-down managers making official language policies in banks and how these beliefs influence specific language policy choices in terms of restrictive or non-restrictive explicit policies and these issues are explored in the context of financial institutions.

2.7.2.2 The discrepancy between top-down language management and bottom-up language practices

As discussed in part one, what happens in practice from the bottom-up is an important consideration in analysing explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. Ammon indicates that the widespread assertion that all languages are equal in status does not equate with reality and never has in EU institutions (2006, p. 321). In the following section, EU institutions are discussed where, although an explicit language policy assigns equality to 23 EU languages, what actually happens in practice in the day-to-day running of EU institutions differs considerably.

Cooper (1989, pp. 100-103) distinguishes between three types of official languages, namely, statutory, working and symbolic (see 2.3.2) and this research is interested in official working languages. Within EU institutions, a

few languages, called 'working languages' have emerged for daily interactions. In the past, these languages were commonly referred to as procedural, vehicular, drafting, in-house, or administrative languages (see Phillipson, 2003; see also Fidrmuc & Ginsburgh, 2007), but in recent years, the term 'working language' has come to be associated with their internal use within institutions. The use of the term 'working language' for in-house communication within EU institutions equates with Cooper's definition, i.e., a language(s) used as a medium for day-to-day activities. Furthermore, the use of lingua franca as 'working languages' within EU institutions fits with Moeliono's (1986) definition of a 'working' language being a language, which is 'most widely understood' (see chapter seven for discussion of lingua franca).

However, the use of the terms 'official' and 'working' associated with particular languages in EU institutions is causing confusion and contributing to the debate and complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in EU institutions. This is primarily because regulation no. 1/58 Article 1 of the Treaty of Rome (1958) groups languages together in the following phrase 'the official and working languages' of the European union and lists the respective languages (OJ L 17, 1958, p. 385). Consequently, this founding document for language use within EU institutions does not define clearly the differences between 'official language' and 'working language' (Van Els, 2001; Truchot, 2003a; Ginsburgh & Weber, 2005; Nic Craith, 2006; Gazzola, 2006) and official languages of new member states acquire both official and working status upon entry to the EU (Nic Craith, 2006, p.40; Ammon, 2006, p.321). In practice the 1958 ruling to adopt a country's national language as an 'official and working language' of EU has been reapplied unchanged with every expansion, under the proviso that "a new member state that had more

than a single national language could add only one to the total number of languages”(Van Els, 2005b, pp. 268-69).⁵

Bottom-up language practices at EU institutions highlight the complexity of implicit dimensions of policy in institutions. Although all EU languages are formally ‘official and working languages’, in actual practice, particular languages, French and English (and to a more limited extent German, and even less Italian and Spanish) surface as languages primarily used for daily interactions within some institutions, in particular the European Commission⁶ (see for example, Schloßmacher, 1994; Quell, 1997; Labrie, 1996; Van Els, 2001; Bellier, 2002; Phillipson, 2003; Loos, 2004; Ammon, 2006). This accentuates the importance of ‘working languages’ in multilingual institutions and represents Cooper’s and Molierno’s definitions of working language. Ammon suggests that in practice “the working languages in place so far are – in declining order of importance - English, French, German, and on equal footing, Italian and Spanish, but with other languages being allowed on occasion” (2006, p.332). Nic Craith (2006) comments on the discrepancy between policy and practice, rhetoric and reality, indicating a

⁵ It must be noted that the languages chosen as official, working or treaty languages neither represent the full scope and the complexity of multilingualism in the EU (Van Els, 2001, 2005) nor the rich diversity of languages spoken by inhabitants of Europe (Extra & Yağmur, 2005; Ammon, 2006). Van Els notes that “Ireland decided in favour of English, which was already in use in the EU, as Luxembourg before had agreed to do without Letzebuergisch” (Luxembourgish) (Van Els, 2005b: 268-69; See also Nic Craith, 2006). Luxembourgish and Irish (until 2007) became known as treaty languages, used only for EU treaties and official communication from EU citizens and firms (Fidrmuc & Ginsburgh, 2007; see also Gazzola, 2006).

⁶ The European Commission has adopted the term ‘working languages’ to describe the use of languages for in-house communication, explicitly stating their use of English, French and German as working languages on their website. The importance of these languages as lingua franca within institutions is associated with their use as working languages (see European Commission).

“tacit acceptance of a hierarchy of ‘in-house languages’ within EU institutions” (2006, p. 51). This hierarchy stretches across written and spoken communication and is based on declarations (e.g. from the European Commission), the function and status of languages, and their frequency of use and their taken-for-grantedness (Ammon, 2006, p. 321). Thus, “we have *de jure* linguistic equality but *de facto* two lingua francas, English and French” (Nic Craith, 2006, p.52). This renders in practice the remaining 23 officially recognised languages under the explicit EU language policy to merely official languages (Ammon, 2006, p. 321). Nic Craith (2006, p. 50) agrees with Smith and Wright’s (1999) assessment that the EU is ‘dishonest’ about equal status being given to all official languages, and suggests that the discrepancy between explicit and implicit dimensions of policy is likely to continue in the future.

As the EU expands to the East and the South, the mechanics of the plurilingual regime will become more urgent and complicated. In such circumstances the EU will probably maintain the fiction of equality of status for official, working languages while at the same time informally encouraging greater use of a limited number of languages. While the commitment to linguistic and cultural diversity will be maintained in principle, pragmatics will determine that less, rather than more, languages are spoken at meetings at EU institutions (Nic Craith, 2006, p. 46).

Since the 1990s, a number of academics have explored possible EU language regimes (e.g. Pool 1996; Grin, 1997; Ross, 2003; Kraus, 2004; Coulmas, 2005) and some arguments about changes to the current EU policy circle around “working languages”. Due to the costs of multilingualism, the quality of translation and the increasingly quantity of translation required, a restriction in the number of working languages has been argued in order primarily to improve the efficiency and ease of communication in EU institutions.

Current discussion is mainly about a single working language (English) (e.g. House, 2003, 2006; Van Els, 2001; 2005b) or several working languages (Ammon, 2006). Arguments against restriction are related to the importance of language for national identity, which is strengthened by political and legal dimensions of EU policy outside the limits of this research, such as the relationship between language and legal and political rights of citizens, democratic participation, linguistic disenfranchisement, equality of representatives, and the prestige of member states (e.g. Phillipson, 2003; Extra & Yağmur, 2005; Ginsburgh & Weber, 2005; Gazzola, 2006; Nic Craith, 2006; Fidrmuc & Ginsburgh, 2007; Gazzola & Grin, 2007). Academics clearly place language policy decisions about communicative efficiency and acceptance of linguistic inequalities squarely in the political sphere (Gazzola, 2006; Gazzola & Grin, 2007; Fidrmuc & Ginsburgh, 2007), but the above discussion emphasises the important role of working languages within institutions.

The emergence of a select few working languages in EU institutions indicates a discrepancy between explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in multilingual institutions, where multilingualism is clearly valued and formalised. Consequently, further investigation is needed into other multilingual institutions to explore the complex interaction of top-down and bottom-up pressures.

2.7.2.3 *Bottom-up beliefs*

An examination of bottom-up beliefs is an important component in research investigating the complexity of policy, as suggested more broadly in LPP research. Top-down beliefs have been explored in EU institutions, but the beliefs of those making language choices every day in EU institutions (or from the bottom-up) have not been examined to any great extent, indicating

an additional gap in existing research for exploring complexity of policy in institutional contexts.

Quell (1997) is one of the only studies to explore beliefs at EU institutions. Trainees' attitudes at the European Commission were examined with regard to solutions to cope with linguistic diversity of the European Commission. No specific languages were suggested and four choices for work-related internal communication were given a) one language b) two languages c) three languages d) and no restriction. Interestingly, the results indicated that trainees supported primarily the use of more than one lingua franca, with a bilingual English-French option receiving the most support, followed by the trilingual option, English, French and German. A monolingual English policy and no restrictions on language use received about the same level of support. Clearly, trainees within EU institutions support restrictive multilingual policy options over monolingual or non-restrictive multilingual options. These findings suggest that perhaps beliefs may indeed influence or inform the use of a few working languages in EU practices. Further research is needed in order to explore implicit dimensions of policy in institutional contexts and this research in banks incorporates both top-down and bottom-up beliefs about language use and particular languages into this exploration of policy.

2.7.2.4 *The interplay of languages in EU institutions*

Owing to the lack of workplace research into multilingual practices, the interplay of national languages and lingua francas in EU institutions represent some of the most enlightening and relevant research into the complexity of policy at the institutional level.

Van Els (2005b; see also Van Els, 2001, 2006, Gazzola, 2006) indicates that the type of EU institution plays a key role in influencing language practices. It is

reported that at the European Central Bank (ECB) English takes a predominant position (Gazzola, 2006; Truchot, 2003a). Truchot (2003a, p. 105) indicates that even though ECB is located in Frankfurt, Germany, it operates almost exclusively in English. Van Els also reports that at ECB, English is used in all communication, internal and external, “due to a tacit agreement within the ECB which everyone adheres to, but it is in no sense a matter of official policy” (Van Els, 2005b, p. 269). As noted in chapter one, English is often considered the language of global banking and these reported practices suggest that English may indeed play an important role in banks. However, a few working languages are also reported within ECB. Gazzola indicates that at ECB alongside other institutions, such as the Commission, the Court of Auditors, and to some degree the Court of Justice, a number of working languages are used (Gazzola, 2006; see also Truchot, 2003a).

Complex language practices also emerge in other EU institutions with multinational and multilingual workforces. Loos’ (2004, pp. 12-16) case study of language practices at the European Parliament is one of the few recent empirical studies conducted at EU institutions and illuminates the complexity of practices. Advisors in the meetings investigated belonged to various political groups, national cultures with different mother tongues, and reported having proficiency in both the lingua francas, French and English. English, French and Spanish were used in oral communication and a further two languages, Italian and German were used when drafting texts, resulting in texts composed of several languages.

Practices within EU institutions indicate that although English is playing an increasingly dominant role (see Fidrmuc & Ginsburgh, 2007; Nic Craith, 2006; Ammon, 2006; Loos, 2004, 2000; Phillipson, 2003), French is being used amongst speakers from France, Belgium and Luxembourg and southern

regions of the EU (see Nic Craith, 2006; Truchot, 2003a; Wright, 2000; Quell, 1997; Schloßmacher, 1994; Labrie, 1993; Gehnen, 1991; Haselhuber, 1991). German appears to be confined to more limited contexts (Ammon, 2006; Nic Craith, 2006; Phillipson, 2003; Truchot, 2003a; Quell, 1997; Schloßmacher, 1994), although EU expansion to the east may increase the use of German (Nic Craith, 2006; Truchot, 2003a; see also Clyne 1995; Darquennes & Nelde, 2006; Braselmann, 2004 for a discussion of German in Eastern Europe).

Consequently, the interplay between these languages represents an important area for exploration in banks, particularly in light of the increasing role of English in Europe and language practices in EU institutions which circle around a few working languages. The three main working languages in decreasing order of frequency (English, French and German) are not only important national EU languages but also *lingua francas* within Europe. Graddol (1997, pp. 12-13) even suggests that English, French and German are the 'big languages' or those with the highest status in a hierarchical language status pyramid for the EU, with English and French being 'big' languages in a world language hierarchy. Consequently, multilingual Luxembourg is an ideal context in which to explore the interaction of these languages in the workplace; firstly, since English, French and German play important roles in Luxembourg; and secondly, because of the large numbers of cross-border workers from France, Belgium and Germany that are employed in banks in Luxembourg.

However, these are not the only reasons for further research into the interplay of these and other languages in European institutional contexts. The interplay of languages in European workplaces is another area lacking in available research, particularly the interplay between languages other than English. The vast majority of workplace research focuses on multinational companies that use English as a company language (Loos,

2007, p. 40). This is perhaps not surprising when one considers the increasing number of companies that have adopted English as the official language of their organisations - ABB, Alcatel, Aventis, the former Daimler Chrysler Corp, EADS, Norvatis, Phillips, Siemens AG and Vivendi (Lester, 1994; Vollstedt 2002; Phillipson 2003). The research conducted indicates that “overall, due to the role of English as the *lingua franca* and its dominance as the world language in conducting international business, it tends to become the common corporate language by default” in multinationals (Piekkari et al., 2005, p. 333; see also Thomas, 2007). The emergence of English as an international language is attributed to a variety of factors, political (including but not limited to linguistic imperialism and political ideologies), social, military, technological and economic forces (e.g. internationalisation and globalisation) (see for example Fishman et al, 1977; Fishman, 1996; Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Pennycook, 1995; De Swaan, 2001; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 1997, 2006; Spolsky, 2004a; Wright, 2004). In the context of multinational companies, the structure of companies and the important role of technology are considered responsible for the increased use of English as a working language and for communication between headquarters and subsidiaries and affiliates (Vollstedt, 2002). “Instead of the headquarter’s language, more and more companies are using English as the *lingua franca* for internal company communications - a trend that even has been reported on and discussed by many major newspapers”(Vollstedt, 2002, p. 87).

Consequently, English has become the primary focus in an increasing number of workplace studies (e.g. Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b; Erling & Walton, 2007; Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Kankaanranta, 2005; Vollstedt, 2002; Louhiala-Salminen, 2002; Vandermeeren, 1999; Nickerson, 1999; Firth, 1996; Meeuwis, 1994; Gramkow

Andersen, 1993; Hollqvist, 1984). Furthermore, English is often explored alongside other languages or other topics and hence many additional workplace studies investigate the role of English to varying degrees (for an overview of research on English in business contexts see St John, 1996; Truchot, 2003b; Nickerson, 2005; Garzone & Ilie, 2006; Van Horn, 2006; Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007). This has resulted in “an undeniable bias towards English in the research carried out in business language over the past two decades” (Bargiela et al., 2007, p. 16).

Recent studies have, however, explored the use of a range of other languages in business contexts (see Ehrlich & Wagner, 1995; Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 1997b; Charles, 1998; Gouveia et al., 2004; Bargiela et al., 2007) and there is increasing evidence that English alone is not sufficient for international business (e.g. Hagen, 1993; Vandermeeren, 1999; Gimenez, 2002; Salverda, 2002). Loos emphasises the importance of languages other than English for companies operating internationally and within multicultural Europe and highlights the need for research into the languages chosen in the business context (2007, p. 38). Undoubtedly, further research is needed to ascertain the interplay of languages in employees’ practices in multilingual and multinational contexts. Hence, as part of the exploration of implicit dimensions of policy in international banking where it is also often considered that English is the dominant language, this research in banks investigates this interplay of languages, rather than focusing solely on English.

2.7.3 Summary

Part two has built on policy dimensions explored at the state level and has contributed to an understanding of language policy at the institutional level, thereby setting the scene for the exploration of policy in banks. Although

multilingualism at an official level underpins language policies at the EU and the Council of Europe, these two institutions have opted for different non-restrictive and restrictive policies, drawing attention to the complex interaction between beliefs and language management at the institutional level. Working languages within EU institutions play an important role for daily interactions in multilingual institutions, underscoring the importance of further investigation into their management in institutions.

The discrepancy between management and practices at EU institutions, namely the use of a select few ‘working’ languages (often *lingua franca*) rather than the 23 ‘official’ languages, underscores the complexity of policy and language use between linguistically diverse employees for this research in banks. The lack of research into bottom-up beliefs in EU institutions also highlights an important area for exploration in banks to more fully understand the dimensions of working language policies (WLP). Moreover, research in EU institutions indicates a complex interplay of languages in both top-down management and bottom-up practices. Accordingly, the interplay of languages and the importance of languages other than English are examined in banks in Luxembourg.

In short, LPP research in EU institutions has illuminated the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in multilingual institutions. Loos (2007, p. 40) starkly contrasts the empirical language policy research conducted in EU institutions with a lack of language policy research conducted in the private sector, noting that for organisations “it is surprising that little or no attention has been paid to language choice” (Loos, 2007, p. 40). This applies in terms of the choice of language(s) nominated in formal language policies, and employees’ language choices in their daily usage. Consequently, very little is known about restrictive and non-restrictive language policies and explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in financial

institutions. The limited LPP research conducted in the private sector is reviewed in the following sections, illuminating gaps in available research.

PART THREE: MICRO LEVEL WORKPLACE RESEARCH

2.8 Workplace Research

The field of workplace communication began in the 1990s (Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007, p. 5.) and this research on banks in Luxembourg can be clearly located within this field. Workplace research has explored business and legal contexts, the health sector and academia (see for example Drew & Heritage, 1992; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Gouveia et al., 2004) and since it began workplace research has explored a wide range of issues (see Bargiela-Chiappini, 2007, 2009; Candlin & Sarangi, forthcoming; Holmes forthcoming). These include areas such as language and gender, power and politeness (see Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Gouveia et al., 2004), “as well as many different aspects of workplace interaction, such as the structure of talk in negotiations, the role of humour and small talk at work, the construction of professional identities and the place of email in workplace interaction” (Holmes, forthcoming).

Although the number of studies conducted on written and spoken discourse practices since the 1990s far outnumber the limited LPP studies in workplaces, only a relatively small set of these discourse studies concentrate on practices in multilingual and multicultural settings (e.g. Angouri, 2007; Börestam, 2005; Poncini, 2003; Bilbow, 2002; Nair-Vanugopol, 2001; Goldstein, 2001; Li, 1999; Clyne, 1994). Furthermore, few studies have concentrated on language choice between multiple languages and none have explored the relationship between practices, management and beliefs in depth.

Although language policy has strategic importance and is deserving of attention at the highest level of policy making, language policy has been frequently overlooked (Marschan et al., 1997; Feely & Harzing, 2003) and very few recent empirical LPP studies have been conducted in the private sector (Loos, 2007, p.40; Herrlitz & Loos, 1994, pp. 144-147). Much of the limited LPP research has been conducted in multinational companies (MNCs) as multilingual organisations. The importance of language as a barrier to communication flows was identified in early research (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999, p. 379) and MNC studies which have surfaced have focused on (1) the use of a common language and (2) human resource issues (for example, hiring of staff, training and development, performance appraisal, knowledge transfer, expatriates and international assignments) (see Marschan et al., 1997; Marschan-Piekkari, et al., 1999; Charles & Piekkari, 2002; Feely & Harzing, 2003).

Consequently, Harzing and Feely call on linguists and empirical researchers to contribute to this largely ignored field of business study, devoid of both theory and data (2008,p.58-59; cf Piekkari et al., 2005, p. 342). They suggest that “part of the reason for the relative lack of research in this field may be that management researchers and linguists alike have been deterred by the cross-disciplinary nature of the subject” (Harzing & Feely, 2008, p. 51). The scarcity of corporate LPP research available in both the academic fields of linguistics and business contribute to the lack of understanding surrounding the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in companies. These dimensions will become increasingly important for linguists and corporate managers with the increase of global networks of communication and ethnolinguistically diverse workforces. Accordingly, this research responds to these calls for research into language policy and diversity in workplaces, contributing to the gap for more detailed research into the

interaction between the components of policy, management, practices and beliefs.

The following sections build on knowledge and understanding of the complexity of policy at the level of the state and supra-national state for exploring policy at the workplace level. The LPP literature available in the private sector (e.g. corporations, companies, organisations, multinationals, workplaces) is reviewed in order to situate this study in existing research. The gaps identified in corporate LPP research justify the research questions of this study and underscore their importance.

2.8.1 Corporate LPP empirical studies in banks

In most of the studies discussed in the following sections, explicit and implicit dimensions of policy have not been the focus, nevertheless, these studies raise relevant issues and identify gaps in existing research.

Relatively little language-related research has been conducted in banks, with only three studies emerging from the USA and Scandinavia which explore language policy. Touchstone's (1996) study is one of the first in the field of LPP and the earliest LPP research in banks. It concentrates primarily on language policies with regard to external communication with clients in the USA. It does not investigate communication between employees and is not situated in a trilingual country, like Luxembourg. Instead, Touchstone's study investigates banks located in the Greater Los Angeles area of the native-English speaking country of the USA, where a high proportion of minority language speakers live.

Whilst Touchstone's (1996) study of banks differs considerably from this investigation in banks in Luxembourg, her study emphasizes both the importance of corporate LPP research and its scarcity in workplaces and banks, alongside bringing to light two key issues for this exploration of

policy dimensions. Firstly, this study highlights the importance of investigating bottom-up attitudes in an examination of policy. Touchstone found that Spanish speaking customers in the USA portrayed negative attitudes to banks which paid them little attention in terms of multilingual policies to cater for their linguistic needs as customers. Consequently, minority language speaking customers reported negative consequences for these banks. Secondly, and most importantly, this study emphasised how language policy is considerably more underdeveloped in the private sector, than in public sector, and draws attention to the nature of implicit policy in banks in the USA. In banks an implicit policy existed, even where no explicit policy was in place. For example, language policies in banks were underdeveloped or non-existent for minority language speaking customers. This results in an implicit policy for customer communication which favours English, echoing Shiffman's (1996) findings at the state level. In short, these findings indicate that more research is needed to examine both the extent to which explicit policies are formalised in banking contexts, where it is suggested that little attention is paid to policy, and also the implicit nature of policy in these contexts. This represents a central question of this thesis; explicit management (or the lack thereof) is explored in banks situated in a country which formally recognises its multilingual character, and where there is presumably more need on a day-to-day basis for policies to manage multilingual communication.

Vaara et al.'s (2005) and Piekkari et al.'s (2005) studies are also relevant LPP studies in banks. In a pioneering case in the European banking sector, this research investigates the language management of an official working language, namely the selection and implementation of Swedish at MeritaNordbanken (MNB), a cross-border merger between Finnish Merita Bank and the Swedish Nordbanken in Scandinavia. Vaara et al. (2005)

focuses on language policy and circuits of power and Piekkari et al. (2005) concentrates on the LPP implications for human resources. These last two studies represent some of the closest research to this study of banks in Luxembourg, simply because they investigate language policy in international banks operating across borders in Europe. Consequently, these two studies are discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

2.8.2 European LPP studies in multinationals

A number of studies conducted in European multinationals are also relevant and elucidate the complexity of dimensions of language policy. In most cases, except Loos (2007), they do not specifically focus on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. However, they shed light on issues facing companies which operate internationally and manage linguistically and culturally diverse workforces, illuminating the complexity of corporate language management and practices within globalising contexts. Before discussing these studies in depth, this section gives a brief overview of the focus of each of these European LPP studies.

Three LPP studies produced by academics based in the Czech Republic represent some of very few and most recent studies on corporate language policy. These studies investigate subsidiaries of multinationals and are among the first studies to investigate language management using language management theory (LMT) at the organisational and employee level (e.g. Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a), and to explore the roles and functions of Czech, German and English in these contexts (e.g. Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b). Nekvapil and Nekula (2006) investigate a Siemens automotive subsidiary in the Czech Republic which has adopted English as its explicit working language. Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a) also explore four manufacturing multinationals with subsidiaries in Czech

Republic or Hungary. Two out of four of these companies have explicit language policies on the official corporate working language. Nekvapil and Sherman (2009b) investigate a single automotive Czech subsidiary of a German parent company with English as its official corporate language.

Loos (2007) represents the closest research in terms of focus to this research in Luxembourg, since it investigates both top-down language management and bottom-up language use practices (cf Loos 2000, 2004 at EU institutions). Loos explores the selection and implementation of German as the explicit working language of a travel company in both the parent company located in the Netherlands and the holiday centre in Germany. Finally, Vollstedt's (2002) study also focuses on English, this time as the official working language of companies in twenty multinationals, including four European companies involved in the chemical, oil and building industries.

The following section discusses the findings from both Piekkari et al.'s (2005) and Vaara et al.'s (2005) research in the Scandinavian bank MNB, alongside these additional European LPP studies in order to explore what is known about explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in workplaces and to identify gaps in understanding for further research.

2.8.2.1 Top-down language management of official working languages

In light of the importance of beliefs for language policy at both the state and EU level, top-management's beliefs about language and language use within companies are likely to play an important role in the decision-making process. Dhir and Savage (2002) also draw attention to the importance of beliefs and bias when making a decision in their social-judgement theory, which assesses the value of a working language. However, the small number of corporate LPP studies available indicate that very little is known about language management choices and "how firms confront the language issues

and, in some cases, decide to introduce a company language” (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999).

Across the studies, factors that underlie language management of official working languages, are either only explored to a limited extent, e.g. beliefs, or are left unexplored, e.g. goals (see Baldauf (2005) in section 2.2.3.). Vollstedt’s (2002) study and all three Czech-based studies provide no or very few clues as to top-management’s attitudes and beliefs underlying their explicit language policies. Loos (2007) research at a travel company and Vaara et al.’s (2005) and Piekkari et al.’s (2005) study at MNB provide the most insight into beliefs and attitudes underlying top-down language management. Both studies, conducted in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, explore top-down beliefs and underscore the importance of beliefs for understanding language management of the working language. Loos’s (2007) study found that German was chosen due to the value for German clients. Vaara et al.’s (2005) and Piekkari et al.’s (2005) study found that top management’s beliefs about Finnish employees’ language competence in Swedish influenced the language policy choice of Swedish as the working language. However, although these studies give some insight into the complex interaction between management and beliefs, across these LPP studies, beliefs are only explored to a limited extent and relatively little attention is focused on language management choices.

The following section turns from analysing language management choices to examining findings on bottom-up language choices (practices) in these European LPP studies.

2.8.2.2 *Complexity of language choice and practices*

EU institutional research underlines the discrepancy between language management and practices and more research is required for understanding the complexity of bottom-up language practices. Corporate LPP research in European multinationals similarly hints at the multilingual use of languages in many companies, suggesting that although English is the explicit corporate language of many companies, “this does not mean that all communication within the company takes place exclusively in English” (Vollstedt, 2002, p. 103; see also Loos, 2007, pp. 40-41).

Multinational research indicates that MNCs manage a number of languages in different ways, including a common working language, a parent company language, and multiple local (foreign) languages (Vollstedt, 2002; Thomas, 2007). Consequently, employees in multinational and multilingual contexts, such as banks in Luxembourg, have a variety of languages available for use and hence communication practices are complex. Babcock and Du-Babcock’s (2001) model of language-based communication zones for international business communication in multinationals also highlights the diverse communication practices possible, when bilinguals, partial bilinguals and monolinguals are involved in interactions within multinational companies across different languages. “A global subsidiary staffed with expatriates and local workers may operate in three or four different languages, each with specific functions” (Thomas, 2007, p. 84), and managers in these subsidiaries are likely to be bilingual or multilingual.

In a similar way to EU institutions, these European LPP studies indicate the interplay and multilingual use of languages. Nekvapil and Nekula (2006) indicate a number of languages are used by both local and foreign employees at the Siemens subsidiary. Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a)

indicate that several languages are typically used in four manufacturing multinationals. These include local languages and parent company languages, such as English, German and French. Nekvapil and Sherman's study (2009b) identifies how Czech, German and English are used for different functions within a subsidiary of a German company and their relative status. Loos (2007) study similarly highlights the multilingual use of languages and the interplay of languages in practices at the holiday centre in Germany. At the holiday centre in Germany, various combinations of German and Dutch are used between employees and guests, even though the subsidiary is located in a German-speaking country. Some guests either speak German or switch between the two languages. These multilingual practices of employees in the above multinationals point to an implicit multilingual policy for their workplaces, since in most cases, the above multinationals have formalised explicit monolingual policies.

Piekkari et al.'s (2005) and Vaara et al.'s research at MNB contributes considerably more than illustrating the multilingual practices in banks, it also explores to some degree the complex interaction between practices, management and beliefs, distinguishing itself from the other LPP European studies. Swedish is the official language at MNB and practices across departments varied considerably, with Finnish and English playing important roles, in addition to the official language, Swedish. However, linguistic competence (cf Babcock & Du-babcock, 2001) and other forms of language management are identified as important factors influencing these practices. A lack of proficiency in Swedish seriously inhibited Finnish bankers in their professional discourse and it became clear that "the number of competent Swedish speakers amongst Finns was insufficient to meet the daily communication requirements in the new organisation" (Piekkari et al., 2005, p. 338). Management of language courses and recruitment proved vital

for increasing knowledge of Swedish, underlining the interaction of other forms of top-down management with practices.

Furthermore, this MNB study illuminates how top management's beliefs underlying their management choice of Swedish were unfounded. Contrary to their beliefs, a large number of Finnish employees had difficulties communicating in Swedish. Thus, when Swedish became the official language of the bank, many Finnish employees were unable to actively participate in meetings and contribute their professional expertise, contributing to the multilingual language use practices. Hence, when MNB merged with the Danish financial service group Unidanmark in 2000 to become Nordea, the explicit working language of the bank was changed to English (see also Börestam, 2005; cf Louhiala et al., 2005). This policy change was largely due to difficulties associated with the implementation of Swedish as the official language and the implicit dimensions of the policy discussed above. Consequently, this research at MNB contributes considerably more in terms of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy than other studies, by shedding light on the complex interaction between beliefs, management and practices.

However, despite the relevance and importance of the research conducted at MNB, overall, the above studies signal the scarcity of research into the complex interaction of management, practices and beliefs in linguistically diverse workplaces. In the above studies, practices have been investigated primarily between two nationalities: Dutch and German colleagues and guests (Loos, 2007), and Finnish and Swedish colleagues (Piekarri et al., 2005; Vaara et al., (2005). This reflects the wider trend in workplace discourse communication, where either comparisons are made or negotiations investigated between primarily two groups of nationals (e.g. Yamada, 1992, 2002; Bargiela-Chiapinni & Harris, 1996, 1997a; Yeung, 2000, 2004; Chan,

2005; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2004). The Czech based studies are the only studies to explore to some extent practices between a broader range of employees in multinationals (Czech, German, Austrian, Hungarian, Polish and Slovak colleagues). However, it is important to note that the majority employed were Czech nationals (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009). The lack of research in linguistically diverse workplaces testifies to the importance and relevance of research into the interaction between components of policy particularly in an increasingly globalising and multilingual world. Accordingly, this research attempts to provide greater understanding of the complexity of language policy in linguistically diverse workforces.

Furthermore, the above studies only skim the surface of the interplay between languages and complexity of implicit dimensions of policy, underscoring this examination of multilingual banks in Luxembourg. Whilst all the case studies primarily use qualitative data, with two studies recording authentic interactions, (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Loos, 2007) a lack of detailed analysis of language practices and language choice is noticeable. For example, Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a) make some mention of genres, such as telephone conversations and email; Nekvapil and Sherman's (2009b) study investigates the status and function of different languages in the workplace. However, these studies provide only a very limited picture of overall employee language use in particular genres and the status and functions of various languages within the organisations.

McAll gives banking as one example of where spoken and written communication are at the heart of work-related activities (2003, p. 236) and these language practices are essential to understanding the interaction of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. Clearly, a more detailed analysis of language choice is required which examines " by whom is the choice

made, and why in certain situations certain speakers switch to certain languages” (Loos, 2007, p. 38). A range of factors also need to be investigated to allow more detailed information on language practices. These include, firstly, an analysis of reasons for bottom-up choices in different genres of spoken and written communication, especially across linguistically diverse employees in different departments; and secondly, some form of quantification of language use. This more detailed investigation of language practices would allow a greater degree of examination of organisational language use and the bottom-up pressures on language choices, and most importantly a more detailed examination of the interaction with management and beliefs. Luxembourg as a multilingual setting represents a unique focal point to investigate the discrepancy between explicit and implicit policy by exploring, among other things, when and why other languages are used and language choices in different genres of spoken and written communication.

2.8.2.3 *Bottom-up beliefs*

EU institutional research illuminates the dearth of existing research into bottom-up beliefs for understanding the interaction between management and practices and very little attention has also been paid to bottom-up beliefs in multinationals. In Loos (2007) study, employees’ and guests’ bottom-up beliefs about language use and the official policy have not been explored. In all three Czech case studies, employees’ beliefs about language management and practices in the organisation as a whole are only investigated to a limited extent. Vaara et al.’s (2005) and Piekarri et al.’s (2005) banking case study at MNB pays more attention to bottom-up beliefs than any other European LPP study, signalling the importance of investigating bottom-up beliefs for understanding bottom-up practices. At MNB, Finnish employees expressed resistance to the Swedish language policy, which contributed to the

multilingual practices reported in the bank. Finnish employees chose to use Finnish as a 'secret language' and switched to English in internal communication. However, whilst the case study at the Scandinavian bank MNB provides the most insight into the interaction between management, beliefs and practices, the findings from the above studies indicate a gap in existing research in the exploration of underlying beliefs from the bottom-up.

2.8.3 Summary and research questions

Part three has discussed the little that is known about explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy from those corporate LPP studies conducted in Europe, which are most similar to this study in banks. Owing to the dearth of corporate policy research, only one study (Loos, 2007) has focused on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. A number of gaps in existing research and understanding have been identified. Firstly, beliefs and goals underlying language management of official working languages are under-researched in corporate LPP research. Secondly, the LPP studies conducted in European multinationals signal a discrepancy between top-down monolingual management and bottom-up multilingual practices, but shed very little light onto the complex interaction between management, practices and beliefs. A further gap exists in available research for exploring the complexity of policy in globalised workforces with many different multinational and multilingual employees, as in the case of banks in Luxembourg. By and large, multinationals have been investigated with either two dominant nationalities or with one dominant nationality and a small number of other nationalities. Last but not least, these corporate LPP studies also skim the surface of the interplay of languages and implicit dimensions of policy, by not exploring language practices and employees' underlying beliefs in a detailed manner.

In sum, this review of existing research brings to light a lack of comprehensive analysis which recognises the complexity of policy in complex multilingual workplaces. A comprehensive analysis includes a study of both top-down and bottom-up perspectives, a detailed analysis of practices and language choice, beliefs alongside management and practices, and the complex interaction between these components of policy. This research in banks in Luxembourg attempts to address these under-researched areas of policy in the private sector. The gaps in understanding identified in the above literature underpin the following research questions investigated in banks in Luxembourg:

Primary Research Question:

- What are the explicit and implicit dimensions of official (working) language policies of multilingual financial institutions in Luxembourg?

Sub-research questions for Luxembourgish and German banks (phase one):

- To what extent have Luxembourgish and German banks engaged in explicit language management?
- How do managers of Luxembourgish and German banks describe language use practices?

Specific sub-questions for case study (international) banks (phase one and two):

- How does top-down language management interact with employees' language use practices?
- How do employees' report using languages in banks? What are the bottom-up pressures on employees' language choices and practices?

2.9 CONCLUSION

In order to unravel what is known about the complex interaction of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in globalising, multilingual and multinational companies, this literature review has examined research at three different levels, the state, the supra-national state and the workplace.

Part one situated this research of official working languages of banks within the criticisms and fundamentals of LPP research primarily conducted at state-level research. Definitions of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and examples at state level do not fully capture the complexity of policy, however they identify factors to be considered in this investigation. Part two identified the discrepancy between management and practices in the highly multilingual supra-national EU institutions and the complex interaction of components of policy. This discussion of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy within EU institutions recognises key areas for further investigation in banks, namely the important role of working languages, top-down and bottom-up perspectives and the interplay between components of policy and languages. Using research conducted at the state and supra-national state as a spring board, part three examined the limited corporate LPP literature to explore what little is known about policy in linguistically diverse workplaces. Gaps in understanding were identified and the case was made for a comprehensive study of the interaction of the three components of policy in institutional contexts. Accordingly, this research addresses the need for empirical LPP research in workplaces, by exploring the explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in multilingual banks in Luxembourg. Based on these gaps identified in this literature review, research questions for this investigation of banks have been constructed. In the next chapter, the methodology used to explore these research questions is discussed and justified.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In chapter two, the research questions for this thesis were outlined. This chapter concentrates on the methodology associated with phases one and two of this primarily qualitative research. For qualitative research, Hesse-Biber and Leavy argue that “validity and reliability are important and complex issues” (2006, p. 67), and triangulation is an important tool for enhancing the validity of research findings which can include a triangulation of methods, data sources and theoretical approaches (2006, pp. 65-66). Silverman similarly indicates that triangulation produces “a more accurate, comprehensive and objective representation of the object of study” (2006, p. 291). Consequently, in this research, three different methods are used (interviews, questionnaires & focus groups), alongside two different sources, namely management and employees at banks, to explore explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. Nunan also notes that “if one is careful in the collection and analysis of one’s data, and if one is explicit about the way the data were collected and analysed, then one can reasonably claim reliability for one’s investigation” (1992, p. 62). Accordingly, the rationale, design and analysis of the three research methods and data collection issues associated with each method are discussed in detail in this chapter. This chapter begins with an overview of how this research approaches identifying and analysing the three components of policy, and an overview of the data collection process; the remainder of the chapter discusses phase one and two in detail.

3.1 Overview of approach to management, practices and beliefs

3.1.1 Management

This research focuses primarily on the explicit management of working languages in banks; however, other forms of language management are also explored. This investigation of management is based on Spolsky's (2007) definition of management, that is, "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (2007, p. 4). In top-down state level language policy research, the analysis of explicit language management documents (written policy papers, treaties, constitutions, proposals, declarations etc) often plays an important part (e.g. Moore, 1996; see also Wodak, 2006; Baldauf & Kaplan, 1997). However, oral texts (speeches, conversations, stories) and interviews are also important sources of data on language management (see Wodak, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In the context of banks, language management is often not formalised in written documents. Shohamy and Spolsky (1999, p. 32) similarly indicate that policies are not necessarily written in a formal document or statement. Thus, in this study, in accordance with the other definitions of management used in this thesis, Manager's verbal statements in interviews about their formal management policy on the working language are used to identify and analyse management, alongside other documents indicating the presence of a formal management policy (see chapter five for further discussion).

3.1.2 Practices

In this research, multilingual practices were investigated in Luxembourgish and German banks using interviews, and in more detail in international banks using focus groups (and questionnaires). Practices, as defined by

Spolsky (2004a, 2009), were divided into spoken and written communication, due to the differences associated with these mediums (see Brown & Yule, 1983; Saville-Troike, 2003) and the different spoken and written language use trends identified in research on EU institutions (Van Els, 2001; Loos, 2004; Nic Craith, 2006; Ammon, 2006). Within the categories of spoken and written communication, formal and informal genres of communication were also investigated. This is primarily because the formality of communication also influenced language practices in different situations in EU institutions (E.g. Van Els, 2001; Truchot, 2003a; Loos, 2004; Nic Craith, 2006). For example, differences surfaced in EU institutions between informal spoken communication in corridors (Van Els, 2001) and formal written communication (Nic Craith, 2006). Furthermore, as noted in the literature review, very few workplace LPP studies in multinational companies have explored language choice in genres of communication in multilingual settings, thus genres of spoken and written communication formed the basis of language use questions.

Given that official working languages are the focus of this research, this study concentrates on internal language practices between employees. Louhiala-Salminen et al.'s case study signifies the importance of internal communication in two companies noting that "on average, company-internal communication accounted for a significant amount, i.e. approximately 80% of the respondents' writing and speaking" (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005, p. 6). Internal communication was defined as taking place 'in-house' and between employees and colleagues within subsidiaries located in Luxembourg. However, practices can also be externally orientated (cf. Labrie, 1996; Kankaanranta, 2005; Gunnarsson, 2006; Spolsky, 2009) and external communication was defined as communication between employees and clients, and other external parties. Internal and external communication

are often intricately connected in the service industry (cf Loos, 2007) and therefore, communication with clients (external) is also investigated, primarily to draw attention to its influence on policy in workplaces.

Finally, language choice plays an important part in the bottom-up exploration of practices, and employees' choices are about which language to use in different contexts and why. Haarmann indicates that "in any given setting of international contact, language choice from the standpoint of the participants is achieved as a complex process of selecting a language for successful intercommunication, and this process implies the evaluation of manifold factors in their intrinsic interplay" (2005, p. 1522). Accordingly, this research explores what employees' report to be happening in practice and the bottom-up pressures on language choice.

3.1.3 Ideology, beliefs and attitudes

Ideology is a relatively new focus for LPP research, and ideology research involves "a morass of contradictory definitions, widely varying approaches to ideology, and huge controversies over terms, phenomena, or modes of analysis" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 158). In this research, a broad view of ideology has been adopted encompassing beliefs and attitudes. Consequently all three terms are used interchangeably due to the links between ideology, beliefs and attitudes.

In Spolsky's (2004a) framework, the terms ideology and beliefs are used interchangeably; Shohamy's (2006) framework similarly links ideology with language beliefs (see chapter five), drawing on definitions from Spolsky's language policy framework (2006, p. 52). Beliefs are also a common factor in definitions of ideology. Kroskrity's definition (2001, p. 1) includes beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language use when defining language ideologies. Spolsky and Shohamy's (1999) definition of ideology is largely

based on Silverstein's (1979) definition which emphasises beliefs "about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived structure and use"(1979, p. 195; as cited in Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999, p. 34).

The link between beliefs/ideology and language behaviour in Spolsky's (2004a) framework is also supported by attitude literature (Vandermeeren, 2005; Lasagabaster, 2004; Saville-Troike, 2003; Garrett et al., 2003; Baker, 1992; Deprez & Persoons, 1987) and the cognitive component of beliefs and attitudes are clearly linked (Baker, 1992; Garrett et al, 2003). However, the theoretical link between attitudes and ideology is yet undeveloped and further research is needed in this area (see Coupland & Galasiński, 2004, pp. 23-27 for discussion of attitudes).

The study of ideology is not associated with one particular methodology (Garrett et al 2003; Coupland & Galasiński, 2004). Baker notes that the difference between ideology and attitude appears to relate to the differences in traditions of research, theory and expression (1992, pp. 14-15). Attitudes and beliefs have been the focus of research for many years and attitude research has established its own tradition (see Garrett et al., 2003; Dörnyei & Cumming, 2003; Gardner, 1985; Deprez & Persoons, 1987). Direct and indirect approaches have been used (see Garrett, 2005; Vandermeeren, 2005) and Likert attitude statements are described as one of the "central set of methodological options for ideology analysis" as well as for exploring attitudes and beliefs (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 11). Interviews and focus-group interviews have also been used as additional methods of investigating language attitudes and beliefs. Accordingly, both interviews and focus groups are used in this research, alongside Likert statements in questionnaires, to investigate both managements' and employees' beliefs at banks to elucidate top-down management and bottom-up practices. Shared

beliefs and attitudes of management and employees are the focus, otherwise known as 'neutral ideological analysis' ('culturally shared' beliefs) (Kroskitny, 2001, p. 6). 'Critical ideological analysis' (the political use of language as a particular group's instrument of symbolic domination), as defined by Kroskitny (2001, p. 6), is outside the limits of this research.

The three components of policy discussed above are investigated in two data collection phases. The following section briefly outlines these phases before discussing the phases individually.

3.2 Overview of phase one and two data collection

The research questions highlighted in the literature review are addressed in two phases. Phase one takes a broader perspective in investigating ten banks, whereas phase two involves a more detailed and in depth analysis of three international banks. The first phase of this research involved interviews with management in ten financial institutions in Luxembourg and provides the management's (or top-down) perspective on language management and practices in the wider context of Luxembourg, namely three groups of banks: Luxembourgish, German and International Banks. Phase one also provides direction for further investigation in phase two. The second phase of the research involved pre-focus-group questionnaires and focus-group discussions with bank employees in three international case study banks. This phase primarily explored implicit dimensions of policy including practices and beliefs.

The data collected for this research took place over a three year period from 2004-2007. Exploratory informal interviews with a range of bankers in Luxembourg were undertaken in 2004; the two phases of formal data collection took place between 2005-2007. The total amount of time spent in Luxembourg over the course of this PhD was a period of eleven months.

Phase one interviews primarily took place in July-October 2005 in nine different banks. An additional interview with a case study bank (Bank James) was conducted in 2006 as part of phase one. *Phase two* focus groups took place between July-December 2006. Pre-focus group questionnaires were distributed to employees in three banks and analysed prior to focus groups in individual banks.

At Bank Ivan, nine pre-focus group questionnaires were completed and the same nine participated in the focus group discussion. A brief tour of the bank was also given by the Deputy Director. *At Bank George*, thirty employees completed the pre-focus group questionnaire and five of these employees participated in the focus-group discussion. Prior to the focus group, I undertook a brief ethnographic observation of language use practices in the large staff canteen and in a staff café during lunchtime. *At Bank James*, twenty eight employees completed the pre-focus group questionnaire and ten participated in the focus-group discussion. Final interviews with Directors at Bank Ivan and Bank James were conducted in 2006-2007.

3.3 Ethics

As this research involves human participants, ethical approval was sought from the Human Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington before phase one and two were undertaken. The University's Human Ethics Committee (H.E.C) has been established to ensure that all university research complies with various statutory requirements such as the Privacy Act 1993, Education Act 1989, Human Rights Act 1993 and New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990.

As part of this H.E.C application, participant information sheets, background information sheets and consent forms were designed for both phases and

were based on the forms used in Language in the Workplace Project⁷ (LWP) at Victoria University. Questions were adjusted for the Luxembourg banking context, and questions about foreign languages learnt at school and language proficiency were included (cf Fehlen et al. 1998; Carson, 2003). Proposals outlining this research for both phase one and two were also designed for banks and included information about the aims and methods of this research, the data collection process, ethics and confidentiality and finally the costs and benefits of the research to the banks involved. Proposals, consent forms, background information sheets and requests for other documents/statistics were delivered to the bank prior to data collection, alongside a list of general questions for participants to answer. All the banks in this research were given pseudonyms to protect their identities.

3.4 Phase one survey approach

Baldauf (2002, p. 391) notes that discussion regarding suitable methodologies for investigating language policy and planning is limited in the LPP literature (cf Eastman, 1983; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Ricento, 2006a). A variety of methods are available and Baldauf indicates that the “variety of techniques used in LPP research reflects in part the multidisciplinary nature of the field” (2002, p. 394; see also Ricento, 2006a, p. 129).

A sociolinguistic survey approach (see Cooper, 1980; Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Baker, 2001 for discussion) was chosen in phase one as the most appropriate means to research corporate language policy in banks.

⁷ The Language in the Workplace Project at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand is directed by Professor Janet Holmes. It began in 1996 and has investigated over 20 different types of workplaces. It has a well-established international reputation as well as a long list of publications. See www.vuw.ac.nz/lals/lwp/. I have been employed as a research assistant of this project during my PhD.

Sociolinguistic surveys can be conducted for a variety of purposes, including at the company level by a single researcher, and its primary purpose is to provide a picture of the language situation (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p. 104; see also Cooper, 1980, p. 114). The survey approach also incorporates a 'breadth of view' (Denscombe, 1998, pp.6-7). Consequently, this phase one sociolinguistic survey provides a broad perspective on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy within ten financial institutions across multilingual Luxembourg.

3.4.1 Phase one banks

Phase one banks were selected to provide a snapshot of how different banks deal with languages in multilingual Luxembourg. In 2004, the banking sector in Luxembourg comprised 167 different banks from countries around the world. The highest number of banks were nationally associated with Germany (29%) and Luxembourg, Belgium and France combined (21%) (Association des Banques et Banquiers Luxembourg, ABBL, 2004). The remaining banks in Luxembourg were affiliated with other countries. This demographic mix of banks was taken into account during selection and banks from European and non-European countries were targeted.

In addition to the above criteria for selection, banks with different policies on the number of working languages were sought. In recent years, a number of mergers between banks operating in Luxembourg have taken place, mirroring trends in banks globally (see Neuhauser, 2007, p. 2) and in other companies (Piekarri et al., 2005, p. 330), creating "a particularly favourable regulatory environment" for cross-border banking (Azofra et al, 2007, p. 191). Hence, banks which had merged were also sought to explore the role of mergers in influencing explicit dimensions of policy in participating banks.

