Programme for LingCorp workshop 29 November – 1 December 2015

This file contains all papers for the workshop. Use the bookmarks panel on the left to navigate (Adobe only), or click the titles below to jump straight to the paper you want to see.

Updated 24 November 2015

Sunday 29 November

Arrival at Comwell

19.00	*Dinner*

Monday 30th November

9.00-10.15	Hartmut Haberland: The LingCorp project
	Sonja Barfod: Adaptation strategies in Inter-Scandinavian interaction (**Jan Heegård, Frans Gregersen** and **Karoline Kühl**)
10.15-10.45	*Coffee break*
10.45-12.45	Janus Mortensen and Hartmut Haberland: Transient multilingual communities (Frans Gregersen, Jan Heegård, **Hans Jørgen Ladegaard**)
	Spencer Hazel: Event *Horisonten* – language and interaction in the collaborative creative processes of an international theatre company (**Jan Svennevig, Mie Femø, Louise Tranekjær**)
12.45-13.45	*Lunch*
13.45-14.45	Dorte Lønsmann: Internationalization through English: Language socialization and norm negotiation in a transient multilingual workplace (**Martha Karrebæk**, **Anne Fabricius,** Nikolas Coupland* and **Sharon Millar**)
14.45-15.15	*Coffee break*
15.15-17.15	Spencer Hazel: Data session
	Carsten Levisen: Expensive English: A postcolonial semantic approach to language ideology (Hans Jørgen Ladegaard, Sharon Millar, Martha Karrebæk)
18.30	*Dinner*

Tuesday 1 December

9.00-11.00	Dorte Lønsmann and Janus Mortensen: Why this language policy now? A case study from a multinational company (**Meredith Marra**, Nikolas Coupland*, **Marta Kirilova, Anne Holmen**) Hartmut Haberland and Ole Nedergaard Thomsen: Motivations for learning a foreign language (Marta Kirilova, Anne Fabricius, **Bent Preisler**)
11.00-11.30	*Coffee break*
11.30-12.30	Dorte Lønsmann and Kamilla Kraft: Language in blue-collar workplaces (Meredith Marra, Bent Preisler, Karoline Kühl, Hans Jørgen Ladegaard)
12.30-13.30	*Lunch*
13.30-15.15	Final discussion Hartmut Haberland, Frans Gregersen and Martha Sif Karrebæk: 3 years and 2 days later: What have we learnt? Janus Mortensen: Where do we go from here? Spencer Hazel, Meredith Marra and Mie Femø: How do we communicate our results to the outside world?
15.15-15.30	*Coffee and goodbye*

* discussant in absentia.

All participants are asked to prepare the following:

a. 7 minutes of feedback for each paper they are assigned to as discussants. Names in brackets indicate discussants.
b. A presentation of yourself between 1 and 4 minutes long. The intention is for each participant to give the other participants an idea of the kind of work they have done/are doing. Names in **bold** in the programme indicate when discussants introduce themselves.
c. A bio note (150-250 words) to be sent to Ole at ont@ruc.dk by 16 November for distribution before the workshop.

Draft paper prepared for the LINGCORP seminar November 2015
Not to be distributed

Adaptation strategies in inter-Scandinavian interaction
Sonja Barfod

1. Introduction

An increasing number of international companies in Denmark have declared English to be their corporate language. English has been widely accepted as a lingua franca. This certainly seems true of the Nordic countries, where English is much more of a world language than in many other parts of Europe (Haberland & Preisler 2015: 17). But in one multinational company in Denmark, where English was introduced as the corporate language by the German parent company in 2008, and where both external and internal meetings are conducted in English, there are other languages at play at lunchtime, primarily the local language (Danish) as well as the neighbouring languages (Norwegian and Swedish).
As previous research has shown, this simultaneous use of three languages requires "hårt interaktionellt arbete och ingående förhandlingar." [interactional hard work and intensive negotiations] (Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 197), but nevertheless, members of these three countries prefer this form of communication to English when interacting with each other in spite of the fact that otherwise their 'meeting language' is English (even when only Scandinavians are present).

Based on video data collected in September and October 2013, this paper aims at giving you a brief overview of my classification of the inter-Scandinavian communication and presenting a methodological issue, appearing when working with multilingual data. My recordings show how the participants to a large degree adapt to each other's languages in contrast to what previous research on this subject has shown (e.g. Börestam Uhlmann 1994, Zeevaert 2004). This adaptation is characterized by a high degree of variability, both when the adaptations are within the speaker's own base language and the recipient's base language.
The adaptations within the recipient's base language are a challenge in the transcription phase. This *second order entextualization*: "the transfer of a recorded stretch of human activity to some form of written representation." (Haberland & Mortensen 2015: 584) is a decision-making process that becomes very interesting when working with multilingual data: When is a production qualified to appear as deviant from the standard base language, thereby challenging the use of the standard orthography of Danish, Norwegian or Swedish for transcription?

2. The Nordic countries, Scandinavia and neighbouring languages

The Nordic countries are a geographical and cultural region in Northern Europe and the North Atlantic. The region consists of five countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) with three autonomous regions (the Åland Islands, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland). In this paper the focus is on the three Scandinavian countries Denmark, Norway and Sweden.
The Scandinavian languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, are so similar in vocabulary, morphology and syntax that in principle Scandinavians can communicate across language borders. This phenomenon has been extensively studied, usually with a point of departure in the poor intercomprehension between the languages. Einar Haugen (1966) and later researchers established a hierarchy of Scandinavian intercomprehension groups (e.g. Maurud 1976, and Delsing & Lundin Åkesson 2000): Danes are the most difficult to understand, while Norwegians do best in understanding of the other Scandinavian languages, while also being best understood by speakers of the other two languages. Swedes have the greatest comprehension problems of all the three groups. In other words, inter-Scandinavian comprehension is asymmetrical. These results have established a certain consensus, or as Börestam Uhlmann diplomatically puts it: "(…) the studies – with their different methods and varied groups of respondents – nonetheless resulted in largely similar

patterns with respect to comprehension among neighbouring languages." (Börestam Uhlmann 2005: 2027). Previous research also focuses on the question of whether inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension is in decline, such that Scandinavians increasingly prefer to use English rather than inter-Scandinavian (e.g. Delsing & Lundin Åkesson 2005, Bacquin & Christensen 2013), which I have questioned in the article "On the non-use of English in a multinational company", appearing in Tamah Sherman and Jiří Nekvapil (eds.): *English in Business and Commerce: Interactions and policies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2015.

3. Scandinavian – Productive adaptation to the recipient and the recipient's base language

As the Scandinavian languages are so similar, speakers can use their own Scandinavian language as productive resource and their receptive resources to understand the other Scandinavian languages: The Dane talks Danish and understand his Swedish interlocutor's Swedish, the Swede talks Swedish and understand his Danish interlocutor's Danish. This is the general assumption of how inter-Scandinavian communication works: "A given speaker may constrain his speech to the bounds of his own code, and yet be trained to understand things that he would not say." (Hockett 1958: 333). Or with Braunmüller's words: „Dieses Prinzip [das Einsprachenprinzip, SB]) besagt, daß jeder Skandinavier (analog: jede Skandinavierin) seine Muttersprache (meist die Hochsprache) redet, wenn er sich mit einem skandinavischen Nachbarn direkt verständigen möchte. Umgekehrt gilt dann auch, daß jeder Skandinavier bereit ist, sich auf die jeweilige skandinavische Nachbarsprache einzustellen und den anderen auf dieser kommunikativen Grundlage verstehen zu wollen.“ [This principle [the principle of one language, SB] implies that Scandinavians talk his or her mother tongue (usually the standard variation) when he or she tries to communicate with a Scandinavian neighbour. Moreover, Scandinavians are also ready to adjust to the other Scandinavian neighbour language and willing to understand the other on this communicative basis] (Braunmüller 1991: 252).

Also the two main researchers within naturally occurring data and inter-Scandinavian communication Ulla Börestam Uhlmann (1994) and Ludger Zeevaert (2004) observe few adaptations within the recipients' languages. The primary strategies are within speaker's own base language. Börestam Uhlmann reports that languages are practically not mixed and that words from neighbouring languages in her data comprise 0.6% of the total number of words, and she concludes: "Tendensen att medelst grannspråklig tillnärmning skapa någon form av 'skandinaviska' är med andra ord svag" [The tendency to create some kind of 'Scandinavian' by accommodating linguistically to the neighbour is, in other words, weak.] (Börestam Uhlmann 1994:125). Zeevaert reaches the same conclusion: „Akkommodationen an die Nachbarsprachen bleiben aber die Ausnahme.“ [Accommodation to the neighbouring languages remains the exception.] (Zeevaert 2004: 303). In general, the assumption is: "The default in inter-Scandinavian communication between Danes, Swedes and Norwegians is the use of the respective mother tongue together with the willingness to accept and understand the neighbouring standard languages." (Braunmüller 2002: 1). What these researchers say, is that Scandinavians adapt to each other, but not to each other's languages.