The ten phase one banks included three Luxembourgish banks, three German and four international banks. *Luxembourgish banks* refer to those banks that are Luxembourgish or those that have been involved in a merger with a Luxembourgish bank. *International banks* had no predominant national affiliation or were affiliated with countries other than Luxembourg, Belgium, France or Germany. The ten financial institutions participating in this study also represent various types of banks in Luxembourg: clearing stations, retail, wholesale and custodian banks.

3.4.1.1 *Phase one participants*

From experience in the Language in the Workplace Project at Victoria University of Wellington, gaining access to workplaces for research is more successful when the researcher can be vouched for by someone the staff member knows. Consequently, the selection of the managers in individual banks relied on social network or ‘friend-of-a-friend’ methodology (Milroy, 1980) which connects the researcher with appropriate and receptive individuals within banks. The social network in Germany which I had previously established from working at the University of Trier and the social network established in Luxembourg through attending an international church during 2004 and 2005 assisted in making contact with participants.

Interviews were sought with management in human resource or communication departments (cf Loos, 2007; Vollstedt, 2002), since a number of my interview questions specifically related to communication and human resource management issues. Nine out of ten interviews were conducted with Heads of Departments of Human Resources or with representatives of Human Resource Departments. At the case study banks, interviews were conducted with (1) a Swedish HR manager (with a dual role as Deputy Director at Bank Ivan) and a German/British HR manager at Bank Ivan, (2) a

Belgian HR manager at Bank George, (3) a Luxembourgish HR manager at Bank James.

3.4.2 Rationale for interviews

Interviews were chosen, firstly, for their appropriacy for LPP research (see Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p. 111) and their prominent role in recent LPP studies (Touchstone, 1996; Vollstedt, 2002; Vaara et al., 2005; Piekari et al., 2005; Loos, 2007; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a). Furthermore, interviews are the most important and frequently used data collection methods in business contexts (Myers, 2009, p. 121) and interviews were suitable for research where a depth of information is required from a relatively small number of informants (see Denscombe, 1998, pp. 110-112). The informal interviews conducted in 2004 identified the absence of written management documents in many banks. Accordingly, the choice of interviews allowed a more in-depth exploration of policy in these types of contexts. Flexible questions could be used in interviews to encourage participants to talk and extend their answers for further clarification. Thus, flexible interview questions provided more insight into language policy than the limited and superficial policy information often gleaned from other data collection methods, such as postal questionnaires (cf Hagen, 1993; Vandermeeren, 1999). Furthermore, the flexible nature of interviews was also particularly important as non-native English speaking managers from a range of countries were likely to be interviewed. Accordingly, if any language problems surfaced, interviews allowed the researcher to give explanations and to clear up any misunderstandings, in other languages where necessary.

The nature and context of this research further strengthened the rationale for using a personal and face-to-face interview to access information. Firstly,

globally corporate language policies are largely forgotten and considered strategically unimportant in many companies (Dhir & Goke-Pariola, 2002; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan et al., 1997). Secondly, exploratory informal interviews indicated that multilingualism in Luxembourg is often taken for granted as a normal part of everyday life. For these reasons, it seemed likely that participants were not aware that they had relevant and important information to contribute to this research. Participants are often more motivated to give an interview than complete a questionnaire (see Gilham, 2000, pp. 8-14) and thus face-to-face interviews were considered the best way to counteract this lack of understanding or awareness of language policy issues in multilingual contexts.

3.4.3 Design of interview schedule

The interviews were primarily designed to investigate top-down language management and attitudes, but practices were also explored (see appendix one). Cooper's (1989) framework provided a starting point for developing interview questions on language management. His framework is based on a complex set of questions which can be used to collect data in sociolinguistic surveys (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 103; see also Touchstone's (1996) study of banks in the USA). Furthermore, Cooper's (1989) framework underpins Spolsky's (2004a) theory of language policy. Consequently, Cooper's 1989 questions were used to design the interview schedule:

What *actors*, (ii) attempt to influence what *behaviours*, (iii) of which *people*, (iv) for what *ends*, (v) under what *conditions*, (vi) by what *means*, (vii) through what *decision-making process*, (viii) with what *effect* (Kaplan et al, 1997, pp. 52-55).

Further questions eliciting attitudes and practices were added and developed from corporate research and the informal exploratory 2004 interviews conducted prior to formal data collection.

3.4.3.1 Management and attitudes

As a result of the underdeveloped nature of policies in banks identified in 2004, questions were designed to elicit data on top-down language management of official working languages of banks, and the goals and attitudes underlying these policies. Where no explicit policy on official working languages existed, top managements' attitudes to policy were also explored. Research in multinationals identified recruitment and language courses/training as other forms of language management (e.g. Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b; Incelli, 2008; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Marschan et al., 1999; Huhta, 1997). Thus, management policies on recruitment and language courses were also investigated to explore how their management influenced employees' practices.

3.4.3.2 Practices

Questions were also designed to investigate management's perspective on employees' internal and external practices. Due to the lack of exploration of genres in multilingual settings such as multinationals, particular genres of spoken communication were selected based on workplace discourse in recent years (see Bargiela-Chiappini, 2004 for a historical overview of the evolution of the field of spoken discourse). The genre of meetings was selected because they have been identified as important in workplace studies in general due to their central role in management within organisations (Boden, 1994; Tracey & Dimock, 2004; see also Wasson, 2000; Dannerer, 2001; Bennington et al., 2003; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Marra, 2003, 2008; Vine,

2004; Chan, 2007). Other genres of spoken genres were chosen based on recent workplace communication research (*Presentations*, Barbara et al. 1996; Nair-Venugopal, 2001; Bramford, 2007; Bowker, 2007; *telephone conversations*, Sifianou, 1989; Halamari, 1993; Planken, 2005; Loos, 2007; *informal communication*, Morais, 1998; Goldstein, 2001; Holmes, 2000; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, 2004).

Genres of written communication were also included based on recent genres explored in multinational contexts. Regular report writing was identified by banking professionals as being an important genre, as well as in Angouri's (2007) recent study of multinationals, which investigated a range of different kinds of reports (e.g. progress reports, employee performance reports and financial reports). Consequently, report writing was selected as a genre for exploration (see also Angouri & Harwood, 2008). Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris indicate that "new media communication in business plays an increasingly significant role in recent research" (2003, p. 159) due to a need to study practices "in an ever-changing business environment, impacted by advances in communication technology and increased globalisation" (Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007, p. 151). Questions were also designed to examine email communication due to the important role of new technology and increasing interest in email communication in multinationals. (e.g. Yates et al., 1999; Nickerson, 1999, 2000; Gimenez, 2002; Louhiala-Salminen, 2002; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Kankaanranta, 2005).

Interviews also explored external communication, such as with clients, since a number of studies emphasised the importance of client communication in practices (Loos, 2007; Vaara et al., 2005; Piekaari et al., 2005; Vandermeeren, 1999; Hagen, 1993; Touchstone, 1996). Inconsistencies between management and practices were also of particular interest for identifying linguistically

interesting banks for exploring language practices in more detail in phase two.

Finally, Spolsky's three components of language policy were used to analyse the recorded and broad transcriptions of the interviews. These included language management of the working language, recruitment and language courses, language use practices with colleagues and clients and beliefs/attitudes towards policy on the working language (or lack thereof). As part of the case study analysis in phase two, additional and more detailed analysis was undertaken on phase one data from international banks using Language Management Theory (LMT) and Shohamy's two models (see chapter five).

3.4.4 Pilot study

As part of the design, a suitable context in which to pilot the phase one interview was sought in New Zealand before data collection began. The specific purpose of the pilot interview was to test the flexibility and suitability of the interview questions for different banking contexts and make any changes needed. Banks in Luxembourg differ considerably from one another, hence the interview schedules needed to be flexible enough to suit the type of bank and elicit the information required from participants. In addition, the pilot interview provided an opportunity to investigate the banking context before undertaking formal data collection in Luxembourg.

Before undertaking the pilot interview, the Director of the Centre for Banking Studies at Massey University, New Zealand, Professor David Tripe evaluated the data collection materials from a banking perspective. He evaluated the materials very positively and made some minor suggestions for improvement that were incorporated into the questions. A pilot interview was then conducted with a trilingual manager of a Migrant Banking Team an

Australian Bank based in New Zealand. The manager headed a department which uses a variety of languages on a daily basis with colleagues and clients.

The pilot interview was very successful and confirmed the focus and flexible nature of the interview schedule. As expected, this mock interview in an authentic banking situation suggested some minor change to be made prior to phase one interviews. Further attention needed to be paid to the wording and organisation of particular questions so that the interview questions were as clear as possible for non-native speakers of English. It also became evident that non-native speakers of English required the interview questions in advance and for reference in the interview. Consequently during data collection in Luxembourg, the interview questions were emailed during initial contact with banks. Seeing the interview questions in advance had a number of advantages as it allowed:

- (1) the bank to assess exactly what this research involved and sensitivity of research
- (2) the bank to choose the appropriate person to address the questions
- (3) the interviewee sufficient time to absorb the questions in English prior to the interview
- (4) the interviewee to liaise with other colleagues for any questions in English they could not answer themselves.

Also, the length of the interview (45 minutes) was raised as a potential problem and consequently, I tried very hard to keep to the time limit during interviews in Luxembourg. Prior to these interviews, questions were ordered in terms of priority, in case the interview was cut short due to time constraints. Most of the managers allocated an hour slot for the interview

and the majority of interviews conducted were within this time frame. In interviews that went longer than 45 minutes, interviewees were asked whether it was possible to continue, to which there was always a positive response.

3.4.5 Data collection issues

The following section outlines the issues associated with phase one data collection.

3.4.5.1 *Securing participation in phase one*

One of the difficulties associated with conducting research in workplaces is the issue of receiving permission and access to the organization. Banks were no exception and they were very concerned about protecting commercially sensitive information, their clients and employees. Furthermore, based on experience with the Language in the Workplace Project, personal contact and a positive, persuasive encounter during the initial stages are essential to securing research opportunities. Multilingualism in Luxembourg is largely taken for granted and the lack of attention paid to LPP issues in the corporate sector heightened the importance of personal contact to ensure participation and data collection, strengthening the argument for approaching banks through friends (see 3.4.1.2 phase one participants). In addition, bankers involved in exploratory informal interviews suggested this approach, since banks received hundreds of emails every day. Similarly, the managing director at Bank James noted that he received a large number of requests to conduct research at his bank and they were often ignored; fortunately, this research captured his interest.

The process of contacting, approaching, and persuading banks to participate was a time-consuming process, requiring four months in Luxembourg to secure interviews with management. The position of bank employees,

approached by friends, had to be considered. As a general rule, the higher the contact was in the bank's hierarchy, the better the response to the research. I only had limited success working through contacts who were not in positions of responsibility e.g. secretaries. I had the most success when bank employees in positions of responsibility in banks contacted friends in similar positions in other banks. The majority of initial contacts were not in top-level positions, such as Directors. Those bank employees approached in top-level positions referred me to HR departments. The European summer holiday period (July-September) also contributed to delays and consequently, phase two was not conducted during the summer. The need to cover for staff on holiday and the resulting workload taken on during this period was one reason why one bank declined to be involved. Furthermore, collecting data in summer meant that many friends and bank employees were on holiday and I had to pay careful attention to when people were available, knowing that they could be unavailable for a period of 4 weeks or more. It also often took some time for friends to make contact with banks and for these bank contacts to respond and organise an appointment.

3.4.5.2 Interviews

The recorded interviews were undertaken in English and took between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours. The majority of the banks were well-prepared for the interviews, as they had consulted other departments for information and consequently overall the interviews ran very smoothly. Only one was rather disjointed and difficult to conduct due to the HR manager asking a HR subordinate to step in twenty minutes after the interview was supposed to begin. The replacement interviewee had only briefly seen the questions and thus was not well-prepared. When her superior arrived twenty-five minutes later and expected her to continue in English, it did nothing to ease the situation and the interviewee became even more nervous.

The data collected in the interviews was collated into summary reports and sent to each participant bank to confirm my understanding of the information provided in interviews and to request clarification of details resulting from data analysis. Silverman (2006, p. 290) argues that taking the results back to the participants so they can be verified strengthens the validity of the study. Furthermore, as per the conditions set down by banks, a general report summarising phase one findings and trends across banks, along with individual reports comparing each bank's language policy and use patterns with those of their counterparts, was provided in person to banks in 2006. Delivering these reports to management also provided an opportunity to discuss the second phase of research.

3.5 Phase two case studies

Case studies provide an "in depth study of relationships and social process" (Denscombe, 1998, p. 30-31) and "aim to provide a holistic description of language learning or use with a specific population and setting" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 171). Thus, in phase two of this research, employees' reported language use practices and attitudes were investigated in three case studies of banks who had participated in phase one.

This research depended largely on the type of access allowed by banks and consequently, a range of data collection options was designed and presented to banks including, observation, recording of authentic interactions between colleagues within banks, questionnaires and focus group discussions. However, all three banks involved in this phase agreed only to participate in pre-focus group questionnaires and focus group discussions.

Other corporate LPP studies have managed to use observation as a research method (Touchstone, 1996; Vaara et al.'s, 2005; and Piekarri et al., 2005), and recent studies have also used recordings of authentic interactions (Nekvapil

& Nekula, 2006; Loos, 2007). Unfortunately, banking scandals in Luxembourg during the time preceding and during data collection, and banking secrecy laws in Luxembourg made the environment particularly closed to ethnographic observation and recording authentic interactions (see 3.5.6 data collection issues below). For example, at Bank Ivan, the bank's security committee did not approve security clearance for recording authentic interactions due to banking secrecy concerns. In Luxembourg, individual bank employees can be prosecuted if secrecy is breached, consequently, individuals were very concerned about this issue. However, questionnaires and focus groups were undertaken and data analysis is therefore based on managements' and employees' reported practices, rather than actual practices.

Phase two was divided into two stages; 1.5-2 hour focus groups represented the primary data collection method and the 20-25 minute questionnaires complemented the discussions. The questionnaire was completed by employees prior to focus-groups and questionnaires were analysed to signal language use and attitudinal trends as a basis for the discussion in the focus group. Focus group questions were specifically designed to illuminate and clarify attitudes, practices and choices. Soukup (2008) and Sclafani (2008) emphasise the importance of both qualitative and quantitative data in attitude research, and other sociolinguistic studies in workplaces have also used qualitative and quantitative data (Vollstedt, 2002; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Angouri & Harwood, 2008). One of the few LPP studies in banks (Touchstone, 1996) used both questionnaires and focus groups, while Clyne and Kipp (1999) used a focus group to elaborate on quantitative data, namely census data, in an immigrant context to "account for, as well as to describe, patterns of language use and behaviour" (1999, p. 51).

The sequential use of questionnaire and focus group proved very successful for eliciting data about language practices and attitudes. Due to the linguistically diverse base of employees at banks, English, as the common language of participants, was the only possible language in which to conduct the focus group. The questionnaires were provided in English with provision made for comments in other languages (e.g. German and French). Both the questionnaire and focus group data were analysed and collated into two separate summary reports for the individual banks.

3.5.1 Phase two banks

Based on phase one data analysis, five banks (3 International, 1 Luxembourgish, 1 German) were approached based on their linguistically interesting language use patterns; two of these banks agreed to participate in phase two of this research. An additional international bank was later approached due to difficulties associated with data collection (see 3.5.6.1 securing participation in focus groups). Denscombe calls this purposive sampling, when “the researcher already knows something about the specific people or events and deliberately selects particular ones because they are seen as instances that are likely to produce the most valuable data” (1998, p. 15).

In sum, three international banks (pseudonymed Bank Ivan, Bank George & Bank James) participated in phase two of this research. Two out of three of these banks had an explicit policy on the working language of their banks. The relevant characteristics of these banks are outlined below in table 3.1:

Table 3.1 Phase two participant banks

<i>Characteristics of Banks:</i>	Bank Ivan	Bank George	Bank James
Specialisation of Bank	Private Banking	Institutional Clients and International Markets	Institutional Clients and International Markets
Composition of Customers/Clients	Nordic and German Private Banking Clients	Benelux, French, German, Iberian, Italian and Japanese	Institutional clients in the United Kingdom (UK) and mainland Europe
No. of Employees	230	1089	230
No. of Nationalities (employees)	18 Nationalities	24 Nationalities	21 Nationalities

As noted in table 3.1, Bank Ivan specialised in private banking (e.g. services for high net worth individuals, including investment portfolios), whereas Bank James and Bank George serviced mainly institutional clients and specialised in international markets (e.g. securities). These banks differed somewhat in terms of the clients that they catered for, hence language use between institutional and private clients were also explored.

All three banks also employed people from a range of nationalities. In both Bank James and Bank George, francophone employees (from France, Belgium and Luxembourg) represented similar proportions of the total employees (approximately 70%). In contrast, at Bank Ivan francophone employees represented only approximately 30% of total employees and a higher proportion of non-Francophone employees were employed at Bank Ivan, with approximately 25% coming from Sweden.

EU institutional practices indicated a complex interplay of languages in spoken and written communication between linguistically diverse nationals (e.g. Loos, 2004). Consequently this study explored practices between different nationals and, unlike other studies (e.g. Loos, 2007), nationals from the same country. European languages and national languages associated with banks were also explored in this research. Firstly, the use of English, French and German were investigated in all the banks alongside Luxembourgish, the national language of Luxembourg. This is primarily because English, French and German are important languages in the banking industry in Luxembourg, in EU institutions (see chapter one and two) and for linguistically diverse Europe as a whole (Graddol, 1997; see also Labrie & Quell, 2006). Furthermore, French was reported as an important language in phase one owing to the large number of Francophone employees at Bank James and George. Secondly, questionnaires and focus-group discussion questions were adjusted to the ethnolinguistic composition of bank employees and languages associated with the national affiliation of the bank. At Bank Ivan, Swedish was reported as an important language within the bank in phase one and was therefore also incorporated into phase two.

3.5.1.1 Phase two participants

Willing multilingual employees were sought to provide a snap-shot of employees' language use practices in a range of positions in different departments within banks (cf Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005, p. 8). Due to the importance of enlisting participants who were interested in the research topic (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 221), participants were asked to participate on a voluntary basis. Due to the innovative nature of this research, members of the top-management team were also very keen to participate. As a result, in two banks (Bank James and Bank Ivan) Directors

and Deputy Directors also completed the questionnaires and participated in the focus-group discussion (see data collection issues 6.9.1.2).

At Bank Ivan, nine participants were involved in both the questionnaire and focus-group. These included the Deputy Director, and participants working in client-related departments (institutional and private), the personnel department, and an administrative department. At Bank George, thirty participants completed a questionnaire and five participated in the focus group, representing five different departments (project management, purchasing, information technology, public relations, insurance). At Bank James, twenty eight questionnaires were completed and ten of these participants were involved in the focus group. The focus group participants represented administrative departments, investment and fund services and a client-related department. Two participants also came from the top management team (Director and Deputy Director). The number of nationals involved in the focus group (FG) and questionnaire (QU) is illustrated in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Phase two focus-group and questionnaire participants

<i>Nationality/Bank Participants</i>	<i>Ivan/ FG</i>	<i>Ivan/ QU</i>	<i>George/ FG</i>	<i>George/ QU</i>	<i>James/ FG</i>	<i>James/ QU</i>
France	-	-	1	6	4	11
Belgium	-	-	1	5	2	4
Luxembourg	-	-	1	7	-	3
Germany	1	1	-	1	-	-

<i>Nationality/Participants</i>	I/FG	I/QU	G/FG	G/QU	J/FG	J/QU
United Kingdom	-	-	1	3	1	4
Netherlands	-	-	1	1	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	4	1	1
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	1
Portugal	-	-	-	1	-	-
Finland	-	-	-	1	-	-
Sweden	2	2	-	-	-	-
Norway	1	1	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	1
Argentina	-	-	-	1	-	-
Canada	-	-	-	-	-	1
Belgium/Spain	1	1	-	-	-	-
Iceland/Denmark	1	1	-	-	-	-
France/UK	-	-	-	-	1	1
Germany/UK	1	1	-	-	-	-
Sweden/UK	1	1	-	-	-	-
Germany/France	-	-	-	-	1	1
Spain/(Netherlands/USA)	1	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL PARTICIPANTS	9	9	5	30	10	28

As outlined in table 3.2, a number of participants reported dual nationality. Four participants at Bank Ivan came from (1) Belgium and Spain; (2) Iceland and Denmark; (3) Sweden and UK. (4) Germany and UK. Those reporting national affiliations with the UK spent the majority of their life outside the UK. One participant identified himself as Spanish having grown up in Spain, although his parents came from the Netherlands and the USA. Two participants at Bank James reported being from the (1) UK and France; (2) Germany and France.

Four focus group participants from the three banks identified themselves as cross-border commuters. At Bank Ivan two participants commuted from Germany and at Bank James two participants from France and Belgium.

3.5.2 Rationale for questionnaires

Questionnaires were used primarily to get a sense of language use patterns prior to the focus group. As discussed in the literature review, the frequency of particular languages used in workplace contexts has not been the focus of recent studies (e.g. Loos, 2007; Nekvapil & Nekula 2006; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b) and employees' attitudes have only been explored qualitatively to a limited extent. Mackey and Gass justify the use of quantification in qualitative research to investigate patterns, noting that "quantification is also valuable in that numerical descriptions can make it readily apparent why researchers have drawn particular inferences and how well their theories reflect the data" (2005, p. 182). Although Baldauf (2002, p. 402) indicates that quantitative data-based studies in the field of LPP are fairly infrequent, quantification in this primarily qualitative research adds a further perspective to this investigation of implicit policy in banks (cf Locher, 2009a; Angouri & Harwood, 2008). Furthermore, questionnaires are

frequently used in language needs analysis studies in European workplaces (e.g. Hagen, 1993; Vandermeeren, 1999).

Brown (2001, p. 75-79) lists a number of advantages to using a questionnaire which underpin its use in this research. Firstly, questionnaire data is more likely to be “standardized, uniform and consistent” (Brown, 2001, p.77). Secondly, questionnaires could be distributed to a number of employees quickly and allowed employees time to complete them prior to the focus group, without any interference from other focus group participants or the researcher.

Questionnaires also served the purpose of keeping participants interested in and prepared for the up-coming focus group. Gillham (2000, pp. 8-10) and Brown (2001, pp. 75-59) point out that questionnaires typically have low response rates and respondents often lack the motivation to complete the questionnaires. Consequently, the sequential use of questionnaire and focus groups was seen as a way to motivate participants to actually complete the questionnaire, as they would meet the researcher face-to-face in the focus group. An important advantage of having the focus group after the questionnaire, allowed both the researcher and participants to clarify any questions or misunderstandings and elicit further detail.

3.5.3 Rationale for focus groups

Focus groups have also been used for a variety of purposes in different fields, including multicultural research (Hesse-Biber, 2006, pp.196-197), LPP studies in workplaces (Touchstone, 1996; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006) and in other sociolinguistic research (De Cillia et al., 1999; Scollon, 2001). In the field of business and management, focus groups are also a common form of data collection, most frequently used in marketing (Myers, 2009, p. 125) and this familiarity with focus groups in business circles contributed to successfully

securing focus groups in banks and encouraging voluntary employee participation.

In addition, focus groups were also very appropriate ways of addressing the research questions. Litosseliti (2003, p. 18) summarises the primary uses of focus groups based on the following scholarly research (e.g. Morgan, 1988; Morgan and Krueger, 1993; Krueger, 1994b; Race et al. 1994; Powell and Single, 1996; Gibbs, 1997); three of these uses correlate exactly and appropriately to the purpose for which focus groups were used in this research:

- To obtain a number of different perspectives on the same topic, in participants' own words.
- To gain information on participants' views, attitudes, beliefs, responses, motivations and perceptions on a topic; 'why' people think or feel the way they do.
- To examine participants' shared understanding of everyday life, and the everyday use of language and culture of particular groups.

Furthermore, focus groups are particularly valuable for examining unexplored areas. Hesse-Biber and Leavy emphasise the usefulness of focus groups in exploring "issues largely taken for granted" and the provision of "depth and breadth to a subject very little is known about" or where the issues are unclear (2006, p. 196-200). In a context where multilingualism is largely taken for granted, focus groups provided an engaging forum in which a group atmosphere could result in "detailed descriptions of mundane experiences" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 204) formed over many days and weeks (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 17). Focus groups also allow participants to bounce ideas and experiences off each other (in this case about language use practices), which provides greater detail and more insight than, for example,

interviews. "In a group, if even one person expresses an idea it can prompt a response from others, and the information that is produced is more likely to be framed by categories and understandings of the interviewees rather than those of the interviewer" (Hesse-Biber, 2006, p. 219-200).

In terms of attitudes, Gibbs notes that the interaction in focus groups illuminates "beliefs, attitudes, experiences and feelings of participants, in ways which would not be feasible using other methods such as individual interviews, observations or questionnaires" (Gibbs, 1997; cited in Litosseliti, 2003, p. 16), hence, as noted by Baker, the use of focus groups is a valuable additional method of investigating attitudes and beliefs (2006, p. 213; cf Garrett et al., 2003, pp. 32-33 & 64). Myers also emphasises participants' engagement in thoughtful discussion (2009, p. 125) and when participants in the focus group are caught up in the discussion and allowed to take hold of the narrative, the focus group may move in a different direction than expected (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 219-200).

In summary, focus groups provided a means to develop a deeper understanding of language use practices, choices and attitudes from participants with varying ethnolinguistic characteristics across departments in individual banks. Employees were able to give their own account of how they strategically use languages in their daily work and discuss their attitudes towards language use and policy, providing a wealth of information or the "story" behind the language use trends identified from the questionnaires. Participants were able only to make limited comments about their language use in the questionnaires, and the focus groups allowed a deeper exploration of the very interesting and insightful written comments in employees' questionnaires and provided the opportunity for the researcher to ask for clarification and greater detail. Finally, the

questionnaire provides quantifiable (broad) patterns, while focus groups allow for negotiated and refined responses and aided interpretation.

3.5.4 Materials for investigating language practices and attitudes

Although questionnaires and focus groups differed slightly between banks due to adjustments based on the ethnolinguistic characteristics of employees in banks, questions can be broadly divided into those related to (1) language practices and (2) language attitudes. The following sections discuss the sequential use of questionnaires and focus groups to explore these components.

3.5.4.1 *Design of questionnaires (practices)*

Various studies investigating language use in different contexts were drawn upon to design questions about the frequency of languages used in genres of spoken and written practices (e.g. Verivaki, 1990; Baker, 1992; Shameem, 1995; Ting, 2003). Studies conducted in workplaces or institutional contexts highlighted that a range of question formats and scales were used to investigate the frequency of languages in genres (Hagen, 1993; Reeves & Wright, 1996; Vandermeeren, 1998; Carson, 2003). Thus, Likert scales as “the most popular scaling procedure in use today” (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 195) were chosen to quantify employees’ language use practices. A five-point scale was used because it provided a mid-point between scale positions in terms of language use for participants. All the positions on the scale were given the simple weights (1,2,3,4,5) to assist in data analysis (cf Oppenheim, 1992; Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Participants from the pilot study (see section 3.5.5) indicated the need for the position (5) on the scale to represent ‘*always*’ rather than ‘*very often*’ and this was changed accordingly. Open-ended questions requiring written comments from participants were also asked (see appendix two).

The following topics were investigated:

- Language use practices in six genres of spoken and written communication
- Overall written and spoken language use practices with colleagues
- Overall communication with clients
- Use of documents in different languages
- Overall use of English with colleagues
- Code-switching with colleagues and clients

As noted by Oppenheim (1992, p. 130) measuring recurring behaviour can cause difficulties. In the questionnaires, participants were asked “How often do you use these languages in the following situations?” In this type of question, Oppenheim indicates that participants ‘do the time sampling’ in the sense that “we shall never know how far back in the time they have gone in order to do their calculations, how many exceptions they allowed themselves before they recognized that a change in habitual pattern had taken place” (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 130). This is the nature of self-reported data and testing the validity of the results was impossible, since this would require comparing the participant’s account with how he/she actually uses languages. However, in the absence of authentic recordings of interactions as mentioned earlier, an ordinal scale was deemed the best option because these scales enabled ranking of variables (cf Cozby, 2007, p. 103; Hatch & Lazarson, 1991, p. 57). Hence, language use could be quantified and languages could be ranked in terms of frequency.

The sequence of questions and choice of approach in a study are largely determined by the issues surrounding the particular research and pilot study

(Oppenheim, 1992, p. 112). In this research, language use questions in both the questionnaire and focus group followed the same order of sequence, namely (1) internal communication with colleagues, (2) external communication with clients (3) document use (4) specific questions about English and finally (5) general questions about code-switching. Questions designed to capture and quantify linguistic diversity were positioned prior to questions specifically related to particular languages, such as English. Findings from phase one interviews indicated that linguistic diversity was a normal part of life in Luxembourg, consequently specific questions about English were asked near the end. Positioning these questions earlier was deemed to place undue emphasis or importance on English, with the risk of influencing the comprehensive multilingual questions. Furthermore, it was hoped that answering more detailed and comprehensive questions first, would assist participants in answering the question designed to quantify the overall importance of English in terms of language use, without influencing the more comprehensive multilingual questions. Based on the same rationale, detailed questions about internal language use according to genre (e.g. meetings etc.) were positioned before more general questions about overall spoken and written language use with colleagues.

Due to the small number of participants in the focus groups, the questionnaire data was analysed only in terms of frequency. Relevant results are incorporated along with discussion of qualitative data from focus group discussion in the following chapters. A template was designed to tally the scores to ascertain the general trends in terms of language use quickly in preparation for the focus groups. Scores were tabulated to provide scores for individuals (e.g. Garrett et al., 2003) allowing analysis of any interesting linguistic patterns for individuals in departments and according to genre.

These scores were then compared with the possible maximum and minimum score for that question (cf Oppenheim, 1992, p. 198).

A high score for a particular language indicated that this language was used frequently and a low score meant that this particular language was used infrequently (cf Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991). Once the scores were tabulated, scores for particular questions were compared with other questions to determine frequency trends for particular languages used in particular spoken and written genres. Although the results indicated that some participants interpreted the extreme positions of the scale 1-5 to mean 'almost never' to 'almost always', the questionnaire results provided general quantifiable trends to promote discussion in the focus groups.

3.5.4.2 *Design of focus groups (practices)*

Language use and attitudinal trends identified in questionnaires were the starting point for focus groups and provided direction for the discussion. Broad questionnaire trends identified the frequency of languages (i.e. high or low scores) in particular genres for the whole group of employees, as well as linguistic diversity between participants from different departments (mid-scores).

Focus groups were specifically designed to examine language use trends in a different way and forum, providing an internal check for the questionnaire or another way of asking the same question. At times, individuals' responses in the focus groups slightly differed from the questionnaires, and discussion of the broad trends allowed further clarification and dissection of language choices. For example, at Bank Ivan a number of employees indicated in the questionnaire that they used English frequently with clients. When this trend was raised within the focus group, inconsistencies surfaced owing to the definition of the "client/customer" and the discussion allowed further

refinement. Firstly, some of the employees who completed the questionnaire interpreted clients to mean internal clients (or colleagues) within the bank, rather than external clients. Secondly, the focus group indicated that language choice often differed depending on whether employees were communicating with institutional or private clients. Some employees emphasised that in reported practice they frequently used the language of the client, rather than English, when dealing with private clients, whereas English was often used to communicate with institutional clients.

Focus group questions to a large extent covered the same topics as the questionnaire, with some changes in order due to the momentum of the discussion. The primary purpose of focus groups was to elicit the reasons for varied language use across the bank or in individual departments. Bernard (2000, p. 208) indicates that “focus groups are primarily used to find out why people feel as they do and the mental steps they went through to decide” (Bernard, 2000, p. 208), but Krueger discusses the difficulties of asking why-questions in focus groups noting that why-questions imply rationality of behaviour. “In real life, people make decisions based on impulse, habit, tradition, or other non-rational processes” (1998, p. 33). A less direct approach is advised breaking why-questions into two questions, using “how” and “what” and these strategies were used in focus groups. Managers in phase one interviews often responded with “it depends” when asked about language practices in their multilingual banks. Therefore, more detail was sought in focus groups for dissecting language choice. Questions, such as those below, were used to elicit language use practices and employees’ linguistic choice and their reasons:

- Could you tell me more about how you personally use languages in (genre)....?

- In what situations (and with whom) would you use these languages...?.
- What do you have to consider when deciding which language to use in this situation...?
- Could you give me more detail about...?
- Could you describe typical examples of....?

Furthermore, Litosseliti (2003, p. 62) notes the importance of using open-ended, neutral, clear and focused questions with prompts and probes and accordingly particular attention was paid to the wording of focus group questions. The focus group questions were discussed with a PhD discussion group to further refine and eliminate any potential problems. Professor David Tripe from the banking centre at Massey University also evaluated the questions and made some valuable comments about banking terms and probes which were incorporated into the materials.

In terms of data analysis, particular dimensions of context were identified from the recorded transcripts of focus groups as influencing bottom-up language choices. The ethnography of communication framework (see Hymes, 1972, 1974; Saville-Troike, 2003) is based on particular dimensions of context to connect patterns of language choice within a speech community, such as “who uses what (variety of) language; with whom; about what; in what setting; for what purpose; and in what relationship to other communicative acts and events”(Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 45). Spolsky & Shohamy similarly link the ethnography framework with language use analysis (1999, p. 34) and Neustupný & Nekvapil (2003, pp. 187-189) use the ethnography of communication framework to explore employees’ strategies. Hence, the analysis of language practices (or employees’ linguistic choices) is

based on five relevant components of this framework reported by employees:

- Code (languages and frequency)
- Participants (linguistic repertoire and competence)
- Functions (relational, transactional)
- Channel (spoken and written medium)
- Genre (written and spoken categories of communication)

The more specific categories of this framework involving detailed analysis of interaction, such as key, message content and act sequence, were not relevant. The following section outlines the design and approach to the questionnaire and focus group in relation to attitudes and beliefs.

3.5.4.3 *Design of questionnaires (attitudes)*

As in the case of questions exploring practices, Likert scales were also used in questionnaires to investigate attitudes. Such scale methods provide consistency and reliability to the measurement of attitudes (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 187-188). Thus, in the last decade, Likert scales have been used to measure attitudes in the very few studies which have explored bottom-up attitudes underlying management and language use at the state level (e.g. Ting, 2003; Lai, 2001; see also Baldauf, 2002 for summary of previous decade). Garrett et al. (2003, p. 41) note that in “most language-attitude research, five-and seven-point scales are used, with researchers preferring to live with the ambiguity of the mid-point”. Hence, five- point Likert scales were used in attitude statements extending from (1) ‘*strongly disagree*’ to (5) ‘*strongly agree*’. As suggested by Garrett et al. (2003, p.40) the mid-point of

the five-point Likert scale allowed participants to express neutrality in terms of attitude.

Attitude statements were designed based on attitudes expressed in 2004 informal and 2005 phase one interviews, adding to the validity of the results. Furthermore, a range of other literature was also drawn on: attitude literature (Garrett et al., 2003; Baker, 1992; Oppenheim, 1992; Gardner, 1985), LPP workplace literature (see literature review), and sociolinguistic literature on Luxembourg (Fehlen, 2002, Fehlen et al. 1998; Newton, 1996; Horner, 2004; see introductory chapter one) and literature on various languages such as English, German, French in EU institutions and worldwide (e.g. Clyne, 1995; Schiffman, 1996, 2002; Ammon, 2001; Spolsky, 2004a; Seidlhofer, 2004; Seidlhofer et al., 2006; Wright, 2006) and Swedish (Oakes, 2001; Gunnarsson, 2001a; Kaplan and Baldauf, 2005; Hult, 2005; Milani, 2006).

Drawing on this material, statements were adjusted to suit the particular ethnolinguistic composition of employees at individual banks to quantify attitudes about (1) general policy and language use, (2) English, (3) use of languages for relational purposes, (4) the usefulness or status of particular languages, when compared with others. The following topics were investigated through attitude statements: (see appendix two)

- the use of one working language and the use of the language of the client
- the use of English in international banking, within the bank and its use as the working language of the bank
- the use of languages in terms of establishing rapport, feeling part of the bank and maintaining the identity of the bank

- a comparison between languages in terms of usefulness in international banking, Luxembourg and within the bank
- a comparison between languages in terms of status internationally, in Luxembourg and within the bank

Ideally, equal numbers of statements would test each main aspect of the attitude and approximately an equal number of positive and negative statements should be included (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 40-41; Oppenheim, 1992, p. 181). In this primarily qualitative research, only one statement tested each attitude under investigation, since the length of the questionnaire and time needed to complete it influenced securing participation in phase two. However, a mixture of attitudes statements which were more positively or negatively oriented towards particular languages were incorporated. The sequence of attitude statements was randomly organised in the questionnaire by drawing numbers out of a hat, in order to avoid presenting any type of preference towards any one particular language.

Careful attention needs to be paid to the wording of questions in questionnaires; in particular, they should not be leading, complex and confusing, nor ask about more than one thing at a time (Nunan, 1992, p. 143). Furthermore, questions also need to be relatively simple and avoid emotionally 'loaded' terms, double-barrelled questions, double negatives, jargon, ambiguous terms, colloquialisms and avoid being too long (Cozby, 2007, pp. 127-128; Garrett et al., 2003, pp. 27-31; Oppenheim, 1992, pp. 129 & 137-138). All of these factors were considered as the questionnaire was designed and in particular with regard to attitude statements. The questionnaire was finally piloted with a focus group (see section 3.5.5). Oppenheim's (1992, p. 171) list of signs for appropriate and successful

attitudes statements were used to judge the outcome of the pilot study. Pilot study participants provided evidence of the effectiveness of these measures:

- Recognition and engagement with attitude statements
- Free use of the 'strongly agree' and 'strongly disagree' categories
- Few signs of rejection of statements through amendments, deletions, skipping and giving 'don't know' responses.

In terms of data analysis of attitudes, scores were tallied to determine to what extent participants agreed or disagreed with attitude statements. For the attitude statements, a high score indicated a positive attitude to the statement; a low score the reverse. Attitude statements are used in the following chapters to provide further information about beliefs identified from the focus group discussion and to illuminate the language policy issues.

3.5.4.4 *Design of focus groups (attitudes)*

Attitude research tends to be conservative in that much recent work merely replicates, rather being innovative, and applying or developing further conventional methodologies (Soukup, 2008). Garrett et al., encourage more spontaneous and context-sensitive data and "a complex of methods and response options that is able to match the inherent complexity of language attitudes, as entertained by different individuals and groups." (2003, p. 66). Hence, focus groups were designed to encourage elaboration on a range of attitudes and extend this research beyond frequency data, while at the same time strengthening the consistency of questionnaire results through further elaboration and examination of attitudinal trends. Questions used to elicit attitude data can be broadly divided into (1) attitudes to particular languages and (2) attitudes to language policy.

Questions were designed around a number of attitude statements about particular languages. Those statements that received high, mid and low scores, indicating varying degrees of general agreement or disagreement were the focus. The following questions were designed to encourage elaboration on these trends (see appendix two).

- From the questionnaire responses, the majority of participants considered English proficiency more useful than French proficiency in international banking in Luxembourg. Do you think this is so? Could you elaborate on why you think....?
- Could you tell me more about whether you think proficiency in French is more useful than proficiency in English?
- Could you tell me more about whether you think it is essential to be competent in English to communicate with all employees of this bank?
- Given that French is an important language for spoken communication and that a number of French-speaking employees work at Bank George, do you think it is important to use French? To establish rapport? To feel part of the bank? German?

Attitudes towards explicit policy were of particular importance in the focus group. The questions concentrated on employees' attitudes to (1) monolingual and multilingual policies on the working language(s) (2) multilingualism in the workplace and (3) English as the formal working language. Finally, as in phase one where managers were asked to evaluate how English was functioning as a working language, employees were also asked for their evaluation. Questions were designed based on phase one analysis and were divided into those for banks with a formal policy on the working language and those with none (see appendix three).

In terms of data analysis, employees' shared beliefs were largely analysed in conjunction with questionnaire data to illuminate employees' practices, such as patterns of language use, functions and appropriacy of language choice.

3.5.5 Phase two pilot study

A pilot study in banks in New Zealand was impossible and would have involved considerable changes to the questionnaire and focus-group. However, a pilot study involving both the questionnaire and focus group was conducted in the German section of the School of Languages and Cultures at Victoria University, as a work context where participants used European languages on a daily basis in their work. A pilot study involving German bilingual academics was valuable and appropriate since a German bank was expected to take part in a focus group in Luxembourg.

Conducting a pilot provides a deeper understanding of "not only the nature of the questions but the characteristics of the audience, the interactions between participants, and the moderator procedures" (Krueger, 1994a, p. 68-69) and this pilot allowed me to reformulate and reorganise the data collection materials, and fine-tune my focus-group discussion skills. The pilot study provided an opportunity to clarify my back-seat role as moderator. In particular, I experienced how focus-groups are typically spontaneous and flexible, and valuable data is obtained when participants are allowed to discuss amongst themselves how they use languages. Importantly, the pilot study indicated that giving the completed questionnaires back to participants during the focus group, inhibited the free flowing discussion and distracted participants. A number of other aspects of both the questionnaire and focus group were improved as mentioned above in the design sections of these methods of research.

3.5.6 Phase two data collection issues

The following section outlines issues associated with phase two data collection.

3.5.6.1 *Securing participation in focus groups*

A lengthy and extended period of data collection, involving three trips to Luxembourg, was required to approach, persuade, secure, and organise participation in questionnaires and focus-group discussions and final interviews with Directors. The challenges associated with phase two data collection were numerous. Firstly, CEO's and Managing Directors at international banks spent a lot of time travelling, and organising a face-to-face meeting in Luxembourg to discuss phase two proved difficult. As indicated in phase one interviews, personal and face-to-face communication has been particularly important when "selling" this research and it was essential for the more involved second phase of this research. Hence, flexibility in terms of timing was paramount, due to their busy schedules in and outside Luxembourg. For some Directors, I had to wait months to meet them personally in Luxembourg. Organising questionnaires and focus-groups discussions with bank employees from different departments also required flexibility, and was a very time-consuming process.

In order to secure participation, research proposals and focus group materials were designed and sent to five (phase one) banks prior to negotiations about phase two. By July 2006, Bank Ivan had agreed to participate in both aspects of phase two, but three of these banks had declined to participate. These included German bank Bernhardt (see chapter four), where management expressed explicit interest in conducting focus-group discussions after the phase one interview, but when this bank was approached again in May 2006, the bank was unable to continue due to a

major reorganisation. Attempts to secure participation at Luxembourgish bank Faye (see chapter four) were largely unsuccessful because management believed employees' multilingual language use practices within their banks were considered well-known and largely taken for granted. Consequently, they were unwilling to invest any more time. Bank Chika was the only international bank to decline being involved in phase two largely due to time constraints. These difficulties associated with securing participation indicate the costs and vulnerable nature of data collection in workplaces.

Therefore, I had to explore other options and begin the time-consuming process of approaching three totally new banks. Previous contacts at participating banks introduced me to two Directors at additional banks and in the end persistence paid off. I was eventually able to convince one of these new banks, Bank James, and the last remaining international bank from phase one, Bank George, to distribute questionnaires to employees, which were sent electronically to New Zealand. Reports based on questionnaires were sent back to banks and were particularly useful as they were used to encourage and secure focus group participation. Permission to conduct focus groups was given a few months later and focus groups were organised from New Zealand. These focus groups at Bank George and Bank James were conducted in December 2006, alongside two interviews with the Managing Director and the HR manager at Bank James.

3.5.6.2 Issues during focus groups

The recorded focus-groups were moderated in English and lasted approximately 1.5-2 hours with lunch provided in two focus-groups. Focus groups were very successful and they were characterised by healthy discussion in most cases. Based on participant feedback, the focus group was an engaging forum to discuss linguistic issues. The use of the questionnaire

as a starting point and guide for discussion and the sequence of focus group questions functioned well. My strategies for the focus group as the moderator are summarised in the following list:

- Balance contribution from all participants (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 22)
- Address direct question to shy participants (Krueger, 1994a; Stewart et al., 2007)
- Maintain the group's focus, guide, stimulate and facilitate the discussion (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 42-46)
- Put participants at ease (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 42-46)
- Control dominant group members (Stewart et al., 2007, p. 91)

I tried to balance components of the more directive approach described above with a less directive approach of taking a flexible back-seat role. The directive approach enabled a range of topics to be covered in the limited time available. The non-directive approach enabled participants to take over the discussion and discuss amongst themselves. The flexible or non directive approach has "the advantage of providing a validity check on the researcher's understanding of the problem and its relevant dimensions" (Stewart et al., 2007, p. 91). Consequently, the focus group discussion often developed in unexpected directions, providing illuminating and rich data on practices and attitudes.

3.5.6.2.1 Hierarchy within focus groups

As noted above, three members of the management team (a Director and two Deputy Directors) at Bank Ivan and Bank James participated in the focus groups. In initial discussions prior to phase two, managers in both of these banks expressed a positive disposition towards research into

multilingualism and elaborated on their own use of languages other than the formal working language, English. Permission to conduct the research was obtained from these very managers who wished to participate; hence, it was difficult to exclude them from the focus group.

As a result, I paid careful attention to the danger that “people tend to be hesitant to share and will defer their opinions to someone else in the group who is perceived to be more knowledgeable, wealthy or influential” (Krueger, 1994a, p. 14). Krueger suggests that it is important in these types of focus groups to “underscore the commonality of the group” (1994a, p. 14) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) note that the comfort level increases, when commonality between participants is stressed. Accordingly, to counteract the effect of occupational status, emphasis was placed on the fact that they were all language users in the bank. Stewart et al indicates the importance of making focus group participants “feel that their presence and opinions are not only valued but necessary for the success of the group” (2007, p. 96) and this was emphasised to encourage participation from all employees as language users.

Furthermore, in my introduction to the discussion, diversity of language use in the banks was positively framed, an easy position to take in the context of multilingual Luxembourg. The purpose of the focus group was emphasised, namely to explore how different employees use languages, and their different experiences and opinions. As suggested by Litosseliti (2003, p. 22), I explained that there were no right or wrong answers and the purpose of the focus groups was not to come to some kind of consensus on language use or issues, but to explore employees’ diverse language use patterns. Finally, I tried to create “an open, friendly, non-threatening environment for discussion” (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 24).

3.5.7 Final interviews with management

Two final interviews with those Directors who participated in the focus group discussions at Bank James and Bank Ivan followed the focus groups to gain their perspective on policy and the discussion with employees. In addition, particular issues were addressed with these Directors. In the case of Bank Ivan, a member of the human resources team also participated in the interview, and further elaboration was sought about dimensions of policy at the level of their banking group.

No final interview was sought with the Director at Bank George for two reasons. Firstly, he was not present in the focus group and did not have intimate knowledge of what was discussed. Secondly, the HR manager interviewed previously in phase one had more knowledge about language practices and changes to language policy over time, especially due to the merger with a German bank, than the recently employed Director of the bank. This HR manager had been a member of the management team considerably longer than the Director of the bank and for a comparable time to those other Directors at Bank Ivan and Bank James, namely nine years.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described various stages of data collection in this research and the challenges associated with collecting and exploring policy dimensions in banks in Luxembourg. In summary, language management and manager's beliefs were largely explored using initial and final interviews with management. Data on employees' practices and beliefs were collected using questionnaires and focus groups. In the next three chapters, the data collected in phase one and two is discussed. Chapter four is based on phase one data and addresses Luxembourgish and German banks from a top-down perspective. Chapters five and six address international banks

using data from phase one and two. Chapter five explores language management and attitudes in international banks from a top-down perspective and chapter six provides an in-depth look at employees' reported language use practices and beliefs from the bottom-up.