This opens the question whether accommodation theory is a theoretical framework useful in analyzing inter-Scandinavian communication. Here, a speaker does not necessarily "adopt the speech pattern of the person to whom he is talking" (Giles & Powesland 1975: 156). Rather, they adapt by slowing down and articulating more clearly. These adaptations are the most frequently reported accommodation strategies between Scandinavians (e.g. Zeevaert & ten Thije 2007: 4, see also Börestam Uhlmann 1994: 38-46). Thus, Danish speakers adapt to their Swedish recipients, but only rarely by adopting or mirroring the speech pattern of the person they are talking to. The Swede speaks Swedish, not (necessarily) slowly and not (necessarily) clearly.

Although it has become almost mandatory to talk about accommodation when conducting research on inter-Scandinavian, the concept appears to be almost useless in this context.
Besides the just mentioned reason, there are in the inter-Scandinavian research no instances on divergence and convergence, two of the main reasons for accommodation according to the theory. This makes perfectly sense as the main aim in inter-Scandinavian interactions is intercomprehension: "(…) syftet med språkliga anpassningar från talarens sida förefaller vara att göra sig bättre förstådd och att få kommunikationen att flyta effektivt". (Ridell 2008: 207). So why use a theory that talks about *why*, when the thing you are looking for is *how* the Scandinavians communicate (see Barfod 2015b for a thorough investigation of accommodation theory and inter-Scandinavian).
In the following I will use the less heavy (and fairly adequate) term 'adaptation' when talking about Scandinavians' linguistic approach to one another's languages. These adaptations do exist in my data. Just like in Karin Ridell's study of three Swedish employees in a Danish nursing home, who integrate Danish in their speech in different ways and to varying degrees (Ridell 2008: 210), my data contain cases of some participants that adapt to their interlocutor's language to a great extent and also some that adopt less. Also the data from Bjørn & Stenrøs' thesis (2015) from a Scandinavian company in Denmark show these adaptation (see Barfod 2015c for explanations of the different results).
The degree and extent of the participants' adaptation strategies depends on whom they speak with and their inter-Scandinavian competences. In other words, there is a very high degree of variation and a great deal of adaptation, both within the base languages of both speaker and recipient.

4. Data and settings
The data collected for this paper originates from what I call 'Company 1' (the company's name is anonymized here) and consist of 18 hours of video-recorded material of lunchtime settings, four interviews, and observations in the company during the autumn of 2013. The semi-structured interviews (Kvale 2009) were made with the head of the Scandinavian customer service, a product safety manager, the head of human resources and a human resource manager. The questions that were raised in the interviews all concerned linguistic and cultural diversity in the workplace. The interviewees are all Danes, and the interviews were conducted in Danish and lasted approximately half an hour each. The video recordings cover four lunchtime tables on three days from 11:30 to 13:00. Out of 18 hours of video recordings, about 2,5 hours have been analysed here, that is, those interactions that include Scandinavians only. In these, 34 Scandinavians interact in 40 different participant constellations.
'Company 1' is located in Copenhagen and has English as a corporate language like many other major companies in Denmark. It is a subsidiary of a German company that was founded in the mid-nineteenth century and has more than 100,000 employees worldwide. The main activities of the company lie within the chemical industry.
At the Danish site, there are around 100 employees, which places the company within the category of small and medium-sized enterprises in Denmark. The employees are mainly from Denmark, but also from Norway, Finland, and Sweden. In the interviews, it was mentioned that there is one Danish speaking German working on the site, but either his Danish was so fluent that I have not noticed that he was German, or he did not participate during the days of recordings.
In the data I collected, five languages were represented: Danish, English, German, Norwegian and Swedish. In the interviews, the official policy was mentioned: in 2008, the German parent company changed its corporate language from German to English. Danish skills are no longer a qualification required for working in the company, since English has been established as the corporate language, however, the employees mention Danish as 'the social language'. It was clear from my observations

that the 'working language' is almost exclusively Danish (with some Norwegian and Swedish), except at meetings, which are strictly held in English. The recordings of the lunches showed that English is occasionally used when non-Scandinavian guests participate. There is only one instance of German (of approximately 30 seconds) in which two guests from Germany realize that they are being recorded and therefore leave the table. Norwegian and Swedish are not mentioned as social languages in the interviews. From my observations and my recordings it is obvious that these languages are used in conjunction with the local language, Danish, as social languages.
There are 34 participants: 9 Swedes, 5 Norwegians, 16 Danes, 3 Finns and 1 non-Scandinavian. The 30 Scandinavians have Danish, Norwegian or Swedish as their first language. Two of the Finns have worked in the company for approximately a year; they have very different approaches to Danish as Company 1's social language. Sara has learned Danish and uses it, while Simo has refused to learn Danish and all conversations with him are in English. There is also one Danish-speaking Finn (Helena) who has lived in Denmark for approximately 20 years and speaks Danish fluently. The one non-Scandinavian only participates in one framework. The instance is a case of Gregersen's "*gæsten bestemmer-argumentet*, en variant af inkluderende høflig adfærd" [*the guest decides-argument*, a variant of inclusive polite behaviour] (Gregersen 2012: 11), or to expand on Lønsmann's one-liner: it takes the presence of a non inter-Scandinavian speaker to change the language to English. (Lønsmann 2011: 168, with "non-native Danish speaker" instead of 'non inter-Scandinavian speaker'). The preferred language at the above-mentioned lunch table stays inter-Scandinavian and only talk directed to the non-Scandinavian is in English.
The speaker constellations vary in size from two to nine participants, and the participant framework expands and contracts depending on how much time the respective participants spend on their lunch.

5. Adaptations within speaker's or recipient's base language

The term 'inter-Scandinavian' refers to a scenario in which the speakers have different Scandinavian languages as their base language and choose not to use some lingua franca. Very different speech productions can occur within this scenario. The producers can stay within their own Scandinavian language, they can incorporate varying degrees of adaptation (lexical, phonetic, syntactic and pragmatic) and they can switch to another Scandinavian language. My data show a varied use of linguistic adaptation strategies within this scale of linguistic approaches in the scenario. These strategies are chosen largely independently by the speakers. One of the interlocutors may, e.g., stay within his/her base language while the other does not or may use different strategies in the same conversation with the same participant framework. This means that the choice of strategies does not refer to the conversation as a whole but to the individual contribution. While total mutual adaptation (swapping languages) may not be excluded (it does not occur in the data), it would hardly be functional.
There are basically two ways that Scandinavians can adapt in inter-Scandinavian conversations:

- Inter-Scandinavian speakers can stay within their base language. They produce their own base language and receive the base language of their interlocutor. This includes the following adaptation possibilities: control of speech rate, pitch, pauses, choice of vocabulary or downgrading of dialects (or regional varieties).
- Inter-Scandinavian speakers can use features from the recipient's base language, showing e.g. incorporation of lexical features from the other languages, changes in intonation, outright language alternation etc.

No productive skills within the recipient's base language are required when making use of the first strategy. As far as the receptive skills are concerned, this communication strategy primarily requires knowledge of the given context and willingness to understand (that is, a specific attitude). Basic

knowledge of the phonetic and lexical differences between the languages can, however, be very helpful in intercomprehension between Scandinavians (cf. Teleman 1987: 78-80 for phonetic, lexical and communicative strategies). To make adaptations within the recipient's base language, one needs productive knowledge of this language. Most of these strategies are not directly observable and will only become apparent by comparison. Within both strategies there are minimal and maximal (no hierarchy or normative assessment implied) adaptations. Minimal adaptation within the base language means that the speakers do not change their base language, while employing all the different possibilities would be a maximal adaptation. Minimal adaptation within the recipient's base language means that the speakers incorporate features from the recipient's base language, while maximal adaptation means that the speaker shifts language to the recipient's base language. The inter-Scandinavian practice displayed in the data shows a great deal of overlaps within the minimal and maximal adaptation strategies.

5.1. Adaptation within base language

Based on the assumption from accommodation theory that there will always exist some kind of accommodation in a conversation, the first practice to be described is minimal adaptation within speakers' base language. The interlocutors stay within their base language, speaking as if they were interacting only with other base language speakers of their own base language. This is the practice that has been claimed to be the default, but is a practice that in my data is at most just as common as the other strategies, for both speakers of long-term residence and short-term residence. It requires very good receptive competences of the interlocutors.

The first example of this minimal adaptation involves three Swedes (Lis, Karl and Ulf) with Swedish as their first language, and one Dane (Erik) with Danish as his first language. They talk together almost as if they were interacting only with base language speakers. They all work for the company. Erik is located in the Copenhagen division, and the Swedes are from the Gothenburg division and are visiting the Danish site.

The speech rate is fast, they speak indistinctly, and the talk is either in Swedish or Danish. Listening to recordings with the three Swedes among themselves, one realizes that Lis uses her local accent freely, which she does not do when speaking with Danes, where she downgrades her accent instead. This downgrading cannot be directly observed, only inferred by comparison between different types of data.

At this point in the conversation, Lis, Erik, Karl and Ulf have interacted for approximately five minutes. The subject of conversation has mostly been business-related, with references to the preceding meeting, and the fact that they are being recorded has also been discussed. About 20 seconds before the beginning of the excerpt they have started to talk about how Karl and Ulf support different Swedish football clubs and that their clubs played a match the previous weekend. The excerpt lasts half a minute.