CHAPTER FOUR: LANGUAGE POLICY IN LUXEMBOURGISH AND GERMAN BANKS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The primary focus of this chapter is the analysis of the language policy data at banks nationally affiliated with Luxembourgish and German banks. In contrast to international banks discussed in the following chapters, Luxembourgish and German banks emerged without any explicit management of official working languages in this complex multilingual environment. However, despite the absence of explicit management of working languages, employees' language use was still being managed. Accordingly, this chapter has a dual goal, firstly to explore the extent to which Luxembourgish and German banks were engaged in language management. Secondly, to discuss management's top-down perspective on employees' practices and illuminate factors broadly influencing language practices at these banks. Ideology, beliefs and attitudes are addressed as relevant to language management and practices. As background and for the purposes of comparison, the next section briefly summarises the characteristics of the three Luxembourgish and three German banks in this study.

4.1 PART ONE: CHARACTERISTICS OF LUXEMBOURGISH AND GERMAN BANKS

The majority of banks nationally affiliated with Luxembourg and Germany operated internationally to varying degrees. This is primarily due to mergers and a dramatic shift in company structures over the years, which has created companies that are progressively more multinational or international (Erling & Walton, 2007, p. 32). Consequently, only one Luxembourgish bank from

the six banks did not belong to a wider international banking group. Luxembourgish and German banks also differed in size; Luxembourgish banks employed 200-2800 employees and German banks 100-400 employees. However, the ethnolinguistic composition of employees made these banks more similar to banks affiliated with their own particular country, than to others.

At Luxembourgish banks, 9 different nationalities were represented. 45% of all employees at Bank Armand were Luxembourgers; 60% of all employees at Bank Elle were Luxembourgish; 90% of all Bank Faye employees were Luxembourgers. Although the number of Luxembourgers employed in each Luxembourgish bank differed, if employees from Francophone countries were considered (France and Belgium), approximately 90% of all employees at the participating Luxembourgish banks were presumably French-speaking.

In contrast, the German banks employed between 6-16 different nationalities and German employees represented a significant proportion of employees. Bank Dagmar & Hanz employed the highest percentage of German nationals at 79% and 76% respectively, whereas 61% of Bank Bernhardt employees were German. Luxembourgers represented the next largest group of employees contributing to the number of potential German speakers in the bank: 25% at Bank Bernhardt; 17% at Bank Hanz and 8% at Bank Dagmar. Francophone employees from France and Belgium represented 1-9% of the workforce of German banks.

In summary, Luxembourgish banks employed a larger number of Luxembourgers and employees from other French-speaking countries, whereas German banks employed a large proportion of German nationals. This ethnolinguistic composition of employees had a significant part to play

in both management and reported practices and will be explored in part three of this chapter. The following section explores the absence of explicit management of official working languages.

4.2 PART TWO: LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT OF WORKING LANGUAGES

Seven out of the ten participating banks in this research did not have any explicit (formal) policies on working languages to govern language practices. None of the German banks or Luxembourgish banks (or banks that had merged with a Luxembourgish bank) had explicit working language policies (WLP). This result resembles Vollstedt's (2002) research in twenty multinational companies including four European companies, where only one company out of twenty had an official working language. Similarly, Erling & Walton's (2007) study based on student course work in seven companies in Berlin, Germany, found that only two companies had explicit policies on working languages. Vollstedt (2002, p. 99) and Erling & Walton (2007, p. 35) suggest that the reasons for the lack of language policies generally within companies is the cost associated with these policies, e.g. for personnel, materials, translations, foreign language and intercultural training or equipment for computer supported translation. However, associated costs were never identified by management at Luxembourgish and German Banks as a disincentive (see chapter nine for further discussion about costs in Bank Ivan). Vollstedt and Erling & Walton's studies also highlight additional reasons (or underlying attitudes/beliefs), which resemble the findings at Luxembourgish and German banks discussed below. In the following section managements' attitudes and beliefs for the lack of language policies are explored.

4.2.1 Reasons for the absence of an explicit language policy

Managements' reasons concerning the absence of a management policy on the working language are broadly categorised into two groups. German banks were reported to have never considered formalising a language policy, an explicit policy being seen as unnecessary. The justification given by representatives of each bank is summarised below:

(1) A formal policy would only state the obvious and languages are used on a very natural basis at the bank. (German Bank Bernhardt)

(2) Employees know what languages are used (German Bank Dagmar)

(3) Language use is based on common sense and is an accepted part of the system (German Bank Hanz)

These statements indicate the banks' views that there was no need for an explicit policy on the working language, supporting Vollstedt's suggestion (2002, p. 101) that language choice is not deemed "as an act worthy of planning" in many companies. Management at German banks appear to have largely taken for granted the way in which languages should be used in these banks.

In contrast, management at Luxembourgish banks actively decided against a formal explicit policy on the working language(s). Their comments suggest more consideration has been given than at German Banks, but for various reasons, a language policy has not been formalised. Management at these banks clearly stated that a language policy was not only unnecessary, but undesirable. Management at each bank justified a lack of explicit policy in the following way:

(1) To have a language policy takes an unnecessary strict stand point on communication and consequently it is not beneficial for the collegial atmosphere.

Adaptability and flexibility in communication are valued. (Luxembourgish Bank Armand)

(2) The majority of employees of this bank, Luxembourgers, know how to speak three languages perfectly. A formal policy is not needed to impose French as a written language on employees who have used French since their schooling. (Luxembourgish Bank Faye)

(3) Management does not want to interfere with the way languages are used at work. (Luxembourgish Bank Elle)

The underlying belief suggested by these comments is that a language policy would unnecessarily prescribe language use or restrict flexibility of communication and these banks have actively decided to remain with the status quo. Vollstedt similarly notes an unfavourable reaction to the question of an official language by most companies, indicating that the overall attitude of companies was that “imposing bureaucratic rules on employees was to be avoided in all cases” (2002, p. 99). At Luxembourgish banks in particular, flexibility of communication was emphasised and valued. Although it is unclear whether all Luxembourgers were in fact proficient speakers of three languages (Luxembourgish, French and German) (see Horner & Weber, 2008), it is highly likely that a large number were multilinguals and that the multilingual context of Luxembourg and the large numbers of Luxembourgers employed at these banks contributed to this overall attitude. This may also be related to the overall belief of management at banks that communication occurred between employees without any problem.

Having discussed the absence of explicit language management of working languages, the following section describes the overall absence of

communication departments set up in banks in this complex multilingual country.

4.3 Communication departments?

In banks in this study, only Luxembourgish Bank Armand of the total ten banks participating in phase one had established a communication department to manage language-related problems, adding to the debate about the lack of strategic language management highlighted in the literature review (see Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan et al., 1997). This bank developed a linguistic communication centre, from an external translation services department, for employees to consult when language-related issues arise. Services at Luxembourgish bank Armand were extended to linguistic services for their multilingual employees, and the communication department thus functioned as a reference point for all linguistic queries. Specialised and standard letters in salient languages were some of the many services offered to its employees. Clearly, this initiative set Bank Armand apart from the other participating banks and the size of this financial institution may have accounted for the attention paid to language issues. Bank Armand had the largest number of employees in this study and was also the only bank that was solely connected to Luxembourg rather than an international banking group. Based on reports from management, it communicated with its clients in more languages and offered more language courses to its employees than any of its counterparts (see tables 4.4 and 4.5). For comparison, the only other bank to set up a department remotely related to this type of communication department (although by no means comparable) was International Bank George, where external documents, such as marketing documents, were translated from English to other languages (cf Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

For the remaining and majority of participating banks, the Human Resources (HR) department dealt with any language-related issues. The perceived lack of need for specific departments devoted to language management was linked to confidence in the language proficiency of staff to meet daily challenges at work as reported by management across nine out of ten banks. Management reported that employees with proficiency in key languages (or in languages not widely spoken) were used as resources (cf Duchêne, 2008), and employees were reported to consult with colleagues when language-related issues arose. Consultation with colleagues occurred on an informal basis and management at the majority of participating banks reported that this worked well.

Other multinational companies also record language proficiency details and these databases would be useful in cases where certain languages are urgently required (Lester, 1994, p. 43). However, only one of the ten participating banks, International Bank George, created a voluntary database of employees' qualifications with information about language proficiency which could assist employees ascertain the language proficiency of colleagues (cf Duchêne's 2008 study of Zurich's international airport). The lack of synthesis of employees' linguistic proficiency in other banks, supports Charles & Marschan-Piekkari's claim that "few companies have systematic and up-dated records about their staff's language competence" (2002, p. 20).

HR departments relied on strategies to manage employees' multilingual knowledge and proficiency. These included language prerequisites at the time of recruitment and the provision of language courses, which managed the employment of suitable candidates to meet the multilingual requirements of particular positions and trained those needing further assistance. Therefore, although the majority of participating banks did not

see the need to manage language use through explicit working languages and specific communication departments, the management of recruitment and language courses from within HR departments in Luxembourgish and German Banks were key to managing language use. Hence, even though on the surface no explicit management policies for official working languages (or communication departments) existed at Luxembourgish and German banks, other forms of language management linked to daily communication were indeed taking place.

4.4 Other forms of language management?

Coulmas (1992, p. 128) notes that “for every job there is an optimal configuration of language competencies” and HR departments in banks managed language competence when recruiting employees and addressing linguistic needs in the already existing employee base. This is often not as straightforward as would first appear, although it may seem on the surface to be simply an adjustment of “staff selection policies to take account of language competence in the hiring (and firing) of staff so that the required mix of languages at the various subsidiaries is obtained” (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999, p. 382). Management at Nestlé also note that “the easiest and cheapest way to approach the language problem is to hire people already possessing the required skills” (Lester, 1994, p. 43), underscoring the important role of recruitment as a form of language management.

However, language courses play an equally important role in ensuring the necessary linguistic skills are available (Marschan-Piekkari, 1999, p. 383), particularly when employees are hired because they have the appropriate technical skills, but are lacking in linguistic skills. Nevertheless, learning foreign languages is “a demanding exercise in terms of time and effort and has to be set against all the other demands on employee’s time” (Marschan-

Piekkari, 1999, p. 383) and except in cases, where employees already have some knowledge of a language, training is not considered a quick solution. At Volkswagen Group, a leader in the field of language training, three years is the minimum period of intensive study anticipated to produce an employee capable of interacting effectively in a foreign language (Feely & Harzing, 2003, p. 45). As a consequence, language courses become an investment in the company's human capital (Coulmas, 1992, p. 131) and "whether or not it makes any economic sense at all to invest into a given language for one purpose or another is the question of costs and benefits, which for private enterprise is even more crucial to consider than for governments" (Coulmas, 1992, p. 138). The following sections discuss recruitment and language courses provided at Luxembourgish and German banks.

4.4.1 Luxembourgish Banks

In table 4.1, the languages required at recruitment and the courses offered in particular languages for Luxembourgish banks Armand, Faye & Elle are summarised. In summary, at Luxembourgish banks, the number of languages required ranges from two to four languages, depending on the position, and courses were offered in between zero and seven languages.

Table 4.1: Prerequisites at recruitment and language courses at Luxembourgish Banks

Luxembourgish Bank	Prerequisites at Recruitment	Language Courses
<i>Bank Armand</i>	Fr., Eng., Germ. & Dutch	Lux., Fr., Germ., Eng., Dutch, Italian & Spanish

<i>Bank Faye</i>	Lux., Fr., Germ., (Eng., Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, & Spanish)	Lux., Fr., Germ., Eng. & other languages as required
<i>Bank Elle</i>	French and English	Nil

As illustrated in table 4.1, employees at Bank Armand were required to be proficient in four languages; Dutch was one of the languages required due to this bank's associations with Belgium. Bank Armand provided courses in seven languages, the highest number overall compared with other Luxembourgish banks.

Bank Faye differed from the other Luxembourgish banks in that its headquarters and branches were based solely in Luxembourg (and not internationally) and a large proportion of their clients were Luxembourgers. Thus, the three languages associated with Luxembourg were required (Luxembourgish, French and German), and greater attention was paid to language proficiency of recruits employed to work in branches across Luxembourg. If the branch was located in Luxembourg city, English was required, while Portuguese, Italian, Dutch and Spanish were required to deal with particular groups of clients associated with particular branches. Bank Faye also provided courses in four main languages and other languages from time to time according to the languages deemed necessary for employees' positions.

Although Bank Elle shared many characteristics with the other Luxembourgish banks, such as the high numbers of Francophone employees, this bank differed considerably from the others in terms of function. As a result, Bank Elle mainly dealt with institutional clients (other banks), while Bank Armand and Faye catered largely to individuals and businesses. Consequently, Bank Elle required its employees to be proficient in two

international languages, French and English to deal with other banks in Luxembourg and Europe, whereas Banks Armand & Faye required their employees to be proficient in more languages specific to its private and retail clients. In contrast to the other nine participating banks, Bank Elle did not provide any language courses for its employees. This stance on language courses assumed that employees were proficient in the necessary languages for their work.

4.4.2 German Banks

Banks addressed language issues differently according to their priorities and German banks in this study differed in languages required at recruitment and the language courses offered. Table 4.2 outlines the languages required at recruitment and the languages in which courses were offered at German banks, Dagmar, Bernhardt and Hanz. In general, German or English (or both) were required and depending on the position, French may also have been required. Language courses were offered in 2-6 languages.

Table 4.2: Prerequisites at recruitment and language courses at German Banks

German Bank	Prerequisites at Recruitment	Language Courses
<i>Bank Dagmar</i>	English, German (French)	Germ., Eng., Fr., Italian, Russian & Dutch
<i>Bank Bernhardt</i>	English + another language	French, Spanish & English
<i>Bank Hanz</i>	German (English & French)	English and French

At Bank Dagmar, employees were required to be proficient in English and German. French and other languages may have been required depending on the department. Language courses were offered in more languages than the other two German banks for both internal and external communication, namely six languages (German, English, French, Italian, Russian and Dutch).

At Bank Bernhardt, job applicants were required to be proficient in English at a minimum and another foreign language was preferred. Courses were provided in three languages, French, Spanish and English.

At the more locally oriented Bank Hanz, applicants were required to be proficient in German. French and/or English were also desirable in positions in other departments. In treasury department positions, English was mandatory and French was desirable. One-to-one language courses were offered in English and French.

4.4.3 Summary

In summary, in terms of recruitment at Luxembourgish and German banks, typically a small set of languages were required, namely, English, French and German. However, banks varied considerably, since not all banks required proficiency in all three languages. Those Luxembourgish banks which were more internationally oriented required more languages of their employees than those internationally oriented German banks. This may have been largely due to Luxembourgers' reported multilingual linguistic skills and the high number of Luxembourgers employed within Luxembourgish banks in this data set.

The multilingual context of Luxembourg also influenced the number of language courses provided. Those Luxembourgish banks which offered courses provided services in 4-6 languages, and German banks provided courses for 2-6 languages. Language courses in particular can be a

considerable burden for a company “but those who hesitate to make the necessary financial outlays have to ask themselves which is more costly, language training or losses and foregone gains brought about by lack of language proficiency” (Coulmas, 1992, p. 124). This was particularly important for banks in multilingual Luxembourg to consider, especially since communicating in the language of the client was highly valued by managers across all ten banks in this study. Consequently, the languages of clients of Luxembourgish and German banks were often represented in both the language courses offered and the languages required at recruitment in banks.

It is difficult to compare the above prerequisites at recruitment and language courses at Luxembourgish and German banks with other studies, since very few corporate LPP studies exist. The dearth of research conducted in workplaces in Luxembourg and within Francophone companies or companies in which French plays an important role is particularly noticeable (e.g. Truchot, 2003b, p.306; see also Filliettaz & de Saint Georges, 2009). In terms of studies conducted in other German companies, some comparison of language management with the German multinational Siemens can be made (e.g. Lester, 1994, pp. 42-43; Truchot, 2003b, pp. 306-307; Loos, 2007, p. 41; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006). Banks Dagmar, Bernhardt, and Hanz offered language courses in languages other than German, including but not limited to English and these findings bear some resemblance to Siemens (cf Erling & Walton, 2007, p. 36-37). Courses at Siemens are provided in languages in addition to German and English, (e.g. French and Spanish) for employees within and outside Germany (Lester, 1994) and also in Czech (Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006). Interestingly, one trend noted at the internationally operating Bank Bernhardt confirms similar findings in other studies on German companies (e.g. Erling & Walton, 2007). At Bank Bernhardt, German was not

required as a prerequisite at recruitment and German language courses were not provided, suggesting the declining importance of German in this bank. Erling and Walton (2007, p. 38) similarly pinpoint two German multinationals where German may be losing ground.

Finally, each Luxembourgish and German bank evaluated language proficiency and prerequisites at recruitment, and the provision of language courses differently and according to their needs. However, the majority of Luxembourgish and German banks used a combination of both recruitment and language courses to assist in managing the linguistic needs of its employees. Their use underlines the importance of recruitment and language courses as forms of language management, especially in banks where no explicit management of a working language existed. The reported successful implementation of these other forms of management within banks may have even contributed to managements' beliefs that explicit language management of a working language was unwarranted and that communication departments were unnecessary. The following section discusses managements' reports of language use practices at Luxembourgish and German Banks.

4.5 PART THREE: BROAD LANGUAGE PRACTICES REPORTED BY MANAGEMENT

The following discussion focuses on general language use trends at Luxembourgish and German banks based on phase one interviews. In the following analysis, managements' reports illuminate the influence of national affiliation, ethnolinguistic composition of employees, the status of the English language and the importance of the language of the client on language use practices within banks.

4.5.1 Luxembourgish Banks

As noted above, Luxembourgish banks in this study employed large numbers of Luxembourgers. Bank Faye and Elle are also connected with the Luxembourg Government and the language use patterns in these two banks broadly reflect the use of French and Luxembourgish in Luxembourg society. Management within these banks reported the use of French as their main written working language and Luxembourgish as their main spoken working language.

In contrast, Bank Armand was also nationally affiliated with additional Francophone countries and approximately half of its employees came from France and Belgium. At Bank Armand, French was reported as the dominant written and spoken working language of the bank. French was clearly valued by management as a *lingua franca* and was reportedly used in this way in spoken communication to communicate with non-Luxembourgish speaking employees. Clearly, national affiliations and the ethnolinguistic composition of a banks' employee base influenced the languages reportedly used within this bank.

Management at Luxembourgish banks in this data set also reported that English was used in internal and external communication. English played an important role in information technology within these banks; computer applications and intranet sites were all offered in English, alongside other languages. Furthermore, like other participating banks in this study, these banks also reported maintaining electronic financial records in English. In addition to the use of English in computer technology, Luxembourgish Bank Armand also reported using English in internal communication with colleagues based in Luxembourg. At this bank, a number of non-French and non-Luxembourgish speaking employees were employed and consequently, English was used as the *lingua franca*. Furthermore, unlike the other two

banks in this research which were associated with the Luxembourg Government, Bank Armand was connected solely with the private sector, and belonged to a wider Banking Group⁸, where English was reported as a common language. In addition, English was also reported as a common language used in spoken communication with international clients, where no other language was available. Management at all Luxembourgish banks recognized that over time their banks were becoming increasingly internationally focused, and attracting more international clients. This greater focus on international clients led to a greater perceived need and reported use of English in Luxembourgish banks.

Luxembourgish banks, however, also valued other languages of clients and accommodated to the preferred language of the client as much as possible. One HR manager at Luxembourgish bank Faye noted the importance of using the language of the client for ease of understanding, commenting that:

“We try to especially recruit people who know how to speak Portuguese, Spanish or Italian because we think especially elderly people, who don’t know how to speak French should have the opportunity to ask their questions in their [mother tongue]”.

A HR manager at Luxembourgish bank Armand also noted the fundamental importance of the language of the client for the business relationship:

⁸ Because the primary focus of this research is to investigate language policy in the multilingual and international context of banking in Luxembourg, communication with colleagues from banking groups situated outside of Luxembourg has been defined as external communication.

“The language of the customer is always the basis of the relationship with customer, so we try and I think that is something that we are good in, we try to communicate with the customer in his language”.

The number of languages offered to their clients in spoken and written communication differed, although services in French and English were provided in all three banks. Overall in Luxembourgish banks, the languages offered in written communication were also provided for spoken communication (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Languages reported in client communication in Luxembourgish banks

Luxembourgish bank	Written communication	Contracts	Spoken communication
<i>Bank Armand</i>	Fr., Eng., Germ., Dutch, (Spanish & Italian)	Fr., Eng., Germ., Dutch (Spanish & Italian)	Fr., Eng., Germ., Lux., Dutch (Spanish & Italian)
<i>Bank Faye</i>	French, English, German	French, English, German	French, English, German, Lux., (Portuguese, Italian, Dutch & Spanish)
<i>Bank Elle</i>	French, English (German)	French, English (German)	French, English, Lux., (German)

Table 4.3 demonstrates that for written communication, Bank Armand offered mainly four languages French, English, German, Dutch (and to a limited degree Spanish and Italian); Bank Faye offered three languages: French, English and German and additional oral language services in some branches (e.g. Portuguese, Italian, Dutch & Spanish). Bank Elle offered

written communication and contracts mainly in two languages: French, English (and to a limited degree German). Management at this bank reported that particular languages were used more frequently in specific departments and language use could differ considerably across departments, highlighting the importance of exploring language use practices across a range of departments. The languages offered to clients in written communication and contracts in the individual banks were also offered on their websites.

4.5.2 German Banks

Although management's reports about employees' language use practices varied across German banks, German was reported in German banks owing to its national affiliation with Germany and the high number of Germans employed at these banks.

At Bank Dagmar, German was the dominant spoken language in the bank; English was valued and primarily used to communicate with non-German speaking employees or when preparing an external presentation for their Banking Group. English was also often reportedly used at Bank Bernhardt for these reasons and also due to the importance of English in commercial banking. However, in contrast to Bank Dagmar, management at Bank Bernhardt did not report a dominance of German, but rather the use of English/German (or alternatively German/English) as the main languages used in spoken and written communication, suggesting a more important role for English in this bank. The above two banks specialised broadly in the same areas of banking, however, Bank Bernhardt was associated with a larger international banking group than the other two banks, which very likely has had some part to play in the reported higher use of English.

German Bank Hanz, was a more locally oriented bank which concentrated on Germany and other German-speaking areas, therefore, it is not surprising

that German was the primary language reported in written communication; German and Luxembourgish were reported in spoken communication.

The language of the client was also reported to play an important role in German banks. Management reported that bank employees were expected to accommodate to the language preferred by the client (see table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Languages reported in client communication in German banks

<i>German Bank</i>	Written communication	contracts	Spoken communication
<i>Bank Dagmar</i>	German, English	German, English, (French)	Germ, Eng., Fr., Dutch, Italian, Russian, Polish & Spanish.
<i>Bank Bernhardt</i>	Eng., Germ., Fr. & Italian	Eng., Fr., and German	Eng., Germ., Fr. & Italian
<i>Bank Hanz</i>	German	German	German

Table 4.4 illustrates that at Bank Dagmar, written communication and contracts were provided in German and English; contracts written in French were also available in particular departments. In spoken communication, services were also available in German, English, French, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Polish and Spanish. At Bank Bernhardt, customers were reported to be able to choose from English, German, French and Italian as their preferred language of communication, however, English was used for corporate clients. Contracts were written mainly in three languages; English, German and French. Services in Eastern European languages were on trial at banks. At the more locally oriented bank, Bank Hanz, German was reported as the normal language for written and spoken communication with clients. Client services in other languages were not readily available within the bank. The

websites of the German banks reflected the dominant working languages of each bank, rather than the language of the customer/client; the websites of all three banks were available in German and English. Only Bank Bernhardt, provided services in French as well.

4.5.3 Summary

Based on interviews with management, national affiliation and the ethnolinguistic composition of employees seem to have very broadly influenced reported language use practices in both Luxembourgish and German banks. Although English was not one of the main spoken or written working languages between colleagues in some German and Luxembourgish banks in this study, it still played a role in these largely French, Luxembourgish and German-speaking banks; within these banks, English was primarily used in international contexts, computing and financial records. In other German and Luxembourgish banks in this data set, English was used more extensively as a lingua franca between nationals in internal communication within banks. In those banks belonging to wider Banking Groups in this research, English was also reported in Banking Group communication. The interviews with management also indicated that English was important for external communication, such as with clients, and in particular with corporate clients. As a whole in this data set, English surfaced as an important language in German and Luxembourgish banks in Luxembourg.

Management in both Luxembourgish and German banks in this research regarded the preferred language of the client as the single most important feature in determining the language reportedly used in correspondence and contracts with clients. Consequently, most banks offered their clients a choice of languages: English, French and/or German, and in some cases a

number of additional European languages. Banks in this study in general were also able to offer more languages to their clients for spoken communication than written communication.

From this first phase of research, key areas were identified for further and more detailed investigation in terms of their influence on language use practices in phase two. Firstly, it was impossible for management to say whether one language was used more than the other within the bank, as language use very much depended on the particular employees involved in the interaction. This justified the need for further and more refined investigation into language use practices in phase two of this research, both in terms of level of detail in methodological tools and in terms of investigation of employees' language use practices from the bottom-up. In particular, in two of the German banks above, management reported that although English and German were used in their banks, not all employees were fluent or had language proficiency in both English and German. This has implications for both practices and ultimately management of recruitment and language courses and raised additional questions for phase two. A number of other key areas were also identified for further investigation in phase two. These are the national affiliation of the bank, the ethnolinguistic composition of the workforce, the role of English and the language of client/customer.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This above chapter concentrates on Luxembourgish and German banks and discusses the absence of explicit policies on working languages and communication departments. Managements' underlying beliefs indicated an unfavourable attitude towards explicit management of working language(s). German banks considered this kind of explicit language management as unnecessary and language use within these banks was largely taken for

granted. Luxembourgish banks have actively decided not to implement explicit policies as they were considered undesirable and restrictive. However, in spite of the lack of explicit language management in these areas, I have argued that language prerequisites at recruitment and the provision of language courses can be regarded as other forms of language management. Hence, although no formalized working language(s) existed in Luxembourgish and German banks, language management was still taking place.

A managerial top-down perspective on employees' practices at these banks underscores the importance of national affiliation and ethnolinguistic composition of employees at banks. In Luxembourgish banks, Faye and Elle, with high numbers of Luxembourgers, reported language use patterns reflect trilingual language use broadly used within Luxembourg. French played a more important role in both written and spoken communication and as a *lingua franca* in Bank Armand, where higher number of cross-borders from France and Belgium were employed. German played an important role in German banks, where high numbers of German nationals were employed. However, at Bank Bernhardt, where fewer Germans and a higher number of Luxembourgers were employed, English was reported as being on a par with German. This may also relate to its connection with the largest worldwide Banking Group of the three German banks in this study.

The role of the English language and the language of client have also emerged as other factors influencing employees' practices. In all German and Luxembourgish banks, English was used in computing and financial records and international encounters with clients or banking groups. In some banks, English was used as a *lingua franca* between employees in internal communication. Although English was used in client communication, a range of other languages were also reported in communication.

Luxembourgish banks provided at a minimum French and English, with a range of other languages in not only spoken but written communication. The more internationally orientated banks provided services in at least German and English, with a range of other languages offered in spoken communication and a more limited number required in written communication.

This chapter has laid the foundation for the next two chapters, which focus specifically on the interaction between explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in international banks with groups of linguistically diverse employees. In phase two of this research, three international banks were chosen as case studies. *Bank George and Bank Ivan* had explicit management policies on English, whereas *Bank James* functioned without an explicit language management policy. Chapter five explores top-down language management and analyses in detail the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses and their influence on the implementation of the official working language, while chapter six addresses employees' reported language use practices in international banks from the bottom-up.

CHAPTER FIVE: TOP-DOWN LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

AND BELIEFS IN INTERNATIONAL BANKS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, top-down language management devices (the working language, recruitment and language courses) were discussed in Luxembourgish banks and subsidiaries of German banks located in Luxembourg. Although these banks had no explicit policies on the working languages of banks, other mechanisms were being used to manage language use. The focal point of the next three chapters is the three case study banks, namely subsidiaries of international banks located in Luxembourg.

International banks differed considerably from Luxembourgish and German banks:

- Three of the four international banks had explicit policies nominating English as the working language (EWL). English was the sole formal working language of the banks. Within these banks, policies were formalized to varying degrees, ranging from the policy statement being readily available in a staff handbook, to the whereabouts of the written policy being unknown and not readily available to employees.
- International banks employed more linguistically and culturally diverse workforces, between fourteen and twenty-four nationalities, whereas Luxembourgish and German banks employed more homogeneous workforces.
- 30-70% of the employee bases at international banks were Francophone (originating from Luxembourg, France and Belgium); German banks employed between 20-30%. At Luxembourgish banks

Francophone employees represented approximately 90%, at least 20% more than international banks.

- 10-15% of employees in two out of three international banks (Bank George and Bank James) were British and American nationals; Luxembourgish and German banks employed considerably smaller percentages of nationals associated with native English-speaking countries.

Clearly, these subsidiaries of International banks were more culturally and linguistically diverse than Luxembourgish and German banks. These international banks were chosen to explore how banks from non-French or German-speaking countries handle language issues in a country where French, German and Luxembourgish play such important roles.

The primary purpose of this research is to explore the interaction between explicit dimensions of policy (formal working language of banks) and implicit dimensions of policy based on employees' practices and beliefs in international banks. This chapter draws on data from both phases and provides a detailed discussion of top-down language management and beliefs and their interaction with employees practices (implicit dimensions of policy) at international banks.

Spolsky's (2004a) model forms the underlying theoretical basis for this policy investigation by providing definitions and three fundamental components for investigation interconnected in complex ways. In order to explore policy dimensions in international case study banks, additional frameworks provide a means to elaborate and examine the complex interaction between components. Hence, Spolsky's (2004a) language policy framework is operationalised through two frameworks, namely language management theory (LMT) (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987) and Shohamy's (2006)

framework. These two frameworks represent very recent theoretical models being developed within the LPP field and are used in this chapter primarily to discuss the two banks with explicit official working languages, Bank George and Bank Ivan.

These two frameworks also form the central organising feature of this chapter. In part one, the rationale for using these frameworks and their role in data analysis are discussed. In part two, language management theory is used to explore official working languages at Bank George and Ivan, focusing on managements' interests and goals underlying their explicit management of working languages. In part three, Shohamy's (2006) framework is used to illuminate the interaction between components from the top-down including Bank James, a subsidiary without an explicit policy on the working language. The rationale for using these two additional frameworks is discussed in greater detail in the next section.

5.1 RATIONALE AND INTERACTION OF TWO FRAMEWORKS

5.1.1 Language management theory (LMT)

The development of this theory has taken many years reflecting the difficulties associated with developing any framework that accounts for human behaviour (Spolsky, 2009, pp. 1-2). Nekvapil (2006, p. 93-95) describes its development, noting that Language Management Theory (Jernudd and Neustupný, 1987) originated from 'language correction theory' (Neustupný, 1978) and developed into an extension and adjustment of language planning theory (cf Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Rubin et al., 1977). Under LMT, language management is defined as activities aimed at the production and reception of discourse and is divided into simple management (problems in individual communication acts) and organised management (systematic/institutional management, such as the selection of

an official language) (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003; Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987).

LMT is an appropriate framework for this analysis for several reasons. Firstly, in recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in developing language management theory as a valuable means for examining management (e.g. Nekvapil, 2006, 2008; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003) with a few studies investigating multinational companies (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).⁹ In order to contribute to the development and adaptation of this model, Spolsky (2009) has also written the first book to discuss language management theory. Spolsky emphasises that “this is an exciting time and challenging time to attempt to write about language management, because we seem to be on the cusp of major changes” (2009, p. 7). Secondly, LMT is not only based on the three components of policy (see Spolsky, 2009, pp. 4-6), but also attempts to recognise the complexity, forces and factors involved in management (Spolsky, 2009). Moreover, this theory examines the component of language management in greater detail than Spolsky’s framework and categorises management into stages (cf Haugen’s 1983, 1987 stages of the LPP process). For these reasons, this theory is used to explore managements’ choice of working languages at banks.

⁹ In the Czech-based studies based on LMT, employees’ strategies which anticipate potential communicative problems in future interactions, are addressed as part of language management at the employee level (or ‘pre-interaction management’), rather than being explored as part of the notion of employees’ practices developed in this thesis. These include avoidance strategies and foreigner talk, as well as employees’ strategies in different genres of communication e.g. in meetings and telephone communication.

5.1.2 Shohamy's (2006) framework

Shohamy's (2006) framework also draws on Spolsky's (2004a) model and has recently emerged to investigate the hidden and covert dimensions of policy. Her models specifically extend explicit language management beyond rules, in this research, working languages and include other forms of top-down language management, alongside exploring the interaction of components of policy. This framework provides a valuable model for exploring explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in the workplace for a number of reasons.

Firstly, this is one of the few frameworks to explore implicit dimensions of policy. Secondly, it is the only framework I have found that elaborates on the complex interaction between management, practices and beliefs from a top-down perspective, thus providing a valuable theoretical approach to examine this complex relationship. Thirdly, the three "mechanisms" proposed by Shohamy, "rules and regulations", "language testing" and "language education" align with the three areas of explicit language management identified in research in multilingual organisations, the working language, recruitment and language courses (e.g. Marschan et al. 1997, Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002, Feely & Harzing 2003). Findings at Luxembourgish and German banks indicate that language management comprised much more than explicit policies on the working language, and strategies are used to manage social interaction and language use in their banks. Accordingly, Shohamy's framework is adapted for the workplace to explore from the top-down the interaction between these different forms of management (mechanisms) and practices and beliefs.

It is important to note that Shohamy has primarily used her framework to explore hidden political agendas and the way in which governments and

state-run organisations may manipulate these mechanisms and create de facto (implicit) policies. With the adaptation of this framework for the workplace, political domination and manipulation and the political concepts of democracy, language and human rights, power, voice and representation are outside the limits of this study.

5.1.3 Summary

For the reasons discussed above, LMT is used to analyse explicit language management of working languages and specifically the interest and goals underlying these choices in the second part of this chapter. The use of LMT in this research goes some way in contributing further to knowledge gleaned from the few studies investigating organised management using LMT (see Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, p. 184), and provides background to the analysis of beliefs underlying language management investigated using Shohamy's (2006) framework. Shohamy's framework is also used to analyse the interaction between explicit (management) and practices from the top-down.

5.2 PART TWO: EXPLICIT LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT OF WORKING LANGUAGES

In the case of the language management in workplaces, there is a dearth of strategic management, communications literature and research on language policy in the workplace (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Dhir & Goke-Pariola, 2002; Marschan et al, 1997). Although the selection of an official language for countries is considered "a complex task revealed in a protracted and complicated process consisting of extensive discussions" (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987, p. 76), it is unknown what kind of consideration is given to official languages in multinationals. The selection and implementation of official languages in multinationals would ideally be thoroughly researched

and be “based on research or expert reports concerning language situations of various scopes” (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006, p. 311). However, “little is known about when the decision to introduce a company language is taken, or if it occurs formally at all” (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999, p. 379). Vaara et al. (2005) and Loos (2007) represent two of the very few studies that explicitly discuss the management process and influences on decisions about the corporate language. In Loos’ (2007) study no policy documents were available and as a result interviews with managers were conducted to elicit the reasons for the German language policy in a Dutch company. Vaara et al.’s research in a merged Finnish and Swedish bank indicates that the choice of Swedish as the corporate language ‘happened by accident’ (2005, p. 607). These findings provide very little insight into explicit language management of the working language. In the following section, LMT is used to illuminate explicit dimensions of the management policy at Bank Ivan and Bank George, in particular the goals and interests underlying the policies.

5.2.1 Language management theory (LMT)

The importance of the intended purpose (goal) of explicit policies is emphasized in Baldauf’s (2005) definition of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy (see chapter two). In addition, the four stages of the management process at the heart of LMT are intricately connected with goals and interests of the decision-maker(s).

The stages of management, in this research for the formalisation of a working language, are highlighted below:

Language Management Theory assumes that the speaker *notes* the discourse at the moment it deviates from the norm. The speaker may then *evaluate* the deviation either positively or negatively. The speaker may further *plan* an

adjustment, and finally *implement* the adjustment” (Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006, p. 311).

The first stage, the ‘noting’ stage involves noting a deviation from communication norms (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987, p. 78), but ‘norms’ are not the sole influence on stages of the management process; linguistic and non-linguistic interests also play an important role in the management process (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987, pp. 77-80). Economic, linguistic, social and other interests “decide in what way the corrective adjustment will be implemented and whether it will be implemented fully or only in a partial way” (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987, p. 79).

Attitudes and beliefs also contribute to the evaluation of language use (Neustupný, 1968, pp. 287-293), hence interests and goals underlying policies are likely to be influenced by beliefs about appropriate language behaviour or languages to use, or the value of particular languages. Neustupný suggests that “the attitude formed in this process is materialised in the execution of the policy” (1968, p. 293). Consequently, as a precursor to the discussion of top-down beliefs in Shohamy’s framework, the following section discusses interview data on managements’ interests or goals at banks. These interests and goals have influenced stages of the management process for both choosing and implementing a formal policy on the working language of banks.

5.2.2 Bank George

Bank George is a subsidiary of a European Banking Group and was established in Luxembourg in the 1970s. Management reported that their change in policy from two languages (French/English) to one working language (English) in the nineties grew out of economic, social and linguistic interests. In terms of economic goals, management reported that Bank

George wanted to internationalise and specifically work with and attract non-French speaking clients. Bank George was formed from seventy-one banks across eleven countries and this was reported as one of the reasons for the linguistic situation at that time. Social and linguistic interests also influenced the choice of language. Management reported that it was noted in internal communication that some employees used mainly French, whereas other international employees were already using English. Vollstedt's study on four European based companies raises similar issues, such as communication problems due to the increase of communication in English "in the course of internationalisation without special efforts made to expand the language" (2002, p. 98). Serious communication issues are noted elsewhere, where no common language existed between employees and English was implemented as the sole company language as a way of solving these issues (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002). At Bank George, English was also reportedly chosen as the most appropriate language to use as the working language due to its international appeal and standing. In comparison, the international position of English was given as a reason for the de facto use of English in two German banks (phase one) as part of the internationalisation process.

Economic, social and linguistic interests have kept the formal policy in place for 16 years since the change in policy to English. A common language between multilingual employees was of primary importance, alongside international communication outside the bank; English is still considered the most appropriate language to have as a working language of the bank.

5.2.3 Bank Ivan

Bank Ivan is a subsidiary of a Swedish Banking Group. It has also been established in Luxembourg for the last 40 years and it was the first branch of

the Swedish Banking Group to be based outside of Sweden. From the outset, English was chosen as the formal working language of this foreign branch. The Deputy Director reported social interests, such as the desire to establish comprehensibility for all employees as the main goals of the language policy choice. Clearly, in order to meet Bank Ivan's economic goals, the social aspect of communication between colleagues had to be considered. However, linguistic interests played an important role in influencing the choice and the implementation of this language management policy. Management reported that due to the differing linguistic repertoires of local employees and Swedish employees, a common language was needed to assist in internal bank communication and to ensure that all employees were able to actively participate in written and spoken communication at the bank. In terms of external communication, the multilingual characteristics of Luxembourg and the agencies with which the bank needed to interact, alongside the developing importance of English internationally appear to have played a role in the management process. These interests have continued to be salient factors in the management process, with the growing number of linguistically diverse employees being employed at Bank Ivan and the increasing importance of English.

Management reported that English was chosen as the common language and the formal working language of this branch in the 1970s. Bank Ivan appears to be one of the few companies to implement a formal policy on English during this decade. Interestingly, the Swedish Volvo Group also gave English official status as early as the 1970s (Hollqvist, 1984; cited in Truchot, 2003b, p. 304), although many other Swedish and Danish companies did not begin using English as the company language until the early 1980s (Engströmer et al, 1994 and Pratt, 1996, cited in Vollstedt, 2002, p. 88). Gunnarsson (2001b, p. 51) indicates that today English is the company

language of Swedish multinationals such as Eriksson and Electrolux and many other Scandinavian companies. "Companies internationalizing from Finland know that there is virtually no scope for utilizing Finnish in their international operations" (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999, p. 378). Consequently, Finnish multinationals from this region, such as Kone and Outokumpu, have similarly adopted English as their official language (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999, p. 38).

The linguistic repertoire of Swedish management and employees, and the position of English in Sweden have also contributed to this language policy choice. In Scandinavia and in places like Belgium and the Netherlands "the English language has acquired a higher profile than anywhere else in Europe, due to the relatively small size and their dependence on international trade and collaboration" (Hoffmann, 2000, pp. 8-9). Learning foreign languages has always been important to Swedes (Gunnarsson, 2006, p. 244) and "it is useful for Swedes to speak and write English so that we can reach out beyond the borders of Sweden with our products, our knowledge and our ideas" (Gunnarsson, 2001b, p. 65). Swedish employees at Bank Ivan also commented that English is widely understood by Swedes and as far as they were concerned English was the natural choice for a Swedish bank that uses a working language other than Swedish.

The notion of speech communities associated with particular banks also sheds some light onto the needs and interests of Scandinavian companies. Vollstedt (2002) contrasts companies in what she defines as large speech communities (German and French) with small speech communities (Danish, Swedish and Dutch), and indicates that "English appeared in internal communication of German and French Companies considerably later, i.e. in the middle of the nineties" (2002, p. 88). She argues that

since languages of 'smaller' speech communities are learned less often as foreign languages in other countries, the companies apparently tend to fall back on a *lingua franca*, whereas organisations from 'larger' linguistic communities can find employees with the necessary knowledge of the respective foreign languages needed in their subsidiaries (2002, pp. 90-91).

Given the importance of English for Swedes and other Scandinavian countries, it is understandable that companies in Scandinavian countries have initiated the move towards English as corporate languages. Truchot notes that Scandinavian companies were amongst the first in Europe to recognise that using their national languages did not meet their aims in the internationalisation process across Europe (2003b, p. 304). Furthermore, the use of English as a corporate language in Scandinavia has gathered momentum since the early nineties (Kankaanranta, 2005) and is increasing in multinational Scandinavian companies (cf Börestam, 2005; Kankaanranta, 2005; Vaara et al., 2005; Piekari et al., 2005). This trend suggests that English as a common language serves the norms and interests of Scandinavian multinational companies, as well as the social, economic and linguistic interests and goals at Bank Ivan.

5.2.4 Summary

A number of top-down goals have influenced the choice of EWL at Bank George and Ivan. In this study, social and linguistic interests were largely influenced by economic interests and played an important role in the choice and implementation of explicit management policies. These economic interests included the location, ethnolinguistic composition of its employees, the organisation of internal communication and "the nature of the contact it has with its customers" (Coulmas, 1992, p. 134). Furthermore, the internationalisation process of these banks and the increasing role of English as an international language and common language amongst a range of

nationalities have also contributed to the adoption of English. In the case of Bank Ivan, the national affiliation with Sweden has further contributed to the choice of EWL, since English is also an important language in the linguistic repertoire of Swedes (see chapter seven for further discussion of English as a lingua franca (ELF)).

The above analysis of economic, linguistic and social goals influencing the management process in two banks provides a background to beliefs underlying explicit management. Consequently, the next part of this chapter turns to examining more implicit dimensions of policy using Shohamy's (2006) framework which explores the interaction of language management, beliefs and practices.

5.3 PART THREE: THE INTERACTION OF BELIEFS, MANAGEMENT AND PRACTICES

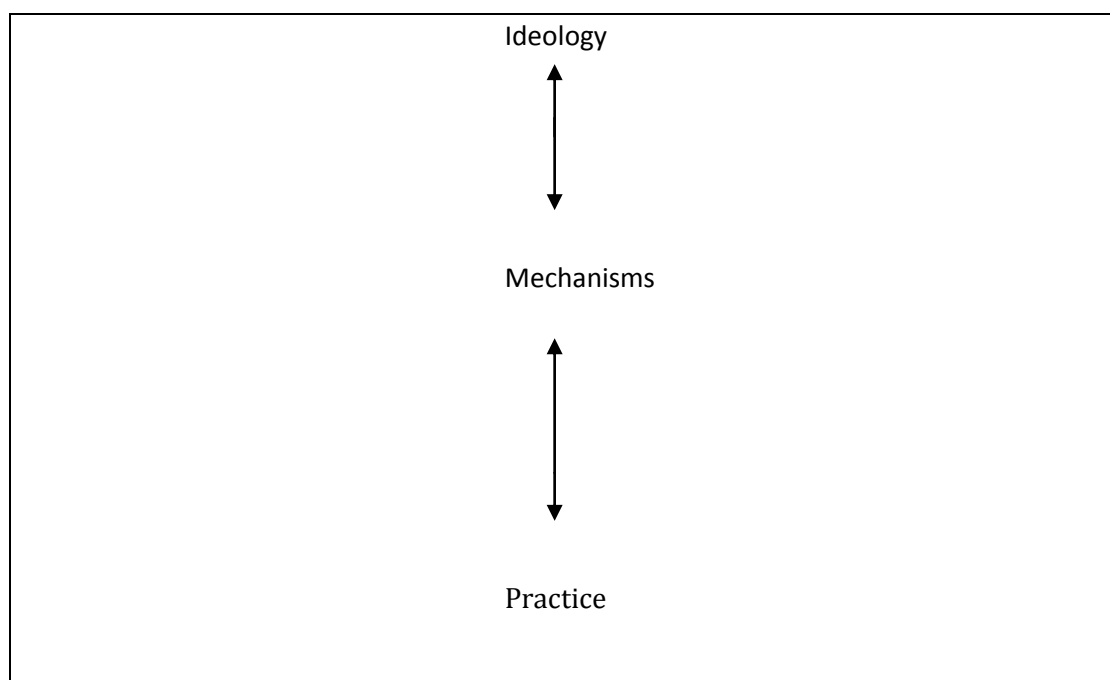
Shohamy's (2006) framework is based on two models. These are used to discuss the central issue of the relationship between different components of policy (see figure 5.1) and thus, illuminate a top-down implicit language policy (see figure 5.4). Before examining the central interaction between components, the two models are introduced in the following section. The implications for exploring implicit dimensions of policy using this framework are discussed in chapter nine.