Example 1

1	Karl:	Ja, det var lite så för att (0.6) för att om dom inte kommit, dom kommer att
2		komma. Jag är säker på det. Jag tror, dom är ett bra lag, men dom var inte
3		mogna riktigt för serien här än, så dom kommer, och nästa gång kan det lika
4		gärna vara.
5		[Yes, it was a bit to (0.6) because if they don't come, they will come. I'm sure
6		of that. I think they are a good team but they weren't really ready yet for
7		this series, so they will come and next time it could just as well be.]
8	Pause:	(0.6)
9	Erik:	Sid (.) sidder du og undskylder, at Ulfs hold (.) at I ikke tabte?

10 [Ar (.) are you apologising that Ulf's team (.) that you didn't lose?]
11 Pause: (0.7)
12 Karl: Va?
13 [What?]
14 Erik: Sidder du ⌈og undskylder, at Ulfs hold tabte?⌉
15 [Are you making apologies for Ulf's team losing?]
16 Ulf: ⌊Ah men ah men⌋ ⌈försök att vara lite storsint här nu eh⌉
17 [well, please, be a bit generous here]
18 Karl: ⌊Aj jo, men jo, men⌋ jo, men alltså, jag…
19 [Yes but, yes but, yes but so, I…]
20 Ulf: xxx
21 Lis: Det är bara för att vi skal säga: Ne:j Linköping är bäst!
22 [It's just so that we'll say no: Linköping is the best!]
23 ((Erik, Lis and Ulf are laughing, while Karl continues to speak))
24 Karl: Jag skulle vilja ha, jag skulle vilja ha: (0.3) dom två lagen i finalen, det tror
25 jag skulle vara väldigt, väldigt god finallag.
26 [I would like, I would like (0.3) those two teams to be in the finals. I think that
27 they would make really good teams for the finals.]

The excerpt shows minimal adaptation with all four speakers staying within their base language. Although the conversation has been about both business and pleasure, there is no indication of a need to switch to English.

The following example is also on adaptation within the base language but with maximal adaptation. The participants are the same three Swedes as above (Lis, Karl and Ulf, only Karl produces speech) and one Dane, Sus, who works in Company 1's kitchen in Copenhagen. Sus' first language is Danish. The Swedes have just arrived at the table when Sus approaches them to tell her about her upcoming trip to Sweden where she will pick up a piece of furniture.
This is an example of slow speech rate and clear articulation; both Karl and Sus are doing their best to be understandable to each other, and Sus is also trying to adapt her pronunciation in the words Sverige ('Sweden', line 1), kommode ('chest of drawers', line 15), Ljusne (a Swedish city, line 33) and Gävle (a Swedish city, line 40). The conversation lasts 35 seconds, and this excerpt is only 20 seconds. The words in italics deviate from standard Danish.

Example 2
1 Sus: Jeg kører til *Sverige* (0.4) her i næste weekend.
2 [I'll drive to Sweden (0.4) this coming weekend.]
3 Pause: (0.6)
4 Karl: Gör du det?
5 [Will you?]
6 Pause: (0.2)
7 Sus: Ja.
8 [Yes.]
9 Pause: (0.4)
10 Karl: Va, ska ⌈ska⌉ du ända upp i ⌈Norge?⌉
11 [Are you going all the way up to Norway]?
12 Sus: ⌊Ja⌋ ⌊Jeg ska…⌋
13 [Yes] [I'm going…]

14	Pause:	(0.2)
15	Sus:	Ja, nej, jeg skal op og hente en *kommode*!
16		[Yes, no, I'm going up there to pick up a chest of drawers!]
17	Pause:	(0.6)
18	Karl:	En kommode.
19		[A chest of drawers.]
20	Sus:	Ja!
21		[Yes!]
22	Pause:	(0.6)
23	Karl:	Vart ska du någonstans då da?
24		[Whereabouts are you going?]
25	Pause:	(0.2)
26	Sus:	Ja, den skal jeg have i min bil, og så ⌈kører jeg den her til København.⌉
27		[Yes, I'll have it in my car and then I'll drive it to Copenhagen.]
28	Karl:	⌊Ja, men hvor?⌋
29		[Yes but where?]
30	Karl:	Var i Sverige åker du och hämta ⌈den?⌉
31		[Where in Sweden will you pick it up?]
32		[lyːsnɛs]
33	Sus:	⌊I⌋ ø:h Lysnæs!
34		[In Ljusne!]
35	Pause:	(0.7)
36	Karl:	I Ly:s…?
37		[In ly:s…?]
38	Pause:	(0.3)
39		[djɛːvla]
40	Sus:	Nord for *Djävla*!
41		[North of Gävle!]

In example 2, both parties are doing a lot of work in understanding and being understood: They allow not completely understood utterances to pass, and the participants answer according to what they think is the question rather to what is actually being asked: "Whereabouts are you going?" (line 23) is answered as if the question had been about the chest of drawers and the transportation back home to Denmark. This let-it-pass-strategy (Firth 1996: 243-245; Zeevaert 2004: 252-253) seems to be very common in inter-Scandinavian conversations. There are no cities called Lysnæs [lyːsnɛs] (line 33) or Djävla [djɛːvla] (line 40), but Ljusne [jʉːsnɛ] and Gävle [jɛːvlɛ] exist. Karl can presume that Sus is going to an existing place in Sweden (from the notion that people usually say meaningful things), so although he does not understand Sus' adapted Swedish pronunciations, he can continue the conversation. Sus' adaptation can stem from various impressions; the impressions can be formed according to written city names on a map and pronounced the way she thinks is Swedish, a hypercorrection, or an oral repetition of what she has heard a Swede say, or perhaps a combination of these.

Both Karl and Sus stay in their first languages, but Sus makes at least one attempt at saying something in Swedish in *Sverige* (line 1) with tone 2, which could be a reproduction of her experience with the Swedish language. The case of *kommode* (line 15) is more complex. In Danish, *kommode* is the default word for chest of drawers, which is called *byrå* in Swedish, while *kommod* in Swedish means washstand. Sus might just use the Danish lexeme *kommode* with a special pitch contour, or she tries to say *kommod* adding a Danish ending (-e). Karl repeats the word *kommode*,

and Sus says: “Yes!”. Karl leaves the topic and asks whereabouts she is going to pick it up. What Sus was to pick up in Sweden, will remain uncertain, like what Karl thinks Sus is going to pick up. Using the let-it-pass strategy, neither of them seems to experience a communication problem.
The English translation in the transcript, chest of drawers, reveals an analytical choice made by the transcriber and indicates a methodological challenge that unfortunately cannot be dealt with here.

5.2. Adaptation to recipient’s language
The following two examples will show inter-Scandinavian speakers who use features from the recipient’s base language displaying productive knowledge of the recipient’s base language.
Ulf Teleman suggests in the following that the movement from small lexical changes within one’s base language to lexical changes within the recipient’s base language is almost natural: “Kanske väljer man ord som ‘spörja’ i st.f. ‘fråga’, ‘begynna’ i st.f. ‘börja’. Nästa steg är att plocka in ord från motpartens språk i sitt eget tal.” [Perhaps one chooses words like ‘spörja’ instead of ‘fråga’, ‘begynna’ instead of ‘börja’. The next step is to use words from the counterpart’s language in one’s own speech] (Teleman 1987: 79). As mentioned before, these covert strategies are not possible to demonstrate in an analysis of actual interactions; only by interviewing the speakers afterwards could one reveal if this strategy had been used. The development from strategy one towards strategy two, implied in the Teleman quote, is disputable, as the choice between strategy one and two in the data appears rather dependent on the individual resources of the speakers rather than their inter-Scandinavian proficiency, as example 3 will show (and example 1 showed).
Example 3 shows adaptation within the recipient’s language with a minimum of adaptation towards the recipient’s language. The participants are: a Dane (Birgit) with Danish as her first language and a Swede (Malin) whose first language is Swedish. They both work at the site in Copenhagen, and Malin has lived in Denmark for several years. The interaction in the excerpt takes place five minutes after they have arrived at the table. The topics so far have been the fact that they are being recorded, work issues and spare time. Malin’s opening question in example 3 comes after a long pause, initiating a new topic: whether Birgit has received any insurance money after a trip to Turkey where she fell ill. Birgit and Malin communicate primarily in their first languages with a minimum of adaptation, but Birgit reuses Malin’s *kolla* (line 4), not in the supine, the way Malin used it, but in the infinitive and with a long consonant [lː] unknown in Danish. This is not only a reproduction, but also an active reconstruction requiring knowledge of Malin’s base language. The word in italics deviates from standard Danish.

Example 3

1	Malin:	Har du kollat något mer med dina brev sådär?
2		[Have you checked your letters any more?]
3	Pause:	(1.4)
4	Birgit:	Ja, der er ikke noget at *kolla*.
5		[Yes, there is nothing to check]
6	Pause:	(0.7)
7	Malin:	Är det inte det? Men din privata:?
8		[Isn’t there? But your private?]
9	Pause:	(0.6)
10	Birgit:	Nej.
11		[No.]
12	Pause:	(0.7)
13	Malin:	Inte där heller?
14		[Nothing there either?]

15 Pause: (0.4)
16 Birgit: Nej.
17 No.

Birgit's *kolla* is both a lexical and a phonetic adaptation as she pronounces it [kɔlːa] with a long [lː]. Birgit does not say: 'ja där är inte något att kolla', so she is far from using Swedish. Her adaptation occurs within a string of minimally adapted speech. The example therefore underlines the difficulties in placing a case like hers within the two strategies. In comparison with Sus in the second example, Birgit displays solid productive knowledge of Swedish.
The last example is from a conversation between one Dane (Betina) with Danish as her first language, one Swedish-speaking Finn (Helena) with Finnish as her first language and fluent Danish competencies, and one Swede (Jan) with Swedish as his first language. The example is with maximal adaptation within recipient's base language. Betina and Helena work at the Danish site in Copenhagen, Jan at the Swedish site in Gothenburg. Helena frequently adapts and speaks almost Swedish. Jan also participates in this conversation but not productively in this excerpt, which lasts for 10 seconds, within a conversation lasting 15 minutes. At this point, they have interacted for eight minutes and have discussed work-related topics as well as spare time. Helena starts talking after a pause of 23 seconds in the conversation and thereby initialises a new topic. Throughout the conversation, Helena and Betina use strategy two and adapt a great deal to Swedish. While Betina's adaptations have similarities with Sus' from the first example, Helena's adaptations, as will be shown in example 4, display firm knowledge of Swedish. The words in italics deviate from standard Danish.

Example 4
1 Helena: Min søster, hun *jobbar* i: e:hm i Stockholm, altså næsten ehm (0.9) *två dagar* (.)
2 *varje vecka* eller el⌈ler⌉ *två dagar* hver *annan vecka*, ja ja.
3 [My sister, she works in Stockholm almost eh (0.9) two days (.) every week or
4 or two days every second week, yes, yes.]
5 Betina: ⌊Aha⌋
6 [Okay]
7 Helena: Hun bor i Helsinki, men altså…
8 [She lives in Helsinki but so…]
9 Pause: (0.6)
10 Helena: Men altså, arbej… *jobbar* i Firma X.
11 [but wor… works in Company X.]

Also here, within one production of adaptation we see a pronunciation variation over the same lexical item *vecka* (line 2); first with tone 2, then with tone 1. The word *vecka* has, according to standard Swedish pronunciation, the 'singing' tone 2. It is also notable that Helena uses *Helsinki* (line 7) (like in Finnish) and not *Helsingfors* (like in Swedish, in Danish both variants are possible). *Søster* (line 1) is also a Danish word (*syster* in Swedish).
Jan does not adapt, neither within Swedish nor to Danish in the conversation with Helena and Betina. This asymmetrical adaptation pattern is very common in the data: only one part of a speaker constellation adapts to the other when the adaptation is within the recipient's base language.
The four discussed examples are typical for the data in the way that they demonstrate Scandinavians' varied linguistic adaptation strategies when interacting in inter-Scandinavian.

6. Concluding discussion

The competence to communicate in inter-Scandinavian may slowly be dying out, as some people have claimed – although more evidence would still be required – but this is definitely not the case in this informal workplace context. Contrary to expectation, in my data there were only instances of inter-Scandinavian communication and no use of English between the Scandinavians. Although the Scandinavians are good at English, and English is the corporate language of Company 1, the Scandinavian employees choose to communicate in inter-Scandinavian during lunchtime, both when interacting with fellow in-house employees, with employees from the company's other Scandinavian sites, and with external guests.

The following quote from Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen (2013) might form part of the answer to the question of why the Scandinavians do not opt for English at lunchtime although, according to the literature, it takes a great deal of effort and encouragement to keep a conversation flowing in the Scandinavian languages: "Selv i de nordiske lande er der tendens til, at der ikke kan kommunikeres på skandinavisk, men derimod at der tales engelsk til nordiske møder for at sikre, at der er fælles forståelse om budskaberne etc." (Andersen & Verstraete-Hansen 2013: 58) [Even in the Nordic countries, there is tendency to use English at the Nordic meetings because inter-Scandinavian communication does not work and to ensure that there is common understanding about the messages etc.]. At meetings the employees of Company 1 speak English "for levelling native language diversity" (Neeley 2014: 2) and to ensure mutual understanding between the transnational employees. At the lunch table, however, the understanding does not *need* to be ensured; the comfort and relaxation of speaking one's first language is very important in informal workplace contexts, which is stated clearly by Neeley: "To those for whom the lingua franca is not a native language, it can never be a neutral auxiliary, but must always be a replacement for their own native tongue." (Neeley 2014: 2). From a language management point of view, Tange and Lauring (2009) have studied the use of a corporate language (English) and what that entails. They have identified language choice and language use in informal settings of multilingual workplaces as one of the barriers to social interaction, resulting in 'language clusters' that "take[s] the form of informal gatherings between the speakers of the same national language (…)" (Tange and Lauring: 2009: 224). The lack of informal English competences may not be the only reason why employees gather in language clusters at lunchtime, as suggested by the authors under the heading "thin communication" (Tange & Lauring 2009: 226). In a multilingual company, in which the local language is accepted as 'social language', the choice of the language spoken at lunchtime is not controlled by the need of optimizing communication but is an example of 'phatic communion': "(…), a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words (Malinowski [1923] 1972: 151). The key functions of lunch talk mentioned by Negretti & Garcia-Yeste are informal exchange of information and establishment of social relations at work (2014: 109): At lunchtime the point is not to communicate content but to bond through talk, to build up community: "They [i.e. the words] fulfil a social function and that is their principal aim." (Malinowski 1972: 151). That could be the reason why it is not so important that everything is understood and the switch away from the language to communicate content to the 'social language' makes people more relaxed. It is perhaps in these types of small talk, in these instances of phatic communion, that people feel most at ease with receptive multilingualism, since they do not have to move out of their first language's 'comfort zone' and they can use what Neeley calls a 'pidgin tongue': "(…) a truly democratic and neutral lingua franca for social interaction, as neither of the two primary languages can claim primacy over the pidgin language." (Neeley 2014: 2).

This receptive multilingualism is here called inter-Scandinavian to stress the fact that it is not only a question about receptive skills when Scandinavian communicate; productive skills also play a role as well, both within the production of one's one base language and within that of the recipient. The

very high degree of variability in the performances of inter-Scandinavian was unexpected, as was the infrequent use of English. According to research in the field, Scandinavians choose to communicate in English or inter-Scandinavian, for the most part in a non-adapted way. My data show a great deal of adaptation work, both within the Scandinavians' own base language and within the recipient's language, and it seems that although the adaptations sometimes require much hard interactional work, inter-Scandinavian as lingua franca is definitely preferred to English in this context.

On the empirical side, this study is about showing this very high degree of variability via the various adaptation strategies employed that Scandinavians use to achieve intercomprehension: Depending on their individual linguistic resources inter alia, Scandinavians use very different strategies in interaction. Scandinavians can adapt within their base language and within their base language they can also make use of covert adaptation strategies: the use of *spörja* instead of *fråga*, or *begynna* instead of *börja* is not observable. Therefore, adaptation strategies cannot be demonstrated through an analysis of actually occurring interaction, but only revealed by asking the participants afterwards. Scandinavians can also adapt by integrating linguistic features from the recipient's base language. As can be seen from the above examples, adaptations like those employed by Sus that are constructed with shared or apparently shared Danish and Swedish lexical items (*Sverige* and *kommode*, respectively) are considered to be adaptations within the speaker's base language. On the other hand, adaptations like Birgit's *kolla* that are language switches are considered adaptations within the recipient's base language, even though they consist of only one word.

In my data, the largest number of examples of adaptations stays within the speaker's base language: of the 34 participants, 20 adapt to their interlocutors, but remain within their own base language. Only 5 persons do not perform any adaptation. The rest (9 participants) adapt to the language of their interlocutors by using features from the interlocutors' base language.

Inter-Scandinavian interaction is a personal affair, and adaptation strategies depend on the level of experience and the individual's language resources. Long- and short-term contact provides various patterns of adaptation, which again also depends on the individual's attitudes towards not only neighbouring languages, but also to the strategies that are found useful. Thus, the data show a very high degree of variation. Inter-Scandinavian communication works and is a good example of linguistic diversity as a resource in informal workplace settings, although neighbouring languages appear to be perceived as invisible skills by the employees themselves.

If there actually is a tendency for inter-Scandinavian intercomprehension to be declining, that is, if young people do not know how to and therefore do not want to communicate in inter-Scandinavian, this could lead to a lack of competences in a Scandinavian workplace, where inter-Scandinavian is permitted and used as 'social' (and 'working' but not 'meeting') 'language'. Sociolinguists like to note that people use whatever resources are available to them in order to communicate. However, if one wants to use all the linguistic resources available, one needs to know about linguistic features from other languages that could be relevant to use in a specific interaction.