5.3.1 Shohamy's (2006) Models

The first of Shohamy's models (figure 5.1) explores the connection between ideology, (management) mechanisms and practices. This first model is used in this chapter to analyse, firstly, the interaction between top-down attitudes and management, and secondly, the influence of different mechanisms of language management (working languages, recruitment and language courses) on employees' practices. Shohamy's model below illustrates the

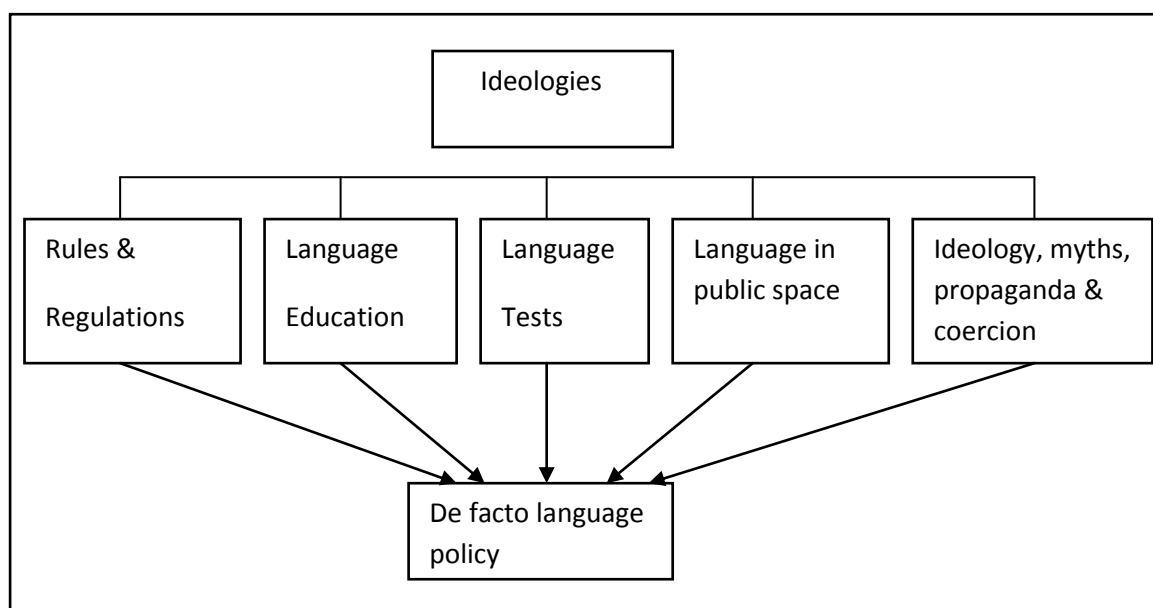
relationship between beliefs/ideology, mechanisms (or management devices) and practices:

Figure 5.1 Shohamy's (2006, p. 54) Model I: the interplay of ideology, mechanisms and practices



Shohamy's second model (see figure 5.2) provides a way of inferring an overarching top-down de facto (implicit) policy for banks based on top-down attitudes and mechanisms, illuminating the top-down pressures on implicit dimensions of policy. From the outset, it must be noted that an analysis of top-down pressures via Shohamy's second model provides only one part of the picture of de facto policy. As described in chapters one and two, the bottom-up perspective, namely employees' language use practices and attitudes, also illuminate the de facto policy on the working language(s) of banks. Accordingly, the bottom-up pressures on an overarching de facto policy for language use are discussed in chapter six.

Figure 5.2: Shohamy's (2006, p. 58) Model II: list of mechanisms between ideology and practice



The theoretical models outlined above provide the structure for the following discussion. Based on these models, the interaction between top-down beliefs, management devices and employees' practices at Bank George and Ivan are discussed.

I Bank George and Ivan with explicit official working languages

5.3.2 Beliefs and ideology

The top component of Shohamy's models is ideology and this discussion focuses first on the top-down beliefs underlying language policy mechanisms. The study of ideology presents complex issues, since the relationship between policy and ideology is difficult to pin down; it is possible for the same ideology to underlie a number of language policies, and similar languages policies to be based on competing ideologies (Ricento, 2000a, p. 3). Blommaert also acknowledges the ambiguity and contradiction found in every ideology, noting that "subject's adherence to one ideology or

another is often inconsistent or ambivalent” (1999, p. 11). In this research too, there was no one-to-one correspondence between ideologies or shared beliefs and language management policies. In fact, despite shared beliefs across banks, the actual mechanisms adopted varied between individual institutions due to decisions made about the most appropriate way to manage language issues at each bank.

5.3.2.1 *Shared beliefs at banks*

The focus on ideology was borne out in interviews with management at Bank George and Bank James who reported certain shared beliefs which to a large extent underlay the mechanisms used in both banks (see below). Interestingly, the first two shared beliefs reflected reported beliefs at management level in phase one of this research, whereas the third shared belief was mainly noticed in banks with international multilingual workforces (see chapter six for employees’ beliefs).

The three shared beliefs were:

- firstly, the importance of English in the sphere of international banking;
- secondly, that languages other than English were considered important for communication;
- thirdly, that English was considered the most useful common language in the context of financial institutions with a multilingual and multicultural workforce.

The importance of English in international banking was largely taken for granted. The Belgian HR manager at Bank George suggested that “it was natural” for English (the international business language) to be chosen due to Bank George’s international status; the Swedish Deputy Director at Bank

Ivan similarly indicated positive attitudes towards English due to its position as the predominant international language worldwide (for further discussion see chapter eight).

Both managers also highlighted the value they placed on other languages for communication. The HR manager at Bank George explicitly valued the use and knowledge of German to communicate with their German Banking Group. Many employees at the Banking Group headquarters located in Germany were reportedly not fluent speakers of English, particularly those lower level employees working on more local issues. The Deputy Director at Bank Ivan also emphasised the importance of employees' language skills for communication, particularly with clients, noting in particular with great pride that the bank had just hired employees who spoke Russian. The importance of local languages for communication with government agencies in Luxembourg was also highlighted. The Swedish Deputy Director expressed similar attitudes about the importance of local languages.

Comments made by both managers also indicated the underlying belief in the value of English as a common language between multilingual employees. For the sake of efficiency, managers believed that a common language must be chosen. The choice of one language for official communication was considered a way of streamlining communication and English was deemed the most useful common language in a diverse multilingual and multicultural context.

Having discussed management's shared beliefs at banks, the following section turns to examining the connection between these beliefs and the three mechanisms of Shohamy's framework under discussion.

5.3.3 Mechanisms and Practices

As noted in Shohamy's first model (figure 5.1) mechanisms can be used from the top-down and the bottom-up. "Yet, it is those in authority who can use the mechanisms more powerfully, as they have better access to sanction, penalties and rewards, including financial sources" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 54). In this research, these mechanisms were mainly used by management, employees appear to have had little power over the working language or language prerequisites required for recruitment. In regards to language courses, although some employees actively sought language courses within the banks, managers had ultimate decision-making power and these courses were only approved if language courses were directly associated with their work or in line with current management policy (cf the company Ford, Coulmas, 1992, p. 130). This is perhaps the only occasion, where employees could potentially use mechanisms from the bottom-up; however, no evidence of bottom-up planning in regards to language courses was found in banks in this study. Hence, the use of mechanisms from the top-down is the focus of the next section and their influence on practices as defined above.

Shohamy describes mechanisms as being "powerful tools capable of influencing language behaviour and practice" (2006, p. 55) and she names rules and regulations, language education, language tests, and language in public, as some of a number of mechanisms that can influence language practices. In the case of these banks, the mechanisms of rules and regulations (working language), language tests (recruitment) and language education (language courses) were important mechanisms for understanding practices.

5.3.3.1 *Rules and regulations*

The first category of mechanisms in Shohamy's framework are the rules and regulations that "make decisions regarding 'the official' languages that

should be used in certain places and situations” (2006, p. 61). Within this category, the explicit management of official working languages of financial institutions are positioned and are described below.

Table 5.1: Explicit working languages at Bank George and Ivan

Mechanism	International Bank George	International Bank Ivan
<i>Regulation on working language</i>	Formal language policy (English)	Formal language policy (English)

As indicated in the table 5.1, both Bank George and Ivan had explicit formal policies stating that English was the working language of their financial institutions.¹⁰ Both banks have adopted the lingua franca approach (see Feely & Harzing, 2003; Loos, 2007), which is described as prototypical for multinationals with many foreign subsidiaries (Loos, 2007, p. 41). In the case of Bank Ivan, the parent company language, Swedish, was not adopted due to the fact that the majority of employees did not have Swedish language skills, thus a common language became essential. The explicit EWL management policies of both banks were implemented 38 years ago for Bank Ivan and 16 years ago for Bank George. Even though the original policy-makers were unknown to the researcher (and employees), the Deputy Director at Bank Ivan (with the dual role of HR manager) and the HR Manager at Bank George were in control of language management within the banks both in terms of the working language and the direction of these institutions in terms of language issues and human resources.

¹⁰ Managers at both banks reported having formal policies nominating EWL of the bank. Although managers reported seeing the formal policy statements during the course of their employment, they were unable to provide or locate these statements (cf Loos, 2007).

As indicated previously, managers from both banks believed that English was an important language in international banking and was the most useful lingua franca for work-related communication in this multilingual and multicultural context, and hence supported its position as the working language of the bank. The economic, social, linguistic goals of the bank discussed using LMT also kept this management policy in place. The importance of local languages did not appear on the surface to have influenced the monolingual EWL policy (see chapter nine).

This section has discussed the overarching explicit policy on the working language of Bank Ivan and Bank George and beliefs at management level which supported this policy. The implementation of English as an official language, as part of the internationalisation process in multinationals from non-English speaking countries, is challenging (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002, p. 20) and the implications of employees' practices are discussed in chapter nine. In the next section, the mechanism of testing (renamed 'recruitment' in this research) is analysed to explore its top-down role on employees' practices and its influence on implicit dimensions of the policy on the working language.

5.3.3.2 *Language testing (recruitment)*

In the context of financial institutions, the language testing mechanism was most accurately reflected by the recruitment process. This recruitment mechanism included language proficiency requirements and oral tests¹¹ at the point of hiring new employees. Language testing policy "has not been extensively researched and it refers to issues such as intentions, reasons,

¹¹ Oral tests in banks equate to the interviewer's evaluation of applicant's proficiency in a given language, based on how well they respond to questions and engage in discussion within the interview, rather than a separate oral assessment procedure.

purposes, rationale and arguments for introducing certain tests, when, why, how and for whom” (Shohamy, 2008, p. 366; see Read, 2007 for discussion of how language testing and second language acquisition may benefit from research conducted in these fields). However, language tests communicate the importance, status and value of certain languages over others and the tested languages are often considered the only important languages (Shohamy, 2006, pp. 94-105). Similarly in the case of these banks, management policies on the languages required and orally tested in the recruitment process for new employees indicated the importance, status and value given to languages within the financial institution by management. In educational institutions, Shohamy notes that testing also serves as a mechanism to ‘override and contradict existing policies’ (2006, p. 105) and, as will be discussed below, similar forces operate in the workplace. Interestingly, in case study banks, management policies on the languages required and tested often contradicted the explicit policy of the working language of the financial institution discussed above. Table 5.2 indicates the different manifestations of the recruitment mechanism for both banks:

Table 5.2: Recruitment at Bank George and Ivan

Mechanism	International Bank George	International Bank Ivan
<i>Language proficiency for recruitment</i>	<p>Appropriate level of English.</p> <p>Other languages as required</p>	<p>Fluency in English & one other language.</p> <p>(e.g. Swed./Germ./French)</p>

As this table indicates, both banks required English, and both orally tested for English language skills. Differences arose at the level of proficiency in

English required. At Bank George, recruits were required to be able to function at the level of English appropriate for the position. This mechanism therefore directly influenced language use practices, since employees often had differing levels of fluency in English and as a result other languages were used to communicate with other employees. The HR manager at Bank George believed that even though English was the formal working language at Bank George, some employees did not require a high level of proficiency in English to deal with problems directly associated with Luxembourg or locally. Hence there was a need for other languages, such as local languages, in their daily work (cf Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006, p. 315). This HR manager also suggested that often technical skills were more important than language skills (cf Fixman, 1990; cited in Marschan et al. 1999, p. 382), suggesting further discrepancies between recruitment policies surrounding English and what happened in practice, which may have influenced language use practices within the banks.

Thus, this recruitment mechanism contradicted in certain respects the bank's explicit management policy stipulating that English was the working language, simply because in practice not all employees were able to communicate in English confidently. However, the HR manager noted that employees with limited proficiency in English improved their English language skills significantly by working in an environment where English was required every day at some level. In the meantime, languages other than English were valued and needed for communication with colleagues within the bank.

At Bank Ivan, fluency in English was required and this policy was adhered to even in the face of difficulties finding employees with the appropriate level of English. This was primarily to ensure that all employees were able to communicate in English, thus in practice, English was comprehensible to all

employees, highlighting the important role of the recruitment mechanism. This aspect of the mechanism supported the formal policy on the working language of the bank. In the following interview extract, management highlighted the importance of recruiting bankers with sufficient skills in English to function within the bank.

Extract 5.1 Interview with HR representative at Bank Ivan

British/German HR manager: *I try to approach it from the point of view of do you feel comfortable working in an English speaking environment?*

Maybe their competencies are very good, but if you can't get those across because of the language barrier that would then affect your job and your quality of work. And then a lot of people already say, I don't know if I could do it. I test their English and give feedback to the manager. I say maybe you should think about that person rather than that person from a language point of view. I think especially from the external [communication] front before we hired somebody, it's a no negotiation point.

But this is not the end of the story: the importance of other languages also significantly impacted on the mechanism of recruitment in these banks. As indicated in table 5.2, mechanisms in both banks clearly indicated some value for languages other than English. In the case of Bank George, applicants proficient in other languages were sought for special positions, such as in client-related departments. At Bank Ivan applicants were required to have one other language deemed important and appropriate for their bank, such as Swedish, German or French. This requirement was largely related to external communication, including with clients/customers. Extract

5.2 highlights managements' belief in the value of local languages, particularly when English was reported to be not widely spoken by clients and local agencies, and their important role in influencing the recruitment mechanism.

Extract 5.2 Interview with HR representative at Bank Ivan

Interviewer: *You mentioned when you recruit people, it's important to have fluency in English and one other important language. So I'm interested to know how this policy came about?*

British/German HR manager: *I would say the language depends on the function or position. If you're dealing with Nordic clients, you have to use a Nordic language and if you're dealing with German clients, you need German. If you work in HR, you have to deal with the local administration, so you would have to speak German or French for example. It's much more linked to the job description and external part.*

Later

British/German HR manager: *When you recruit, you have to have the back-up within the department and make sure that the person is not only qualified in the skills but also the language. Which I think sometimes in some functions in the bank is a bit, maybe not as good as it could be.*

In extract 5.3, a German employee at Bank Ivan explained the importance of using German to communicate with German clients, illuminating the reasons for the recruitment of German-speaking clients. The German customer was reported to display incredulity or disapproval that a banking representative

answering the phone was unable to speak German, indicating the importance of the language of the client in maintaining a working relationship and rapport with German clients. Clearly, there was a lack of social approval when the customer's expectations were not met.

Extract 5.3 Focus group at Bank Ivan

German employee:

German clients they prefer to speak in German...they don't understand English so we must have only German people. Sometimes it is a problem when um I'm on the phone busy on my second line and a colleague of mine is going on the phone and she is Swedish and she isn't used to speaking German and she is answering the client in English and the client says okay "ich rufe später an" (I'll call back later) and it's coming boop [phone put down] hanging up, and that's the typical reaction on that. They cannot speak English and afterwards they are calling again and they're "what was going on, who was this person on the phone. They didn't speak German, why?" and then you explain and then it's okay. To make conversation with these clients [in English] it's not possible.

As a result of this clear importance for "other" languages indicated in the recruitment mechanism, employees were recruited with particular skills in other languages. Thus this mechanism shaped the composition of employees in practice and the resulting linguistic repertoire of the workforce. This in turn influenced how languages were used in practice (see chapter six). Client-related departments provides one context illustrating the effect of the recruitment mechanism on practices; management's belief in the importance of the language of the client translated in practice into the reported

recruitment of nationals or native speakers of languages associated with clients. Thus across both banks, employees of the same nationality as the client were employed, creating groups or departments of nationalities to deal with particular clients, and hence influenced language use practices. The languages required at recruitment clearly restricted which applicants were employed and influenced the diverse range of nationalities employed at the banks. The range of clients targeted was continually expanding as banks aimed to extend their existing clientele base. Consequently, increasingly more languages were needed to accommodate to customers' needs and accordingly more employees were needed with competence in these languages.

Table 5.3 illustrates the range and percentage of different nationalities hired at both banks. These statistics indicate what the HR managers reported to be happening in practice as a result of the recruitment mechanisms at both banks, and highlight the international character of Luxembourg.

Table 5.3: Reported % of nationals at Bank George and Ivan

Nationality of Employees	<u>Bank George</u> % of total employees	<u>Bank Ivan</u> % of total employees
France	30%	9%
Belgium	27%	6%
Luxembourg	13%	12%
Germany	7%	11%
Sweden	0%	25%
European and other countries	23%	37%
TOTAL	100%	100%

Calori and de Woot (1994, p. 21) indicate that small countries, like Luxembourg, "have been more sensitive to outside influences and have

integrated these influences: because of the pressures against them, because of the small base they have for recruiting and because they were forced to go outside looking for markets". Clearly, the composition of employees recruited above, reflected a move to look outside of Luxembourg for a labour force. Interestingly, 46% of employees at Bank George and approximately 30-35% of employees at Bank Ivan were in fact cross-border commuters from France, Belgium and Germany.¹² Furthermore, these banks also recruited a range of nationals rather than just Luxembourgers. The ethnolinguistic composition of employees to a certain extent mirrored the clientele base of each bank, indicating the importance of the language of the client; the wide range of nationalities employed at Bank George reflected the international composition of the clientele base; and the number of Swedes and Germans employed at Bank Ivan reflected the composition of Nordic and German clients at this bank.

To summarise, beliefs about language use played an important role in the manifestation of the recruitment mechanisms within these two banks. In both banks the recruitment mechanisms communicated the value of languages other than English to employees and worked against the EWL policy. As a consequence, this mechanism was the most influential mechanism for financial institutions in terms of mitigating existing policies on the working language and influencing language practices. In the next section, the mechanism of language courses is discussed and its influence on employees' practices.

¹² At Bank George, 22.68% of employees represented in table 5.3 commute from France, 18.73% from Belgium and 4.78% from Germany.

5.3.3.3 *Language education (language courses)*

In Shohamy's framework (2006, p. 76), Language Education Policy (LEP) refers to language policies about home languages ("mother tongues" as well as foreign and second languages) in educational institutions. Language education mechanisms organise and manage language behaviours and influence people's beliefs and practices and are considered to reflect what policy-makers at the highest level consider important for governing the state as a whole. Similarly, Bank Ivan and Bank George provided language courses to their employees and faced familiar issues (e.g. what languages to teach, how many hours of study etc). Management policies on language courses in financial institutions were formulated to organise and manage employees' language learning behaviour and influence language use practices.

Although language courses did not have the same influence on language practices as the mechanism of recruitment, their importance cannot be underestimated. This mechanism assisted in improving communication in languages within the bank. Thomas suggests that language training determines the methods that "work best to create the proper balance of employees who speak the operating languages and how those employees are distributed within the organisation" (2007, p. 100). Clearly, language courses played an important role in managing the necessary linguistic skills to meet the needs of the organisation by providing support to employees who needed to improve their language skills. Table 5.4 describes the mechanism of language courses for both banks:

Table 5.4: Language courses at Bank George and Ivan

Mechanism	International Bank George	International Bank Ivan
<i>Language courses</i>	English and German. Other languages as required.	English

As indicated, both banks provided language courses in English, indicating the perceived value and need for English language skills. The belief in the importance of English as previously discussed supported the position of English in these mechanisms.

Bank George provided language courses in two languages, English and German, and additional languages if required. The HR manager considered that language courses provided a means of improving employees' proficiency in English, German and other languages required for their positions. This mechanism firstly denoted value for the importance of EWL of the bank, but at the same time, indicated value attributed to languages other than English for communication. This supported the recruitment mechanism by making English language courses available to those employees hired with limited proficiency in English, while at the same time was inconsistent with the explicit policy nominating EWL; if employees had used English at all times, then it would have seemed pointless to offer language courses in languages other than English.

Reported practices at Bank George suggest that some employees were hired without knowledge of German and/or French and others with limited fluency in English. Language courses provided a means to improve

employees' language skills and communication in English, German, French and additional languages, thereby increasing the potential use of these languages in practices. This may also be an example of practices influencing mechanisms, since the mechanism suggests a realistic approach to a situation in which it may have been difficult to find multilingual employees specialised in banking who were completely proficient in English as well as other languages. It is also interesting to note that the HR manager at Bank George believed that policy should reflect practice, to a certain extent; both the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses appear to have taken language use practices into consideration (see chapter six).

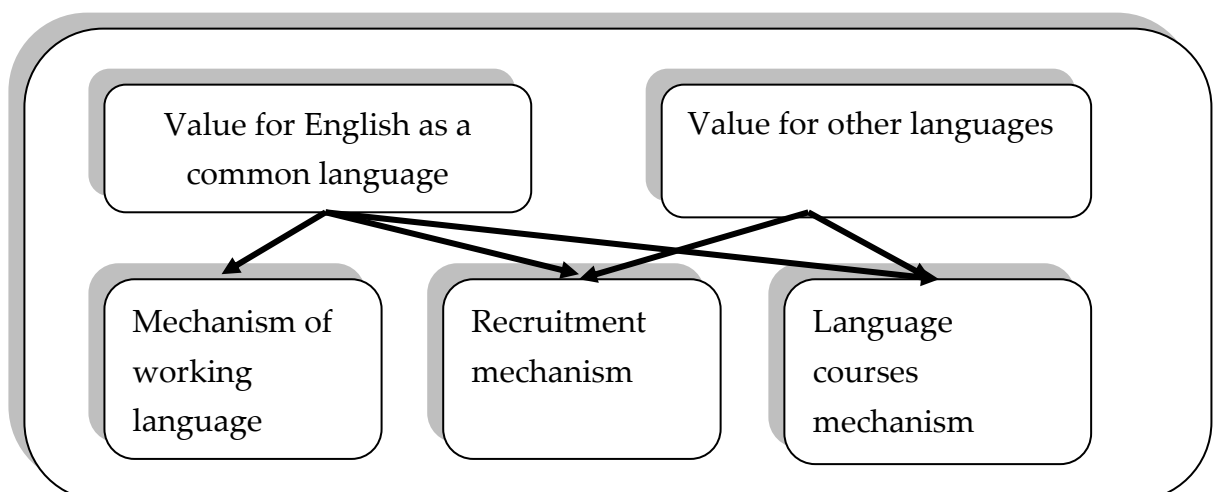
In contrast, Bank Ivan financed only English language courses. Only in special circumstances could exceptions be made with courses in other languages provided by the bank. The Deputy Director reported that this preference for English language courses over other language courses was largely connected with the belief that English was the most useful *lingua franca* of the bank so that all employees could participate in communication (see chapter nine for discussion of influence of employees' practices and beliefs at global banking group on this mechanism). A 14 member management team voted approximately five years ago in favour of changing the language courses mechanism to include only English language courses, rather than a variety of languages. The financial cost of the language courses was reported not to have been a determining factor in the change in management policy. The cost of language courses was reported as very low compared to other benefits paid by the bank. Management reported that the change in policy influenced language learning practices; many employees took language courses within the bank previously, but once the mechanism was changed, very few undertook language courses in the evening after a full working day. In practice, this mechanism of offering language courses in

only one language, English, restricted employees from learning or improving their skills in languages other than English to assist interaction between employees for work-related tasks or for rapport-building in communication with clients and colleagues.

5.3.4 Summary: Bank George and Ivan

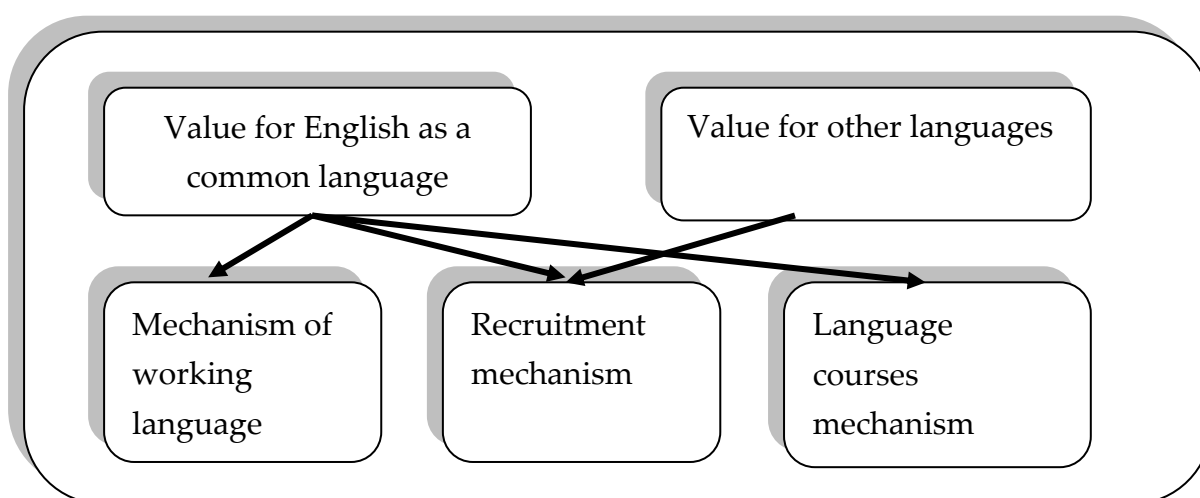
To summarise the previous discussion, figures 5.3 & 5.4 illustrate the interaction between Management's beliefs and the mechanisms under discussion at Bank George and Ivan. Two primary beliefs discussed in the ideology section above (see section 5.3.2.1) were linked to the mechanisms at the two banks. These include (a) the value assigned to English as the most useful common language with multilingual workforces and (b) the value of other languages. In the case of Bank George, (see figure 5.3) the value assigned to English underlay to varying degrees the mechanisms of the working language, recruitment and language courses. English was both the formal working language of the bank and proficiency in English was required (depending on position); courses were also available in English. The value attributed to other languages was reflected only in the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses. Other languages were required at recruitment and available in language courses.

Figure 5.3 Underlying beliefs of mechanisms at Bank George



At Bank Ivan (see figure 5.4), Management's belief in the importance of English for communication with colleagues underlay all three mechanisms. English was the formal working language of the bank; fluency in English was required at recruitment and English-only courses were provided. The belief in the value of languages other than English underlay only the recruitment mechanism of the bank.

Figure 5.4 Underlying beliefs of mechanisms at Bank Ivan



Research on attitudes and beliefs underlying language management policies in companies is virtually non-existent and therefore it is impossible to compare these findings with other studies. However, managements' shared beliefs at banks indicated a value for both English and other languages (see chapter seven and eight for further discussion).

The above sections have also illustrated how the multilingual mechanisms of recruitment and language courses were inconsistent with the mechanism of the monolingual working language of the bank. Recruitment and language courses supported or challenged the working language in practice, and the top-down mechanisms of recruitment and language courses were intricately linked with the implementation of the overarching management policy on the working languages. As a result, Management's top-down use of the

mechanisms of recruitment and language courses played an important role in influencing to what extent this policy was followed in practice and the degree of congruence between language use practices and management.

Using Shohamy's models, mechanisms are "means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 54). Furthermore, mechanisms are defined as serving

as major tools affecting language perceptions, people's behaviour and eventually the de facto LPs [language policies]. Mechanisms then are tools for managing language policy, but they are also considered forms of policymaking in terms of perception, choice and actual use (2006, p. 55).

The discussion of top-down mechanisms (and their influence on practices), has shown that working languages were not limited to English, but that a number of de facto working languages were being used at the bank and contributed to a top-down de facto policy.

The above discussion has emphasized how at Bank George the top-down mechanism of language courses indicated the importance of English and German within the bank. Bank George has in the last decade merged with a German-speaking financial institution, so it is not surprising that management offered language courses specifically in the German language. In the case of the top-down recruitment mechanism, English was emphasised alongside additional languages from time to time.

At Bank Ivan, the mechanism of recruitment indicated that management deemed Swedish, German and French to be important languages within the bank, although only one of these languages was required in addition to English. Given the value associated with the language of the client, top-down emphasis pivoted around the languages of the two main groups of clients at the bank, Swedish and German. French represented an important

local language in Luxembourg for external communication and in addition was an international language. The top-down emphasis on English in the language courses mechanism is not surprising given the working language of the bank.

In summary, the discussion has emphasized the importance of top-down mechanisms on employees' language use practices and therefore top-down de facto policy. Clearly, at Bank George English and German formed part of a top-down implicit policy; At Bank Ivan English, Swedish, German and French played prominent implicit top-down roles. In the following section, the contribution of these top-down mechanisms to the implicit language policy for managing language use at Bank James is discussed.

II Bank James: A bank with no official working language

Until this point, Bank Ivan and Bank George have been the focal point of the discussion of mechanisms. A subsidiary of a British Banking Group, Bank James, was the third bank to participate in phase two of this research. Bank James originally began as a Luxembourg branch of a small American Bank and management reported that during this time English was the predominant language used, alongside French. In the last five years, Bank James has merged with two international banks associated with the United Kingdom.

Bank James was the only international bank in this study to have not implemented an explicit policy on the working language. Hence, this bank distinguishes itself from other banks and represents an interesting bank in which to further explore the role of top-down mechanisms on practices and de facto policy. Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter concentrates on institutional mechanisms at this bank.

5.3.5 Beliefs and ideology

Similar beliefs were reported by the Director at Bank James as in the other two banks, namely, a belief in the importance of English in the sphere of international banking; secondly, that languages other than English were valuable for communication; and thirdly, that English was considered the most useful language to use as a common language with a multilingual and multicultural workforce.

The British-French Managing Director valued English as a common language amongst colleagues because it brought clarity to situations with multiple languages. He was also more explicit than Directors and HR managers in other banks in his comments about the value of languages other than English, particularly French, in communication. He clearly indicated a preference for bilingual or multilingual managers when hiring, and reported being particularly aware of misunderstandings between Francophones and Anglophones. He strongly recommended the use of French in internal communication with the large numbers of Francophones employed at Bank James. It appears that his bilingual and bicultural experiences and his 26 years experience in international banks have shaped his beliefs about language use and management. He reported strategically using French much more consciously with his employees than others at Bank James in order to bridge the gap or distance due to hierarchical position, for example in internal presentations, particularly HR related meetings. Giving employees a choice as to which language they felt most comfortable in counteracted any inhibitions and encouraged participation, whilst also ensuring all employees understood when discussing important issues related to staff development. Similar examples were the strategic and flexible use of French in training development phases and in staff appraisals with junior francophone employees.

In contrast to other case study banks, the Director of Bank James indicated that formalising the working language(s) for their bank was unnecessary. He noted that a formal working language was more important for those banks operating in Luxembourg not associated with an English-speaking country (e.g. Bank Ivan). The fact that Bank James was for many years associated with a native English-speaking U.S. Banking Group seems to have largely accounted for the lack of explicit policy. It is not unreasonable to assume that at Banking Group level English was the assumed language for operations, despite the multilingual staff in Luxembourg. Consequently, an explicit policy stipulating English was considered unnecessary in this context.

Furthermore, its recent association with the United Kingdom only strengthened this lack of explicit policy. Employees' negative attitudes to the many new policies implemented at Bank James due to the recent mergers with British Banking Groups appeared to have also influenced managements' attitudes towards implementing an explicit policy. When asked whether a formal policy on English should be implemented at Bank James in Luxembourg, the Managing Director responded that *"it's nice to have something that isn't a rule"*. These beliefs in the context of this merger make it very unlikely that the Managing Director will implement a formal policy in the future.

Interestingly, the absence of this type of explicit policy at Bank James reflects the situation at state level in other native English speaking countries such as the USA and New Zealand. Underlying the lack of a formal policy on the working language at Bank James appeared to be both the belief in the importance of English in international banking and the unimportance associated with a formal policy.

5.3.6 Mechanisms

Table 5.5 summarises the mechanisms at Bank James and is discussed in the next section:

Table 5.5: Mechanisms for Bank James

Mechanisms	Rules/Regulations	Recruitment	Language Courses
<i>Bank James</i>	No formal language policy	English and French. Other languages as required.	English and French Other languages as required.

5.3.6.1 *Rules and regulations*

As discussed in chapter four, Luxembourgish and German banks in phase one had no explicit policy on working languages, signalling the flexible nature of policy in the context of Luxembourg. In a similar way, Bank James did not have an explicit policy on the working language(s) and reflected to some degree German banks, where the working language was taken for granted.

However, the issue of whether Bank James had a formal policy on English was not as straightforward as first appeared, highlighting the complexity of collecting data on management in workplaces, where often no formalised documents exist. Interestingly, during phases one and two of this study, a new Deputy Director with years of experience at the Banking Group level was hired. As a consequence, there was some discrepancy about language management of the working language between the previous Deputy Director in phase one and the new Deputy Director in phase two. In phase one, the

previous Deputy Director reported an official policy stipulating EWL, but the new Deputy was adamant that no such policy existed for both Bank James and its associated Banking Group (see chapter nine). The long-serving Director of the bank also confirmed the absence of an explicit EWL policy.

Disagreement about whether an explicit policy existed emerged in the focus group and even surprised other employees, supporting Spolsky's comments that "policy may be implicit, in which case there can be honest disagreement as to what is the real policy of a community" (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 39). As a result, it seems that the previous Deputy Director had assumed English was the official working language due to its important role within the bank and its association with a British Banking Group. Accordingly, as indicated in table 5.5, no formal language management policy on the working language of the bank existed.

The absence of a formal management policy meant that new employees had to identify the working language(s) from signals from management, and practices within the bank. When asked about the de facto working language of the bank, the Director indicated that the working language of the bank was signalled by the use of English in formal documents, such as employees' contracts and job descriptions (see chapter for implications of de facto policy). As discussed in the following sections, the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses were additional signals for employees.

5.3.6.2 *Recruitment*

As noted in 5.5, at Bank James recruits were required to speak English and French; other languages were required for particular positions. The Managing Director's belief in the importance of English as a common language, and his belief in the importance of other languages for external and internal communication underlay this mechanism. This mechanism

appeared to give equal status and value to both English and French within the bank; additional languages in certain situations were also valued. Further analysis is undertaken in chapter six to investigate whether French and other languages were de facto working languages of banks.

However, it appears that although this mechanism indicated a top-down value for French and English, the recruitment mechanism did not produce, in reported practice, bilingual speakers of both English and French. Based on figures provided by Bank James from a voluntary employee language proficiency survey, not all employees were hired with fluency in both English and French.¹³ A number of monolingual British employees work at the bank, as well as others hired with only limited or no knowledge of French. Furthermore, a number of Francophones were employed with only a basic knowledge of English. Accordingly, junior francophone employees were reported to often rely on French, whilst their English proficiency improved. Spolsky notes that “proficiency in a language, whether spoken or written, sets a necessary limit for language choice, and provides a strong instrument for implicit language management (Spolsky, 2007, p. 4). As noted in the discussion of previous banks, this recruitment mechanism was also particularly important at Bank James in influencing practices and de facto policy through the management of the composition of employees and their associated linguistic repertoires.

5.3.6.3 *Language courses*

Language courses were provided in English, French and other languages specifically required for certain positions, indicating the top-down value placed on these languages by management (see 5.5). As in the mechanism of recruitment, the belief in the value of English as a common language and the

¹³ No figures on the composition of nationalities employed at Bank James were available.

belief in the value of other languages for external and internal communication underlay this mechanism. In light of the reported figures on language proficiency of employees, language courses represented ways for employees to improve their proficiency, particularly in English and French, and this was highly recommended by the Managing Director.

5.3.7 Top-down de facto policy

Based on the top-down mechanisms of recruitment and language courses at Bank James, English and French were important languages, alongside additional languages from time to time. English was the language associated with clients in the UK and the common language of the majority of employees, whereas French was an important local and international language. It could have been also associated with clients in mainland Europe or within Luxembourg. The top-down emphasis on these languages suggest that English, French and additional languages were de facto working languages at the bank. It is not clear, however, from these top-down mechanisms which additional languages were required and how often these languages were needed. A detailed analysis of employees' practices in chapter six provide the bottom-up half of a de facto policy

5.3.8 Summary: Bank Ivan, Bank George and Bank James

As discussed above, management at banks have combined the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses to meet their linguistic needs and these mechanisms influenced the top-down de facto policy. Bank Ivan appeared to rely on recruiting employees with linguistic skills, rather than providing a range of language courses (see chapter nine for discussion of change in policy); Bank George flexibly interpreted a recruitment English policy and provided language courses in German and other languages where necessary;

Bank James took a balanced approach both hiring employees with linguistic skills and offering language courses.

All three banks recruited employees with English language skills and provided English language courses. These policies were similar to findings across all phase one banks, where English was required at recruitment to varying degrees, and courses in English were offered across all banks. Similarly, studies in other multinational companies indicates the importance of English in recruitment (Marschan et al., 1997; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Vaara et al., 2005; Piekkari et al., 2005; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b) and language courses in multinationals (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

However, English was not the only language valued at banks. All three banks also recruited employees with linguistic skills in other languages; and Bank George and Bank James provided language courses in other languages. These findings also appear to mirror the multilingual mechanisms found in Luxembourgish and German banks, although international banks required fewer languages at recruitment and provided fewer courses in specific languages than Luxembourgish banks. Findings in studies of other multinational companies also indicate the importance of language courses in other languages, such as in the Finnish unit of the multinational Kone Elevators, where a range of languages were offered "(Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002, p. 22; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999, p. 383). In Nekvapil and Nekula's (2006) study of a subsidiary of Siemens AG in the Czech Republic, language courses are provided in Czech, German and English. Nekula & Sherman (2009a, 2009b) indicate that English is required at recruitment at this Czech subsidiary, whereas German is only considered an advantage in this multinational associated with Germany.

The importance of the language of the client and its influence on both mechanisms and practices have also been discussed in previous sections and other studies similarly underscore the importance of the language of the client. Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a, p.193) emphasise that the corporate language is not the only condition for hiring employees, the language spoken by the client is also an important factor to consider. As a result, French is also sought on a regular basis to communicate with customers at this Czech-based subsidiary. Marschan-Piekkari et al (1999, p. 383) similarly note the importance of recruiting employees to communicate with clients, but local subsidiary employees communicate with the customer in their local language.

In short, the use of mechanisms in case study banks clearly contributed to de facto policy from the top-down and illustrates the interaction between explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. From the limited literature available on subsidiaries of multinationals located in other countries, the use of these mechanisms appears similar and are consequently also likely to influence employees' language practices and implicit dimensions of policy. De facto policy and its implications for multilingual and multicultural contexts are explored in greater detail in chapter nine.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter uses two theoretical frameworks to analyse explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in three banks from a top-down perspective, exploring top-down beliefs, language management mechanisms, their influence on employees' reported practices and de facto policy. In summary, LMT has been adopted to explore the interests and goals guiding the top-down management of the working language of banks in two banks with explicit policies. Top-down linguistic, social and economic interests and goals have

accounted for explicit policies and the choice of EWL of banks. These goals have also illuminated the top-down beliefs underlying mechanisms explored through Shohamy's framework.

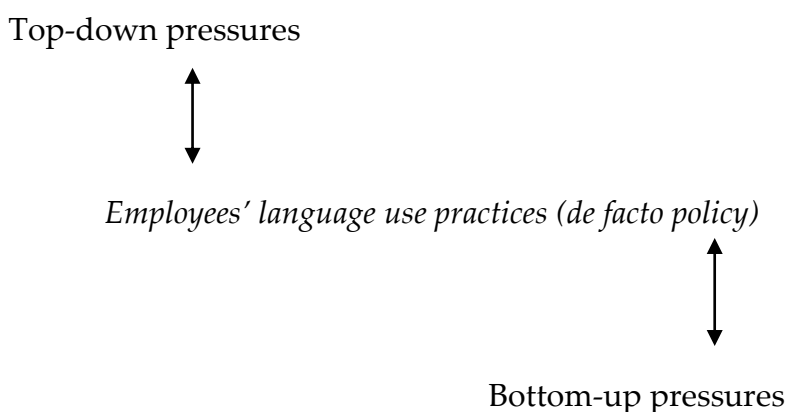
The application of Shohamy's framework to Bank Ivan and Bank George have provided insight into how top-down beliefs underlay both the choice and implementation of mechanisms, which in turn influenced employees' language use practices. The implementation of these top-down mechanisms (recruitment/language courses) have supported or challenged the overarching monolingual explicit policy of the bank. When there were inconsistencies between recruitment and language courses, a top-down implicit (de facto) language policy for the working language emerged and was strengthened. Even in banks, such as Bank James, where no explicit language policy on the working language existed, these top-down mechanisms of recruitment and language courses played an important role in constituting a top-down implicit (de facto) policy. The next chapter examines employees' beliefs, language practices and bottom-up pressures on de facto policy (see chapter eight for implications of de facto policy in banks).

CHAPTER SIX: BOTTOM-UP LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND BELIEFS IN INTERNATIONAL BANKS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five analysed language management and beliefs in three case study banks and illuminated top-down pressures on employees' practices, providing a top-down perspective on de facto policy of working languages. In the same way that it is important to understand the pressures from above and below at the state level (Spolsky, 2009, p. 10), the linguistic reality (practices) at the grass-roots level in banks is an essential feature of an in-depth analysis of implicit policy (see chapter two). Consequently, this chapter turns to investigating implicit dimensions of policy from the bottom-up by analysing employees' reported practices in all three case study banks. Figure 6.1 suggests how employees' practices relate to implicit dimensions of policy from the top-down and the bottom-up (see chapter eight for theoretical discussion of de facto policy).

Figure 6.1: Top-down and bottom-up pressures on employees' practices



Employees' language practices and choices have not been examined extensively in other multicultural and multilingual workplaces, even though it is people at the local level who influence how policies function and their

ultimate outcomes (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 4). Consequently, employees' practices, based on a combination of focus group and questionnaire data at case study banks, are examined in this chapter, alongside the bottom-up pressures on language choice, and employees' beliefs. These practices reported at the grass-roots level in banks elucidated which languages were being used, the frequency of these languages and the bottom-up pressures underlying these choices. In the case of Bank George and Ivan, the monolingual working language policies implied the use of only English, whereas at Bank James no explicit policy existed. This chapter demonstrates that in all three subsidiaries of international banks English was not the only language reported in practice by employees.

In this chapter, part one describes the languages that employees report in genres of communication in individual banks, thereby providing a hierarchy of languages based on frequency. Based on this analysis, part one also synthesizes broad patterns across all three banks to provide an overall picture of the languages used in employees' practices in these banks. Part two examines the genres of communication, a key component of the methodological design of this research, to illuminate language use within case study banks. Part three elucidates major factors (participants, functions and medium) which influenced employees' linguistic choices across case study banks, and explains in broad terms the reasons why participants used a number of languages in banks. Part four explores employees' beliefs underlying employees' multilingual practices.

6.1 PART ONE: EMPLOYEES' REPORTED LANGUAGE USE PRACTICES

As noted in chapter two, employees' practices have not been examined in a comprehensive and detailed manner in any of the very few LPP studies in multinational workplaces. The majority of these studies have used qualitative data, with little or no attention to quantifying language use, resulting in a limited picture of overall language use in workplaces based on frequency. This study addresses this gap by using questionnaires to explore the languages used on a daily basis, describing how often employees reported using languages in six genres of communication. The first three sections of part one are based solely on questionnaire data, the remainder of the chapter synthesizes focus-group and questionnaire data to provide a fuller and more comprehensive picture of employees' practices.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, a larger number of employees participated in the questionnaires at Bank George and Bank James than in the focus-groups. The analysis of practices in this chapter is based primarily on data from those employees who participated in both the questionnaire and focus-group. However, in part one, questionnaire findings from focus group participants are compared, where appropriate, with those who did not take part in the focus groups. Accordingly, two tables are presented for each bank: the first presents the languages reported and is based on questionnaires completed by focus group participants (cf Gal, 1997). The second table ranks the languages in terms of frequency and is based on the larger set of questionnaires completed (except for Bank Ivan). I have ranked languages based on the overall frequency of languages in particular genres in the following tables.

6.1.1 Internal Communication: Bank Ivan

As noted in the methodology chapter, a total of nine participants completed questionnaires and took part in focus groups in Bank Ivan. Employees from Bank Ivan reported the use of a range of languages in six categories of communication between different nationals from different departments (see tables 6.1 and 6.2).

Table 6.1: Questionnaire results: employees' reported language use by genre at Bank Ivan (9 FG participants)

Bank Ivan FG Participant	Department	Reports	Emails	Present- ations	Meetings	Phone calls	Informal Talk
IA	Reception	E	SEG	E	EG	SEFGLD	SEFGLD
IB	Personnel	E	E	EFGL	EFGL	EFG	EFGL
IC	Inst. Client	E	E	EF	SEFI Sp.	SEFISp.	SEFLISp.
ID	Personnel	E	SE	SE	SE	SE	SEF
IE	Management	E	SE	SE	SEF	SE	SEF
IF	Inst. Client	E	SE	SEF	SEF	SEF	SEF
IG	Priv. Client	SE	SEF	SE	SEF	SEF	SEF
IH	Priv. Client	EG	EG	EGL	EG	EG	EGL
II	Client Support	E	EFSp.	EFGSp.	E	EFGSp.	EFGSp.
<i>Languages Key:</i> E=English, S=Swedish, F=French, G= German, L= Luxembourgish, D=Danish Sp.= Spanish, I=Italian							

Table 6.2: Questionnaire results: ranking of languages by genre and frequency of use at Bank Ivan (9 FG participants)

Bank Ivan Genres/ Languages	Eng.	Swed.	Fren.	Germ.	Luxem.	Danish	Spanish	Italian
Written reports	1	2=	3	2=	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Emails	1	2	4	3	5	N/A	6	N/A
Presentations	1	3=	2	3=	4	N/A	5	N/A
Meetings	1	2	4	3	5=	N/A	5=	5=
Telephone calls	1	3=	2	3=	5=	5=	4	5=
Informal Communication	1	3	2	4	5	7=	6	7=
Ranking key of languages used: (1) Most frequently used language, (2) second most frequent, (3) third most frequent, (4) Fourth most frequent, (5) Fifth most frequent, (6) Sixth mostly frequent; = tie between languages for position; N/A participants did not register any use of these languages.								

Based on tables 6.1 and 6.2, trends in terms of written and spoken communication are discussed at Bank Ivan in the following sections.

Written communication with colleagues at Bank Ivan

The questionnaire results indicated that English played a predominant role in written communication when compared with spoken communication. Above all other languages, English was reported to dominate written reports. As indicated in 6.1, seven out of nine participants reported using predominantly English in written reports.

Interestingly, the use of other languages decreased dramatically (although not completely) in written work (see table 6.1. and 6.2). Swedish and German were the second most frequently used languages in written reports, even if

used fairly infrequently when compared with English; French was almost never used in written reports.

English was also the dominant language in email communication. However, this genre reflected spoken communication to a certain degree, since the results indicated the use of a greater range of languages than in written reports (see section 6.3.3.1). Swedish, German, French and Spanish featured in email communication, although to a much lesser degree than in spoken communication, whilst Danish and Italian were almost never used.

Spoken Communication with colleagues at Bank Ivan

Overall, English was the language most used by participants in spoken communication with colleagues for giving presentations, speaking in meetings, making work-related telephone calls and informal communication.

In addition to English, participants used a range of other European languages in spoken communication reflecting the rich multilingual environment in which they worked. In presentations, work-related telephone calls and informal communication, French was the second most frequently used language, followed very closely by Swedish, and then German. In meetings, Swedish was the second most frequently used language, followed by German and French.

Alongside English, French, Swedish and German, participants used additional European languages in spoken communication. Luxembourgish and Spanish were used in all genres of spoken communication, even if fairly infrequently when compared with the four main spoken languages named above; other European languages, such as Italian and Danish featured in meetings, work-related telephone calls and in informal interactions.

6.1.2 Internal Communication: Bank George

Employees from Bank George reported using two to five languages in six categories of communication (see table 6.3 and 6.4).

Table 6.3: Questionnaire results: employees' reported language use by genre at Bank George (5 FG participants)

Bank George, FG Participant	Department	Reports	Emails	Presentations	Meetings	Phone calls	Informal Talk
GA	Project Mgt.	E	E	EG	EG	EFG	EFG
GB	Purchasing	E	EF	EFG	EF	EF	EF
GC	IT	EF	EFGI	EF	EFGI	EFGI	EFGI
GD	P. Relations	EFG	EFG	EFG	EFG	EFG	EFG
GE	Insurance	E	E	E	EFG	EFGI	EFGIDu.
<i>Languages Key:</i> E=English, S=Swedish, F=French, G= German, L= Luxembourgish, Du.=Dutch, I=Italian							

Table 6.4: Questionnaire results: ranking of languages by genre and frequency of use at Bank George (30 participants)

Bank George Genres/ Languages	Eng.	French	German	Luxem.	Italian
Written reports	1	2	3	4	N/A
Emails	1	2	3	5	4
Presentations	1	2	3	4	N/A
Meetings	1	2	3	5	4
Telephone calls	1	2	3	5	4
Informal Communication	2	1	3	5	4
<i>Ranking key of languages used:</i> (1) Most frequently used language, (2) Second most frequent, (3) Third most frequent, (4) Fourth most frequent, (5) Fifth most frequent, (6) Sixth mostly frequent; = tie between languages for position; N/A participants did not register any use of these languages.					

The data in tables 6.3 and 6.4 revealed the following trends at Bank George in terms of written and spoken communication.

Written communication with colleagues at Bank George

As in the case of Bank Ivan, English dominated all forms of written communication for focus-group participants and the wider set of questionnaire participants. It is important to note that no other languages were noted in written reports and that French and German were used to a far lesser extent in written communication than in spoken communication. When compared with email communication, French still maintained its position as the second most frequently used language in work-related emails, with German in third place. Both focus-group participants and trends

from the wider set of questionnaire data indicated that participants used additional languages, such as Italian and Luxembourgish in email communication.

Spoken communication with colleagues at Bank George

As indicated in table 6.4, English was the language most used in spoken communication at Bank George (for giving presentations, speaking in meetings and making work-related telephone calls). However, French was the most frequently used language in the genre of informal communication ahead of English, with German taking third position. This change in terms of the frequency hierarchy in the context of informal interactions with colleagues surfaced from the 30 questionnaires at Bank George (see table 6.4). Interestingly, this trend did not emerge in the 5 questionnaires completed by focus group participants, signalling that some participants did not use as much French in informal communication as others.

Focus-group participants reported using languages in addition to English and French in spoken communication, i.e., mainly German and Italian. In the wider set of questionnaires, employees also reported using Luxembourgish and Dutch in all genres of spoken communication, even if infrequently when compared with English and French; other European languages, such as Spanish, Romanian and Finnish featured especially in informal interactions, presentations and meetings. Overall, it is fair to say that participants used a range of European languages in spoken communication.

6.1.3 Internal Communication: Bank James

Tables 6.5 and 6.6 indicate that employees from Bank James reported using two to five languages in six categories of communication.

Table 6.5: Questionnaire results: employees' reported language use by genre at Bank James (9 FG participants)¹⁴

Bank James, FG Participant	Department	Reports	Emails	Presentations	Meetings	Phone calls	Informal Talk
JA	MD	E	EF	EF	EF	EF	EF
JB	Investor	EF	E	EFGIGr.	EF	EFG	EFIGr.
JC	Investor	E	EF	EFG	EF	EF	EF
JD	Admin	EF	EFI	EFI	EFI	EFI	EFI
JE	Admin	E	EF	EF	EF	EFGL	EFGL
JF	Admin	E	EF	EF	EF	EF	EF
JG	Fund	E	EF	EF	EF	EF	EF
JH	Investor	EF	EF	EF	EF	EF	EFGL
JI	Client	E	EFI	EFI	EFI	EFI	EFI
<i>Languages Key:</i> E=English, S=Swedish, F=French, G= German, L= Luxembourgish, D=Danish, I=Italian, Gr. Greek.							

¹⁴ The only focus-group participant unable to complete a questionnaire prior or following the discussion was the monolingual English-speaking Deputy Director. Consequently, his language use is not included in the questionnaire results reported.

Table 6.6: Questionnaire results: ranking of languages by genre and frequency of use at Bank James (28 participants)

Bank James Genres/ Languages	English	French	German	Luxem.	Italian	Greek
Written reports	1	2	3=	N/A	3=	N/A
Emails	1	2	4=	4=	3	N/A
Presentations	1	2	4	6	3	5
Meetings	1	2	4=	4=	3	N/A
Telephone calls	1	2	4	5	3	N/A
Informal Communication	2	1	4	5=	3	5=
Ranking key of languages used: (1) Most frequently used language, (2) Second most frequent, (3) Third most frequent, (4) Fourth most frequent, (5) Fifth most frequent, (6) Sixth most frequent; = tie between languages for position; N/A participants did not register any use of these languages.						

The data in tables 6.5 and 6.6 indicate the following trends in terms of written and spoken communication at Bank James.

Written communication with colleagues at Bank James

As in the case of the other two banks, English dominated all forms of written communication at Bank James. Reported data from focus-group participants reflected trends seen in the wider set of data, namely that Italian is used in less formal genres of written communication, such as emails. Although French still maintained its position as the second most frequently used language in written reports and work-related emails, it was used to a far lesser extent in written communication than in spoken communication. The reported use of other languages disappeared in written work.

Spoken communication with colleagues at Bank James

Reported data from tables 6.5 and 6.6 indicate that overall English was the language most used in spoken communication at Bank James (for giving presentations, speaking in meetings and making work-related telephone calls). However, French was also spoken and in the context of informal interactions with colleagues, French became the most frequently used language. Unlike Bank George, this trend was reflected in both the wider set of 28 questionnaires as well as in the 9 questionnaires completed by focus-group participants.

In addition to English and French, focus-group participants used a number of other European languages in spoken communication reflecting the multilingual environment in which they worked. Italian, German and Luxembourgish were used in different categories of spoken communication, even if fairly infrequently when compared with English and French. This reflected trends in the wider set of questionnaires, where reported language use in these languages was more frequent and across all categories of spoken communication; other European languages, such as Greek and Spanish, featured in informal interactions, sometimes even in presentations.

6.1.4 Overview of languages used at all three banks

The previous sections have discussed the reported internal language use practices at individual case study banks. Overall, the further one proceeds along the horizontal axis of tables (6.1, 6.3, 6.5) away from formal written communication, such as reports, the more languages were used and the greater the disparity between the language management policy (at Bank Ivan and Bank George) and employees' language use practices.

Kachru and Sridhar (1978) indicate that "the languages in a multilingual community can be viewed as being arranged on a hierarchy (cited in Sridhar,

1996, p. 52) and the previous sections examined enlightening quantitative data to provide both a frequency hierarchy of languages used and a snapshot of employees' reported practices in individual banks. However, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of which languages were being used and undertake a detailed analysis of practices, it is essential to incorporate qualitative data. Consequently, focus group data is incorporated in what follows in order to synthesise the broad language use trends across all three banks discussed in previous sections.

The broadest trend which emerged across all three case study banks was the predominant use of English in written communication. Moreover, in addition to English, a number of other languages were reported in spoken communication. The use of English in written communication, and languages other than English in spoken communication is mirrored in other multilingual banks and workplaces. Chew's study of primarily Chinese employees' language practices in four banks in Hong Kong indicates that English was used in written communication and Cantonese in spoken communication (2005). Piekari et al.'s study of a merged Swedish-Finnish bank (MNB) notes that daily oral communication was conducted in other languages, such as Swedish, while written communication was produced in English (2005, p. 339; See also Vaara et al., p. 610). Louhiala-Salminen et al.'s study of Swedish-Finnish corporate mergers in the paper and banking industry indicates "writing was mostly in English, but in oral communication, other situation-specific, alternatives were possible" (2005, p. 406). Gunnarsson (2006, p. 259) also indicates that "in international companies in Sweden, a large share of written communication takes place in English. However, spoken discourse preserves the local language".

The frequent and widespread use of English in both written and spoken communication made it the most important language in banks for

communication. When linguistically diverse groups communicated, English was vital, since no other common language (*lingua franca*) could be used to communicate with this wide range of nationals. Only a small number of monolingual English speakers were employed at banks, thus English was also the only language that could be used, if these colleagues were to be included. However, even when monolingual English speakers did not participate, English was still very frequently used and was the dominant language in banks.

Although French was used considerably less frequently than English overall, it surfaced as the second most frequently used language, particularly within Bank George and Bank James. This was more likely to happen, when French, Belgian and Luxembourgish employees and other interlocutors from different countries with French language skills interacted (see also extract 6.2 and 6.9). In the genre of informal communication at Bank George and Bank James, employees' reported use of French surpassed the use of English, and French took a much more prominent role in informal communication than other genres of communication. As a result, French, over other languages, emerged as an important language for socialisation - or for interpersonal functions - within the banks and for maintaining good relations between colleagues (see section 6.3.2.2). Non-French speaking participants from both banks particularly emphasised the importance of French, with one non-French speaking participant suggesting his lack of knowledge of French inhibited social interaction with the large numbers of French-speaking colleagues, thus placing him at a social disadvantage.

The importance of French was perhaps unsurprisingly due to the large number of Francophone employees in banks and the position and importance of French in Luxembourg. However, across all banks, employees' language proficiency in French varied. The proportion of employees that

were able to communicate in French was much lower than the very high proportion of employees with English language skills. As a result, interlocutors responded to their audience and used English overall more frequently than French. However, French was used between native and non-native speakers of French where possible.

Other languages were also reported, such as German and Luxembourgish which were associated with the context of Luxembourg. A number of additional languages were used and these were primarily associated with groups of employees in workforces in specific banks (Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Greek, Norwegian, Romanian). In addition to these languages, employees reported predominantly converging to the language of the client across all three banks. A number of recent studies also note the importance of the language of the client (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009b; Loos, 2007; Bäck, 2004). Nekvapil and Sherman, (2009a, p. 193) indicate in their study that “the customers need not accept communication in the corporate language and can request communication in their own native language”.

Accommodation to the client’s language was primarily in terms of spoken communication and all three banks indicated the reported use of English, French, German, Luxembourgish and to a limited extent Italian. Depending on the bank, other European languages, for example Swedish, Spanish and Dutch were also reported. For written communication, Bank Ivan provided written communication in four languages (English, French, German & Swedish) and contracts in two languages, English and German. Bank George and Bank James provided a number of languages in spoken communication; written communication and contracts were provided in English (cf chapter four for managements’ reported practices with clients at Luxembourgish and German banks).

In this section, broad language use trends have been analysed according to individual banks and across all three banks. These trends have provided an understanding and synthesis of the languages used on a daily basis and an overall picture of language use trends. The next section discusses the individual genres of communication in more detail to illustrate the reality of practices within banks and the use of languages other than English, even though English has been formalised as the working languages of Bank Ivan and Bank George.

6.2 PART TWO: LANGUAGE USE TRENDS IN GENRES

Genres are the key component of the methodological design of this research and part two analyses employees' practices across three banks according to genre. This analysis illuminates the complexity of language choice and practices in multilingual contexts, foregrounding the examination of bottom-up pressures on language choice in part three. More standard written and spoken genres of communication (written reports, meetings, informal communication) are discussed first, followed by more hybrid genres of business communication that are linked with technological advancements, namely email communication and electronic presentations.

6.2.1 Written Communication

Analysis of focus-group questionnaire responses indicated that English was used considerably more frequently in written communication than in spoken communication in all three banks.

The construction of texts or reports is an important part of an organisation's work (Gunnarsson, 2004, p. 18) and are very often a collaborative act between a number of employees at different levels (Angouri, 2008, p. 41). At all three banks, English was reported as the predominant language used for written reports for a large proportion of employees. Similar results are

reported for written reports and documents in other multilingual workplaces, such as Brazil and South Africa (cf Barbara et al, 1996; Hill & Zyl, 2002).

Extract 6.1 from Bank George highlights employees' reported practices at banks and the predominance of English in this genre (see chapter seven for discussion of English as a lingua franca (ELF)).

Extract 6.1 Focus group at Bank George

Luxembourgish employee: *If you have to send a report, if you do it in French and it has to go to somebody who doesn't understand French, then there's going to be a problem. So, if it's in English, whatever the level of English may be, but at least you do know that everybody is going to understand it.*

The extract illustrates how employees across banks reported using English as the most common language of all employees to ensure that the report could be understood, illustrating the importance of English. Written reports were where English had the strongest position overall. Thus, in those banks with a formal policy on English, correspondence with the formal policy was strongest in the category of reports. The more formal characteristic of written reports seemed to account for the greater degree of congruence with formal policies on English compared to other categories of communication (see section 6.3.3).

Languages other than English were reported, such as Swedish, German, French, Italian, and Spanish, although less frequently than English. The limited reported use of additional languages in written internal reports was often associated with client-related communication. Participants at Bank Ivan reported producing reports in Swedish and German for colleagues in customer-focused departments. Reports written in languages other than

English were not exclusively client-related. Participants at Bank James reported Human Resources reports were often written in French. At Bank George, reports intended for distribution within and outside of Luxembourg were written in German and French, such as to their German Banking Group, or for other external or third parties, such as for public relations purposes.

6.2.2 Spoken Communication

Languages in addition to those used in written communication (English, Swedish, German, French, Spanish and Italian) were used in spoken communication, such as Danish, Dutch, Luxembourgish, Romanian and Greek. Some participants used fewer languages in more formal categories of spoken communication (presentations and meetings) and more languages in more informal categories (informal communication), suggesting flexible multilingual communication became more important and acceptable as communication became less formal. Meetings and informal communication are discussed in the following sections.

6.2.2.1 *Meetings with colleagues*

Meetings are described as the bread and butter of organizational life (Tracy & Dimock, 2004, p. 135), but focused research into meetings has only developed in the last decade. Meetings are important 'occasions for talk' and are driven by multiple aims and are used to accomplish goals, such as giving and receiving information, coordination and planning future courses of action, deliberating, problem solving and decision-making (Tracy & Dimock, 2004, pp. 156-129). In this research, when compared with informal communication, meetings were considered at the more formal end of the scale of spoken communication due to the work-related goals of meetings. However, as noted by Holmes and Stubbe (2003, pp. 59-60) and Boden (1994)

meetings can vary considerably in terms of degree of formality. A variety of meetings were reported within banks, such as (a) cross-departmental coordination meetings (b) departmental meetings (cf Bilbow, 2002). Moreover, meetings differed according to size, participants (and associated nationality and linguistic repertoire) and content-related or interpersonal goals.

The analysis of questionnaire responses indicated that meetings were conducted in English as well as other languages. Across all banks, English was the language most used, but between three and six additional languages were also reported. Employees at Bank James and Bank George reported that meetings very often began in one language and then a switch was made to another language, depending on meeting attendees. Due to the diversity of employees and linguistic repertoires in banks, participants reported that a shared language was negotiated for the course of meeting, near the beginning, if the language of the meeting (already chosen or assumed) did not include all attendees (cf Loos, 2004, pp. 12-16). Extract 6.2 from Bank George highlights how the shared language of the meeting was chosen, largely based on factors such as interlocutors' linguistic repertoire and relational factors, rather than prescriptive direction from management (see 6.3.1.2).

Extract 6.2 Focus group at Bank George

Moderator: *So, how is the language (of the meeting) decided?....*

French employee: *Normally the official language is English, but there is always room for flexibility. If there are only German speakers in the room, then it'll be German, or only French, then it'll be in French.*

Dutch employee: *Anyway, minutes are always taken in English.*

Moderator: *So does the manager decide or the employees?*

French employee: *It's the culture. It's a cultural decision*

Dutch employee: *It's the majority.*

My own observations confirmed employees' reports that a range of other languages were used before meetings were officially opened, during breaks in meetings, and at the conclusion of meetings. In the context of these multilingual environments, employees reported (and were observed) using other languages for 'chit-chat' with colleagues. Employees' reports and these observations indicated that meetings were often multilingual affairs, particularly at their beginning and conclusion, and this is supported by other studies. Poncini's study (2003; 2004) is one of the few studies where language choice is investigated in international business meetings in Italy. Her study similarly shows that in meetings where English is mainly being used, participants make short switches into national languages during parts of meetings. Nekvapil and Nekula's (2006) study also indicates that in meetings, where foreign employees were present, Czech employees often use German even though English was the predominant language used (cf Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, 2009b; Angouri, 2007; Vollstedt, 2002). The language choices made during instances of small talk at the boundaries and within meetings mirrored patterns in informal communication discussed in the next section, where a wide range of languages were frequently reported and code-switching patterns emerged for relational purposes (see section 6.3.2.2).

6.2.2.2 *Informal communication with colleagues*

The genre of informal communication (social talk and small talk) was investigated to explore language choice in more relationally oriented communication, since social talk and small talk fulfil relational or solidarity-

oriented functions of language (Holmes, 2000; Laver, 1975, 1981; see also Coupland, 2000). Holmes and Stubbe (2003) note that social talk “occurs at times and in spaces which are officially designated for non-work or social activities, activities when workers are free to develop and strengthen collegial relationships” (2003, p. 89), such as work breaks (coffee breaks and over lunch). Coupland defines small talk ‘to be a conventionalised and peripheral mode of talk’, including ‘gossip’, ‘chat’ and ‘time-out talk’ (2000, p. 1). Koester (2004) includes stretches of talk or conversations about the weather, the weekend, health and family. Small talk, however, is not just limited to these occasions; small talk can take place at the boundaries of interactions, for example, meetings as touched on in the previous section, at the boundaries of workdays or during work encounters (Holmes, 2000; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; see also Coupland et al, 1992, p. 213). Holmes indicates that small talk is adaptable and flexible. “It can be used to fill ‘dead’ time in the workplace, or to fill a gap between planned activities” (2000, p. 48), such as at one’s desk or in the corridor.

The findings of the current study indicated the use of a range of additional languages in informal communication. Languages other than English were not only used more frequently in informal communication than in other genres of communication, but the range of languages used also slightly increased at all three banks. Some employees used languages in informal conversation that were not normally used in other genres of communication. For example, the monolingual British Deputy Director noted how corridor conversations, and quick ten minute meetings, were often conducted in French. An Italian employee at Bank James reported how Italians congregated in the informal setting of the coffee room every morning to speak Italian. Vaara et al. also indicate similar findings, noting that even though English became the official corporate language of their bank, “many

Finns continued to use Swedish with their Swedish colleagues in informal encounters” (2005, p. 615). In Erling and Walton’s study, German was also an important language used for local business and informal communication amongst colleagues (2007, p. 38).

My own observations indicated, and employees also reported, that within the setting of canteens and restaurants in banks, employees also used a range of languages to discuss non-work related activities (cf Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). In extract 6.3, employees at Bank Ivan indicated the existence of ‘language tables’ in their canteen, where a variety of languages were used during informal communication at lunchtime within the bank. The canteen area had long tables where 6-9 people sat. Canteen staff at Bank Ivan were reported to only speak French, and employees indicated that nationalities tended to congregate during lunchtime at particular tables, resulting in the development of ‘language tables’. Although Swedes, Germans, Luxembourgers and Francophones tended to sit at particular tables and speak their national language, participants noted that employees at these tables often accommodated and switched to other languages, if employees joined the table who did not speak the language being spoken.

Extract 6.3 Focus group at Bank Ivan

Icelandic/Danish employee:	<i>Because when I started in 1988 working for a Danish bank. I’ll never forget the situation. I was coming into the canteen and I didn’t know where I go. And so okay, I’ll just take this table and I sat at that table and there were only Danes and I didn’t understand one word of Danish at that time. But nobody switched over to English so I was like oh okay and I only understood 3 words in the half hour that I was sitting there. But I have been in the same situation where now I know much more</i>
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- languages since then, but I don't think that would happen here in this bank. I think people would adapt to the person who was coming or try. There would be at least a few of these people who would try to go over to a language everybody would understand. I believe so.*
- Spanish employee: *Well actually if you think about our canteen we have language tables [laughter all round]. We have German, French & Luxembourgish and if you go on the wrong table you don't speak to anyone [joke & laughter]*
- Swedish Deputy Director: *No, but that's not true*
- Swedish/British employee: *I don't agree. If somebody sits down and speaks another language, like you said, a few people would switch.*
- Swedish employee: *Yeah I think so too.*
- Spanish employee: *Yes, a few*
- Swedish employee: *Enough so that you have somebody to speak too.*
- Icelandic/Danish employee: *And then this language would be the major language.*
- Moderator: *So, when you say there are particular language tables. Is this part of the culture? Or*
- Spanish employee: *It's always the same tables. The Swedish table is the Swedish table [laughter]*
- Swedish Deputy Director: *The (Swedish) table is a bit bigger than the others [laughter].*
- German employee: *I sometimes join the Swedish table and we are then speaking English.*

Similarly, employees from Bank George commented that a variety of languages were spoken in their canteen, depending on the participants lunching together. Bank George is a somewhat larger bank than Bank Ivan and consequently the canteen area at Bank George was set up like a cafe or restaurant with many small tables, allowing smaller groups of individuals to interact than at Bank Ivan. A bilingual British employee noted that the canteen was the normal place where groups of nationalities congregated and interacted socially in their native language. As a result, the language switched frequently between members of a group at a table. In the next section, the more hybrid genres of communication are analysed.

6.2.3 Hybrid forms of communication

The following section discusses the way in which hybrid genres of communication (a mixture of spoken and written genres) shape language practices. These include the more technologically advanced genres of emails and presentations with colleagues at banks.

6.2.3.1 *Emails to colleagues*

Email communication is an emerging area of research and has been described as a hybrid combination of spoken and written communication (Kankaanranta, 2005; see also Baron, 1998; Gains, 1999; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). It is fast replacing letters and telexes (Louhiala-Salminen, 2002, p. 213) written memos, and much telephone and face-to-face interaction (Waldvogel, 2005, p. 1). Kankaanranta's research suggests that email communication is moving towards a more informal style of communication due to the hybrid nature of this genre which includes the direct link between writer and recipient (cf Fairclough, 1992, pp. 200-225; Louhiala-Salminen, 1995, pp. 102-102). Chafe's notions of 'immediate feedback' and 'involvement' which are characteristic of spoken communication, rather than

written communication, also highlight the similarities between emails and spoken forms of communication (1982; cited in Kankaanranta, 2005, p. 47). Patterns seem to differ between written communication in hard copy form and electronic forms, “with e-mail typically exhibiting many characteristics of vocal communication, perhaps in part because it also involves little pre-planning or post-editing” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 116).

These hybrid and informal characteristics of email communication accounted for the language use patterns reported in email communication at banks. Employees reported sending and receiving direct emails or forwarded emails from colleagues in languages other than English and this trend reflects language use in other workplace studies (Lester, 1994; Nickerson, 1999, 2000; Kankaanranta, 2005; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a). The use of languages other than English in emails in all three banks firstly reflected broadly the use of languages other than English in spoken communication (meetings and informal communication), suggesting the hybrid features of emails contributed to language choice. When compared with written reports, the more informal nature of communication in emails also appeared to be one of the reasons for the greater range of languages used. Its informal nature appeared to encourage more relational aspects of written communication (cf Nickerson, 1999; Kankaanranta, 2005; Waldvogel, 2005), since participants reported flexibly using languages other than English in emails for personal and relational purposes (see extract 6.9).

However, although a wider range of languages were used in email communication than written reports, English was still very much the language most frequently reported in work-related emails. Furthermore, it was much more frequent in emails than in the spoken genres of communication discussed above. In this sense, the written features email communication shares with written reports, appear to have contributed to

the use of English in emails. Nickerson's (1999) case study in a Dutch division of a large multinational also found that email communication formed a vital part of information exchange within the multinational company and the use of English was embedded in the organisational practices of the corporation. English plays an important role in communication within other companies, where emails can be used to deliver documents for information or content, and notices for multiple recipients about workplace issues (Kankaanranta, 2005).

6.2.3.2 *Presentations to colleagues*

Like email communication, presentations are hybrid forms of communication. Presentations combine elements of both spoken and written communication, since presenters both orally present as well as read or refer to the written slides projected for the audience. The initial questionnaire results indicated that English was the language most frequently used in presentations across the three banks. A clear majority of employees reported using English very often or almost always in presentations. However, the results also indicated that other languages (French, German, Luxembourgish, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Greek & Dutch) were reported in presentations between colleagues. The hybrid nature of presentations was illustrated during focus groups and in hindsight language use questions about presentations could have been designed to fully capture this aspect.

In focus groups, employees reported how two languages often operated together as they communicated to their audience, often using English, the language of the written slides, and other languages depending on the audience. At Bank George, a Belgian IT specialist indicated that he used French and English in presentations without difficulty, noting the usefulness of having slides in English when communicating technical aspects of

information technology to groups of people with different linguistic repertoires. Extract 6.4 highlights how an employee at Bank Ivan reports accommodating to the attendees at the presentation, and the use of English as the common written language.

Extract 6.4 Focus Group at Bank Ivan

Moderator: *In what situations would you use Swedish in a presentation?*

Swedish employee: *When the group or audience is Swedish, I mean I speak Swedish and if the audience is all Swedish speaking, then I would use Swedish, but I'd probably have the slides in English because it's always easier. I find, if you prepare for a presentation and then all of sudden somebody else might get invited as well, or you did a presentation and a manager asks you to do the same thing for my team. And then it is quite likely that the group would not be all Swedish speaking, so the written would be personally always prepared in English, but then if the group is all Swedish then the discussion would be done in Swedish.....*

Moderator: *So do you find that difficult to have all your materials in English and then present in another language?*

Swedish/British employee: *If we did, then we wouldn't, then we take it in English. We tend to use our mother tongue because we find it easier. Otherwise we would take it in English.*

Clearly, in some presentations two languages were operating at the same time as employees both referred to and read slides, as well as communicated

verbally. It appears that it was easier for employees to use two languages together as they communicated orally and via written slides rather than presenting in only one language. This accommodation to audience indicated the hybrid nature of presentations. The written slides of the presentation remained in the language originally produced, in many cases English, since it was difficult for employees to rewrite their slides at a moment's notice. The oral dimension of a presentation could be adjusted very quickly and played an important part in language choice. In contrast to written communication, where often no immediate feedback is possible, in spoken communication, the speaker could "observe his interlocutor, and, if he wishes to, modify what he is saying to make it more accessible or acceptable to his hearer" (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 5). Furthermore in spoken communication, "the speaker has the advantage of being able to monitor his listener's minute by minute reaction" (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 5).

Accordingly, employees in presentations were able to take full advantage of this hybrid form of communication, by accommodating to the audience and switching languages, as well as presenting the information in a common written language, such as English. Of course, accommodation to the audience was not always the case as it depends on the linguistic repertoire of the audience. However, Nekvapil and Sherman's study (2009b, p. 132-133) also highlights the use of English, Czech and German in one presentation, with the use of Czech and German being used to communicate at different times within the presentation with native speakers of these languages. Nair-Venugopal also found that in more formal settings of training and corporate seminars in Malaysia, more local speech forms are the norm. She notes that "not only does interpersonal accommodation in a multilingual society incorporate features of pronunciation, accentedness, speech rate, and content, it goes beyond them to the sociolinguistic parameters of code

choice” (2001, p. 33). Furthermore, the flexibility with which employees switched to the most appropriate language when presenting at banks resembled the flexibility reported in spoken communication across all banks. The frequent and widespread use of English in presentations may have reflected the language use trends in written communication, where English was used predominantly.

To review, the above discussion has illuminated the use of English as well as other languages through an examination of language use in specific genres. In summary, English, as the most common language of employees, was by far the most frequently used language in written reports, and other languages were used considerably less frequently. Meetings were conducted in English and a number of languages, with a shared language negotiated at the beginning. Informal spoken communication (social talk, small talk, interactions over coffee, in the corridor or at the canteen) had the widest range of languages used of all the genres. Email communication and presentations were also multilingual activities due to the spoken and written elements of these hybrid genres; however, English still played an important role in presentations and a dominant role in emails. Clearly, this discussion has highlighted how employees’ practices differed from the monolingual English-speaking context implied by the working language policies at Bank George and Bank James. The pressures which the medium of written and spoken communication places on language choice are discussed in further detail at the end of section 6.3.3, as part of the discussion of why languages other than English were reported in practice.

6.3 PART THREE: BOTTOM-UP PRESSURES ON PRACTICES

This section discusses bottom-up pressures on language choice (see figure 6.1) as part of the bottom-up analysis of implicit dimensions of policy of

working languages. Three dimensions of context emerged as the most important bottom-up pressures on language choice (participants, functions and the medium of communication), and are the focus of part three. Importantly, these three pressures also correspond with the dimensions of context in the ethnography of communication framework (Hymes 1972, 1974; Saville-Troike, 2003).

6.3.1 Participants

Although the case study banks differed in size, specialisation, the percentage of specific nationals employed and clientele, all three banks had one feature in common, namely an international workforce from a wide range of countries. Employees' membership in different speech communities and their linguistic repertoires were some of the most important bottom-up pressures on employees' language choices and are discussed below.

6.3.1.1 *Speech Communities*

The speech community is a useful way of conceptualising communities of employees and what they report to be happening in practice in terms of language use. The concept of a speech community is fundamental in Linguistics and "the unspoken basis of most linguistics research in Linguistics" (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999, p. 178). Furthermore, it is central to the ethnography of communication framework (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 14) and the speech community is identified as the fundamental unit in language policy analysis, since "language policy operates within a speech community, of whatever size" (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 40).

Members of a speech community are unified by norms about uses of language (Hymes, 1974, 1972) and a workplace or organisation is given as one such example of a "definable social or political or religious group or community" (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 40; see also 2007, p. 4). Consequently, banks

in this study were defined as speech communities, where employees used English as the most common language across a multinational group. Although a general consensus exists in linguistics that “a speech community cannot be exactly equated with a group of people who speak the same language” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 14; see also Hymes, 1972, p. 54; 1974, p. 47), many definitions for the speech community have one aspect in common (Lyons, 1970; Hymes, 1962; Fishman, 1971; Gumperz, 1965; Labov, 1972), “that some significant dimension of experience be shared, and for ‘speech community’ that the shared dimension be related to ways in which members of the group use, value, or interpret language” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 15). This shared communication can either involve “a shared language variety or shared ways of interpreting the different language varieties” (Mesthrie et al., 2000, p. 38).

Due to ethnolinguistic diversity of employees in international banks, nationality or ethnicity was the linking factor which drew employees together into additional national speech communities in banks. Languages are often symbolic of ethnic identity (see Fishman, 1997, pp. 329-331; Crystal, 2003, p. 22; Spolsky, 2004a, p. 219) and employees reported that nationality and associated mother tongues played an important role in language use patterns within banks (cf Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005, p. 407). However, this connection is not based solely on language, but it draws on group identity and the history and politics associated with that particular country (Saville-Troike, 2003, pp. 14-17).

Accordingly, within banks with between 18-24 nationalities, participants reported a number of speech communities within the larger speech community of banks, oriented around nationality and language loyalty. These speech communities were particularly noticeable at Bank Ivan where during the World Cup Soccer tournament employees hung national flags in

open-plan offices to identify particular groups of nationalities. Furthermore, employees commented on Belgian, Luxembourgish, German and Swedish communities of speakers, as well as the larger Francophone speech community, made up of employees from France, Luxembourg, Belgium and other native and non-native speakers of French. Employees who spoke languages of speech communities as second, third or fourth languages also reported participating in these speech communities. A useful way of conceptualising this is the 'soft-shelled' and 'hard-shelled' typology of speech communities:

Speech communities which primarily use one of the world languages are more likely to be "soft-shelled", because it will be known as a second language by many others, and interaction across the boundary will be relatively easy in both directions. A speech community speaking a language with more limited distribution would more likely be "hard-shelled", because relatively few outside the community learn to use it (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 16).

The particular language determines the strength of the boundary of speech communities (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 16). For this reason, the notion of participating in discrete or overlapping speech communities within banks was particularly salient for multilingual employees. The following quote highlights how due to the variety of speech communities within banks, employees with multilingual linguistic repertoires had the potential to participate in a number of speech communities in banks, depending on the context:

Individuals, particularly in complex societies, may thus participate in a number of discrete or overlapping speech communities, just as they participate in a number of social settings. Which one or ones a person orients himself or herself to at any moment -which set of rules he or she uses - is

part of the strategy of communication. To understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to recognise that each member of a community has a repertoire of social identities, and each identity in a given context is associated with a number of appropriate verbal and nonverbal forms of expression (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 17).

Clearly, individuals within speech communities have the potential for multiple identities which are linked with language. Sridhar (1996, p. 49) similarly indicates “the shifting, overlapping, intersecting, and complementing identities” that characterise multilingual speech communities (cf Bolinger, 1975; see also Omoniyi & White, 2006; Fought, 2006; Oakes, 2001, pp. 127-131; Extra & Gorter, 2008, p. 8; Mar-Molierno & Stevenson, 2006c for further discussion of multiple identities in European contexts and elsewhere). Consequently, this research conceptualised identity, and in particular ethnic identity, in a similar way, that is, as dynamic and fluid rather than static. Although the data did not lend itself to an in-depth analysis of how people actively and dynamically constructed their fluid identities in interaction and used language(s) as a resource for this purpose, it must be noted that a person’s nationality/ethnicity was not a simple construct. For example, just because two employees had the same nationality, this did not necessarily mean that both were able or wanted to communicate in the same languages or that they had proficiency to the same degree in the native language(s) of their country or those taught through the country’s education system (see Weber, 2008 for a problematisation of linguistic repertoire for Luxembourgers).

The linguistic repertoire of members of speech communities differed considerably. Dorian (1982, p. 29) includes low-proficiency ‘semi’ speakers as member of speech communities whose “receptive skills and knowledge of sociolinguistic norms allow them to use their limited productive skills” in

highly successful ways in Gaelic interactions. Code-switching can occur “between actors from different countries, who have no, or only a poor command of both languages and who are interacting in an organisational setting” (Loos, 2007, p. 50). Furthermore, it is rather uncommon for multilinguals to have equal levels of competence in reading, writing, speaking and listening in all the languages of their repertoire (Sridhar, 1996, p. 50). Consequently, the following section examines linguistic repertoire as the next bottom-up pressure on language practices and its impact on language choice between employees at banks.

6.3.1.2 *Linguistic repertoire of participants*

Within banks, a variety of potential speakers and addressees existed and language choice became more complex, when one considered the number of nationalities represented in banks with their varied linguistic repertoires and competencies. Accordingly, employees in all three banks repeatedly emphasised the need to respond to one’s audience and communicate in a language common to their interlocutors (cf Fishman et al, 1971; Bell, 1984). Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973, 1980; Giles, et. al, 1991) provides a basis for accounting for linguistic shifts toward (or away from interactants) in terms of accent, speech style, pace or language code. Convergence is “a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other’s communicative behaviours” to signal similarity and solidarity (Giles et al., 1991, pp. 7-8) which is based on a cost/benefit analysis of using particular languages to achieve goals.

Hence, accommodating to one’s audience and finding a common language in banks indicated the crucial bottom-up pressure that linguistic repertoire (and competence) of speakers and addressees had in influencing language choice in multilingual workplaces (cf Marschan et al, 1997; Babcock and Du-

Babcock, 2001; Norisada, 2007; Lønsmann, 2007). Employees in other multinational companies also report “unanimously that the most important factor affecting language choice was the target group and group members’ language skills” (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005, p. 406). However, it is worth noting that employees may have also chosen to speak a language that not everyone understood. “Language use at work depends upon the ability of work colleagues and their willingness to reciprocate its use” (Williams, 2005, p. 167).

The linguistic repertoire of national speech communities also influenced language choices from the bottom-up. National speech communities shared a language and this sharing of a common language could at times override the influence of the working language, English, in a range of written and spoken genres. For example, national speech communities were most frequently found within customer-related departments; nationals from the same country as the dominant group of clients were employed in these departments with predominantly native competence in the language of the client (see chapter five). Reported language use practices within these departments made up of one nationality differed considerably from practices in departments, where a mixture of nationalities were employed and English was used. In these client-related departments in banks, employees had a greater degree of flexibility in communication with colleagues and used languages other than English (usually the language of the client) much more frequently, than in other departments or in interdepartmental communication. Vaara et al.’s (2005, p. 615) study of a merger between banks in Scandinavia similarly reports Finnish-speaking havens.

However, the linguistic repertoire of national speech communities was not the only bottom-up pressure on language choice. The linguistic repertoire of groups of colleagues that met together within and across other departments

was equally important. In extract 6.5, where the group was composed of a number of nationalities with different linguistic repertoires, English was reportedly used as the most common language between employees, where no other common language existed.

Extract 6.5 Focus Group at Bank George

Moderator: *Are there particular types of meetings where you would use French rather than English?*

Dutch employee: *Well, internal meetings if it's just with direct contacts within the unit and if they're French-speaking, then it'll be French. Or with Germans, it might be German. If it's across unit or section, it depends on who speaks what. There may be French and German-speaking people and the meeting will go in English. It depends on the skills of the people.*

This extract clearly illustrates both the importance of the linguistic repertoire of a group that comes together and the common language shared by national speech communities. When Germans came together, they often communicated in German. Francophone (French, Belgian & Luxembourgish) employees often chose French in group communication, where there were assumedly no non-French speaking employees present. Consequently, although English was the formal working language of the bank, in practice both the linguistic repertoire of groups and the common language shared in national speech communities influenced language choice. Based on reported language practices at banks, the more interlocutors who joined in a communicative event, the more likely the choice of languages was limited, and importance was placed on the linguistic repertoire of the joining interlocutor. Consequently, the number of interlocutors involved in any spoken or written interaction also had a significant impact on language

choice. Bell similarly notes that “the sharper the linguistic differences between codes, the larger the issue of intelligibility looms, the stronger are the pressures to accommodate to the audience, and hence the greater the influence of peripheral members on the speaker” (1984, p. 176).

In comparison, it was much easier to find at least one common language when only two individuals with their respective linguistic repertoires were involved. Consequently, a much wider variety of languages were used in one-to-one communication than in group communication (e.g. modern Greek, Romanian). For multilingual speakers and addressees who had two or three languages that were understood by both interlocutors, language choice was determined by bottom-up pressures other than linguistic repertoire. The relational function of language was more likely to influence individual communication, rather than group communication, since language choice was more limited when a group of employees communicated and linguistic repertoire and competence was the primary concern (see next section).

However, although individual communication allowed for more flexibility, language choice may still have been limited, since the greater the ethnolinguistic diversity of nationals involved in an interaction, the less flexible the language choice of employees could be. It is possible that English was the only common language for both individuals and English was often used (see chapter seven). In extract 6.6, the participant reports that he accommodated to the linguistic repertoire of the individual, unless the interlocutor’s linguistic repertoire was unknown.

Extract 6.6 Focus Group at Bank Ivan

Moderator: *What would be typical examples that you think of where you would actually use French?*

Spanish employee: *Well if I would to go to a French-speaking person I would just adapt to French. I think you adapt to the person, if you speak the language as well, you just adapt to the person you are requiring something from. Or if you go for coffee and you meet someone you just adapt to the language that person speaks.*

This extract illustrates how accommodation to employees' linguistic repertoire influenced language choice in banks, nicely exemplifying the important bottom-up pressure of linguistic repertoire on practices.

In summary, the above sections have illuminated the bottom-up pressures on language choice associated with the characteristics of employees at the grass-roots level. Employees' membership in national speech communities (and their linguistic repertoire) resulted in a range of languages being used across banks in different contexts. However, communication did not just happen between members of the same national speech communities, interactions between different groups of nationals and individuals also took place. Employees indicated that converging to the common language of the group or other interlocutors was essential. In many cases, language choice was very limited because there was only one language that all interlocutors involved in the communicative event spoke and understood. In these situations, employees' linguistic repertoire and competence was of primary concern. In many other instances of communication, a number of languages were possible and employees' linguistic repertoire was not the sole bottom-up pressure to influence language choice. Other factors such as the function and medium/genre of communication influenced language choice and contributed to the complexity of practices in multilingual contexts. The salience of each factor changed according to the different contexts in which interactions took place. The importance of these additional bottom-up pressures will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.2 Function

The linguistic repertoire of participants (both who was communicating and to whom) has been examined in the previous section and their influence on employees' practices. However, these were not the only pressures relevant to language choice in multilingual banks. As noted by Saville-Troike (2003), the function of communication or why participants are communicating also contributes to language choice. These functions can be analysed in many ways, but one useful distinction is between transactional and relational functions (Brown & Yule, 1983; Koester, 2004; Holmes, 1995, 2005).

Brown and Yule (1983, pp. 1-2) define language used to communicate 'factual or propositional information' as transactional. In this type of transactionally focused interaction, "what the speaker (or writer) has primarily in mind is the efficient transference of information. Language used in such a situation is primarily 'message oriented'. It is important that the recipient get the informative detail correct" (Brown and Yule, 1983, p. 2). The interactional or relational function of language, on the other hand, involves the expression of 'social relations and personal attitudes' and pivots around language used to establish or maintain relationships, for example, phatic use of language, role-relationships, peer-solidarity, turn-taking in conversation, saving face of both speaker and hearer (Brown and Yule, 1983).

Transactional (content-oriented) or relational (interpersonal) functions are best viewed as complementary rather than completely separate and distinct categories (Brown & Yule, 1983; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Coupland, 2000; Koester, 2004). Holmes describes these functions in terms of scales. Some interactions may be low in terms of information content and high in terms of interpersonal content and vice versa; in particular interactions, participants may have more transactional functions in mind, or may focus on relational

functions, or both, depending on the context. These functions are not mutually exclusive and operate in an interaction at the same time, although one function may dominate (2001, p. 10; see also Holmes, 2008). In relation to workplace research, Holmes (2005, p. 9) defines transactional and relational objectives in the following way:

- Transactional objectives, aimed at getting things done and meeting the organisations' goals
- Relational or interpersonal objectives, aimed at maintaining good relations between people at work

In the following sections the influence of transactional and relational functions on language choices and in particular for languages other than English is explored. The functions are discussed separately below to focus attention on each in turn and illustrate the transactional and relational goals that motivated a switch or use of a particular language. However, as noted above these functions occur at the same time to varying degrees. Although the reason for the language choice may be primarily transactional or relational, once the language choice has been made, the secondary function is also always involved to some extent.

6.3.2.1.1 Transactional Functions

As noted above, institutional talk is described as involving “an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity” (Drew and Heritage, 1992, p. 22). Drew and Heritage also indicate that

whether in a medical consultation, or an emergency call to the police, or a job interview or a cross-examination in court, both lay and professional participants generally show an orientation to institutional tasks or functions

in the design of their conduct, most obviously by the kinds of goals they pursue (1992, p. 22).

Consequently, institutional interactions differ from interactions in other contexts; considerations such as task, efficiency and additional constraints influence communication within institutional contexts (Heritage, 1989, pp. 33-34).

Hill and Zyl (2002, p. 30) in their study of a multilingual workforce in an engineering workplace in South Africa found that in addition to English, Afrikaans and indigenous languages were reported as important languages “to get the work done” or in other words meet their content-related and interpersonal goals. Holmes and Stubbe (2004) discuss how some employees in New Zealand workplaces code-switch between (1) Samoan, English and (2) different varieties of New Zealand English for transactional and relational purposes. New Zealand employees make linguistic choices ‘to achieve particular practical outcomes’ (2004, p. 136). Participants in multilingual banks similarly reported making strategic language choices depending on their transactional goals. Extract 6.7 illustrates how the transactional function of language could be an important factor influencing language choice:

Extract 6.7 Focus Group at Bank Ivan

Norwegian Employee: *In the end it depends on what is the goal of the meeting or when you walk around, if you want to reach that goal. How do I most easily reach that goal? Is that by speaking another language? If so, then I do that. So you try to adapt to the situation and what you want to achieve in the end.*

There were a number of examples reported in focus groups of strategic language choice for transactional purposes. When a Swedish participant

wanted to argue her case in a meeting, she chose the language that she felt most comfortable in. Employees also noted that one learnt which languages employees preferred to speak and another Swedish employee indicated strategically choosing this language to smooth the way to achieving their goal and get the things they needed. One Dutch employee reported that for particular nationalities “it’s easier to get things done if they speak in their own language”. A German employee described how when she needed to sort out a problem, she wanted to use German to achieve her goal, so she chose a German manager to communicate with. When this German manager was unavailable it became more difficult. She came to an arrangement with another manager with passive understanding in German; she spoke German and he spoke English but she reported that in the end it didn’t work speaking different languages, especially when they had been trained differently and used different content-related terms.

Employees reported that transactional functions of language also influenced language choice within banks when communicating with external parties, such as with clients or other agencies within Luxembourg. Extract 6.8 highlights how the goal of getting accurate information published in external sources influenced language choice for a Luxembourger.

Extract 6.8 Focus Group at Bank George

Luxembourgish employee:	<i>I think if you do speak the languages to people you have on the phone, for example, if a German journalist calls up and you know that he doesn’t want to speak English, you speak to him in German, at least you do know that if he has another question, like in 2 days time, he’s going to call back. If he would know that you would only speak to him in English, he wouldn’t call back and make up his own mind</i>
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and print something which might be totally wrong. So, I think people you talk to, feel much more comfortable in talking once more again to you.

In this instance, her content-related goal of dispersion of accurate information for public relations of the bank influenced her language choice. However, transactional functions were not the sole reason for language choice, the employee was also concerned about the relationship with the journalist. As discussed previously, interactions are never just transactional in nature, relational functions also come into the mix. Employees found it more interesting to talk about relational functions of language and the next section discusses these functions and their influence on employees' reported language use practices.

6.3.2.2. *Relational Functions*

As defined above, relational functions of language centre around goals related to maintaining good relations with work colleagues. It appears that language choice (including code-switching) is often used to establish and maintain solidarity in workplaces (see Angouri, 2007; Holmes & Stubbe, 2004; Goldstein, 2001; Nair-venugopal, 2001; Morais, 1998) and in multilingual classrooms (Camilleri, 1996). Poncini (2003, 2004) describes how in an Italian company strategic code-switching to languages other than English is used to fulfil a solidarity-building function and promote a sense of groupness, whilst at the same time being involved in content-related (transactional) tasks in English. Code-switching between languages also builds common ground and assists in managing participation and the business relationship (Poncini, 2003, p. 30). Foreign employees at the Siemens automotive subsidiary similarly chose to use Czech "to establish a

good working atmosphere and to enhance social contact" (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006, p. 320), even though they primarily used German and English in their work-related tasks.

In a similar way, employees at banks reported making language choices based on relational purposes such as to establish and maintain solidarity. In the focus-group discussions, employees explicitly discussed the connection between languages and relationships, noting that the language a relationship began in influenced subsequent language choice. A Belgian/Spanish employee and Swedish employee noted because their relationship was established in English, they continued to use English, even though they both spoke French. Furthermore, the Icelandic/Danish employee noted it was quite normal to switch to German to communicate with her German colleague, immediately after a meeting in English in which both she and her German colleague participated, since that was their normal language of conversation. Employees added that rapport between interlocutors was very quickly established in one particular language, highlighting how language choice indicated collegiality and was used for relational purposes. Louhiala-Salminen et al., (2005, p. 406) similarly note that Finnish bank employees used Swedish with their Swedish colleagues, if their relationship had begun in this language (cf Spolsky & Cooper, 1991).