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Transient Multilingual Communities

This paper is advance input for the presentation by Janus Mortensen and Hartmut Haberland.

Introduction

A key assumption in sociolinguistics and related fields has traditionally been that interaction within communities tends to proceed on the basis of some degree of shared understanding of social and linguistic norms. However, in 'transient multilingual communities' (Mortensen 2013; Mortensen & Fabricius 2014), defined here as communities where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together for a limited period of time to work on a common project, such shared assumptions cannot be assumed to be in place *a priori*. On the contrary, members of transient communities have to negotiate sociolinguistic norms, including norms related to language choice, the meaning of particular styles of speaking, norms of politeness and so on, as part of their process of mutual socialisation. This presents a challenge to the participants, not least in professional settings. How to collaborate successfully across sociocultural and linguistic boundaries in settings characterised by transience arguably constitutes one of the biggest challenges of late modernity. It also presents a challenge to sociolinguistic theory, which – by and large – has been developed on the basis of conditions found in more stable communities, whether mono- or multilingual. This means that existing theory is not particularly well suited to account for the highly dynamic sociolinguistic processes that are typical of transient communities where norms of language use and social interaction are under perpetual negotiation.

Established notions of community in sociolinguistics

The concept of the speech community has been treated multiple times in the literature (e.g. Patrick 2002; Rampton 2010; Morgan 2005; 2014) which attests to its central status in sociolinguistics and related fields. Despite salient differences, foundational definitions of the concept all include *sharedness* of linguistic and social norms as an essential feature. Gumperz states that 'the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to *a shared set of social norms*' (1968:381), Hymes defines the speech community as a 'community *sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech*' (1972:54) while Labov holds that the speech community is marked 'by participation in a set of *shared norms*' (1972:120–121).

These definitions may have been appropriate for the types of community that were the empirical objects of study in the formative years of modern sociolinguistics (and which continue to form important sites of investigation today), but they are not adequate definitions of the sort of transient communities that are characteristic of (but not unique to) late modernity, occasioned by increased transnational mobility across multiple societal domains, including education, business and politics. In such communities – which could be a group of students at an international university programme (Mortensen 2014) or an ad-hoc international theatre troupe (Hazel fc) – sharedness of linguistic and social norms cannot be taken for granted; in such groups norms have to be developed *in situ* in an on-going negotiation between the participants based on their individual linguistic resources and sociocultural experience. In a traditional sense, they cannot be said to be speech communities, but they are nevertheless communities that crucially depend on language for their existence and a theory of sociolinguistics should be able to account for them.

In more recent sociolinguistic theory (e.g. Eckert 2000), the concept of community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991) has been taken on board as a supplement to, or replacement of, the notion of the speech community. In the definition of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:464) a community of practice is 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor'. Thus, communities of practice typically exhibit three characteristics: i) mutual engagement of participants ii) in a jointly negotiated enterprise, on the basis of iii) a shared

repertoire of resources, including linguistic resources. Though this concept is in many ways quite close to the notion of transient community proposed here, the third characteristic – again – assumes a degree of sharedness which cannot be assumed to be in place in transient multilingual settings where 'participants do not share the same trajectories of socialization' (Goebel 2010:223).

Transient communities

In terms of transiency, it is possible to conceive of communities as organised in a typology ranging from one-off encounters (De Sapio 2013) to stable, historically entrenched communities – with intermediate stages (cf. Goebel 2010; Kecskés 2011 and several other examples from the literature discussed in Haberland 2007). The transient communities of interest in this paper have three prototypical properties. They are *emergent* – in the process of becoming – which means that shared resources cannot be assumed to be in place. Norms and practices do not emerge from nowhere, and no social situation can ever be completely norm free. But in transient communities the practices and norms of the community, linguistic and otherwise, are in the process of being formed in a more fundamental way than in more established communities where processes are often naturalised or 'sedimented' (Agha 2003; 2007). Transient communities are *heterogeneous* in terms of what Hymes (1972) would call verbal repertoire, norms of speaking and norms of interpretation. This is particularly true for multilingual transient communities, but in principle also holds for monolingual transient communities where participants do not necessarily share ways of speaking (again in a Hymesian sense) despite the fact that they speak 'the same language'. Finally, transient communities of the type investigated here are *project based* with participants coming together around a common work-related purpose or task.

Communities of practice may be transient communities and vice versa, but they are not mutually constitutive. In traditional conceptions, the community of practice approach involves an assumption that there is an established community of experts that novices are initiated into. Due to their emergent nature, this does not hold for transient communities since all members are in principle novices in their understanding of the social and linguistic norms of the emerging community, although in practice there will obviously be differences between the members in terms of knowledge, status, authority and so on. This means that traditional notions of language socialisation (Ochs & Schieffelin 2011) cannot be applied directly to transient communities where socialisation processes are highly dynamic and often multi-directional (Lønsmann fc.).

Transient communities, sociolinguistic change and superdiversity

Coupland (2014:70) argues that sociolinguistic research needs to look beyond language change and take a broader interest in sociolinguistic change 'where the interest is less in discovering structural change in language systems and more in discovering changing relationships between language and society and their instantiation at the level of practice.' We would like to argue that transient communities are ideal sites in which to pursue the study of sociolinguistic change in late modernity for two reasons: 1) Premised on changing sociocultural conditions and in turn part of shaping these new conditions, transient communities are characteristic of late modernity, which is understood to be particularly flexible (Sennett 1998), network-based (Castells 2010) and diverse (Vertovec 2007). 2) Studying transient communities allows us to track sociolinguistic change in progress as it unfolds in an interplay between new social dynamics and historical chains of continuity.

Research on transient multilingual communities clearly speaks to research agendas concerning the notion of 'superdiversity' (cf. e.g. Vertovec 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Goebel 2015), but it also explicitly aims to counterbalance what some see as potentially problematic theoretical claims about the reality of the 'super-new-big'. As Reyes (2014:368) asks: 'Who, in fact, perceives the world as superdiverse? Who experiences it as superdiverse? If it is superdiverse now, how was it diverse to some "regular" degree before?' By adopting a members' perspective and

using extensive empirical data to inform and harness theory-building, empirical studies of transient multilingual communities should be able to provide new insights into how sociolinguistic life in late modernity is experienced by 'real people' (Preston 1998) – which may or may not correspond to the way it is conceptualised in current sociolinguistic theory (cf. Silverstein 2015). Such research would be able to deliver the empirical grounds necessary to develop new theory on how sociolinguistic norms are formed in a combination of what individual participants bring to the community and 'new impulses brought about by the new setting' (Mortensen & Fabricius 2014:220).

Challenges offered by TMCs

Transient multilingual communities (TMCs) offer a number of challenges to established sociolinguistic theory. In the following we mention – in outline – two broad areas we believe to be in need of further research in the context of transient multilingual communities, particularly TMCs in professional contexts.

Discursive practices and identity

Professions are in part established through and reflected in discursive practices that imbue actions and objects with particular meaning for practitioners (Goodwin 1994). Such discursive practices are typically multimodal, involving a range of semiotic means and modes, including language (Dyer & Keller-Cohen 2000), bodily conduct (Schegloff 1998), the manipulation of objects (Hazel 2014) and written and spoken communication, whether online or offline. Mastering the discursive practices of a profession is an essential part of becoming a ratified member of it. But how does this work out in settings where there is potentially no pre-established *shared* framework for what constitutes appropriate professional conduct? How are particular norms for 'how things are done around here' formed? And (how) does the relative lack of shared resources, linguistic and otherwise, affect this process? This ties in with issues of identity, where sociolinguistic theory invokes the notion of *indexicality* – 'the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:594). Bucholtz and Hall (2005:594) argue that 'in identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological structures', i.e. 'cultural beliefs and values ... about the sorts of speakers who (can or should) produce particular sorts of language.' In other words, the construction and decoding of identity in and through discourse require presupposed, shared cultural beliefs and values about the use of language and different ways of speaking. How does this process play out in TMCs?

Language ideology and social structures

Language ideologies can be defined as 'the structured and consequential ways in which we think about language' (Seargeant 2009:26). Linguistic anthropology has shown the power of language ideologies to valorise one social group and its language practices over another (Gal 1998) and the potential of language ideology to (re)produce hierarchies and power relations (Kraft & Lønsmann fc), but so far the *emergence* of language ideologies and their associated power relations is underexplored. One question that remains to be answered, then, is how the mutually constitutive links between language use and social order are created *in situ*. How do particular languages come to be considered more valuable than others? Are particular ways of speaking English (e.g. Indian vs. Danish) considered better than others? In this connection, code-switching is also a relevant area of investigation. Early theory on code-switching (Blom & Gumperz 1972) suggested that alternation between different languages or varieties of the same language may be conditioned by contextual factors, or may itself be used to establish a new frame of understanding. Later studies within the field (Auer 1998; Gafaranga & Torras 2001; Møller 2008; Lønsmann 2011; Hazel & Mortensen 2013; Mortensen 2014 and many others) have problematised this conception, but in

most cases still by studying contexts where language alternation constitutes already sedimented practices amongst speakers who share common norms for this as well as other aspects of language use. How, then, are norms of language alternation developed in transient multilingual communities, and how does it interact with language ideology, social structures and ultimately the way members collaborate?