Employees also reported using their mother tongue as a way of maintaining and enhancing relationships with fellow nationals in a multilingual and multicultural environment. In the focus-group discussion, employees discussed the frequent use of one's mother tongue in communication within the bank. One Swedish employee emphasised its relational function, when she described the awkwardness that occurred when employees of the same nationality used a language, other than their mother tongue. Her comments indicated that linguistic competence was not the primary reason for this

awkwardness but also the employees' desire to enhance relationships with other fellow nationals in their own national tongue. When nationals reported using their mother tongue together, it was not just chosen to achieve their goals in the easiest way possible, but also because it was used to indicate solidarity, collegiality with fellow nationals and to express national identity (cf Holmes & Stubbe, 2004; Dorian, 1982). Employees in this study reported how frequently groups of nationals would question why they were communicating in English, when they were all Swedish (or all German or all French). However, this relational and symbolic use of languages was not limited to larger speech communities within banks, but also applied to small speech communities (Danish, Dutch, Greek, Spanish and to a limited extent Italian, Spanish and Luxembourgish). Morais (1998) similarly found in her study of language choice in a Malaysian car-assembly plant that Malay, Chinese and Indian workers used their own mother tongues for intra-group communication and their mother tongues served as an indicator of membership in these ethnic networks and promoted solidarity along ethnic lines at the workplace. Nekvapil and Sherman (2009b, p. 135) note that the use of the Czech and German languages symbolise national identity in their German-based multinational companies. Furthermore in less ethnolinguistically diverse contexts, Maori and Samoan New Zealanders make choices "to signal and enact their ethnic identities, as well as to construct and reinforce good relationships with members of their own ethnic group in the workplace" (Holmes & Stubbe, 2004, p. 140).

In extract 6.9, an employee at Bank Ivan describes how relational functions of language influenced language choice in email communication between employees of the same nationality or who had similar linguistic repertoires.

Extract 6.9 Focus Group at Bank Ivan

German/British employee:

I think it comes in slowly. I mean if you're new here and whatever nationality or language you speak, you're going to go by the rules and do it in English. But then you test the waters, you realise, ah, that person is also French, so you just start saying 'salut, ca va?' and then the rest of the email in English. And then maybe the reply comes and it's a bit more in French. It kind of has a snow ball effect and all of a sudden the whole email is in French or German. And I've noticed it myself with Luxembourgers, a lot of them speak Luxembourgish amongst each other. Some of them write actually Luxembourgish amongst each other. And even if it's a personal email you know, you know you just want to say 'hey thanks for the nice lunch', it sets the tone of how the personal relationship affects the professional relationship.

This employee explains how interactions often began in English, the working language of the bank. However, once the nationality of the person was known, two factors influenced language choice, namely, the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutor and relational functions of language, resulting in at times a complete switch to another language. Furthermore, the importance of language use at lunchtime (in non-bank related informal communication) and its influence on communication directly related to the bank was also touched on in this extract. Language choices made in the more personal sphere influenced the professional sphere. As noted above once a relationship had been established in a particular language in the personal

sphere, it was likely to continue unless other bottom-up pressures influenced language choice.

In summary, transactional and relational functions of language were significant pressures on language choice across banks. Financial transactions are the essence of bank business and transactional goals were intricately related to these content-related tasks. As noted by Coulmas (1992, p. 12) these transactions are communicative in nature, since “not only do economic agents receive information, they also release information, especially for the consumption of potential and actual clients”, and these transactional goals were important for both communication with colleagues and external parties outside the bank. Relational functions of language also permeate transactionally focused conversations for relationship building (Koester, 2004) and this research suggests the importance of languages other than English for relational functions, such as to establish rapport, collegiality, solidarity or maintaining relationships with fellow nationals. Relational functions contributed to language choice and the multilingual reality discussed in previous sections. The next section turns to analysing how the bottom-up pressure of medium of communication influences language choice in these multilingual banks.

6.3.3 Medium

Both medium and genre influenced employees’ choice of language in this workplace context. How employees communicated (the written versus spoken medium) was made up of six genres of communication in this research (written reports, emails, presentations, meetings, telephone conversations and informal spoken communication). In terms of production, spoken and written communication “make somewhat different demands on language-producers” (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 4, & 15-17) and language use

trends indicated that the medium of communication appears to have influenced language use practices. For example, in written genres of communication, English played a dominant role in communication, whereas in the spoken genres of communication, a much wider variety of languages were used (cf Louhiala-Salminen et al, 2005; Chew, 2005; Vaara et al, 2005; Piekari et al., 2005). Accordingly, the final bottom-up pressure for discussion is the broader medium of communication and its inherent characteristics. Due to the connection between medium and genre, it is difficult to discuss the bottom-up pressure of medium without illustrating how the subordinate category of genres also influenced language choice and language use patterns. Consequently, genres are used to broadly illustrate how the characteristics of written and spoken communication influenced language choice in conjunction with other factors in the following sections.

6.3.3.1 *Written communication*

The nature of written communication has consequences for language choice and practices in banks. Three characteristics of written communication are discussed (in combination with a range of other pressures) to highlight the influence on language choices. These characteristics include its permanent distributive attributes and the higher standard of articulation often expected with the medium of written communication.

The nature of the medium of written communication has influenced language choice in both group and individual communication. Written communication is permanent and serves as a record (Paradis et al., 1985, p. 289; Brown & Yule, 1983) and is “required when an accountability for precise detail is critical” (Paradis et al., 1985, p. 289). Consequently, when a participant chose to write a report or email, it could be widely distributed and read by more than those for whom the written document was originally

intended. The imagined reader (or audience) was important when designing texts (Coulthard, p. 1994, p. 5) and “a sense of audience limits as well as guides writer’s efforts” (Odell, 1985, p. 271). Thus, the intended audience of written communication impacted on language choice. In banks, employees reported that the audience for which the report or email was intended very quickly changed and so consequently would the linguistic repertoire of the audience. As a result, employees indicated their consideration of the potential or largest possible audience, when writing. They reported often using the language most widely understood, to avoid having to rewrite the report in a different language, before it could be distributed elsewhere. Quell’s study of language choice at the European Commission similarly indicates that written communication at the Commission follows the principle of the smallest common denominator.

According to this principle, the sender of a message will, when s/he is in doubt about who might receive the message, use a language which s/he perceives as being most likely to be understood by most people (Quell, 1997, p. 64).

Nekvapil and Sherman similarly note the push towards the use of a *lingua franca*, such as English in written communication, where there is a more general audience, given the difficulties associated with translating into different languages (2009a, pp. 191-192). Clearly, language choice was a complex interaction of pressures, that is, the medium of communication and the linguistic repertoire of both the writer and the reader, and the number of readers being communicated with.

Expectations associated with the medium of written communication in banks also contributed to language choice, alongside other additional features. Written communication is “not just visible speech, but rather a mode of

verbal communication in its own right” and consequently writing changes “the speaker’s attitude to, and awareness of, their language” (Coulmas, 1989, pp. 12-14). When compared with spoken communication, a higher standard of vocabulary and grammar was often expected in written communication and this is primarily because written languages are often standardised, which involves “some degree of regularisation or codification (for example, in a grammar or a dictionary)” (Holmes, 2008, p. 77; see also Mesthrie et al., 2000). Furthermore, attention to detail and articulation also appears to be more important when “written messages can be retrieved at will in their exact original form” (Paradis et al., 1985, p. 289) and when writers can take their time choosing words, expressions and structuring their written texts (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 5).

Due to employees’ varying levels of competence in languages, this had implications for language choice in written communication. As indicated previously, written reports were largely in English. At Bank George, employees were provided with a booklet of ‘writing guidelines’ (or standards) covering a range of grammatical and vocabulary items to promote a standardized use of English in written reports, highlighting the higher degree of articulation expected in written communication. One Norwegian employee preferred English rather than his native tongue, when writing to Swedes or Norwegians. He reported being more familiar with words and terms in this professional banking context in English than in Norwegian and was therefore concerned that he may transfer incorrect terms from Norwegian into his Swedish. This reticence to use Norwegian in more formal forms of written communication may have also been associated with the topic of communication, since “lexical requirements are also quite specific to many occupational areas” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 67). It is unclear whether this employee had had more training or work-experience in

English-speaking environments than in Norwegian-speaking environments. In any case, he rated his written skills in English as higher than his written skills in Norwegian and felt more confident in English. He reported using English because *“it is less embarrassing to write bad English than bad Norwegian”*, suggesting that expectations associated with the medium of written communication influenced his language choice. However, the high standards and expectations associated with the written medium of communication also accounted in part for the limited use of languages other than English in banks. One German cross-border employee at Bank Ivan noted that she preferred to write reports in her mother tongue, where possible, since she could express herself better in her native tongue than in English. Hence, she used German, when only Germans were required to read the report. These examples illustrate the interaction between the bottom-up pressure of medium (and genre) with employees’ linguistic repertoire and competence.

6.3.3.2 *A hybrid medium of communication*

As discussed in section 6.2.3.1, with the technological advances of email, a shift has occurred from formal business correspondence (format-bound business writing) to informal message exchange (non-format bound writing) (Kankaanranta, 2005). Consequently, email is an important hybrid genre of written communication for exploring language choice, and employees in particular drew attention to this medium. In extract 6.10, employees discuss the nature of email communication in a multilingual and multilingual context and how the characteristics of email communication alongside a range of other factors influenced their language choices.

Extract 6.10 Focus Group at Bank Ivan

Belgian/Spanish employee: *It is also due to the language. At times, someone can take something as an order while it's not said as an order. Instead of saying "please can I ask you to do this", that person would say "do it" [laughter]. Sometimes we get emails like that and people say what's this "do it" and whatever. And people get annoyed with it but it's like you have to know a little bit about background.*

Swedish Deputy Director: *Yes, I think it's interesting to spend some minutes on this because I get a lot of feedback, nasty and good on languages.*

Like you [German employee] said, if you want to have something done and to explain something in detail you would prefer do it in German. Of course. Otherwise you have a collision, where you use the wrong word.

Just recently there was a real flare up here because of an email where something had to be done. The person responds back "what's your problem?" and blah, blah, blah. But that person who received it of course saw it as an insult. "Do you have a problem, huh?" Vous avez un problème, hein? (you have a problem, huh?) [laughter]. It's like when you're driving and you take the window down and shout [laughter] and you're going to knock someone down [laughter]. I think that if you really want to be precise you probably better do it in your own language.

Swedish employee: *But that's where you have the dimension of email. When you have a lot of written communication compared to when you meet*

somebody face to face as well, that really emphasises those things. You can be impolite, without even intending to or understanding.

German employee:

I think, it is easier to talk face to face and explain the problem than by email. Especially for me to explain in it English. Then sometimes I have not the right word for doing it the right way and the other can understand it the wrong way and then oops and then the same situation.

Swedish/British employee:

you can't hear a tone in email and it's easy to misunderstand. You can't hear whether it's said with a kind or loud voice.

Norwegian employee:

And each language reflects personality of what different cultures are expecting. I mean the French are very formal in writing. In German, people want to be spoken to with their title. Or while in the USA you would say "hi Bob" to a partner in a consultancy firm. When you use English and if it's to a French person that can be easily misunderstood because it's very direct and straight to the point instead of "sincères salutations" (yours sincerely) with the blah blah around and it always what the French expect in a way.

Spanish employee:

So, the conclusion is, it's better to communicate verbally and then confirm in writing to avoid misunderstandings.

In summary, extract 6.10 illuminates the interaction between different levels of proficiency in different languages and this hybrid medium of communication, and how this influenced language choices. Firstly, varying degrees of linguistic competence in non-native languages and understanding

of cultures could often cause misunderstandings when writing emails. As noted above, the Swedish Deputy Director did not mean to communicate what was interpreted from his question in English, resulting in about ten nasty emails from his colleague. The Swedish Deputy Director describes how his question was interpreted as a common French expression used in instances of road rage often seen in Luxembourg. Due to some of these misunderstandings, some employees chose to use their own mother tongue in emails in order to ensure understanding. Nonetheless, emails can cause offence or misunderstandings, when none were intended even in monolingual contexts and this is associated with this hybrid written medium of communication (cf Waldvogel, 2005; Nickerson, 1999).

Extract 6.10 also indicates that in these multilingual and multicultural contexts, some employees also indicated a preference for face-to-face communication to avoid misinterpretation (cf Waldvogel, 2005; Nickerson, 1999), allowing meaning to be ascertained “from not only verbal and nonverbal message form and its content, but also from extralinguistic context, and from the information and expectations which participants bring to the communicative event” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 120). The German employee indicated elsewhere how she switched between languages and mediums for these reasons. If at all possible, she preferred to speak to the person in German first and then confirm in writing (via email) in English, highlighting the complexity of language choice in this technologically advanced and hybrid medium of email.

As discussed previously, emails have certain features associated with spoken communication, and “e-mail has developed nonverbal visual symbols to represent affective states which are conveyed by intonation in speech: e.g. ☺ ‘happy’, ☹ ‘sad’, etc.” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 116). These ‘affective states’ would often be “discernible, if the words have been uttered aloud in a face-

to-face encounter” (Danet, 2001, p. 18). However, although these spoken elements have developed in this hybrid medium and influence language choice (see section 6.3.3.1), these features are not always appropriate or used at all times by everyone. Consequently, an employee writing an email can often not override the effect of the words by using tone, gestures and postural stance (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 4), in the same way as one might in spoken communication. Due to the lack of ‘voice quality’ effects which are by and large not available in the written medium of emails (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 116), emails are probably more closely associated with written communication. Some of the difficulties employees reported in extract 6.10 were directly associated with these written features of this medium, alongside its interaction with linguistic repertoire and competence. Consequently, employees’ adjusted their language practices accordingly. In the next section, the interaction between a number of characteristics associated with the medium of spoken communication and language choice in banks is addressed.

6.3.3.3 *Spoken communication*

Spoken communication differs from written communication in a number of ways and these differences contributed to language choice in banks. Firstly, spoken communication cannot easily be widely distributed (unless recorded) in the same way as emails and written reports. This difference contributed to the wide range of languages reported in spoken communication; the audience immediately in front of employees was of primary concern, rather than the potentially wider audience typically associated with written communication. Secondly, the spoken word is more transitory compared with the written word (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 14). This also influenced expectations about spoken communication in banks which in turn influenced language use. Employees expected and accepted a lower level of accuracy in

articulation, grammar and vocabulary in spoken communication. A Swedish employee at Bank Ivan indicated that at the bank there was an open and understanding atmosphere when trying to speak languages that were not one's mother tongue, since everybody was in the same situation i.e. non-native speakers of particular languages (see also extract 6.13). Clearly, these two characteristics of the spoken medium of communication impacted on language use, resulting in a wider range of languages, than in written communication.

Employees also reported a number of additional factors which influenced language choice in the spoken medium of communication. These included status, formality, topic and setting which have accounted for a range of language choices and code-switching in a variety of contexts (e.g. Rubin, 1968; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Fishman et al, 1971; Fishman, 1972; Sankoff, 1971; Goyvaerts et al. 1983; Goyvaerts, 1988). In extract 6.11 the Italian employee explains the factors that would influence his language choice in spoken communication if the monolingual English-speaking Deputy Director of the bank entered the room when he was conversing in Italian with another colleague. This employee compares two situations: the first situation was an informal chit-chat while having coffee before work, where the Italian employee reported that he would switch briefly to English to communicate with his boss and then switch back to speaking Italian. The second situation was an interaction in the context of a meeting, where the employee indicated that the more formal nature of the meeting would justify a complete switch to English.

Extract 6.11 Focus Group at Bank James

Moderator:

What do you do when you come into the room and people are speaking a language, you don't

understand, what do you do? How do you get around that?

French employee: *I would wait to be invited into the conversation*

Italian employee: *If we're having coffee and [monolingual English-speaking Deputy Director] comes and I'm speaking Italian with another colleague, I would probably just say "hi, how are you" and continue my discussion in Italian. It depends as well if it is private or business. If we start a meeting and I'm starting to discuss in Italian with him and you come speaking English, I would switch to English because it's a meeting.*

Extract 6.11 illustrates how a range of factors influenced language choice in spoken communication. The participant's reported initial switch to English may have been associated with the status of his boss and/or the desire to enhance their relationship (relational functions). However, the choice whether to switch back into Italian to communicate with his Italian colleagues was based more on the perceived formality of the interaction (an interaction over coffee versus at a meeting) than with the status relationship with the boss. Although social distance and status relationships between interlocutors account to a large extent for degrees of formality in interactions, the formal setting of an interaction can influence the language choice over and above the personal relationships (Holmes, 2008, p. 11) (see 6.2.2.2). This Italian employee noted elsewhere that Italians often gathered in the break room in the morning to chat in Italian, whereas meetings usually took place in more formal settings, such as meeting rooms.

The spoken medium of communication was not only connected with status, formality or setting, but also with the topic of communication. In extract 6.11,

the Italian employee notes that the topic of the conversation, whether it was private or work-related influenced language choice in an interaction over coffee. This suggests that the employee may have continued the conversation in English, if the topic was work-related and involved his boss to some degree and his other colleague(s), who spoke English. Hence, language choice in the spoken medium of communication could be complex, with many contributing factors.

In extract 6.12, employees similarly distinguish between formal work-related and informal non-work-related settings and language use. Employees accepted and used many languages in informal settings, such as the canteen or restaurant, but expressed dissatisfaction, if these same languages were used in formal settings, such as meetings, where other colleagues did not understand.

Extract 6.12 Focus Group at Bank George

Luxembourgish employee:

It depends again if you're in a formal meeting or in the canteen or the restaurant. If I was in the restaurant, it wouldn't bother me that much, unless everybody was talking like crazy around me. If I would sit there like lost and stupid and not understanding, then I would probably say "could you translate?", but I guess it wouldn't be the same translating it into English or another language I would understand.

Whereas in a meeting, I guess it would be important to say, "well, I'm sorry, either I leave or you'd better get into a language where people understand".

Bilingual British employee:

In the restaurant I see it as, I think, various nationals want to speak in their own language

at the same time and in the canteen that's the normal place. If I can't follow a particular language, well....[too bad]

In extract 6.12, meetings are linked with more formal settings and work-related topics. In order for employees to be able to participate as a member of a team in work-related activities and do their job, employees felt they needed to be able to understand what was going on within the bank. Hence, employees' language choice was limited and a common language was sought and used. However, employees indicated the use of many languages and their acceptance of possible non-comprehension in informal settings. Clearly, setting and topic influenced language choice in the spoken medium of communication and explain in part why English as the common language was the dominant language used within banks across this medium, except in instances of informal communication at Bank George and Bank James.

In summary, this section has elucidated how characteristics associated with written, hybrid and spoken mediums of communication interacted with other bottom-up pressures (linguistic repertoire & competence) and a range of other factors (status, formality, setting and topic). Previous sections in part three have also illuminated other bottom-up pressures on language choice (participants and function), illustrating the complexity of employees' practices in banks. This interaction between bottom-up pressures accounted for the range of languages reported in all case study banks. In the next section, employees' shared beliefs underlying these multilingual practices are discussed.

6.4 PART FOUR: EMPLOYEES' BELIEFS

As noted in Spolsky's (2004a) framework, beliefs are an important component of dimensions of policy and are linked with both practices and management. Although close links exist between attitudes/beliefs and

language behaviour (see chapter two and three), very little research has been done on language beliefs in multilingual workplaces. Haarmann (2005, p. 1524) indicates that “the choice of a language in intercultural relations is not accidental, but rather the result of selective strategies which are at work. And a selection is always motivated one way or another”. Furthermore, he notes that “language choice is a concept that is basically related to the language attitudes of individuals and their interactional behaviour” (Haarmann, 2005, p. 1521). Hence employees’ shared beliefs in these multilingual banks illuminate language practices. Two shared beliefs are the focus of the following discussion as they are judged likely to contribute to and influence language practices; firstly favourable beliefs about flexible multilingual communication in the Luxembourg context; and secondly favourable beliefs about using French for relational purposes (see chapter seven for employees’ attitudes towards the use of English).

6.4.1 Favourable beliefs about the importance of flexible communication

Employees emphasised how diversity in terms of languages and nationalities and code-switching between languages was a normal part of Luxembourg life (cf Davis, 1994, p. 133). An appreciation of the diversity of languages and cultures was a theme throughout focus-groups, and one employee noted *“I think anyhow, we’re all saying the same things. It’s great to be part of a multicultural environment”*. This appreciation was not limited to multilingual employees. One monolingual English-speaking employee at Bank James expressed his appreciation and enjoyment at working in a multicultural environment, despite not being able to actively participate in multilingual communication at work. Banks with their diverse composition of employees were described as exciting, stimulating and great places to work. Learning other languages and about other cultures was also a reason

given for why multilingual participants enjoyed working in a multilingual and multicultural environment. One multilingual employee reported how employees had a lot of fun with language differences, in particular meanings of words, indicating how employees appreciated the diversity of cultures and languages. One non-French speaking participant expressed his appreciation and enjoyment at working in a multicultural environment, even though he was disadvantaged by being only able to participate in interactions in English and German. He reported that *"the big advantage of being here is the big cultural mix, which is excellent. You have colleagues from many different cultures and there are big benefits"*.

Employees also reported positive attitudes to accommodation to the linguistic repertoire of interlocutors and these beliefs contributed to the flexible and multilingual communication within international banks. Extract 6.13 exemplifies employees' positive attitudes towards multilingual communication and accommodation to the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutor:

Extract 6.13 Focus Group at Bank George

Dutch employee: *I don't think it really matters if you work with people who speak different levels of English/French. You'll find a way. You move to whatever people feel more comfortable in.*

[later in discussion]

Dutch employee: *I think that the mix of culture and language is what makes you more tolerant. It's the mixture that really makes you really flexible and tolerant.*

Extract 6.13 clearly illustrates both the employees' positive beliefs about the diverse ethnolinguistic composition of colleagues within banks, and accommodation to colleagues' linguistic repertoire. These positive attitudes appeared to underlie the flexible communication and the use of languages other than English within banks as a whole discussed in this chapter.

6.4.2 Beliefs about using language for relational purposes

At banks where French was an important language of socialisation (Bank George and Bank James), the questionnaire results indicated that about half of the participants had positive attitudes towards French and believed it was important to use French with the large number of French-speaking colleagues. Extract 6.14 highlights these positive attitudes towards French for relational purposes; employees valued French as a means of establishing rapport or as a means of feeling part of or one with the large group of French-speaking employees.

Extract 6.14 Focus Group at Bank James

Moderator: *Do you think that it is important to use French to establish rapport with colleagues?*

German/French Employee: *My department is mostly French and I think it helps that you can speak to the people in their mother tongue. Also to have contact with your colleagues, not necessarily work-wise, also like daily conversations, it really helps, when you go to them and speak to them in their mother tongue.*

Italian Employee: *If you speak to someone in their native language, his attitude immediately changes. He's more open immediately*

[Later in discussion]

- Moderator: *More than half of the employees at this bank are French-speaking, so do you need to speak French to feel part of the bank?*
- Monolingual British employee: *I think it really does help*
- Belgian colleague: *I think it helps just because to be closer to your colleagues, as the majority would be French or French-speaking*
- French employee: *It all just comes down to one thing, the better the communication, the better the team works and of course if the communication is better in French, we will speak in French.*

These positive attitudes from participants at Bank George and James, and the fact that the largest proportion of employees came from French-speaking countries (France, Belgium & Luxembourg) explain in part why French was the most frequently used language for informal interactions at these two banks. French is not only an international language in its own right, but in the context of Luxembourg, French is generally important for communication outside the bank. For some, French is considered the most prestigious language in Luxembourg, when compared with German and Luxembourgish (Fehlen, 2002, p. 93; cf Berg, 1993, p. 82; Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 84). One employee suggested that one is obliged to speak basic French in Luxembourg. Due to the importance of French outside the bank and large numbers of Francophones, it is perhaps not surprising that (apart from English), French was the most widely understood language amongst employees in these banks. To what extent the importance of French outside banks and attitudes to French in the wider community contributed to the positive attitudes towards French within the bank is unclear. In any case, it seems very likely that beliefs about the value of French for enhancing

relationships and establishing rapport played an important role in the use of French within the bank, alongside transactional functions.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter has examined the complex multilingual practices of employees in three case study banks. Given the monolingual working language policy of the bank, one might have expected to see English as the sole language in financial contexts. However, the analysis of employees' language use practices at banks indicated that although English was overall the most frequently used language within banks, employees strategically used languages other than English for communication between colleagues. At Bank George and Bank James, French was the second most common language used and an important language for socialisation.

A greater diversity of languages was also reported in spoken genres of communication than in written genres. Unlike Luxembourgish and German banks described in chapter four, English dominated written reports within banks. English and a number of languages were used in meetings and informal communication within banks. Hybrid genres of communication illuminated how spoken and written characteristics of these genres influenced the multilingual use of languages in banks. English was the most frequently used language in email communication reflecting language use trends in written reports, but, due to similarity between spoken forms of communication and email communication, other languages were used as well. In presentations, English was often used in the written presentation slides, but employees reported accommodating to the linguistic repertoire of the audience and flexibly using other languages to verbally communicate with the audience. Convergence to the client's language was also reported and employees used a wide range of languages with clients. Furthermore,

when compared with management's reports of employees' practices in Luxembourgish and German banks, case study banks used a greater range of languages for internal communication.

A number of bottom-up pressures were reported to influence employees' multilingual language practices. The ethnolinguistic composition of employees in international banks significantly contributed to the range of languages used. Both employees' membership in national speech communities and their linguistic repertoire (and competence) were key considerations in language choice. Employees in client-related departments were able to use languages other than English much more frequently than in other departments. However, the linguistic repertoire of groups of colleagues which met together within and across departments also influenced language choice, resulting in the widespread use of English. Reported language practices indicated that a much wider variety of languages appeared in one-to-one communication than in group communication. However, in whatever situation employees interacted, accommodation to one's audience and finding a common language were predominant considerations in this multilingual and multicultural context.

Additional bottom-up pressures also influenced language choice and resulted in a range of languages being used in banks. These included transactional functions of language, such as achieving goals and getting things done, arguing one's case in a meeting, negotiating what you needed from colleagues, and communicating financial information accurately to external agencies. Relational goals also guided language choices and employees used a number of languages to enhance relationships. Language choices were made to maintain, construct and enhance rapport, solidarity, collegiality, and national identity with colleagues in a variety of different ways.

The distributive attributes of the written medium of communication and the higher standard of articulation expected often influenced language choice in written mediums. Email emerged as a hybrid medium, which employees took care with and with which they were strategic about their use in this multilingual and multicultural context. It was more closely associated with written communication due to the limited affective states that could be portrayed. This broadly reflected trends seen in written reports, although not entirely, due to the hybrid nature of email and the use of other languages used in this medium. The characteristics of the spoken medium of communication contributed to the variety of languages used in spoken communication when compared with written reports (and to a limited extent, emails). The associated acceptance of non-standardized language use in spoken communication created an understanding environment in which employees with widely differing levels of linguistic competence used a range of languages. These characteristics of the spoken medium interacted with additional factors (status, formality, setting and topic) and presented a significant bottom-up pressure on language choice.

Underlying these multilingual practices were employees' positive attitudes towards multilingualism and multiculturalism. Code-switching was of strategic value in this complex environment and employees appreciated and enjoyed their ethnolinguistically diverse workplaces. Accommodation to colleagues' varying linguistic repertoire was an accepted part of the multilingual life in this complex environment. At Bank George and Bank James, French was particularly valued for establishing rapport and feeling one with the large number of francophone employees at these banks. These attitudes underlay the important role of French in these banks in Luxembourg.

In short, these findings suggest that in addition to the dominant role of English, a number of languages were used in these ethnolinguistically diverse workplaces as *de facto* working languages in banks (see chapter eight for implications). These results confirm findings from other studies which suggest that the use of English alone is not sufficient for international business (Bäck, 2004; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Loos, 2007). Europe has always been multilingual (Salverda, 2002, p. 8).

Finally, this chapter illuminated implicit dimensions of policy by analysing employees' language practices at the grass-roots level. Employees' language practices have been analysed to illustrate which languages employees used and how often these languages were needed in specific genres. In addition, bottom-up pressures on employees' language choices (or the reasons why) have also been analysed to provide a bottom-up perspective on *de facto* policy on working languages. Clearly, employees' practices and bottom-up pressures on language choice influenced the implementation of the monolingual English policy of Bank Ivan and Bank George. Hence, the bottom-up perspective of *de facto* policy taken in this research has theoretical implications for exploring *de facto* policy via Shohamy's framework. Accordingly, as part of the discussion of theoretical implications in chapter eight, the status and function of specific languages in banks are further synthesized. The next chapter examines in greater detail what has briefly been touched on in this chapter, the bottom-up (or grass-roots) perspective on English as a *lingua franca* (ELF), before discussing the implications of this examination of policy dimensions.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE VITAL ROLE OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA (ELF)

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Despite the importance of languages other than English in employees' practices in international banks, English played a vital role in communication. English emerged as the most widely used language overall and in this multilingual context, no other single language could be used to connect all employees. Consequently, the special role of ELF in these multinational and multilingual contexts cannot be underestimated and justifies further discussion. This is especially so since, as Truchot in his exploratory article on English in companies in Europe notes, it is "paradoxical that so little is known about language in the workplace, even though professional use is the most common motivation factor for learning English" (2003b, p. 308). Truchot emphasises the need for comparable data from diverse linguistic situations in order to have a fuller understanding of the interaction between English and other languages in European workplaces. He also poses questions as to the reasons for the use of English and how employees react to EWL policies. In response to these questions, this research in case study banks provides some insight into what is happening at the grass-roots level.

This chapter examines the vital role of ELF in the three international banks by focusing on different reasons for the widespread use of ELF raised by employees, in addition to the use of ELF for relational functions, which to a large extent underpinned the special role of ELF in these banks. Section one introduces the current conceptualisation of ELF in Europe to contextualise employees' reported use of ELF; section two analyses ELF results in greater

detail than in chapter six, specifically focusing on how employees' identify English as the default common language in their practices, and their attitudes which support its position. Building on this analysis, the next two sections explore the role of ELF for relational purposes. Section three discusses the use of ELF to achieve the relational goal of including others colleagues, challenging the current conceptualisation of ELF. Finally, in light of the multilingual use of languages in banks, section four discusses policy implications of the relational use of ELF in banks.

7.1 DEFINING ELF IN EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

Within Europe, English holds a prestigious position and is widely used for communication (see Berns, 2006; Cenoz & Jessner, 2000; Anderman & Rogers, 2005), since "it is used by many European citizens as a means of trans-local, trans-regional and transnational communication – just as it is used in this way worldwide" (House, 2008, pp. 64-65). Seidlhofer et al.'s model separates this all-pervasive use of English in continental Europe into ENL contexts (English as a native language) and ELF (English as a *lingua franca*) contexts (2006, pp. 6-8). Defining ELF is problematic as will be elaborated below, but a *lingua franca* from a broad perspective, is a common language used to communicate with others, where no other common native language is available. A *lingua franca* has always had an important role to play because "the more a community is linguistically mixed, the less it can rely on individuals to ensure communication between different groups", and individuals are not able to translate into the variety of languages needed (Crystal, 2003, p. 11). Consequently, a *lingua franca* or common language, such as English, has been traditionally used to resolve the issue.

The definition and conceptualisation of ELF is continually being developed and as research exploring the nature of ELF accumulates, particularly in

Europe (Seidlhofer 2004, p. 215), a number of researchers have put forward the following useful definitions to begin this discussion. Some well-known researchers on ELF, Seidlhofer et al., define ELF, “where its use is essentially motivated by communicative needs, not linguacultural factors” (for example, in conference presentations, international publishing, formal business correspondence) (2006, p. 7). Louhiala-Salminen et al. define BELF (business English as a lingua franca) as “neutral in the sense that none of the speakers can claim it as her/his mother tongue; it is shared in the sense that is used for conducting business within the global business discourse community” (2005, p. 403). House, one of the most widely known researchers on ELF, broadly defines ELF as a language with a full linguistic and functional range to facilitate interaction between speakers unable to communicate in any other way (2006, p. 88), and argues that:

ELF in both international and intranational cases of communication can be regarded as a special type of intercultural communication where there is no consistency of form that goes beyond the participant level, i.e., each combination of interactants seems to negotiate and govern their own variety of lingua franca use in terms of proficiency level, degree of code-mixing, degree of pidginization, etc. (House, 2008, p. 66)

House aptly recognises the nature of ELF as characterised by its multiplicity of voices. ELF is a pheno- and a genotypically hybrid language, where “the ELF user’s native language can be said to be well and alive ‘underneath the English surface’ in any ELF talk” (House, 2008, p. 79), due to “deep diversity in the communicative use of English as a lingua franca by speakers of different mother tongues and backgrounds” (House, 2006, p. 88). The development of these numerous non-native varieties can be attributed to the fact that non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers 4 to 1 in Europe; native speakers represented by the ‘inner circle’ in Kachru’s three-

circle-model (Kachru, 1992) are increasingly 'losing influence' over the English language (House, 2008, p. 67). Graddol (2006) similarly notes that the way in which English develops in the future lies in the hands of the non-native speakers of English, due to the expected increase in the number of non-native speakers learning and speaking English. Spolsky (2004a, p. 220) describes the spread of English as a tidal wave: "currently most societies feeling the effects of globalization are also moving rapidly to acquire greater proficiency in the global language, English", hence, research focusing on the use of ELF between non-native speakers is particularly relevant, as English spreads around the globe.

Employees in these international banks, whose practices formed the basis of this discussion, were predominantly multilingual and nationals not associated with native English-speaking countries.¹⁵ Consequently, English could be defined as a lingua franca in this context, being used mainly between non-native speakers of English and the wide diversity of nationalities employed in banks accounted for this use of ELF. However, English was used on occasion between the small percentage of speakers from native English-speaking countries (10-15% in two banks) and non-native speakers within these banks, otherwise defined as asymmetrical use (see Ammon, 1991, p. 246). Thus, these banks with multinational workforces, led "to numerous situations in which English is used by first, second and foreign language speakers of English simultaneously, sometimes in co-existence with one or more other languages" (Nickerson, 2005, p. 9).

¹⁵ From the 67 pre-focus group questionnaires conducted at case study banks, only 8 employees were nationals of native English-speaking countries (U.K & Canada). In addition, 4 participants had dual or triple nationality status which included the United Kingdom and the USA.

Building on definitions of ELF, the next section analyses the use of ELF in international banks. Employees' practices, the role of ELF and employees' beliefs underlying and contributing to its use are examined.

7.2 ANALYSIS

To recap briefly on relevant findings reported in chapter six, employees' reported language practices indicated that English was the dominant language used in banks. A number of other studies also report the widespread use of English (cf. Nickerson, 1999; Louhiala-Salminen, 2002; Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). English was the language most widely used (compared with other languages) amongst a range of nationals, working in a variety of departments, within three international banks with different specialisations (private banking and securities services). It was also the language most frequently used in all genres of communication (apart from informal communication) in two out of three case study banks.

Analysis indicated that the primary reason for this dominance in banks was the position of English as a lingua franca between nationals. English is one of the most widely-known languages worldwide (Crystal, 2003, pp. 5-6; Graddol, 2006) and is common to a wide range of nationals and thus has a high 'communication value' (Q value) (see de Swaan, 2001). This value takes into account "its prevalence (the number of people within a language constellation who speak it) and its centrality (the number of people knowing another language who can use it to communicate)" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 89). If a person decides to learn an additional language in order to increase their possibility to communicate with others, then the language is more attractive the larger the number of speakers (De Swaan, 2001, p. 33; cf House, 2003, p. 560). This results in a 'snow ball effect', that is, the more widely a language "is used in terms of functions and speakers, the greater its prestige and

association with instrumental reward and consequently the incentive to acquire it” (Hoffman, 2000, p. 7). All of these factors accounted for English being the sole common language at banks across a wide range of employees’ linguistic repertoires, which influenced language choice considerably.

English was considered the default common language in many interactions by employees. This role was accepted by employees, precisely because it was the common language, and this appears to have been an important factor contributing to employees’ use of English from the bottom-up. In extract 7.1, Bank Ivan employees explain how English is used as the default language when communicating with colleagues.

Extract 7.1 from Focus-Group Discussion at Bank Ivan:

Spanish employee: *If I didn’t know the person at all, my first word would be English by default, and then by the accent the other person has on their English, you quickly adapt to the language [laughter all around]. You can usually tell quite quickly the Swedish, French or German accent.*

[Later in discussion]

Icelandic employee: *I think if you’re able to speak that language, you talk that language. If not, you go back to English. English is the middle language. If you’re insecure in another language, the language the other person is speaking, then you would choose English.*

Clearly, employees at Bank Ivan considered the use of ELF for 18 nationalities as a very positive and important strategy for internal communication, to allow all employees equal access to information, reduce insecurity, and assist in the smooth running of the banks. Employees

similarly reported English as the default common language at Bank James to avoid linguistic and other difficulties with 21 nationalities. It was suggested that having English as a common language streamlined communication, especially when documents were prepared in advance for meetings.

As noted in chapter six, employees' beliefs were important for understanding practices. Extract 7.2 from Bank George highlights the attitudes underlying the use of English as the default common language in these banks.

Extract 7.2 Focus group at Bank George

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Dutch employee: | <i>It's the international language and with all the different nationalities, it's the easiest language. You could have taken Esperanto but does that still exist? It's the most common factor.</i> |
| French employee: | <i>I believe as well that children in most countries learn English and it does help afterwards, when you want to enter into or start professional life. So it's one reason.</i> |
| Bilingual British employee: | <i>Luxembourg doesn't just exist with Luxembourgers. Luxembourg's success is partly based on the fact that other people have come in with certain skills and there's a mix of people. You have to decide on a common language. You look at that.</i> |

In this extract, employees indicate the value they attributed to ELF due to its position as the sole (and default) common language for communicating with all employees. The Likert statements in questionnaires also supported this claim regarding the important position of English as a default common language. Almost all employees across all three banks believed that English

was indispensable when completing tasks within their respective banks. Importantly, more than two-thirds of employees believed English was essential for communicating with all colleagues. When English was compared with French, almost all employees considered English more useful as a working language at the bank. However, English was not rated as highly for communication amongst colleagues, an attitude which reflected language practices since participants reported using a variety of languages in addition to English.

The analysis also indicated that the position of English internationally has influenced these positive attitudes towards English in banks, since employees' often made reference to the position of English as an international language. Furthermore, the Likert statements in questionnaires indicated that almost all employees across all three banks believed that English proficiency was essential for international banking worldwide and more than two-thirds of employees in these banks considered English to be more useful than French in the context of international banking in Luxembourg. These results suggest that positive attitudes to English in international banking generally were likely to have influenced participants' attitudes to English and practices in the context of international banking in Luxembourg. The combination of these positive attitudes in favour of English, and the fact that English was the sole common language, supported and strengthened the use of English and contributed to the widespread use of English within banks.

In summary, the prestige and usefulness of English worldwide has contributed both to employees' acquisition of English and to its position as the most widely known language between employees. Consequently, this shared language in employees' linguistic repertoire influenced language choice considerably, particularly because it was the 'middle' or default

common language. Positive attitudes also underlay employees' use of ELF, largely attributed to its commonality. Almost all employees believed ELF was indispensable for completing tasks and the majority of employees considered ELF essential for communicating with all employees. Finally, the position of English as an international language as well as its association with international banking, also contributed to employees' positive attitudes to ELF. Attitudes influenced practices and vice versa resulting in a 'snow ball' effect which contributed to the widespread use of ELF within banks. The following section turns to a consideration of the use of ELF to achieve relational goals.

7.3 DISCUSSION

The previous section has examined the vital role of English as a default common language and the positive attitudes underlying its use in banks. For two reasons, this section discusses the use of ELF for relational functions within this ethnolinguistically diverse environment. Firstly, the use of English for relational functions emerged as a theme in focus groups with employees and was used to explain the importance of ELF in banks. Secondly, Seidlhofer et al.'s definitions, given at the beginning of this chapter, emphasise the transactional or communicative element of ELF, as does House who defines ELF "as a transactional language used for speakers' very own communicative purposes and advantages" (2006, p. 90). Meierkord notes that "lingua francas are often characterized as being used for restricted purposes only, based on the observation that they traditionally served the needs of traders, businessmen and politicians" and she challenges approaches that "disregard the social and phatic functions of language and restrict lingua francas to their referential function only" (2002, p. 110). Consequently, the next section builds on chapter six, which analysed how employees switched between a range of languages for transactional and

relational goals, and explores relational goals with regards to the most widely known language within banks, English. Relational goals fit within a broad definition of relational work: “all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice” (Locher & Watts, 2008, p. 96). Although ELF is used for a range of transactional functions, the next section discusses the use of ELF for the relational goals of including, involving and being fair to other colleagues.

7.3.1 English - A language choice to include all?

The HR manager at Bank George suggested that due to the diverse ethnolinguistic composition of employees and the fairly small percentage of native English speakers, the use of English equalised or levelled the diverse linguistic playing field at Bank George. Clearly, the choice of English as the working language took relational goals into consideration and attempted to be fair to all employees. Interestingly, all the Directors and HR managers interviewed at case study banks expressed similar sentiments. Moreover, this view and use of English for including other colleagues was not limited to the top-management level, it was also echoed by employees. Hence it was described as the ‘middle language’ in this complex multilingual environment by employees (see extract 7.1).

Employees considered the use of ELF as essential in order for all employees (to varying degrees) to be able to understand, communicate and actively participate as members of their banks. Bell similarly emphasises the importance of relational functions of language choice.

The use of a language which is unintelligible to any interlocutor defines that person out of the audience. It is the ultimate in dissociative behaviour,

designating the uncomprehending hearer an unratified eavesdropper, a non-member, even a nonperson (Bell, 1984, p. 176).

Clearly, if “good collegial relations are often good for business, and a team who get on well with each other are likely to be a productive team” (Holmes, 2005, p. 9), then language choice to achieve relational goals is very important. In extract 7.5, the receptionist at Bank Ivan describes what influenced her language choices in written communication. Her choice of English clearly achieves the relational goal of inclusion, involvement and equality, as well as a content-related goal.

Extract 7.5 Focus group at Bank Ivan

Icelandic/Danish employee: *But I always write in English, due to my colleague who is sitting next to me, would not understand it in Swedish. If I would leave for vacation and she had to look into my emails and then it would not be very fair for her to have to try and find out what I was writing in another language, so I always choose English.*

Clearly, extract 7.5 highlights how the employee considered it unfair, if her colleague was unable to understand her work-related emails and therefore took the subsequent appropriate actions. Due to employees’ differing linguistic repertoires and proficiencies, she used English so that her colleague was included and given equal access to the content-related material (see also extract 8.6).

This important relational function of English has also influenced practices within the customer support department of Bank Ivan. The Belgian/Spanish employee in extract 7.6 was a middle manager within the bank. She describes how she strategically used English for relational purposes in her department. Although this employee was a manager of a department, she

was not a top manager who directed language-related issues for the entire bank (e.g. Directors and/or HR managers), hence her strategy was classified as bottom-up. Her department was made up of French, Belgian, Luxembourgish and German employees, and consequently she actively encouraged her colleagues to use English to include all employees, thereby creating a courteous environment that would additionally build collegiality and good working relationships between employees.

Extract 7.6 Focus group at Bank Ivan

Belgian/Spanish employee: *I have German speaking [people in my department] who don't speak French, so automatically it's English. It's true that amongst the group we have a tendency for people to start talking their native language, like French, but basically when it's work-related, or even you know if it's to socialise a little bit, we would push people to speak English out of, you know, courtesy towards the other people who are not speaking French.*

Moderator: *So how would you push them to speak English?*

Belgian/Spanish employee: *If they ask me a question in French I would reply in English. Just to set a tone [laughter all around].*

Clearly, this employee underscored the important role of English for relational functions through her actions. Top management's position on using English for relational functions may have influenced her strategies, although the reality of communicating with all the ethnolinguistically diverse colleagues in her department also contributed to her use of ELF. In

any case, she used English to include, involve and be fair to her non-French speaking colleagues.

Other employees at Bank Ivan also emphasised the use of English for inclusive or relational functions with their bank. Employees believed that “polite” linguistic behaviour within the bank embodied the use of a lingua franca, English, to include colleagues in all aspects of working life. Employees noted that Swedish could be used as long as nobody was excluded from understanding, otherwise English should be used. Extract 7.8 indicates how although employees exhibited very positive attitudes to code-switching and the use of a range of languages in spoken communication (see chapter six), they also concurrently exhibited positive attitudes towards English due to its role as the lingua franca of employees. Thus, when code-switching was discussed in the focus group, one employee expressed her belief that switching to languages other than English could potentially exclude colleagues, underscoring the relational function of English.

Extract 7.8 Focus group at Bank Ivan

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Spanish employee: | <i>I think it's wonderful (to switch between languages). I have a passion for languages. Most of the languages I speak on a daily basis in the bank. But I agree fully that the corporate language should be English.....</i> |
| Swedish/British employee: | <i>The only thing that one should be cautious of (when switching between languages) is when it's excluding other people....I mean they can't choose to join the conversation.</i> |

Extract 7.8 illustrates how bank employees considered that the common language between colleagues, English, fulfilled a relational function, that is

to include and allow all colleagues to participate in work-related interactions within banks. As a result, occasions where colleagues were excluded from meetings due to the choice of language in which the meeting was conducted were very rare. Employees at Bank James also noted that the language in which meetings were conducted, often switched to English, so that all colleagues were included, as a matter of course, or as it was brought to the attention of meeting participants that not all colleagues were speakers of other languages.

The relational function of ELF is not exclusive to banks in Luxembourg. Lingua franca communication is typically characterised by teamwork, a cooperative spirit to achieve successful communication, suggesting that relational functions are vital in many multinational environments (see Meierkord, 2002; Kankaanranta, 2005; Erling & Walton, 2007). House (2008, pp. 70-72) similarly notes that “ELF seems to be used as an egalitarian tool (“We’re all in the same boat”)” and ELF speakers “exhibit a markedly tolerant “Let-it-Pass” behaviour (Firth’s 1996 term)”. In the same way, teamwork and a cooperative spirit also characterised the complex communication between multicultural and multinational employees at banks.

Other LPP studies in workplaces with linguistically diverse employees also indicate the use of ELF for relational functions. In Vaara et al.’s study (see section 2.8.3) during a period in which Swedish was the official language in the merged bank MNB, Finns reported feeling handicapped in Swedish in comparison to Swedes and had to “accept an in-built inequality when pursuing their banking careers” (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 615). To re-establish linguistic equality in their relationships with Swedes, ELF “was sneaked in by the ‘voluntary’ decisions of the dominated themselves” (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 621). Hence, ELF surfaced in language use practices as an important and

valuable alternative to Swedish and a de facto working language for Finnish-speaking Finns. When English became the official working language of the bank, the Finns pointed to a sense of 'relief' and 're-established equality'. For Finns in particular, the use of ELF between Swedes and Finns was associated with the concepts of 'neutrality', 'equality' and 'fairness'. English emerged as the obvious choice, considering "the needs to communicate 'effectively', to create a 'balance of power' and to create 'neutral' language policies" (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 617). "English thus became constructed as the 'lingua franca' or the 'universal' language that would be the most natural and legitimate choice for (at least official) communication in the multinational corporate context" (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 617). Nekvapil and Sherman's study of multinational subsidiaries in the Czech Republic (2009b, p. 136) similarly indicates the use of ELF for relational functions, in particular in terms of equality. They noted that, theoretically, neutrality in terms of power relations and equality is established in these companies; no-one is disadvantaged, when ELF is used between German and Czechs because employees are not speaking their native tongues.