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Event Horisonten – language and interaction in the collaborative creative processes of an international theatre company

This ms and the following slides constitute advance input for the presentation by Spencer Hazel

The talk for today is called Event Horisonten – language and interaction in the collaborative processes of an international theatre company, and it concerns one case study that I recently finished doing fieldwork for, following this group of people here [point to title slide] while they put together a theatre production, which had the title Horisonten – or The Horizon in English. This event opened the 2015-2016 season at the Skuespilhuset in Copenhagen. It was a piece that drew on the laws of physics to explore human experience.

Of course, the term event horizon has a double meaning here. It originates in astrophysics where in general relativity it describes the point within a black hole where “the gravitational pull becomes so great as to make escape impossible”. Elsewhere it is used to describe a ‘point of no return’. In relation to the current study, it could for example refer to the increased gravitational pull of globalization, the pressures that this places on organizations such as private companies and universities to adopt a global mindset, and the local internationalization that this entails. At times of course it feels like there is no way back.

But today I think I’ll be using it more as a picture frame through which to consider the development of local norms within a temporally bound workplace community – or transient project community, as we’ll touch upon next. Specifically, I’ll be looking at some developments in language practices as this group of professionals work together to, in the famous lines from Star Trek, “explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no man has gone before”.

Of course, “to boldly go where no man has gone before” could be one way of thinking more broadly about the dynamic developments in transnational mobility, cross border trade, global communications and so on and so forth, that appears to characterize the current age.
It is also a central preoccupation in academia, and at times the adoption of a particular new way of seeing the world may lead to suggestions that it is the world that is changing, rather than our assumptions about it, and out approaches for studying it. As such, terms such as superdiversity, translanguaging, and glocalization may all suggest that new phenomena have emerged, although on closer inspection it appears that this is a sleight of hand, along the lines of George Orwell’s “Oceania is not, and has never been, at war with Eurasia”.

Okay so briefly, here’s what I hope to cover today. I want to start with a quick discussion of the type of transient community I’ve been exploring, the transient project community; then I’d like us to look a little at some of the data, and how we go about categorizing what people do; we’ll have a brief discussion of how that fits with adopting an emic - or participant relevant – perspective; I’d like to then show something on how the particular langscape of the group develops across time; and then I hope we’ll have some time to say something about how the work at hand is supported through language, but also in turn provides the members with a support structure around which they organize their language practices.

So just to be able to describe how transient project communities are somewhat different from other types of workplace communities, I’d like to offer a few glosses or different ways workplaces could be seen to be organized, as well as the relative degrees of transiency that these entail. I won’t touch on perhaps the most transient of institutional encounters such as service encounters and one off

meetings, but focus more on those cohorts of workplace membership where people engage with one another over a longer period of collaboration.

I like this Alexander Styhre quote that Sharon (Millar) brought to our attention regarding what he calls nomadic organization: "an attempt to conceptualize the more fluid, ambiguous, continuously changing, loosely coupled forms of organizing that emerge in a postmodern capitalist context characterized by, inter alia, speed, change, and emergence. A nomadic view on the organization opens up for transient, temporal forms of organizing that are increasingly used, e.g., project management practices, temporal joint ventures, and the use of consultants on short term basis." Of course, again, this is not necessarily as post-modern and new as Styhre may be suggesting. There is a level of transience in all communities, and some are far less stable or intransigent than others. A typical model for what Lave and Wenger have described communities of practice includes a conceptualization of such cohorts where there is an inward flow of members, as they progress from peripheral participation to expert within the community, with their elders eventually making way for them to take up more central positions.

In other organizations, we may see greater degrees of movement and less continuity of membership, with new workers being welcomed into the fold of a stable community and others moving on to other workplaces. These transient communities of practice will still orient to a particular set of norms for carrying out the business at hand, but will experience greater levels of flux, as people are only temporarily engaged in this community, be it for example a particular company department or team. Another dimension through which transiency differs between different workplace communities is in the temporal boundedness of the task-at-hand. Whereas some workplace communities will work for years or decades on a particular task, others will organize their time along an unfolding sequence of project, with each project being to some degree different from the last. In the case of the Berliner Philharmoniker, this may entail working with a particular conductor on one or more recordings or very different works, with each collaboration constituting a project in itself.

The workplace I will be discussing today is similarly organized, albeit with one crucial difference: here the parties are brought together specifically to carry out this one project, and will subsequently disband and form other project communities within other constellations of participation. Transient project communities then are "cohorts of people who are engaged in some temporary bounded joint endeavour which results in an prior agreed-upon outcome. On reaching this outcome, however successful the target product ultimately turns out to be, the cohort, as known as that group of people connected to the project, disbands and members move on to contribute to other collaborative projects within other constellations of membership. These bounded project communities are necessarily ad hoc, with members drawn together for this project and on the basis of a contributor's relevant expertise, qualifications and experience, as well as availability, interest, geographical location, reputation, testimonials, and/or personal connection... With each individual project presenting its own unique set of tasks, challenges, requirements, and demands for staffing, expertise and experience, it would be rare to find the same constellation of members participating across different projects."

Turning to Janus' (Mortensen) transient multilingual communities, in many respects the multilingual project community does not differ fundamentally from those project communities where members of the cohort may all share the same first language resources. The contingent is constituted through the same processes of selection and recruitment, on the basis of project-related skills, expertise and experience, rather than on the basis of language identity (in the same way ethnic heritage, sexual orientation, or musical taste may also be treated as irrelevant). However, the latter may do so without needing to attend (to the same degree) to such sociolinguistic features of the workplace setting such as language choice, language policies and socioculturally sedimented interactional norms.

This is what we will explore a little with the data generated in the Horisonten project.

To lead into this, I have selected six short transcribed sequences from the data, and I thought we could take them one by one, albeit providing only superficial glosses at this stage. In Sequence 1 here, we note a short interaction between these two members: TIN and CAT walk onto the stage, TIN points out a chair and asks what about this chair; CAT in response states that they need to remove it, upon which TIN carries it off stage. In the second episode, CAT asks RIK about a particular curtain that's hanging downstage right. RIK confirms that it's not there. In sequence 3, JEN asks CAT for confirmation of where she needs to be, and is instructed by CAT where to stand. Sequence 4 has CAT instruct DID to take his position on the stage for a particular section of the piece. In sequence 5, we note how CAT is describing an action, but breaks off to get the attention of some participants who are making some noise. And in the final sequence for now, CAT and DID collaborate on getting a particular stage action started, upon which DID walks away, but is called back by CAT. So at this stage we note that we have 6 short interactions involving a number of people who appear to have particular rights and obligations towards one another.

On a second take, we may choose to focus on the languages spoken here. In Sequence 1 for example, we note that both first and second pair parts are in Danish. This is a Danish interaction. Moving to Sequence 2, we note how CAT uses both Danish and English, while the other two use only Danish. The third sequence is all in English. So one Danish conversation, one English and one mixed. But our categorization may not stop there. As researchers, and as applied or sociolinguists we may also like to inquire after the status of the language used to the user. So looking again at Sequence 1, we may note that TIN is Danish and CAT French. TIN is then a Danish L1 user, while CAT is a Danish L2 user. We could then do a further categorization by naming this a L2 conversation (or L1/L2 conversation), between a native speaker and a non-native speaker of Danish. In the next example, we note how French person CAT uses both Danish and English in talking to her Danish colleagues. Here we might speak of a mixed mode interaction. And in the final sequence here, we see that JEN is German, and that this could then be categorized as English being used as a lingua franca. In sequence 4 we see how the two French participants use Danish and English in addition to their French in their interaction. This we see also in the final sequences, as well as French being used between a Dane and the French director.

In sum, then, we note how the data shows that we have not only a range of languages spoken in this working environment, but also that the interactions can be subjected to our categorization practices. We see Danish and English being used as lingue franche, we see Danish and French L1 interaction, we see L1/L2 interaction, and we see sequences where a mixed mode is adopted.

Now up until now, I have held back from playing the data, and that is for a reason. We can turn to the actual data now, and observe the six sequences in their natural habitat.

[Play clip]

So as we see from the clip, the six sequences are not differentiated by their sequential environments, by different activities, or spatial arrangements, or participation frameworks, or any on versus off task status. Rather, they are all part of the same 1 minute of interaction, involving the same people. Within this short sequence, we observe all the varieties of language choice and configuration that we described previously. The question that this raises is: if we see that these members move from lingua franca Danish, to L1/L2 French, to mixed mode through English as a lingua franca and L1 French and L1 Danish, do they not consider this in the same way we do? And if they don't, if they have developed

a norm for using whatever linguistic resources are available, and this relative linguistic freedom is treated as appropriate, where does that leave our categorization? Perhaps this is something we can turn to in the discussion later. What I'd like to turn to now is a discussion of how the company arrived at this point. What is always this way, or did it develop to be this way? And if the latter, what were the mechanisms that led to this dynamic multilingual norm?

In order to do so, I would like to return to the first morning of the first day of the full cast rehearsal. However, before we do this, it would seem prescient to introduce the cast of characters. We see here a screenshot from the production webpage which includes the names and roles of the creatives involved in the production. There are a number of larger categories, which you see represented here. Prior to the full-cast rehearsals, most of these sub-categories of participant – the opera singers, the ballet dancers, the contemporary dancers etc – had worked together for shorter periods in workshops aimed to generate ideas for creation of the show. Finally, they were brought together, where they then worked for two bounded periods together, once in the spring, once in late summer, before opening the show in September.

As for the linguistic resources available, here you see those who had Danish as a working language, and here we note those who had English as a working language. In addition, and I go only on what is in the data here, there were a number of other languages used between members of the cohort, including German, French, Dutch and Swedish, and a number of language available, but which I never captured being used. Included in this are Arabic (the scriptwriter), and Finnish (two of the dancers). Of course, we note then that there was no catch-all language. For example, here we see those who did not have Danish, and here those who did no have English, and then finally a far larger group who did not use any of these other languages.
On day 1 of the full cast rehearsals, the director addresses the language challenge in the very first address to the cast, while introducing a new member, JEN from Germany.

[play clip]

We note that English is adopted as the unofficial workplace language on behalf of JEN and PAU, both of whom do not have Danish as a working language. And indeed, should we scan the recordings for the work that day, we note that the language choice practices are very different from those witnessed earlier (from a later period in the rehearsals).

[play clip]

So we see how not only the director, but the others in the team have all adopted English as the preferred language here. However, some recordings from later that day, from after the rehearsal has finished, demonstrate that other language explorations are pursued. In this transcript, we note how my first conversation with JEN centres on her language production, and the expressed incongruity of a German speaking English with a Northern Irish dialect. But moments later, STE, one of the singers cuts into the conversation with a question about her living in Germany, and furthermore, that he does this in German. This establishes German as a working language for this dyad, broadening the linguistic palette from English only to English and German.

Although it is impossible for me to capture people's first time interactions, as well as the first time a particular language is introduced between members, I can report on my own first conversations, as well as the ways through which I and other discovered one another's shared linguistic resources and added these to the set of resources we could draw on in interaction with one another. For example, here we see that the first language used between myself and the lighting designer was English, but

that we used a Danish/Swedish mixed mode in later interactions in addition to English. Elsewhere, a shared background in Holland led to Dutch being adopted as an additional resource between myself and one of the singers, and that JEN overhearing one of these conversations and having Dutch as a working language, this became another resource to add to English.

One example of how the linguistic resources are gradually broadened through trial and error is contained in the following clip. Here, these two participants have previously only used French with one another.

[play clip]

We note that PAU's initial turn is produced in French to his compatriot CAT. However, she responds with a Danish open repair initiator 'hva?'. PAU in response repeats the assessment, but this time in English. It is moments like this and the one described earlier that we can see a practice being trialled and successfully carried off. These are the steps that allow for a wider adoption of a wider set of available linguistic resources, rather than a maintaining of a narrow language policy in practice.

To sum up, the sizeable team of participants involved in the creative process of putting Horisonten together was drawn from a range of European countries, and a wide range of linguistic identities were present. Although Danish and English were the predominant languages in the setting, others, for example French and Swedish, were also recurrent features of the linguistic make-up of the cohort. Moreover, the language(s) chosen for carrying out particular activities between members of the team evidenced a shift over time, and the language used between configurations of members also appeared to become less stabilized, rather than evidencing increased stability, and without this being treated as problematic there is an orientation to developing a sense for what can be done with the range of languages and language competences available, following which these languages are adopted as a larger default set of linguistic resources to be used as a whole. This would appear to go against an often-voiced understanding of language choice in the international workplace, where it is assumed that participants select a/the single language that best fits the linguistic constraints of the particular participation framework. Rather, these experienced practitioners of temporary, project-focused workplaces appear to explore how far the linguistic horizons of this temporary team stretch, and treat this landscape as containing the available sets of linguistic resources through which to carry out the work.

CODA

Finally, it is important to say something here about how the work at hand is of course supported through language, but also in turn provides the members with a support structure around which they organize their language practices.

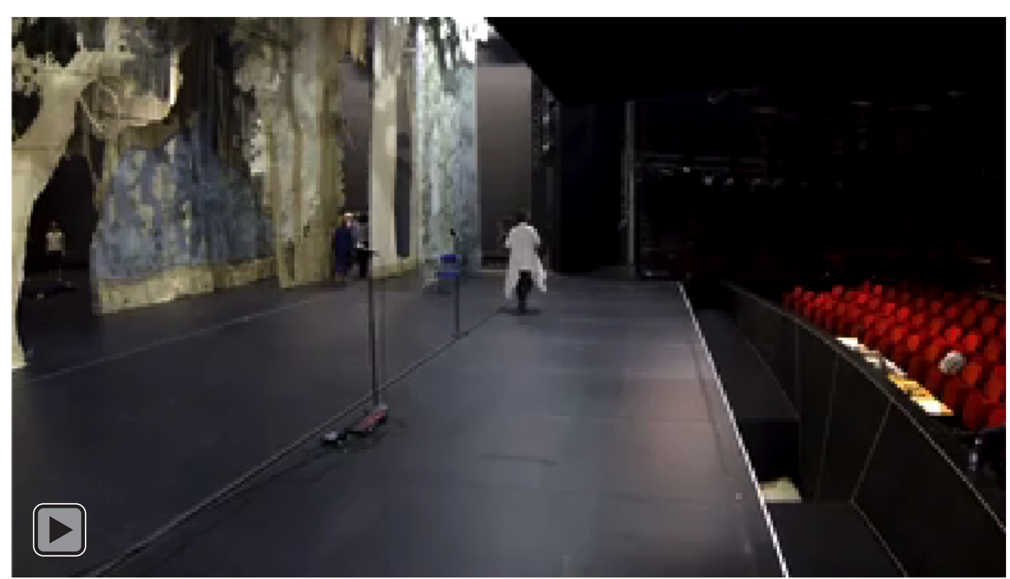
Much discourse analytic research into workplace interaction is premised on the centrality of linguistic resources - spoken as well as written - in how members go about collaborating with others in their work community. With the creative work in question here aiming toward the enacted, embodied artefact of theatre performance, and a cohort of members that includes highly skilled practitioners in the form of dancers, actors, singers and other physical performers, a choreographer and theatre director, much of the interaction revolves around the dialogic negotiation of visual, aural, embodied aesthetics, and as such, resources other than the linguistic are often foregrounded, or indeed central to the work at hand. This challenges us to examine in what ways linguistic resources are employed to facilitate types of work where language is not oriented to as the main modus operandi.

One strand of analysis I am pursuing focuses on the interplay between speech and embodied conduct in the development of the sequences where the team is working especially on visual elements within the piece, for example a performer's movement, or the structuring of the action on the stage. Some initial observations are related to how in these sequences visual elements of the action are embedded within the talk, but not as talk. Rather, they maintain their visual modality, and are slotted into the referential work in such a way, that without the visual representation, the surrounding talk makes little sense. These visual components, produced through gesture or other forms of bodily enactment including modeling and mirroring, are accorded prominence in the way the accompanying talk acts as a support structure for temporally managing one another's attentiveness to the relevant features being negotiated and developed.

Broadening this discussion out, it would appear beneficial to consider the project, the experience, professionalism, and shared professional vision of the participants in understanding the work at hand that acts as one important resource for securing shared understanding, even in environments where shared linguistic resources are reduced. In this way, the linguistic components in the interactions act as scaffolding, rather than the construction site.

Videos for Spencer Hazel's presentation (will only show in Adobe Acrobat)

The videos are of course strictly confidential



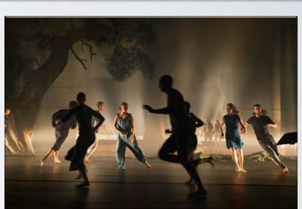
EVENT HORISONTEN

LANGUAGE AND INTERACTION IN THE COLLABORATIVE CREATIVE PROCESSES OF AN INTERNATIONAL THEATRE COMPANY

Spencer Hazel
Social Objects for Innovation and Learning
Department of Design and Communication
University of Southern Denmark

EVENT HORIZON

- the point at which the gravitational pull becomes so great as to make escape impossible (wikipedia)
- *event horizon* - def. "a point of no return"
- current developments in internationalization and globalization
- here: local social norm formation in emergent communities



Event Horizon

EVENT HORIZON

- "to boldly go where no man has gone before"
  - internationalization in late modernity
  - as scholarly activity
    - *superdiversity*
    - *translanguaging*
    - *glocalization*