Nevertheless, although bank employees used ELF to fulfil relational goals, it is important to add that when English is used or formally recognised, "there is the potential for disempowerment due to a lack of proficiency in English" (Nickerson, 2007, p. 356) resulting from employees' differing levels of English proficiency. Swedes at MNB felt disempowered when the official language became English, since Swedish was no longer the official language and they were required to interact in English. Ironically, Swedes highlighted the same problems with levels of proficiency and consequent participation in workplace activities, mirroring the Finn's concern when Swedish was the official language (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 356). Nekvapil and Sherman, (2009b, p. 19) also question whether the use of English creates an even playing field

due to differing levels of proficiency in English. Undoubtedly, finding linguistic equality is difficult in multilingual and multinational environments. However, even though some employees were not completely proficient in English, a French employee at Bank James justified the use of ELF because at least colleagues would be able to understand ELF to some extent, whereas in another language they may not understand anything at all. Despite the complexity of equality, employees were attempting to achieve their relationally oriented goal of linguistic equality by using the lingua franca English, the most common language of all employees. Obviously, ELF was by no means a perfect solution, but it allowed Belgians to speak with Swedes, Italians to speak with Russians and Germans to speak with Japanese etc. If another language, for example French with considerably fewer speakers in banks, was chosen as the common language, a larger number of employees would be disempowered as they would be cut out from workplace interactions altogether; hence the important role of ELF for relational functions within these ethnolinguistically diverse employee bases.

7.3.2 Summary

In summary, English was the dominant language within banks simply because it had special status as the most widely shared language. ELF played a vital role because employees wanted to include all their colleagues as much as possible in communication. In short, the choice of ELF fulfilled transactional goals associated with the bank's business, whilst concurrently meeting the relational goal of including all employees and thereby maintaining good relations within such a diverse group of colleagues. Obviously, the top-down recruitment mechanism requiring English made this possible and top managers' attitudes towards ELF also contributed to this situation. However, in any case, employees accepted ELF and were

obviously using English as a default common language to include, involve and be 'fair' to other employees.

This relational function of ELF also raises questions about the conceptualisation of ELF as solely a transactional language (cf House, 2003, 2006, 2008; Seidlhofer et al., 2006). Employees' practices indicated that languages are multifunctional and are used concurrently for both transactional (content-related) and relational goals. Consequently, it is difficult to conceptualise a language as being only used for transactional goals, since this ignores the interactional relationship element between people in any interaction. Furthermore, it seems likely that if ELF can be used for relational goals such as participation, involvement, inclusion, equality, rapport and collegiality, there may also be the potential for ELF to be used for identity purposes (cf Crystal, 2003; Meierkord, 2002; House, 2008). Consequently, this research indicates that ELF can be used for more purposes than just transactional goals, and relational goals need to be considered in the conceptualisation of ELF, including the complexity of identity construction through linguistic choices.

Finally, although the communicative value noted by de Swaan (2001) is an important part of ELF use, it is precisely because English was a common language that it was used to meet relational goals, such as involvement, inclusion and equality as discussed in this chapter. Brown & Yule note that "a great deal of everyday human interaction is characterised by the primarily interpersonal rather than the primarily transactional use of language" (1983, p. 3). Thus relational goals contributed to the widespread use of English within banks and compounded its importance. However, ELF was not used in isolation. As discussed in chapter six, despite its importance, English was not used as a lingua franca at all times. Consequently, based on the (bottom-up) perspective of employees' multilingual practices, the next section

discusses the tension between language choices, before discussing the policy implications of the interplay of ELF (for relational functions) and other languages used within banks.

7.3.3 Policy implications for the interplay of ELF and other languages

As discussed in detail in chapter six, in practice, employees weighed up their needs and goals in these multilingual contexts in order to make linguistic choices. All employees at the three banks, apart from the small number of monolingual English-speakers within the banks, were faced with this tension between code choices. Multilingual employees often had a number of languages to choose from to fulfil their goals and consequently they were constantly making language choices about which language to use in which context.

The reasons for these choices could conflict in numerous ways and the use of ELF for relational functions to include, involve and be fair to other employees within banks, at times cut across the relational needs of other colleagues to communicate in their own language with fellow nationals. Consequently, multilinguals had to weigh up the choices, knowing that if they used a language other than English, they would more than likely exclude one of their multinational colleagues. As noted in extract 6.11, the Italian employee had to make language choices as to whether to switch to English to communicate with his boss and for how long, and if/when to continue speaking Italian to his Italian colleagues. In contrast, monolinguals were limited and could only achieve relationally oriented goals, such as rapport, collegiality and inclusion (and transactional goals) in one language, English.

Extract 7.9 emphasises the tension involved in linguistic choices and the potential drawbacks of particular choices in a linguistically diverse workplace.

Extract 7.9 Focus group at Bank George

You know when people are speaking intensely about something, they want to speak in their language, that's okay. But if it's a professional work thing - and this happens sometimes - some people say "sorry, I must say this in German because I can't say this any other way", and then they'll have an intense discussion for a minute or two. But if the meeting switches, and it happens, there's a whole group of people left behind.

In this situation, the German employee described in the extract accentuated the importance of switching to German to be able to communicate his content-related goals in a work-related meeting, exemplifying also how linguistic proficiency and competence interacted with goals when making choices. However, for other employees who did not have any competence in German, the cost of switching to German was quite serious; employees who did not speak German were excluded from doing the job they were paid to do and were powerless to participate and achieve their content-related goals. This situation underlines the importance of English within banks, and is exactly what management attempted to avoid by implementing a formal policy on the use of English. If English had been used in this meeting, nobody would have been excluded from the discussion.

Although the switch of the entire work-related meeting from English to German, with the exclusion of some employees was reported as a fairly

unusual event, this situation illustrates the potential conflict and delicate balance that must be found. As indicated by employees in focus groups, in other more informal contexts such as conversations in the canteen, there was greater flexibility and a range of other languages were reported, where the costs and trade-offs were not so serious and were acceptable to those in this context who could not understand. Clearly, employees did not feel obliged to include everyone at all times, but English was the language to use, when the relational goal was to include all. In other meetings, however, where all the participants were German or speakers of German, German was used to meet both transactional and relational goals, illustrating how when everyone speaks a language other than English, the relational goal was achieved through this language.

The crucial role of ELF for including all employees and the multilingual language use practices at subsidiaries in Luxembourg suggest a certain degree of flexibility in language policies is required, if policies are to take account of the strategic use of languages for transactional and relational functions. A flexible policy allows employees to negotiate language choice according to their transactional and relational goals, within the constraints of their linguistic repertoire, and according to genres of communication. In particular, policies that ignore the flexible ways in which employees use a range of languages in the workplace for relational and transactional functions, may in fact end up sabotaging their attempts to manage language use, as well as hinder social relations within workplaces or other multinational or multilingual contexts.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Given all the different factors and pressures on employees' language practices as a whole, the use of ELF emerged as essential for communication

in these ethnolinguistically diverse contexts. It was used more frequently than any other language and as a default common language.

The bottom-up perspective clearly indicates that employees valued English as a lingua franca, since no other language could include all employees from such a wide range of ethnolinguistically diverse backgrounds. A number of factors at the grass-roots level have been discussed in this chapter to account for its importance in banks. Essentially, firstly, English was the most widely known language in employees' linguistic repertoires. Secondly, employees emphasised their use of English to include, involve and be fair to their ethnolinguistically diverse colleagues, thereby establishing solidarity, rapport and collegiality. These two factors supported the role of English as the formal working language.

Lingua franca are often conceptualised as languages used for restrictive purposes, such as referential, communicative or transactional goals. However, this chapter has explored the vital role of ELF for including all employees in bottom-up practices. Languages are multifunctional and this finding challenges current definitions of ELF and has implications for the conceptualisation of ELF as primarily a transactional language.

These findings also have policy implications within banks. Although ELF had a special and essential role to play in banks, employees made strategic use of other languages, to facilitate social relations with colleagues and achieve their content-related goals. These multilingual practices necessitate language policies which consider and recognise both the transactional and relational linguistic needs of employees. Importantly, a number of languages were reported as important for enhancing social relationships with colleagues in addition to the use of English. To overcome this potential tension between a range of languages and functions of languages, flexible

EWL policies are recommended and these are explored in greater detail in chapter eight.

As noted in chapter five, English was being used as a common language in top-down management policies (chapter five). Relational goals influenced the explicit policies of these banks; English was typically chosen to level the linguistic playing field, be fair and include employees in bank interactions. More importantly, English was also used for relational purposes at the grass-roots employee level and employees exhibited positive attitudes towards ELF. Relational goals underpinned employees' widespread and frequent use of English in bottom-up practices in banks. These findings confirm Seidlhofer et al.'s characterisation of the current role of ELF in Europe, highlighting the vital role of ELF in banks. They note that the use of ELF is being influenced from two directions,

top-down by fulfilling functions in various professional domains and, simultaneously, bottom-up by being encountered and used by speakers from all levels of society in practically all walks of life. So, English functions as a lingua franca, enabling people to connect based on common interests and concerns across languages and communities (Seidlhofer et al., 2006, p. 5).

Chapter eight expands on this interaction between top-down and bottom-up in banks, examining further the implications of explicit and implicit dimensions of policies.

CHAPTER EIGHT: IMPLICATIONS OF EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT DIMENSIONS OF POLICY

8.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous four chapters have examined the interaction of the explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and the important role of ELF in international banks. In this chapter, implications are drawn from this analysis with regard to Shohamy's (2006) models, policy within banks, globalisation and the Luxembourg context. Part one synthesizes de facto policy for banks with explicit EWL policies (Bank George and Bank Ivan), and draws attention to two aspects of Shohamy's models which require further development. Part two evaluates de jure and de facto policy at these banks and advocates policies for international banks within the complex multilingual and multinational environment of Luxembourg. Section three redefines the top-down and bottom-up perspectives to examine the implications of globalisation on the complexity of policy. Attitudes at the global level (Banking Group), the local management and employee level are examined to exemplify both tensions between levels and implications for LPP in Banking Groups. Finally, drawing on this research as a whole, wider policy implications for legislation and education for the Luxembourg context are discussed in section four.

8.1 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR SHOHAMY'S (2006) MODELS

In chapter five, Shohamy's de facto policy model (see figure 5.2) was used to explore the influence of top-down mechanisms on practices and de facto policy. Although Shohamy's frameworks have provided a valuable starting point for exploring the concept of de facto language policy, an analysis of top-down forces provides only a limited perspective on the de facto working

languages. As noted in chapter five, mechanisms indicated only the languages that management deemed important enough to be included in the recruitment process and language courses. What was not clear from top-down de facto policy or Shohamy's model II were the languages that were actually required in practice, and how often these languages were needed. Consequently, chapter six took a bottom-up perspective and examined employees' practices at banks to broadly identify which languages employees were using, their frequency of use, the contexts in which they were used and why. Based on this analysis, a comprehensive picture of de facto policy emerged.

Based on chapter five, at Bank George, the top-down mechanisms of recruitment and language courses indicated that English and German were de facto working languages within the bank. An analysis of mechanisms from a top-down perspective gave no indication of the important role that French played within the organisation. Language use practices discussed in chapter six, however, indicated that French was also an important de facto working language at the bank (particularly in spoken communication). Consequently, in short, three main de facto working languages (English, German and French) were used alongside additional languages for communication with colleagues. This small group of employees used Dutch, Finnish, Italian, Luxembourgish, Romanian and Spanish.

At Bank Ivan, the top-down mechanisms of recruitment and language courses indicated that English, Swedish, German and French were de facto working languages (see chapter 5). Reported language use practices provided valuable information about de facto policy and the relative importance of these languages. Swedish and German were very important de facto working languages, particularly in departments associated with clients from German or Nordic-speaking countries. In comparison, French

acted as a de facto working language in particular contexts within the bank, such as in the French-speaking IT department. However, it must be noted that French was not as important in spoken communication at Bank Ivan, when compared with practices at Bank George and Bank James where large numbers of Francophones were employed. Additional languages were also used at Bank Ivan and this small group of employees used Danish, Italian, Luxembourgish, Norwegian and Spanish with colleagues at work.

At Bank James, where no explicit EWL policy existed, the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses indicated that English and French were de facto working languages in the bank. Reported language use practices indicated the important role French played in spoken communication and as a language of informal socialisation within the bank. Reported language use practices indicated that Italian was a de facto working language in client-related departments. Employees also used German, Luxembourgish, Greek and Spanish with colleagues at work.

Undoubtedly, both top-down and bottom-up perspectives provide invaluable insight into the complex interaction between components of policy, namely that a number of de facto working languages emerged in the three case study banks, alongside a range of additional languages. As has been clearly argued in this research, a bottom-up perspective illuminates the reality of communication at the grass-roots level and provides insight into implicit (or de facto) dimensions of working language policies (WLP). Spolsky notes that

the real policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than its management. Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no more

effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of schoolteachers vainly urging the choice of current language (2004a, p. 222).

These comments succinctly highlight the importance of practices and beliefs argued in this research, thereby strengthening the need for a bottom-up perspective when examining implicit policy.

The comprehensive picture of de facto policy discussed in banks raises questions about Shohamy's de facto policy Model. Despite Shohamy's clear reference to the "battles between top-down and bottom-up in terms of implementation" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 51), model II does not explicitly link practices with de facto policy, resulting in a primarily top-down perspective on de facto policy. This is largely based on top-down ideologies and mechanisms and suggests an overemphasis on the power of top management to implement policy. Spolsky similarly notes that a major weakness of Shohamy's framework in relation to the state, is that it assumes "much more focused and successful effort on the part of bureaucrats and politicians than the evidence warrants" (2008, p. 141; see also Spolsky, 2009, p. 148). Hence, the first and most important area for development is the relationship between bottom-up practices and de facto policy.

A second modification could also be made to the mechanisms in both of Shohamy's models based on this research. Shohamy's models designate management devices (rules/regulations, language testing and language education) to the same level, but this research in banks indicates that recruitment and language courses are more accurately conceptualised as the implementation of that policy on the working language. For Bank George and Ivan, the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses influenced the degree of success of the implementation of the overarching EWL policy of the bank. MeritaNordbanken (MNB) also implemented their official working language policy in practice through policies on recruitment and

language courses at lower levels (see Vaara et al., 2005; Piekarri et al., 2005). At MNB, policies on recruitment and language training were used to increase knowledge of Swedish and thereby support Swedish as the official language of the bank and manage language use. MNB recruited new employees with proficiency in Swedish and management invested in language training, including self-study, external courses, personal training and intensive courses in Finland and abroad. Consequently, it is proposed that a policy on the overarching working language of banks governed language use within banks and was implemented through two very important management devices, recruitment and language courses. These mechanisms were subordinate to the management policy of the working language of the bank and are illustrated in figure 8.1 and 8.2.

Figure 8.1 Relationship between beliefs, mechanisms and the top-down de facto policy

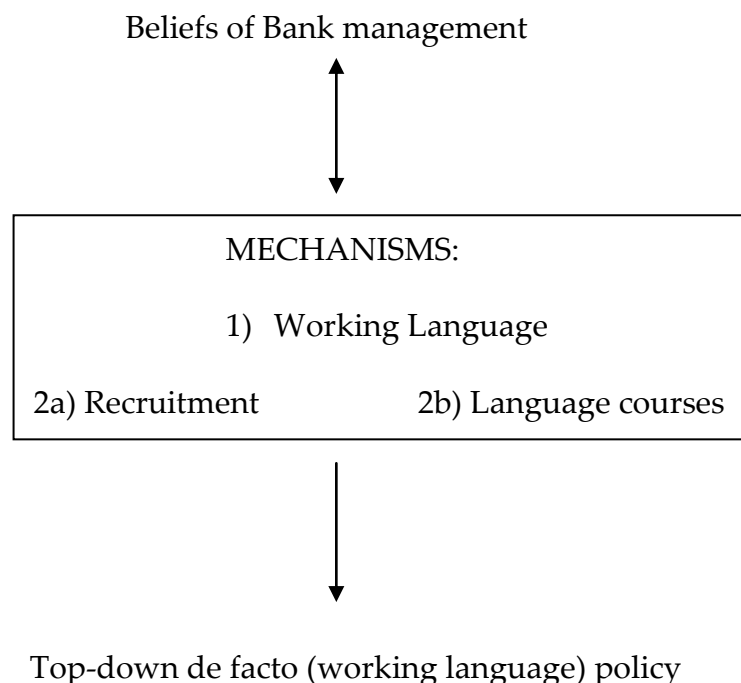
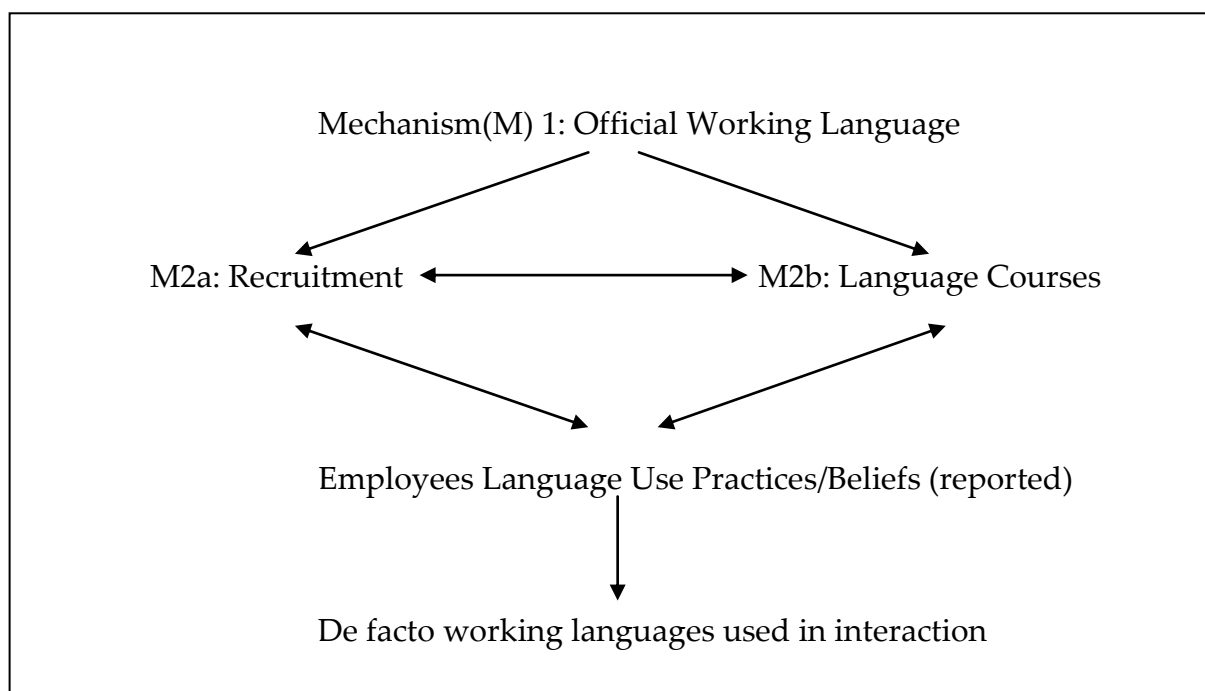


Figure 8.1 illustrates both the subordinate relationship of recruitment and language courses to the working language, and the top-down pressure that

institutional mechanisms place on de facto policy. Figure 8.2 illustrates the interaction between top-down mechanisms, bottom-up practices and de facto working languages.

Figure 8.2: Relationship between institutional mechanisms, employees' practices and their implications for actual language behaviour



Both of these figures illustrate how the implementation of institutional mechanisms influence the de facto working languages used in banks.

In summary, in order to examine de facto policy comprehensively both top-down and bottom-up perspectives are needed. Based on this approach, this research illuminates two aspects of Shohamy's models which need further development for investigating banks. Firstly, the bottom-up perspective is an essential component for exploring de facto policy as well as understanding the complex interaction of components of policy, and consequently needs to be incorporated into Shohamy's de facto policy model. Bottom-up pressures on language use have a considerable influence on what happens in practice in terms of language choice at the grass-roots level and employees' practices

disclose the extent to which the explicit management policy is actually being implemented in practice (or *de facto* policy); secondly, in order to fully understand what is happening in reality, it is crucial to consider how the working language management policy is implemented, and its interaction with other top-down management mechanisms (recruitment and language courses). Policies on recruitment and language courses are implemented at different levels and influence to what extent the overarching working language policy is being successfully implemented. Therefore the integral role that mechanisms play in *de facto* policy needs to be reflected in Shohamy's 2006 model, alongside the role of practices. The following section turns to evaluating *de jure* and *de facto* policy and the implications for banks.

8.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY IN BANKS

The *de facto* policy as discussed in the above section appears to differ considerably from the *de jure* English policy stipulated by Bank George and Bank Ivan. Official status was given only to English, even though additional *de facto* working languages were used in practice alongside other languages. At first glance, the contrast between the *de jure* and *de facto* policy at these two banks appears to be somewhat straightforward albeit involving a contradiction; the top-down explicit policies on working languages implied a monolingual approach to language use with colleagues, whereas employees' practices indicated the important roles of English as well as other languages.

However, the reality was more diverse, heterogeneous, and multi-faceted. As discussed, the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses must also be considered as the implementation of this working language policy. Although the current local management undoubtedly valued the usefulness, prestige or importance of English for transactional and relational purposes,

they also indicated the value of other languages for transactional and relational purposes, in particular for, but not limited to, communication with clients. Furthermore, other languages were included in the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses. This exemplified in practice a multilingual rather than monolingual approach to language management, since clearly English was not the sole language being used. This approach reflected more broadly multilingual practices within the bank, and local management also expressed their satisfaction at how languages were being used within banks. Language policy was somewhat more complex at Bank Ivan due to the influence of conflicting beliefs at the Banking Group level; however, an overall multilingual approach to the use of English and other languages was also taken at Bank Ivan, despite language courses being only provided in English (see section 8.3).

The context of Luxembourg influenced top down de facto policy considerably and a value for multilingualism was not limited to Bank George and Bank Ivan. As discussed in chapter four, managers at almost all Luxembourgish and German banks of various sizes recruited multilingual staff and made flexible use of multilingual mechanisms of recruitment and language courses within their banks. Managers at Luxembourgish banks even emphasised their value for flexible multilingual communication as a reason for the lack of explicit policies on the working language in these banks. In comparison to German and international banks, Luxembourgish banks were perhaps more committed overall to providing flexible multilingual services in written and spoken communication.¹⁶ However, it is

¹⁶ Luxembourgish banks required more languages at recruitment than international banks; Luxembourgish and German banks generally provided language courses in more languages than international banks; Luxembourgish banks assessed written communication skills, whereas international and German banks only assessed applicants' spoken communication skills.

important to emphasise that international banks had a more difficult language management task than Luxembourgish and German banks, since they recruited considerably more international staff. Nevertheless, local management at Bank George and Bank Ivan took local Luxembourg multilingual practices and beliefs into consideration, and made flexible use of the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses from the top-down; in reality, contributing to a *de facto* multilingual policy governing employees' practices. These findings signal that flexible management policies at different levels are needed.

8.2.1 Flexible management policies at different levels

As suggested in chapter seven, overarching WLP of banks need to be flexible to provide room for negotiation of language choice. Hence, local management at international banks in Luxembourg did not implement a strict monolingual policy. However, flexible policies are often undervalued and regarded as limited in scope. Coulmas notes that a list of official languages of an institution does not completely define a language regime; a set of rules governing their use are only part of a language regime (2005, p. 164). Dhir and Goke-Pariola suggest that multinational companies may indeed have to adopt a set of languages and it is considered of strategic importance to clearly state languages for specific contexts (2002; cf criticisms of EU language policy see Ammon, 2003 and Phillipson, 2003). However, these findings in banks signal that strict rules outlining which languages should be used in different genres of communication or for particular functions would detract from the flexible and yet strategic use of languages. English and other languages were clearly used for transactional and

relational functions within the constraints of linguistic repertoire of interlocutors and genre of communication.

This flexible form of language management at banks was also achieved through the use of different policies at different levels. The overall strategy of banks was to formally recognise ELF so that all bank employees were included and the work got done. This overall strategy was considered to be in the interest and benefit of the company as a whole. Formalising EWL nominated English as a fall-back position in this ethnolinguistically diverse context, when potentially a range of languages were available, for work to be completed, meetings conducted, reports and emails written. At the same time, these two case study banks in Luxembourg also achieved tactical flexibility, by adapting mechanisms to achieve their goals of multilingual communication with colleagues and clients. Consequently, these findings suggest that policies need an in-built strategical and tactical flexibility in international banks. However, there is a common perception that policy should equal practice. Hence, based on these findings, the following section discusses whether the WLP should be or is likely to be adjusted in the future to more accurately reflect employees' multilingual and strategic use of languages at international banks with explicit EWL policies.

8.2.2 A flexible policy or an overarching policy which reflects practices?

Banks faced similar challenges as those of Mosaic countries in Lambert's (1999) language policy taxonomy, which are defined as having a large number of resident ethnic groups. These countries have difficulty drawing up adequate language policies and are not able to treat all languages equally in official and educational matters. Consequently, lingua francas are frequently chosen. In the same way, explicit WLP at banks did not reflect practices because not all the languages used in banks were equally

recognised; English was the only official language of Bank George and Bank Ivan.

It could be argued from a linguistics perspective, where multilingualism is valued and linguistic rights are becoming increasingly the focus, that all languages should be recognised in an explicit policy. Furthermore, if official policies are supposed to accurately reflect the working and additional languages being used in practice at the subsidiary level, these languages would ideally be incorporated into an explicit policy. For just this reason, Loos' similarly concludes from his study of practices with clients at a holiday centre in Germany, that Dutch should be incorporated into the official language policy (2007, p. 5). However, although implementing multilingual WLP may more accurately reflect employees' strategic use of languages, local management at international banks have only incorporated other languages into recruitment and language courses. Furthermore, it is unlikely that these international banks in the future will officially recognise all the 'other' languages used within banks as working or additional languages for two reasons.

Firstly, within Luxembourg, a range of languages are used as a matter of course, thus a multilingual WLP is not considered necessary, since the use of many languages is taken for granted in this context.

Secondly, and probably more importantly, English, in contrast to the other languages, is not a native language widely associated with Luxembourg. If no explicit policy existed nominating EWL in banks, French is more likely to have been chosen and used as the working language and default lingua franca, alongside other languages (Luxembourgish and German) within the Luxembourg context. Hence, if management wanted to encourage the use of English as the working language, it needed official support in this context,

simply because of the importance of these other languages in Luxembourg and the large number of Francophone employees with regard to the use of French.

Moreover, internationalisation and the recruitment of an increasing international workforce at Bank George influenced the change in policy from French/English to English as discussed in chapter five. Without this change in policy, international employees and non-French speakers would have had considerable difficulty communicating. Thus in international banks the implementation of EWL appeared to be particularly important when recruiting a wide variety of nationals, and a more viable option in terms of the international expansion. This suggests that top-down management had an important part to play in promoting the role of ELF for relational functions, despite employees' positive attitudes towards ELF in international banks. Marschan-Piekkari et al., (1999, p. 381) also suggest that "language standardization sends a definite message to employees at various levels" and this appeared to have influenced language practices in case study banks in addition to bottom-up pressures. For these reasons, it is understandable why English was the only language nominated as the explicit working language of banks and why explicit WLP did not reflect employees' practices. As discussed, this situation is likely to remain unchanged.

Given the complex multilingual practices employees reported, it also seems very unlikely that any explicit policy could accurately represent the flexible use of multiple languages which took place. However, if overarching EWL policies are implemented in a flexible way, alongside additional multilingual mechanisms at other levels, they may still manage language use in a strategic way, as well as allowing for the flexible negotiation of language choice. Spolsky notes that "while language management seldom achieves the goals hoped for, there is sufficient evidence that, intelligently applied, it helps

mitigate some of the troubles it is intended to cure” (Spolsky, 2004b, p. 14). Undoubtedly, Bank George and Ivan have attempted to avoid problems associated with language choice in this multilingual environment by choosing English to include all employees in workplace interactions and clarify the default language for communication. Top-down and bottom-up perspectives in these complex ethnolinguistically diverse banks suggest that English had special status as the working language and default common language within Bank Ivan and George, as well as being the language most widely used in official and written communication. However, employees used English and other languages in their daily practices to communicate with colleagues and clients. Consequently, these banks’ flexible management approach allowed language use within the banks to be influenced in a meaningful way and employees to make strategic use of their multilingual repertoire.

In summary, this discussion of flexible WLP has focused primarily on Bank George and Ivan as the two international banks with explicit EWL policies. On the surface, Bank George and Ivan had *de jure* monolingual WLP, whilst an examination of practices indicated that employees used both English and other languages. However, the WLP of these banks were implemented through the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses and once these mechanisms were examined as part of *de facto* policy, a multilingual management approach emerged which included the use of ELF. Calori and de Woot describe management within countries, such as Luxembourg, as “characterised by international openness and a combination of unity and diversity” (1994, p. 29). In a similar way, Bank George and Ivan have unified their workforces as well as celebrating and capitalising on their diversity, by implementing a flexible management approach at different levels. Local management achieved strategical flexibility by implementing an official

management policy which gave English special status as the working language to encourage its use. Furthermore, local management achieved tactical flexibility by using multilingual management mechanisms to manage language use and have supported the use of other languages. This was a flexible interpretation of the explicit policy nominating English which included a combination of unity and diversity.

In so doing, employees' hands have not been tied, making it easy to negotiate language choice and for employees to undertake flexible multilingual communication. Furthermore, although languages other than English were not officially recognised, and in spite of the likelihood that explicit policy will remain unchanged, international banks did value flexible multilingual communication and employees used a range of other languages to communicate with colleagues and clients. Consequently, management at these banks have strategically and successfully managed language use within a complex and ethnolinguistically diverse environment.

The next section examines how attitudes differ towards English at the global, local management, and local employee levels and the implications of globalisation on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy.

8.3 GLOBAL AND LOCAL LEVELS OF LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

Financial institutions are classified traditionally as micro-level contexts, but connections with Global Banking Groups means that distinguishing between the levels of macro and micro is not as straightforward as first appears. For example, Kaplan (1994, p. 160) notes that multinational corporations are described as often operating like the Government (quasi-governmental), sometimes superceding Government at the local level. Tollefson also echoes Schubert's questions about "the growing importance of multinational

corporations as institutions of global decision-making” (Schubert, 1990; cited in Tollefson, 2002, p. 42). Liddicoat and Baldauf similarly recognise that

it has been necessary to establish a distinction between the micro and macro; however, such a distinction is in reality a false one. In many cases, what happens in local planning contexts is related to the macro-level context, but the interactions between levels can be complex. These interactions between micro and the macro, between the local and the national, can operate in either direction (2008, pp. 10-11).

Clearly, this additional global level of management adds to the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy and redefines the notion of top-down and bottom-up. With an additional level of management, top-down becomes the Global Banking Group level (or headquarters outside of Luxembourg) and bottom-up becomes local management and employees located in Luxembourg.

All three case study banks in this research formed part of Global Banking Groups. These Groups attempted to manage language use across subsidiaries worldwide, potentially affecting thousands of peoples, if not millions when clients are included. Hence, one might have expected that policy at the level of global Banking Groups outside of Luxembourg may have dictated formal policies on English in case study banks, but this was in fact not the case. At both the Luxembourg subsidiaries of Bank George and Bank Ivan, English was implemented as the working language first; their respective Banking Groups did so at a later date. In the following section, Bank Ivan is the main focus of discussion, since it was the bank where the discrepancy between attitudes at Banking Group level and the local subsidiary level were most distinct (cf Marschan et al., 1997; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999). Bank Ivan exemplifies the influence of beliefs underlying the use of English at different levels on dimensions of policy.

Global and local levels of the bank interpreted EWL policies differently; English-only beliefs were reported from management at Banking Group level, whereas a commitment to both ELF and multilingualism was exhibited at the local level. In order to examine the implications of globalisation on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy, the focus of the following section is the beliefs at different levels in this bank.

8.3.1. Bank Ivan

In chapter five, local managements' multilingual beliefs underlying the mechanisms of the working language, recruitment and language courses were analysed. However, the situation was somewhat more complex due to conflicting beliefs between global and local levels of this bank. In short, on the one hand there was agreement about the importance of English, and on the other hand there were conflicting beliefs about the meaning of English as the formal working language and about the use of languages other than English.

8.3.1.1 *The global level*

Bank Ivan's Banking Group included all Bank Ivan subsidiaries around the world, including Luxembourg and their headquarters in Sweden. Bank Ivan Group employed more than 20,000 people in 20 countries and serviced millions of clients. Bank Ivan in Luxembourg was the first foreign branch outside of Sweden, and the decision to implement English as the formal working language in Luxembourg in the 1970s was based on the multilingual and multicultural situation in Luxembourg (see chapter five). At a later date, Bank Ivan's Banking Group followed suit and implemented EWL for communication across their Banking Group. However, the Deputy Director at Bank Ivan noted that in the last fifteen years there had been a change in focus in terms of policy; the Banking Group made a conscious

effort to actively encourage and implement English more fully as the formal working language and displayed a less favourable stance towards other languages. Attitudes from the Banking Group level towards the use of English as the only working language of the bank were reported to have strengthened, consequently greater emphasis had been placed on the use of English from the top-down at its Luxembourg branch, as reflected in the Banking Group policy statement discussed in this section.

Extract 8.1 was the only official language policy statement that management at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg could locate. This was a Banking Group language policy which outlined the language policy for communication via the intranet for Merchant Banking departments of the entire Banking Group.

Extract 8.1: Web policy for Bank Ivan Merchant Banking's Intranet ("MB Insite") 4th July 2006.

Language

"Bank Ivan's group language is British English. Information directed to the entire Group or to employees based in a number of nations shall be provided in British English. Bank Ivan Merchant Banking is represented in more than ten countries where colleagues of various nationalities work. In cases where the whole department and the readers consistently, and without exception, communicate in a local language exception to this rule is acceptable. Exceptions should be decided together with MB Marketing & Communications. The information can also be presented in two languages, British English and the local tongue, provided that resources are reserved in line with the department's ambition level."

This policy statement set out guidelines for the use of English and local languages and illuminated beliefs at a global level underlying their explicit policy. This Banking Group policy clearly supported the position of English as the working language for communication with ethnolinguistically diverse

colleagues at Bank Ivan at a group and local level. In essence, English was valued due to assumed comprehensibility of the language by all Bank Ivan Group employees. 'Comprehensibility for all' was emphasised in the above policy statement and was also reported at the local management and employee level as well. Importantly though, as Bank Ivan's Luxembourg policy was adopted prior to Group language policy, this belief in the 'comprehensibility for all' seems to have been adopted by the Banking Group after the Luxembourg branch, and interpreted differently (see section 8.3.1.2).

Although the importance of other languages was apparent in the Banking Group document, strict conditions were outlined for the use of local languages. Local languages were considered an "exception to this rule" of using English and "exceptions" had to be agreed to by Group management and based on resources. These exceptions indicated a clear belief and acceptance of the use of other languages, only when the local language was used by the whole department, consistently and without exception. This policy has taken a very monolingual perspective and presumably described situations such as branches in countries, where predominantly one language, apart from English, was used as the main means of communication, such as Merchant Banking departments in banks in Sweden and Germany and communication with other departments which also used Swedish or German.

If we consider this policy in terms of relational and transactional functions of language, it appears that for those branches which were primarily monolingual and used languages such as Swedish and German, the relational and transactional needs of employees seem to have been considered, when communicating with Banking Groups. However, the policy did not appear to account for or understand multilingual Merchant

Banking Departments, where many languages were used other than English, such as Luxembourg. The Banking Group policy implied that relational and transactional needs of multilingual employees should have been met using English to communicate with the wider Banking Group.

8.3.1.2 *The local level of Luxembourg*

Conflicting beliefs surfaced at the local level, between the Deputy Director's flexible, inclusive and multilingual approach to ELF, and the more exclusive monolingual approach at higher echelons of Bank Ivan in Luxembourg and their Banking Group. The Deputy Director in Luxembourg reported that top management got annoyed when employees started talking in their native tongue, when other nationalities were present. This attitude reflected the influence of the Banking Group's strong support for and belief in English as the formal working language and as the desired lingua franca for communication between nationalities at all times. In contrast, the Deputy Director took a more multilingual approach, emphasising both the need for English and other languages in communication between colleagues. The next section discusses attitudes at the local level towards English and other languages, where they equated with or differed from values at the Banking Group level.

8.3.1.2.1 Positive attitudes towards English for communication

From interviews at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg, the Deputy Managing Director (with the dual role of HR manager) emphasised the importance of English as the formal working language for his subsidiary to participate and communicate with the multinational Banking Group and for the Group as a whole. He particularly supported the Banking Group's explicit policy of English when communicating with other member banks of the Group, such

as with newly acquired banks in Eastern Europe, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 8.2 Final interview at Bank Ivan

Swedish Deputy Director: *We are a group of 20 000 employees worldwide, we have to choose a common language. The policy is that everything written and spoken should be in English. There are exceptions in Sweden for example because that's our main office and there they communicate in Swedish and write in Swedish and English. But on an international scale, you have to use a common language.*

The Deputy Director also notes particular annoyance, when documents were sent from head office in Swedish from time to time to his Luxembourg branch, since it was impossible for many employees in Luxembourg to understand Swedish.

8.3.1.2.2 Positive attitudes towards multilingualism

The Deputy Director at Bank Ivan exhibited positive attitudes to multilingualism, multiculturalism and flexibility in communication, expressing a positive evaluation of the use of local languages which far exceeded values expressed in Bank Ivan's Banking Group policy. He was a Swedish national who had functioned in his role at Bank Ivan for ten years and had worked in the banking sector for thirty six years. Throughout his banking career he had also worked in international banking environments with a wide range of nationalities. He was multilingual (Swedish, other Scandinavian languages, English, French and some German) and reported that he would find it unbearable working in a monolingual environment. He clearly acknowledged that a number of other languages were used within the banks, indicating that daily interactions took place in Luxembourgish,

French, German and Nordic languages and he highlighted his multilingual use of languages.

Moreover, in contrast to the banking group policy, the Deputy Director clearly believed in the importance of local languages for both content-related purposes and for building and maintaining relationships and establishing rapport with colleagues. For example, he related how if he worked in a department, where his colleagues spoke a different language, he would feel a personal responsibility to learn the language of colleagues. This personal responsibility was motivated by his desire for interpersonal contact with these colleagues and his desire not to be excluded from the daily social interaction taking place in the department.

At the same time though, this Deputy Director also believed in the value of English as the explicit working language of his multilingual and multicultural Luxembourg branch and supported English in its formal role within the bank. In the following extract, the Deputy Director expressed his belief in the value of English for comprehension in spoken communication between colleagues and for relational functions.

Extract 8.3 Final interview at Bank Ivan

Swedish Deputy Director:

I mean I went to the coffee machine this morning and there were three Belgians from my team and they were speaking French which doesn't bother me [as he speaks French]. If somebody who was not a French speaker came there, a German colleague, they should automatically switch over to English. If you join those three and start communicating with them, then it would be very impolite if they continued talking the language that the fourth

person did not understand. I think we do that quite well.

The Deputy Director interpreted the explicit policy on English flexibly, reporting that there was no clear rule that says *“Thou shalt make sure that English is your only language of communication”*. Furthermore, the Deputy Director believed that it was not feasible to use only English in this context, for example, he noted that if this were the case, the bank would have to provide its own translators and lawyers. In the following extract, the Deputy Director explained further why the bank would not function with only English as the sole language for not only communication with colleagues, but also for communication with external agencies within Luxembourg.

Extract 8.4 Final interview at Bank Ivan

Swedish Deputy Director: *We wouldn't even function, if we moved towards English and only comprehension of English. We are in the bank, we're 200 people employees AND only speaking English, with no other language, this would not work [laugh] we would probably collapse... we wouldn't be able to read anything that they are sending you. No, you would not be able to function.*

He further illuminated the differences in beliefs regarding language use between the higher levels of Bank Ivan and himself, noting that the multilingual practices were outside top management's comfort zone. He suggested that although top management encouraged the use of English, top management reluctantly “accepted”, the range of languages used in practice in Luxembourg, but that they preferred a simpler and more monolingual use of language, exemplifying the Banking Group's beliefs discussed in previous sections.

However, beliefs at Banking Group level have the potential to influence language management at the local level and the mechanism of language courses exemplifies how the Banking Group's beliefs have influenced policy decisions. Extract 8.5 demonstrates how the Banking Group's attitude to English as the sole working language of the bank underlay a change to the mechanism of language courses in Luxembourg, resulting in English-only language courses being offered (see also chapter five; cf chapter four for other participating banks). The Deputy Director elucidates in the following extract firstly the less favourable attitudes to multilingualism at the top management level, secondly, his favourable attitude towards multilingualism at the local level, and finally the influence of these beliefs on the mechanism of language courses.

Extract 8.5 Final interview at Bank Ivan

Swedish Deputy Director: *But what happened in this period, was that while we in the beginning had a very favourable view of multilingual skills, that policy has changed, maybe three- four years ago when it was decided that we're not sponsoring any languages courses, apart from English.*

Interviewer: *What were the reasons for this change in policy?*

Swedish Deputy Director: *I was overruled. It was as simple as that. Because I am favouring the multicultural challenge and I like to see people here coming and learning the local language in order to improve their outside work life as well. Not knowing French or German, spoils your life here.....*

Interviewer: *What made the other management members think that it's appropriate to move away from that flexible approach towards English only?*

Swedish Deputy Director: *I think it was the frustration of seeing so many languages within the bank. It was more or less dictated by the Swedish management at group level. Swedes are a bit of one, you know, not mono language, but they only have one additional language and normally that is English. Of course, there are others who learn German, French, Spanish and so on.*

Clearly, management's more monolingual attitudes at Banking Group level were reported to have influenced the change in policy from a multilingual policy on language courses to the provision of English only courses. As noted in chapter five, the Deputy Director reported that provision of English-only courses was not based on finances, but rather, as explained in extract 8.5 management's frustration at the number of languages being used. Furthermore, the provision of multilingual language courses was regarded as devaluing the status of the official language of English. The Deputy Director reported being the sole person to vote against English only language courses, in favour of courses in many languages. The Deputy Director emphasised the multilingual context outside the bank for his support for multilingual language courses, but elsewhere in the discussion, he also indicated that languages other than English were desirable to support employees in their relationships with colleagues and particularly for those employees working in departments, where languages other than English were used on a daily basis between colleagues.

This discussion has focused on global and local levels of management and highlighted that even though local companies are increasingly adopting

explicit policies on English, one cannot assume that other languages are not valued or needed. An investigation of local management's beliefs underpinning policies is essential to understanding their policies. In the next section, employees' beliefs are addressed at the local level in Luxembourg in order to elucidate how local management was in tune with their employees.

8.3.1.2.3 The employee level

Employees' practices have been analysed in previous chapters and the use of many languages at the local level contrasts with a strict monolingual English policy propagated at the global Banking Group level. Employees exhibited positive attitudes and beliefs about multilingual communication within the bank, including the use of English as the most frequently used common language. Extract 8.6 highlights employees' positive bottom-up beliefs underlying the multilingual language use practices at banks and their flexible interpretation of policy.

Extract 8.6 Focus group at Bank Ivan

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Moderator: | <i>Does a formal working language restrict your language use?</i> |
| Icelandic/Danish employee: | <i>I think, to have English is a prevention, a prevention of misunderstandings, exclusions, it's a smoother working ... it's it's a tool, you have to have it as a tool, otherwise it's not going to work.</i> |
| Swedish employee: | <i>to ensure that everyone has access to all information</i> |
| Spanish employee: | <i>I think that the policy for English as a corporate language is more on the written communication than on the verbal, and that's very good. If you force everybody to speak English to each other all the time, it would</i> |

- never work anyway [laughter all around the table]. And it would be very restrictive.*
- Swedish/British employee: *It can't be restrictive in a sense because you can't restrict it*
- Spanish employee: *But written communication (in) English I think it's good and it will not stop any skill in languages.*
- Moderator: *So, you think that the policy on English as a working language is working well in this bank?*
- Norwegian employee: *As long as the policy is kind of realistic. If, as you said, the policy is too strict. If I was in my Scandinavian group, and we had to speak English together, then it would*
- Icelandic/Danish employee: *Then the flexibility is gone, nah?*
- Norwegian employee: *Then the rule would be there, but it would maybe not be followed and then it's like a silly law [laughter all around table]*
- Swedish employee: *But like we have the intranet to spread a lot of information and, I think, that's I mean everyone knows that if you publish on the intranet you it's in English and I think and that's a basic thing to know that everyone has access to the same information and can read on the same things.*

Extract 8.6 illustrates how employees valued the formal position of English as the working language of the bank, in particular for allowing access of content-related material to all colleagues. Furthermore, employees expressed the view that language use could not be restricted in this multilingual environment and that a strict English-only policy would be unrealistic,

implying that no-one would pay attention to this “silly law” and it would have no effect on practices. Consequently, they interpreted the exclusive use of English to apply mainly to written communication. Interestingly, participants’ attitudes or interpretation of the overarching policy of the bank reflected employees’ language practices; English dominated written communication, whereas a variety of languages were used alongside English in spoken communication. Furthermore, the Deputy Director’s beliefs equated broadly with employees’ beliefs and contrasted with the Banking Group’s English-only beliefs.

Further evidence of the local flexible, inclusive and multilingual approach to ELF is found in the Deputy Director’s attempts to have multilingual language courses re-established. Before the focus group associated with this research, the Deputy Director was very concerned about the lack of multilingual courses offered to employees. In the focus group discussion, he raised his concerns and a solution emerged from the discussion, namely that multilingual language courses could be offered as part of the bank’s employee benefit scheme and as an alternative to sports benefits. Following the focus-group, the Deputy Director explored this option and managed to convince top-management to agree to these language courses as part of the benefit scheme, indicating bottom-up negotiation by local management in Luxembourg. Employees were consequently able to choose between sports benefits or multilingual language courses from that point on. Given beliefs about policy and practices at the local level, it is perhaps little wonder that top management had to accept the use of other languages in Luxembourg. The following section concentrates on the implications of globalisation with the additional level of management at the global level on the dimensions of policy for banks.

8.3.2 Implications

LPP findings at international banks provide insight into the interaction between global and local levels and ‘Glocalisation’ (Robertson, 1994), a fairly recent term used to describe “the increasing significance of the local in the global context” (Nic Craith, 2007, p.7). These findings have particular relevance and implications for Banking Groups involved in LPP which are made up of subsidiaries around the world with linguistically diverse employees. Harzing and Feely (2008, p. 53) indicate that “the parent-subsidiary relationship, like any other business situation, contains a degree of tension and divergent goals. The parent wishes to exercise control and direction while the subsidiary seeks autonomy and an escape from central control”. Central to literature about multinational corporations is the extent “to which their practices resemble those of the parent company (standardization) versus the extent to which their subsidiaries act and behave as local firms (localization)” (Harzing and Pudelko, 2007, p. 538). “Localization is an issue that affects managers around the world. It applies as much in Eastern Europe as in Eastern Asia and in a Japanese bank in London or a British bank in Tokyo” (Hailey and Harry, 2008, p. 19). This tension between local and global levels at banks highlights the importance of local beliefs, practices on implicit policy.

As noted in the literature review, negotiation of policies is often interpreted as language planning from the bottom-up. Liddicoat and Baldauf note that “considering language planning only as the property of those who hold the institutional power to effect decisions, ignores the interplay between the macro and the micro which is fundamental to all language planning work”. One risk of this approach to language planning is “failing to consider how the macro is actually played out in the local communities in which it is being

implemented” (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 11). Furthermore, they indicate that:

local contexts are the contexts in which language use and language changes are experienced and understood by people. It is in response to these experiences and understandings that particular language issues come to be perceived as problems requiring solution or that the plans to resolve problems are put into practice” (2008, p. 11).

Accordingly, bottom-up local perspectives are crucial in LPP, since participation and acceptance by communities of speakers are very important (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003).

Owing to the local value for multilingual communication, local management and employees interpreted the English working language policy through multilingual eyes, which included the use of both ELF and other languages to varying degrees in written and spoken communication. Clearly, at the local level inclusive and multilingual beliefs were predominant, whereas at the Banking Group level, monolingual beliefs were being encouraged through the exclusive use of ELF. These local beliefs and practices are particularly important to consider if Banking Groups wish to influence language use in a meaningful way. Spolsky notes that “beliefs may be as important as facts” (2009, p. 64) and succinctly elucidates how

the potential success of language management will depend on its congruity with the language situation, the consensual ideology or language beliefs, the degree to which English has already penetrated the sociolinguistic repertoire and its consistency with a minimal degree of recognition of language rights (Spolsky, 2004a, p. 222).

Clearly the importance of local beliefs and practices towards both the role of English and other languages cannot be underestimated. Local beliefs and

practices, such as the value for ELF *and* multilingualism rather than the monolingual and exclusive use of ELF, need to be taken into account. Otherwise, the implementation and outcome of EWL policies in multinationals may be misunderstood, mitigated and so too their role as strategic global policy-makers on language use in their companies.

In contrast to Bank Ivan, the Bank James Banking Group appeared to pay more attention to local practices and beliefs. Even though employees associated this bank with English-speaking countries, management at Bank James reported a multilingual policy to be in place at the Banking Group level. Accommodation to the local context and languages in this multilingual world was reported to be the driving force behind this multilingual policy. Local Management reported that the Banking Group had recently placed much more emphasis on diversity and multilingualism, citing in contrast to other banks, practical issues for the multilingual emphasis. The Deputy Director highlighted the significance of the recruitment mechanism on the overarching language policy of the Group and explained the policy in the following way. *"If our principal objective was to operate in the English language, then we would be restricting our ability to recruit the best people. So, the policy of the Group is to recruit and retain the best people"*. Interestingly, this Banking Group was by far the biggest Banking Group¹⁷ in this research. It will be interesting to observe if expanding Banking Groups worldwide become more multilingual or monolingual in the future, and what influence, if any, this multilingual policy at Bank James has had on policies and practices in international banks in Luxembourg and elsewhere. In any case the recent emphasis on multilingual policy within the Group is only likely to strengthen the multilingual practices reported at Bank James.

¹⁷ Bank James' Banking Group had a workforce of more than 260,000 and serviced millions of clients.

8.4. THE LUXEMBOURG CONTEXT

The focus of the final section of this chapter is the wider policy implications for Luxembourg from this research. Local management's attitudes and expectations about Luxembourg were useful for understanding the context of Luxembourg in which multilingual banks operated and wider policy implications for Luxembourg. Hence, expectations associated with this multilingual context are briefly considered before the wider policy implications are discussed.

8.4.1 Multilingual and multicultural characteristics of Luxembourg

At Bank Ivan, the HR manager emphasised the multilingual nature of Luxembourg, noting that while you may not speak particular languages fluently, it was expected that you speak more than one language. However, although employees were multilingual, assumptions about overlapping linguistic repertoires were not always justified. In Extract 8.7 a HR support manager describes how even the linguistic repertoires of nationals of Luxembourg differed; hence the difficulty in managing language use (see Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 87 for discussion of covert and overt language education policy in Luxembourg).

Extract 8.7 Final interview at Bank Ivan

British/German HR manager: *With Luxembourgers, you can't even rely on the national language that everyone would speak or understand that. Whereas if you're located in Germany, you can probably rely on the fact that everyone speaks German to a more or lesser degree. But you can't rely on that in Luxembourg because there's so many people who wouldn't speak one of the three official languages and of those three languages which language would you pick to even start with.*

Furthermore, the HR manager at Bank George also noted that in other countries, there would be more employees from that particular country represented in the bank. However, Luxembourg is small and 87% of employees were non-Luxembourgish. Consequently, his bank, like the Luxembourg State, had to cope with an influx of non-Luxembourgers, who had no understanding of local habits or norms. On the one hand, this resulted in no single dominant national culture at their bank due to the diverse group of nationalities, and on the other hand this situation assisted banks to be international and strengthened the privileged position of ELF. Clearly, the multinational and multilingual nature of banks in Luxembourg and in particular the linguistic repertoire of employees contributed to the complexity of language management and flexibility required. Given the multilingual and multinational context in which banks operated, banks emphasised the importance of English for both internal and external communication.

8.4.2 Legislation in English in Luxembourg?

Management at Bank Ivan raised the multilingual nature of official documentation in Luxembourg as a language management issue needing further attention at the state level. The Deputy Director at Bank Ivan described how although Luxembourg was beginning to support English as the international language, he indicated that it was not changing as fast as international companies would have liked. The HR manager noted that until a couple of years ago, very few state-level documents were produced in English. At the time of this research much of the official legislation was still not available in English, but in comparison with the past, when legislation was only available in French and German, a concerted effort had been made to produce official documents in English for the foreign population living in Luxembourg. For example, the labour laws were written in French, but they

had been recently translated into English. Consequently, the very limited resources in English combined with the multilingual nature of official documentation hampered communication in international banks.

Banking is a very regulated environment and banks made many requests for information to the Government and authorities. Much of the information was in French and consequently Bank Ivan required employees who could use French and this limited the number of people who could deal with this information. The Deputy Director at Bank Ivan noted that in an international financial centre, one would expect Luxembourg to use more English. For example, in the last 2-3 years, meetings for the board of the Banker's Association changed from using French to English. The Banker's Association involved ten representatives from banks in Luxembourg and represented a range of nationalities, including a Turkish Banker, and the use of French made it difficult for nationalities unfamiliar with French.

Clearly management at Bank Ivan emphasised the importance of legislation in English for banks and for Luxembourg as an international financial centre, which has implications for Luxembourg at the state level. However, it is also important to add that no other obvious financial, legal and political conditions were raised as inhibiting language policy or use in their institutions. Furthermore, no language laws or state legislation (see Vollstedt, 2002, p. 96) were indicted as influencing bank language practices as in other countries, such as Germany and Belgium. For example, in Germany a Federal Office must approve branch directors of banks and it is taken as given that they must speak German (Coulmas, 1992, p. 134). Other companies have also been taken to labour courts in Germany regarding language-related issues, for example, translations of company handbooks into German and the authority of English documents (Vollstedt, 2002, p. 96). One employee at Bank George noted a company cannot freely select a

language in Belgium. If your company is located in the Flemish part of Belgium, all documentation, and even official discussions must be undertaken in Flemish. The fact that no linguistic restrictions were placed on their banking practices as seen in other countries, was viewed very positively by managers.

This section has highlighted the importance of English in official Government documentation used by international banks. If Luxembourg wants to assist international banks to operate in the multilingual context of Luxembourg, these findings suggest the need for further official documentation and legislation to be made available in English to banks, alongside other multilingual documentation. In the next section, the wider education policy implications for Luxembourg are explored.

8.4.3 Luxembourgish with a multilingual repertoire including English

The important role of English in banking has implications for language education at state-level in Luxembourg for entry into this international financial industry. As elaborated in this thesis, English as a lingua franca played a strategic role within international banks in Luxembourg and hence international banking. The diverse range of local, regional and international employees in banks contributed to the importance of ELF. Furthermore, English was also important in German and Luxembourgish banks. English was used as a de facto working language in two German banks, alongside German. Even though English was not one of the main spoken or written working languages between colleagues in Luxembourgish banks, English still played a role in internal and external communication, such as for international communication, information technology (computer applications, intranet sites and external websites, financial records) and the

international banking industry at large. Employees working in international contexts within Luxembourgish and German banks were also required to have knowledge of English; English language courses were also offered in these banks.

The importance of English for the banking industry is particularly significant since the gap between the level of English taught in the education system in Luxembourg and the level required in professional circles is described as the “white elephant of language debates in Luxembourg” (Horner, 2009b, p. 107). With the increasing demand for English in international workplaces, Horner (2009b, p. 106) questions “whether students who attend state schools in Luxembourg are provided with a learning environment conducive to acquiring the necessary level of English to compete for these jobs (cf Davis, 1994, Klein, 2007)”. This is crucial for Luxembourgers hoping to enter the banking industry, since knowledge and proficiency in English played a gatekeeping role in these financial institutions. Furthermore, proficiency in English also played an important role in promotion to senior management positions (for similar results regarding English and promotion see Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Charles & Piekkari et al., 2002; Erling & Walton, 2007, p. 39). The implication of the analysis in this thesis is that English language skills are essential (cf Hoffman, 2000, p. 7). If Luxembourgers are to continue to be increasingly represented in the international banking industry within Luxembourg, English needs to become an additional language in the linguistic repertoire of Luxembourgers. Furthermore, due to the increasing importance of ELF worldwide, these findings validate arguments for strengthening efforts in teaching English at schools in Luxembourg.

However, it must also be recognised that multilingual skills are essential in the increasingly globalised world and this thesis has explored in great detail the reasons for the use of languages other than English in Luxembourg.

Although used considerably less frequently than ELF, French was an important language within banks, alongside German (particularly at Bank George and Bank Ivan) and other languages. Consequently, as suggested by Davis (1994) and supported by the research reported in this thesis, Luxembourgers and those living and working in Luxembourg need to be fluent in English, French and German to enable them to effectively compete for employment, and particularly so in the international banking industry in Luxembourg.

Graddol (2006) predicts that knowledge of English will be taken for granted as a world lingua franca and a basic skill for every person wanting to participate in international arenas. "As global English makes the transition from 'foreign language' to basic skill, it seems to generate an even greater need for other languages" (Graddol, 2006, p. 118). He also suggests that Europeans will increasingly be required to have bilingual or trilingual competence in English, French and German, with English becoming one of the basic skills required in global education. Phillipson concurs that "many businesses in Europe are becoming aware that proficiency in English will in future be so widespread that proficiency in other languages will be essential for commercial success" (2003, p. 5). The findings from this research support these predictions about multilingualism. Employees at Bank Ivan indicated that competence in additional languages was very advantageous, especially for communication with clients. These findings echo Erling and Walton's findings that "since English language proficiency is increasing for all Europeans, knowledge of a third or fourth language gives job applicants a competitive edge" (Erling and Walton, 2007, p.38).

Multilingualism is similarly valued in other multinationals. "Global companies such as Siemens view multilingualism and international experience as fundamental for positions of major responsibilities" (Grandin,

2004, p. 344). If Luxembourgers are to succeed, they need to recognise “the need to work in multinational teams, the need to understand and integrate the perspectives of peers and partners from other national locations” (Grandin, 2004, p. 344). The Director of Bank James also emphasised the importance of recruiting multilingual international managers in the future and the difficulties he faced when employing monolingual English-speaking international managers. These findings suggest that the tide may be beginning to turn in favour of non-native speakers of English in multilingual and international contexts, such as in Luxembourg, supporting Graddol’s claims that the economic advantage that speakers of English have enjoyed over years is beginning to fade. Monolingual speakers of English may find themselves economically disadvantaged in comparison to speakers of English who are also multilingual (2006; see also Phillipson, 2003, p. 5).

All of these factors place multilingual Luxembourgers with proficiency in English in a very advantageous position. This combined with an understanding of flexible multilingualism, Luxembourgers will have “one of the most important skills needed in the rapidly changing business community of today” (Louhiala-Salminen, Charles & Kankaanranta, 2005, p. 17). Consequently, educating Luxembourgers in English alongside languages associated with Luxembourg is a worthwhile and rewarding investment for the future.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Part one of this chapter has examined the theoretical implications emerging from this research for Shohamy’s 2006 models. Based on this research in workplaces, Shohamy’s models could be further modified in two ways. Given the importance of bottom-up perspectives in this research and in order to comprehensively examine de facto policy, a bottom-up perspective on

practices could be added to her theoretical framework. Furthermore, the important role that the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses played in the implementation of the overarching policies on working languages would more accurately represent the relationship between mechanisms in banks. Both of these modifications would further enhance her theoretical framework and are supported by this empirical research.

The examination of implications is further expanded in part two of this chapter, where conclusions were drawn for international banks in this complex multilingual context. At Bank George and Bank Ivan, flexible policies without strict guidelines that did not restrict employees' strategic negotiation of language choice have been identified as crucial to successful language management. This strategical and tactical flexibility was achieved through different levels of policy. Firstly, ELF was the official working language of the two banks and denoted the overall strategy for the banks, that is, to enable all employees to communicate across language boundaries via a common language. However, local management also achieved tactical flexibility through the multilingual mechanisms of recruitment and language courses and incorporated other languages to meet transactional and relational goals within banks.

This research indicates that the inclusion of other languages in an official working language policy would more accurately reflect the languages used within case study banks. However, the formal policies at these banks are unlikely to change given the Luxembourg context and the need for explicit management of ELF to include all employees. Furthermore, given the complexity and dynamism of this multilingual context, it is unlikely that any explicit policy would accurately represent the fluid multilingual communication taking place on a daily basis in banks. In any case, despite the official monolingual policy and given the bottom-up pressures on

practices and the value for other languages at these banks, employees are likely to continue using a range of languages to communicate with colleagues.

To explore the implications of globalisation on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy, beliefs at the global and local management/employee levels have been investigated at Bank Ivan. Local management in Luxembourg approached their English policies flexibly and with a more inclusive and multilingual understanding. The Deputy Director at Bank Ivan encouraged a multilingual approach to management, exemplified by his response to English-only language courses at the bank, and he did not enforce English-only practices and beliefs. Furthermore, local employees supported 'inclusive' ELF policies that assumed the importance of other languages as well. They noted that it was impossible to restrict language use to one language in this complex multilingual environment and considered strict monolingual EWL policies unrealistic. These findings emphasise the importance of local attitudes and practices, when implementing policy decisions, especially at the Banking Group level.

Consequently, if Banking Groups want to strategically manage language use in their subsidiaries, Banking Groups would be well-advised to consider the local language practices and beliefs of both management and employees. These implications do not just apply to Banking Groups, but also to other multinational workplaces, whether that be for communication in one subsidiary or between subsidiaries located in different contexts around the world.

Taking account of the status, prestige and usefulness of English in banks, two key conclusions were drawn in terms of wider policy implications for Luxembourg. Firstly, if Luxembourg wants to expand the number of

international banks and facilitate access to information, further attention needs to be paid to state legislation available in English. Secondly, if Luxembourg is interested in increasing the number of Luxembourgers employed in the banking industry, additional support for learning English in the education system is needed, to ensure that multilingual Luxembourgers are placed in a unique position in Europe.

Having discussed the implications of research on explicit and implicit dimensions of policy, the next and final chapter of this thesis both synthesises the findings of this thesis and reflects on areas for further research.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.0 INTRODUCTION

“Diversity is a challenge and an opportunity for us all” (Shohamy (2009, p. 188). This research has compared language policies in a number of German, Luxembourgish and International banks, focusing specifically on the complex and dynamic interaction of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy in international banks with ethnolinguistically diverse workforces. This final chapter synthesizes the contribution of this research to our understanding of language policy by first summarising the findings of each chapter, then discussing the wider implications of the thesis, and finally identifying areas for future research.

9.1 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

This research has addressed a number of gaps in existing LPP research by exploring working language policies (WLP) in banks in Luxembourg. Although small multilingual countries provide a unique opportunity to explore the complexity of language policy, Luxembourg, as one of the most multilingual and multicultural countries of the EU, is under-researched. Shohamy notes that

it is precisely small countries with other groups around their borders that require more immediate language solutions and have to face head-on some of the serious issues that countries with “big languages” can simply ignore. In this regard, Luxembourg and Israel are similar in that all issues of local, national, ethnic, and global interest (and everything in between) occur within their tight confines” (2009,p. 188).

For these reasons, Luxembourg as both a small multilingual and international country, and a microcosm of the wider multilingual EU, provides valuable insight into the intersection of multilingualism, LPP and English. This research specifically explores LPP in banks in Luxembourg addressing a second gap in LPP research, namely policy investigations into micro contexts, such as multilingual workplaces. Luxembourg is an international banking centre and banks operating within Luxembourg represent ideal contexts, in which to explore language policy. Thirdly, this research addresses the complexity of explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. The terms 'explicit' and 'implicit' often describe policies; implicit dimensions associated with practices and beliefs, whereas explicit dimensions generally are associated with formal policies. However, very few researchers have tried to unravel this interaction both theoretically and empirically. Accordingly, as outlined in chapter one, the primary research question of this thesis has centred on an examination of explicit and implicit dimensions of working language policies (WLP) in banks.

An analysis of policy dimensions is not straightforward in terms of theory, since an overarching theory in the LPP field does not exist. Moreover, of the LPP models being developed, no single framework captures the complexity of dimensions being explored in this research, hence three frameworks have been used to investigate policy. Firstly, Spolsky's (2004a) framework was adopted as the underlying basis for this exploration, since it identifies an interaction of three policy components: management, practices and beliefs. Two additional frameworks operationalised Spolsky's (2004a) language policy model and explored in greater detail this interaction. Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987) examines the component of language management in greater detail than Spolsky, and was used to analyse explicit policy. Shohamy's (2006) framework is one of the

few models designed to (1) explore implicit dimensions of policy, specifically the complex interaction between policy components from a top-down perspective; and (2) to extend explicit language management beyond rules, and examine additional management mechanisms. Hence, Shohamy's (2006) models were used to explore the interaction between explicit and implicit (de facto) dimensions of policy.

A review of state and supra-national state LPP research has highlighted the importance of attention to attitudes, beliefs and ideology, and both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. Building on these gaps, a number of areas were identified for further research from available workplace LPP literature. These included the lack of policy research in linguistically diverse workplaces employing a wide range of nationals, the very few detailed examinations of either top-down management or bottom-up language practices and choices, and the very few corporate LPP studies investigating beliefs (top-down or bottom-up) as part of an exploration of policy. These gaps in available research signalled an overall lack of comprehensive study of the complex interaction of components of policy in multinational and multilingual workplaces. Arising from this literature review, the sub-research questions of this thesis explored policy components: firstly, from a top-down perspective at Luxembourgish and German banks (phase one), followed by a more in-depth policy study from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective at International banks (phase one and two).

Data was collected in two phases: phase one included interviews with HR managers and Directors at ten banks (three Luxembourgish, three German and four International banks) to explore the top-down perspective towards explicit management, beliefs and practices. Phase two specifically investigated in detail employees' practices and beliefs from a bottom-up perspective at international banks. In phase two, questionnaires and focus

groups were used sequentially to capture the complexity of implicit dimensions. Focus groups provided data which facilitated a deeper understanding of employees' language choices and beliefs; questionnaires with Likert statements illuminated language use trends and guided subsequent discussions with employees.

Analysis of language management, practices and attitudes from a top-down perspective at banks nationally associated with Luxembourg and Germany illuminated the lack of explicit management of working languages in these banks. Bank managers exhibited unfavourable attitudes to explicit language management and consequently 'working languages' were not formalised. However, although WLP were absent, strategic language management was still implemented through a multilingual approach to recruitment and language courses. To a large extent, the banks' national affiliation and ethnolinguistic composition of employees influenced employees' practices, alongside English and the language of the client. Luxembourgish and German banks took a multilingual approach to client communication, providing a range of languages to clients in contracts, written and spoken communication.

Analysis of data at the more culturally and linguistically diverse case study banks (International Banks George, Ivan and James) illuminated implicit policy from the top-down (chapter five) and bottom-up (chapter six). In terms of top-down pressures, results indicated that top-down economic, linguistic, social and specifically relational goals, largely connected with internationalisation, underlay the choice of English as the formal working language in these banks. Senior managements' value for ELF and other languages underpinned recruitment and language courses, which directly influenced employees' multilingual practices. Recruitment emerged as the most influential mechanism, since it contributed to the ethnolinguistically

diverse composition of employees and their consequent multilingual practices within banks. At Bank Ivan and George, these multilingual mechanisms of recruitment and language courses appeared to be largely inconsistent with an overarching monolingual policy and mitigate the implementation of an English-only policy to varying degrees. This interaction between the policy mechanisms of working language, recruitment and language courses illuminated the top-down contribution to an overarching de facto (implicit) policy for language use in the day-to-day running of banks.

Employees' reported language use practices provided a bottom-up perspective on implicit policy. English was by far the most frequently used language in written and spoken communication and as such played an essential role within banks. In banks with high numbers of Francophone employees, French surfaced as an important language for socialisation. Employees also reported accommodating to the language of the client. An analysis of the genres of communication illuminated how languages other than English were used in practice, particularly in spoken communication. Meetings were conducted in English and a number of languages; a shared 'meeting' language typically being negotiated at the beginning. Relational goals influenced informal talk, resulting in the widest range of languages being used in this genre. The spoken and written dimensions of hybrid genres of communication, namely emails and presentations, also influenced the use of languages other than English. Moreover, bottom-up pressures influenced employees' complex multilingual practices. Employees' participation in speech communities and their diverse linguistic repertoire, as well as transactional and relational goals and the medium of communication, influenced reported language choices. These multilingual practices were supported by employees' positive beliefs towards flexible

communication, multilingualism and the use of French for establishing rapport with colleagues. In summary, at Bank Ivan and George, the incongruence between the monolingual WLP and those languages employees reported in practice was highlighted, alongside the use of multiple languages at Bank James where no explicit policy existed.

Due to the frequent and widespread use of English within all three case study banks, English played a vital role as the most important lingua franca across a wide group of nationals. Employees at the grass-roots level exhibited positive attitudes to ELF as the most common language in employees' linguistic repertoire. The international position of English also underpinned favourable attitudes towards English and its use. The bottom-up perspective taken in this research indicated that when employees wanted and needed to include, involve, or be fair to all employees, English was the only possible choice, magnifying its importance in this ethnolinguistically diverse context. Thus, English was used for relational purposes, a finding which challenges the limited transactional definition of ELF. This research highlights how transactional and relational goals were achieved concurrently and the fact that languages are multifunctional. As a consequence, the relational use of ELF needs strategic and flexible management in multilingual workplaces, since at times the relational goal of including all hindered relational goals of communicating with fellow nationals in other languages. Ideally, EWL policies should not be so rigid that they prevent employees from communicating for relational reasons in languages other than English, where appropriate. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that English played an essential role for connecting ethnolinguistically diverse employees from both top-down and bottom-up.

Based on this empirical data, two theoretical implications emerged for Shohamy's (2006) framework. This thesis suggests that Shohamy's (2006)

models overemphasise the power of top-down management on de facto policy, and thus these models could be further refined to reflect more accurately the importance of bottom-up pressures on practices. Secondly, the mechanisms of recruitment and language courses in Shohamy's models could be further modified for the workplace, to represent the implementation of overarching WLP, with the potential to mitigate its influence.

The implications of de jure and de facto policies at international banks with EWL (Bank George and Ivan) are also drawn, highlighting the strategical and tactical flexibility employed at different levels of language management. Local management at these banks had an overall strategy to use ELF for internal communication, but at the same time they achieved tactical flexibility through multilingual management devices (recruitment and language courses). Furthermore, EWL policies were not strictly enforced, hence these findings indicate the appropriacy of flexibly interpreted policies, which do not inhibit employees' strategic and multilingual use of languages. This is particularly important since it is unlikely that any explicit policy would accurately reflect employees' dynamic multilingual communication in these banks.

Globalisation adds further complexity to explicit and implicit dimensions of policy, because International Banks in Luxembourg were subsidiaries of wider Banking Groups and this has implications for language management. At Bank Ivan, attitudes towards ELF at the local management and employee level in Luxembourg contrasted with attitudes at the global level. Local management and employees valued both ELF and multilingualism, indicating an inclusive, flexible and multilingual approach to ELF, whereas an English-only ideology was encouraged at the global level for Bank Ivan. These findings underscore the importance of considering local practices and

beliefs when managing ELF at a global level. If MNCs hope to strategically manage language use in this globalised world, they would be well advised to recognise the importance of other languages and consequently flexibly manage the use of ELF.

Finally, the results indicating that ELF was essential, alongside multilingual skills, suggest two implications for the local level of Luxembourg. Firstly, if Luxembourg wishes to further assist the establishment of international banks, state legislature written in English with relevance to banking would further enhance and facilitate communication. Furthermore, if the international banking industry is to be more accessible to Luxembourgers, these findings suggest that it would be advantageous to provide additional support for teaching English, alongside local languages.

This section of the chapter has synthesised the findings and implications of this thesis, the final section of this chapter explores the broader significance of these findings and identifies areas of further research.

9.2 FINAL REFLECTIONS

From the outset, banks were identified as complex multilingual contexts in which to explore language policy and its intersection with multilingualism and English. In this policy examination, ELF emerged as essential in international banks as well as other languages. English-only communication was considered impossible and undesirable, and local managers and employees exhibited very positive attitudes to both ELF and multilingualism.

As far as local management and employees in international banks in Luxembourg were concerned, it was not a choice between either ELF or local languages, it was a combination of both. Consequently, ELF and national languages appeared to coexist fulfilling a number of functions and roles in

these fluid multilingual contexts, where choice was negotiated based on context.

If we are to take practices in these international banks as a microcosm of the ethnolinguistically diverse Europe, then these findings suggest that lingua francas, and in particular ELF, are being used to connect people alongside other local and national languages in spoken communication (cf Labrie & Quell, 2006). Lingua francas have existed through the centuries as a means of connecting people across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries alongside a range of other local and national languages (cf Anderman & Roger, 2005, pp. 6-9; Crystal, 2003, pp. 7-9). Furthermore, they are being used in complex multilingual environments in South America, Africa, the Arabic-speaking world and in smaller countries such as Papua New Guinea (see Holmes, 2008, pp. 80-82). Thus, in light of globalisation and increasing international contact, further research into lingua franca communication in Europe and around the world would be useful to enhance our understanding of its nature, conceptualisation and spread. This includes English, but also others, such as French and German (e.g. Clyne, 1995; Truchot, 2001; Ammon, 2001; Knapp and Meierkord, 2002; Gardt & Hüppauf, 2004; Neathery-Castro & Rousseau, 2005; Wright, 2006, 2008; Darquennes and Nelde, 2006) and Russian, Spanish, Portuguese and other lingua francas in complex multilingual environments (e.g. Pavlenko, 2006; see other articles in this volume).

In this research, English had special status as the most widely spoken lingua franca for these European contexts and accordingly ELF deserves further investigation on a broad range of topics. Although academics take different positions on the further development of English as a global language, English is likely to be one of the most, if not the most, important lingua franca for the near future. Crystal (2003) believes that the growth of global

English will continue and is unlikely to cease without either enormous changes to the balance of global power or advances in technology. Graddol (1997, p. 58, see also 2006) believes the world is in a transition period and as a result English will be only one of many big languages in the next 50 years as more countries are influenced by globalisation and economic development. However, Crystal and Graddol agree that the new role of English in international relations, the global economy, the media, education and technology is very important for the future of English and other languages, and that English will be around in this role for the next 50 years.

With its increasing status and use between the growing number of non-native speakers of English in Europe and around the world, further research is needed into ELF and how it is changing and developing in the hands of non-native speakers (e.g. Euro-English, (Jenkins et al., 2006)). For example, as ELF use increases around world and over time, it is indeed possible that identity issues associated with ELF will become more relevant (cf Berns, 2006). If ELF is used for relational goals, it appears highly likely that ELF could also be used for signalling identity. There are differing conceptualisations of ELF. House (2006, p. 90; 2008, p. 67) notes that users of ELF are unlikely to consider it as a 'language for identification'. Her ELF definitions are similar to Crystal's (2003, p. 21) conceptualisation of English as a global language, used for mutual intelligibility and allowing access to the global community; local languages are conceptualised as being used for identity and access to the local community. House and Crystal's conception of identity appears to take a static view of identity, especially in light of the complexity associated with identities in Europe. For example, European identity is associated with multiple transnational identities (Oakes, 2001, pp. 127-131; see also Mar-Moliner & Stevenson, 2006c). Plurilingualism appears to be an essential part of European identity and "inhabitants of Europe no

longer identify exclusively with singular nation-states, but give increasing evidence of multiple transnational affiliations" (Extra & Gorter, 2008, p. 8). This is particularly relevant for the increasing number of cross-border workers and those with trans-national citizenship in European and international contexts.

Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that "identity is a problematic and complex concept inasmuch as we recognise it now as non-fixed, non-rigid and always being (co-)constructed by individuals of themselves (or ascribed), or by people who share core values or perceive another group as having such values" (Omoniyi & White, 2006, p. 1). In Omoniyi's studies of identity of borderland communities, speakers "in interactions constantly hierarchized, nationality, ethnicity, and other identities depending on their assessment of the context and the goal they sought to achieve" (Omoniyi, 2006, p. 30). In addition, Fought (2006, p. 19-20) emphasises that "ethnicity does not occur in isolation from other elements of identity" such as class and gender, age, sexual orientation, religion, local or extralocal orientation and strength of ethnic ties (see also Tabouret-Keller, 1997). There are other identities that individuals may want to construct in particular interactions, such as vocational or political (Meierkord, 2002, p. 110). As a result, an exploration of the complex facets of identity in multinational and multilingual workplaces is also needed, and this research echoes calls for further research into employees' identities, international, national, ethnic, professional identity and other identities (e.g. Vaara et al., 2005, pp. 617-622). This is particularly important in the face of globalisation and ELF, but also for identity construction in other lingua franca and of course national and ethnic languages. Although the sociolinguistic field is working towards "a more in-depth understanding of how individuals construct their social identities" (Fought, 2006, p. 33), few studies have explicitly investigated

ethnicity (Holmes, forthcoming) and this is an area which needs further investigation.

Research into corporate identity of companies and its influence on corporate language policy choice would also be useful. Truchot (2003b, p. 306) suggests that multinational or transnational companies which do not want to be associated with particular countries or are unable to be nationally associated with a country tend to choose English as their official languages, among other things. Gunnarsson (1998, p. 623) stresses the importance of a company's "organisational self" or corporate identity and the role of images in spoken discourse and documents of Swedish, German and British Banks. Vaara et al. (2005, p. 621) similarly emphasise identity construction especially in terms of the adoption of English as the official corporate language as a topic for future research, suggesting that in different contexts the adoption of English may mean different things. It appears likely that for some companies, the adoption of ELF may also be associated with legitimizing their company and constructing an international, rather than national corporate identity.

Finally, analysis of the micro contexts of banks in the small multilingual state of Luxembourg has enhanced our understanding of the complexity of policy at different levels. The responsibilities and obligations of workplaces and governments are quite different, and consequently more workplace LPP research is needed to feed into an overall theory of language policy. Workplaces are primarily about commerce and their ultimate goal is to make a profit from their investments. Although a variety of state-level research has been undertaken, workplace LPP research is still lacking in both monolingual and multilingual contexts. Further examination of language management could be investigated in other contexts and their influence on employees' practices, such as the management of public workspace, cross-

border workers, expatriates, translation, and last but not least, goals underlying policy choice.

Workplaces engage with language at the micro level, within the overall macro-level planning process, and 'in their own right' (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 4-5). Therefore, more LPP studies in workplaces would assist our understanding of the interaction of policy at the micro and macro levels (state, supranational state). Research that explores other macro-level agents with global decision-making power (such as multinational headquarters and Banking Groups) and their influence on language practices around the world would be worthwhile. Furthermore, this research has investigated subsidiaries within one country, but the LLP field would benefit from an exploration of subsidiaries of particular multinationals located in numerous countries. It seems likely that although the precise pressures operating may differ between micro and macro contexts, similar processes may be taking place, but further research is needed to understand the complex interaction between agents in the language policy process. Workplaces are considerably smaller, when compared with investigating LPP at the state level, and thus make an in-depth analysis more feasible.

More research is also needed into employees' observed language discourse practices, as well as beliefs, in multilingual workplaces. The dearth of research in multilingual workplaces means that quantitative and qualitative data, including authentic multilingual employee interactions, within different workplaces and across a wide range of topics would greatly enhance understanding of language choice, beliefs and workplace discourse.

9.3 CONCLUSION

This study extends LPP by investigating the under-researched area of language policies in multilingual workplaces in Luxembourg. This chapter

has synthesised the findings and implications of this thesis, as well as pinpointing areas for future research. The study of lingua franca communication, identity construction in communication, and further workplace research specifically investigating LPP and discourse practices, emerge as the three most important areas for future research.

As a final conclusion, this thesis has attempted to study the complexity of de facto policy and how it is “divided, open and in need of expansion both theoretically and empirically” (Shohamy, 2009, p.2). Thus, I have drawn on developing LPP theory and analysed multiple factors in order to illuminate how de facto policy can “reflect and influence new ways of thinking about language policies” (Shohamy, 2009, p.3).

An examination of the various top-down and bottom-up pressures on de facto policy in case study banks suggest that firstly, it is advisable for management to take into account the complex and dynamic use of national languages in European contexts. National languages are identified as important for communicating with interlocutors participating in national speech communities, with varying levels of proficiency across a number of genres of communication for content-related and interpersonal goals.

Secondly, top-down and bottom-up pressures on de facto policy, suggest that ‘flexible’ EWL policies are vital in these banks. So, what do flexible EWL policies mean in practice? In essence, flexible policies mean managing language use by setting goals appropriate for the context. This clearly points to the importance of considering bottom-up pressures on de facto policy. Local practices and beliefs are key when attempting to strategically and tactically manage language use in case study banks. These have not been overlooked by local management in the international banks investigated, namely that a range of languages are needed in workplace communication

with colleagues, clients and external agencies in subsidiaries in Luxembourg. Consequently, the two case study banks with EWL policies have taken an inclusive or 'flexible', even multilingual, approach to EWL. The use of other languages is strategically managed at other levels and EWL policies are not strictly enforced.

Third and finally, this thesis illuminates how implicit dimensions of policy at the grass-roots level are just as important, if not more important, than explicit dimensions of policy in case study banks. In this study implicit policy and bottom-up perspectives illuminate employees' acceptance of ELF as vital for fulfilling relational goals in these contexts, alongside other languages. As stated by a French employee from Paris at Bank George, *"it's good for people to do at least a small effort to move towards a common communication channel. Let's say English here. It's a minimum effort you can ask people to do in order to communicate properly with each other."* Hence, as the data shows, it is important to recognise the special and unique role ELF plays in the 21st century. Ironically, it is precisely because of the diversity of languages in these multilingual banks that English is necessary as a lingua franca. Rather than diminishing its role, linguistic diversity has rather heightened the importance of English in our era.

Thus, recognising the complexity of policy discussed within this thesis, this research concludes by calling for EWL policies in MNCs where English is widely known as a lingua franca, to formalise a default language of communication for relational goals in ethnolinguistically diverse contexts. These policies need to be flexible and inclusive however; language management which considers the multilingual workforce, and the strategic multilingual use of a range of languages to facilitate social relations between employees, as well as to achieve transactional bank-related goals.

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Appendix one: phase one interview schedule

PART A1: (Banks without one main working language)

Internal Communication

- 1) Does your bank have a main working language for internal communication?

If not, which languages/dialects are used for internal communication?

Which language do employees use the most?

- 2) Have there been any changes over the years to the way employees are expected to use languages? If so, why?

- 3) Does your bank have any formal policies about language that are either written down or that you've heard of?

If so, do you know how this decision came about?

If not, why do you think there are no policy statements written down?

- 4) What advice would you give to new employees at [bank] about how they're supposed to use languages at [bank]?

- 5) Are there any particular characteristics of your bank, which influence the way you use languages?

- 6) Which languages are employees normally expected to use within the bank when doing the following tasks? Why is that so?:

- speaking in meetings
- speaking in formal internal meetings
- making presentations at internal meetings
- speaking in internal senior management meetings
- speaking informally with bank employees
- making internal business telephone calls
- writing internal reports
- emailing internally

- 7) What languages would you expect to be used in these documents? Why is that so?

- internal documents in meetings
 - internal in-house banking reference material
 - internal information system documents
 - internal policy and procedure documents
- 8) Do different divisions or departments use some languages more than others? If so, which departments are they and why is that?
 - 9) How important is English in communication with colleagues within [bank]? Why do you say that?
 - 10) How important is English in business communication with people who do not work at [bank]? Why do you say that?
 - 11) In what situations would [bank] employees be expected to use English?

PART A2: (Banks without one main working language)

Internal Communication:

- 1) Does your bank have a main working language for internal communication?
If so, are all bank employees fluent speakers of the working language?
If employees are not all fluent in practice, what other languages do employees use as well?
- 2) Has this language always been the main working language? If not, when did this language become the working language for internal communication?
- 3) Is there any formal policy statement about the working language? If not, why do you think there is none?
- 4) Do you know how this decision about the working language came about?
- 5) Are there any particular characteristics of your bank, which have influenced the decision to have a working language?
- 6) Given that the working language of the bank is [language], do some divisions or departments use other languages often? If so, which departments are they and why is that?
- 7) How important is English in communication with colleagues within [bank]? Why do you say that?

- 8) How important is English in business communication with people who do not work at [*bank*]? Why do you say that?
- 9) In what situations would [*bank*] employees be expected to use English?

PART B (All banks)

- 1) Are particular languages required when hiring staff? If so, which ones?
- 2) Is the language proficiency of job applicants assessed during the interviews?
 - Why is that? **If so**, how is that done?
- 3) If [*the national language of bank*] is not a prerequisite for being hired, are staff encouraged to learn and speak [*the national language*]?
- 4) Does your bank provide language courses to employees?
- 5) How are they organized?
- 6) Are particular languages required for employees to be promoted to a senior management position?
- 7) What happens if an employee has trouble:
 - understanding texts in foreign languages
 - understanding texts that have been translated
 - writing in a foreign language (letter)
 - speaking in a foreign language (conversation)
- 8) Is there a main language for computer programmes within the bank? Do employees get issued with different computer keyboards according to their competency in languages?

External Communication

- 9) Which languages are employees normally expected to use, when communicating with people outside the bank?
 - written correspondence to government agencies
 - speaking in meetings with government agencies (E.g. CSSF Commission de Surveillance du Secteur Financier)
 - general written correspondence to other banks

- writing contracts with other banks (E.g international agreement/ loan)
- speaking at formal meetings outside the bank
- making presentations outside the bank (E.g international loan/agreement discussions)

10) Do any of the following characteristics influence the way the bank has chosen to use languages for external communication at your bank?

- clientele (e.g nationality)
- financial considerations (e.g financial subsidies for training courses)
- political conditions (e.g Commission de Surveillance du Secteur Financier (CSSF) regulations)
- legal conditions (e.g financial reporting)
- Any others?

11) What language is used in contracts between the bank and its clients?

12) Can clients choose which language they receive spoken or written correspondence in? What languages are used in clients' files to record information?

13) Which languages are employees normally expected to use, when communicating with clients?

- Writing letters
- Sending emails
- Telephone conversations
- Speaking in meetings

14) If you think about the ways the [*bank*] expects languages to be used, do you think that it works well or do you think it could be improved?

15) Is your bank different from other banks in Luxembourg in general? If so, how?

16) Does your bank differ from other banks in Luxembourg in terms of language use?

- 17) How would you describe the atmosphere at this bank?
- 18) Are different nationalities employed at the [*bank*]? If so, do these nationalities mix much informally?
- e.g. during coffee/ lunch breaks
 - places where people gather to talk- corridors/tearooms
 - social events sponsored by bank
- 19) Is there much contact with colleagues outside the workplace?
- 20) Is the [*bank*] a good bank to work for? If you had the opportunity to change three things at this bank what would they be?
- 21) Is there anything else you can think of?

Appendix two: phase two questionnaire for Bank Ivan

Name: _____

Position: _____

Department of Bank: _____

Languages are used differently in different sections of your bank. The following questions focus on how you personally use languages in your every day work.

This questionnaire will provide background information for the focus-group discussion taking place on the [date]. Once you have completed the questionnaire, please return it to [person] by [date], so the information may be analysed prior to the focus-group.

Please be as precise as possible and there are no right or wrong answers. Most questions will ask you to estimate your language use by circling the number on the scale provided. Please feel free to make any comment next to the question to explain your answers. Please feel free to make any comment in English, French or German next to the question to explain your answers.

EXAMPLE QUESTION:

What proportion of your time do you use Swedish in *spoken interactions with colleagues* at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg?

1=Never , 2 =Not often , 3= Approximately half the time , 4=Very often, 5= Always

	<i>Never</i>			<i>Always</i>	
Swedish	1	(2)	3	4	5

Your comments:

GENERAL COMMUNICATION WITH COLLEAGUES AT BANK IVAN IN LUXEMBOURG:

If you think about when you communicate with your colleagues at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg, how often do you use these languages in the following situations?

1=Never , 2 =Not often , 3= Approximately half the time , 4=Very often, 5= Always

1) Giving presentations in meetings to colleagues in Luxembourg:

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

2) Speaking in meetings with colleagues in Luxembourg:

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5

<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
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<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5
---------------------------	---	---	---	---	---

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

3) **Making business telephone calls with colleagues in Luxembourg:**

Never Always

<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
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<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
----------------	---	---	---	---	---

<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
---------------	---	---	---	---	---

<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
---------------	---	---	---	---	---

<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
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<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5
---------------------------	---	---	---	---	---

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

4) Speaking informally with colleagues in Luxembourg (e.g. at your desk, at morning tea etc.):

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

5) Writing regular reports to colleagues in Luxembourg:

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

6) Writing work-related emails to colleagues in Luxembourg:

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

SPEAKING AND WRITING TO COLLEAGUES AT BANK IVAN IN LUXEMBOURG:

7) How often do you use these languages in *spoken interactions with colleagues* at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg?

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

8) How often do you use these languages when you communicate *in writing with your colleagues* at Bank Ivan in Luxembourg?

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Luxembourgish 1 2 3 4 5

Any other language 1 2 3 4 5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

9) Are there any additional situations in your everyday work, where you use languages other than the working language, English?

10) Do you know of any situations where departments use languages other than English?

COMMUNICATION WITH CUSTOMERS/CLIENTS:

11) If you think about when you communicate with *customers*, how often do you use the specified languages *overall in your work*?

	Never				Always
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>French</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>German</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Luxembourgish</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Any other language</i>	1	2	3	4	5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

DOCUMENTS:

12) Think in general about the written documents you use every day. What proportion of you time do you use *written documents* in the following languages:

	None				All
<i>Swedish</i>	1	2	3	4	5

English 1 2 3 4 5

French 1 2 3 4 5

German 1 2 3 4 5

Any other language 1 2 3 4 5

Please specify language: _____

Your comments:

13) Can you think of any internal documents that are *only* available in *English*?

Please list.

14) Can you think of any internal documents that are *only* available in *Swedish*?

Please list.

15) Can you think of any internal documents that are *only* available in *German*?

Please list.

16) Can you think of any internal documents that are *only* available in *French*?

Please list.

ENGLISH:

17) Think in general about how you use English in your job. How often do you use *English in your overall work*?

Never					Always
1	2	3	4	5	

18) How important is English in your everyday work-related tasks that you perform?

	Not at all Important	Slightly Important	Fairly Important	Very Important	Essential
<i>English</i>	1	2	3	4	5

USING MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE IN A CONVERSATION:

How often do you use *more than one language within the same conversation* with the following people?:

19) your Nordic colleagues

Never

Always

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

20) your German colleagues

Never

Always

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

21) your colleagues who are not Nordic or German

Never

Always

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

22) your Nordic clients

Never					Always
1	2	3	4	5	

Your comments:

23) your German clients

Never					Always
1	2	3	4	5	

Your comments:

24) your clients who are not Nordic or German

Never			Always		
1	2	3	4	5	

Your comments:

ATTITUDE STATEMENTS:

Here are some opinions about the languages you use in your bank. Please indicate whether you **agree** or **disagree** with these opinions. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as precise as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3= Neither Agree or Disagree, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

- 25) Proficiency in English **is essential** to work in international banking *around the world*.

Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
1	2	3	4	5	

- 26) Proficiency in French **is more useful** than proficiency in English in international banking in *Luxembourg*.

Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
1	2	3	4	5	

- 27) German **is a more useful** language than French to use in communication in *Luxembourg*.

Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
1	2	3	4	5	

- 28) French **is a more useful language** to use as a working language *in this bank* than English.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 29) Proficiency in English **is essential** to communicate with all employees *of this bank*.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 30) Swedish **is a more useful** language to use as a working language *at this bank* than English.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 31) Proficiency in English **is essential** to complete your tasks *in this bank*.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 32) Swedish **is a more useful** language to use as a working language *at this bank* than German

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 33) Luxembourgish **is a more useful** language than German to use to communicate with Luxembourgers *at this bank*.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 34) **To establish rapport** with Germans in this bank, it is important to use German with Germans.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 35) **To feel part of this bank**, it is important for employees to use Swedish in communication with Swedish colleagues.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 36) **To maintain the Swedish identity** of this bank, it is important for employees to use Swedish in communication with Swedish colleagues.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 37) **To establish rapport** with French-speaking employees in this bank, it is important to use French with French-speakers.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 38) The German language has **more prestige** for communication in *Luxembourg* than French.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 39) The French language has **more prestige** in international banking in *Luxembourg* than English.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 40) The Swedish language has **more prestige** *in this bank* than English

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 41) The French language has **more prestige** *in this bank* than Swedish

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

- 42) The English language has **more prestige** in international banking *around the world* than French

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

Appendix three: phase two focus group discussion questions

ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE POLICY: (For banks with explicit policy)

- Qu 1) According to your banks' formal guidelines (policy), English is the working language of this bank, why do you think English has been chosen?
- Qu 2) Does having formal guidelines (policy) stating that English is the working language of the bank, mean that only English can be used in this bank?
- Qu3) Some people believe that having formal guidelines on language restricts employees' language use. What do you think about this?
- Qu 4) Do you think a formal working language for a bank is necessary and desirable?
- Qu 5) Do you think that having English as the working language of this bank is working well?
- Qu 6) In which languages would you like to improve your fluency? What impact do employee's different language skills have on your day to day work (or overall work)bank?

ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE POLICY: (For banks with no explicit policy)

- Qu 1) How would you describe the way you use languages in this bank to a new employee who is not familiar with the banking situation in Luxembourg?
- Qu 2) What sort of guidelines would you give this new employee about how to use [working language(s)] and other languages in this bank?
- Qu 3) Some banks in Luxembourg have written guidelines (policy) about the working languages for internal communication and other banks do not. What would you think if your bank established formal guidelines on the working languages of the bank?
- Qu 4) English is or is becoming the working language of many companies. How would employees react if English became the formal working language of this bank? Would any changes have to be made?
- Qu 5) In which languages would you like to improve your fluency? What impact do employee's different language skills have on your day to day work (or overall work)?