EVENT HORIZON

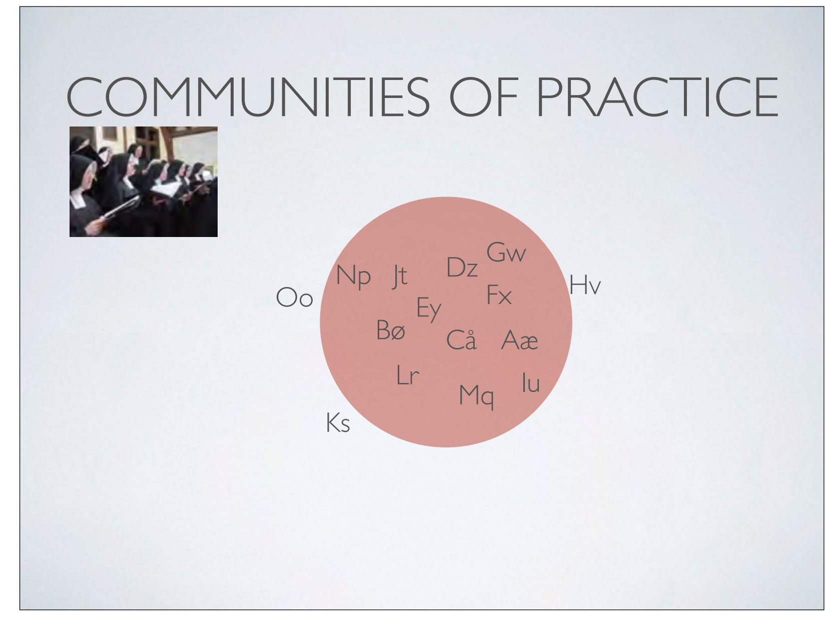
- transient multilinguals and inter- and intra-group diversity
  - "Everyone in Cyprus can converse in Greek, many know Saracen and Lingua Franca, but they use the Greek language more." - *Giacomo di Verona*
  - "People use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality, and mutual faith unites those who are ignorant of their descent… He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was an alien has become a native" - *Fulcher of Chartres*

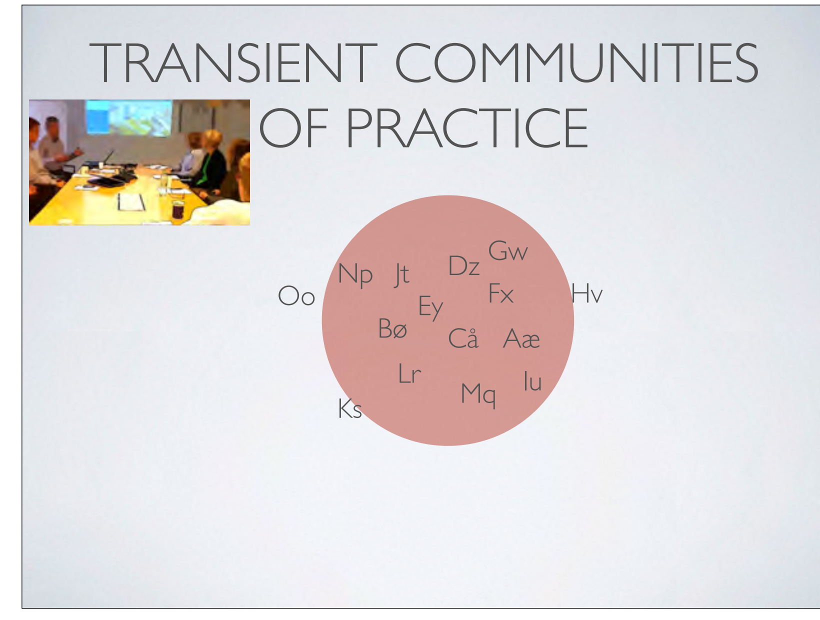
EVENT HORISONTEN

- the transient multilingual project community
- observing and categorizing language practices
- the *emic* conundrum
- the developing *langscape*
- the project as support structure in multilingual communities

TRANSIENT MULTILINGUALS

- *nomadic organization*: "an attempt to conceptualize the more fluid, ambiguous, continuously changing, loosely coupled forms of organizing that emerge in a postmodern capitalist context characterized by, *inter alia*, speed, change, and emergence. A nomadic view on the organization opens up for transient, temporal forms of organizing that are increasingly used, e.g., project management practices, temporal joint ventures, and the use of consultants on short term basis." (Styhre 2001:8,in Millar fc)





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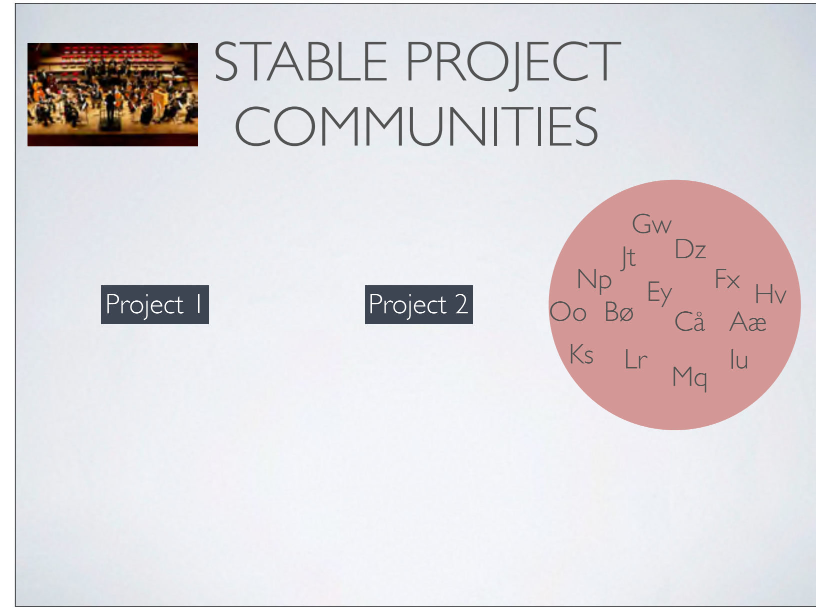
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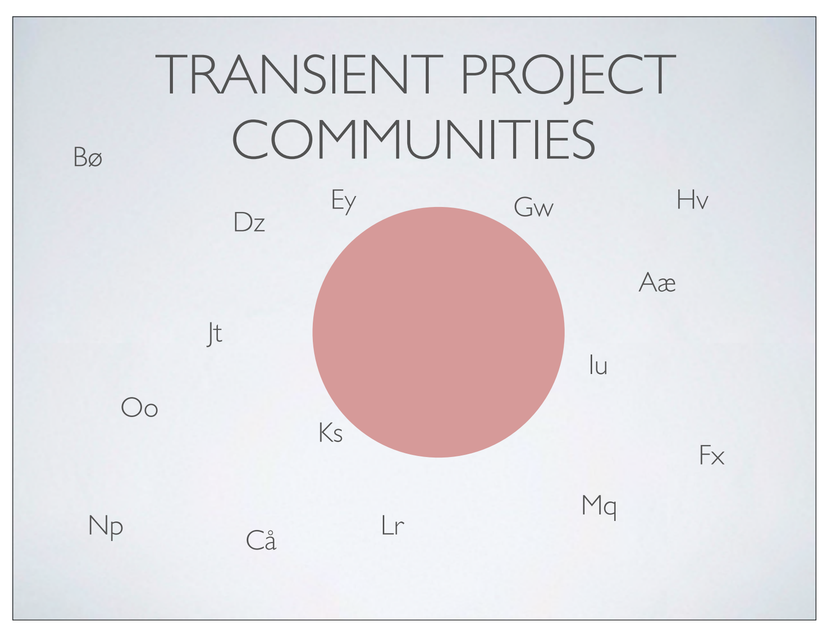
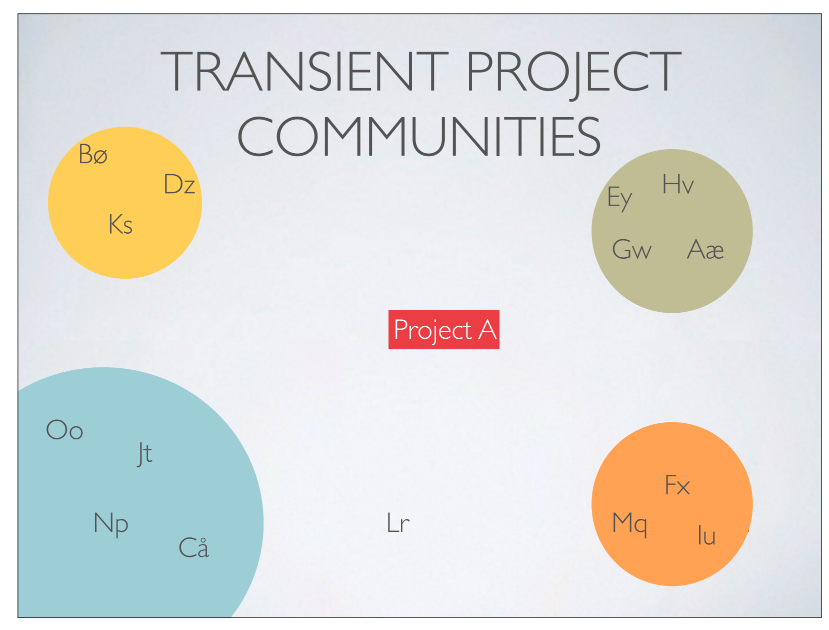
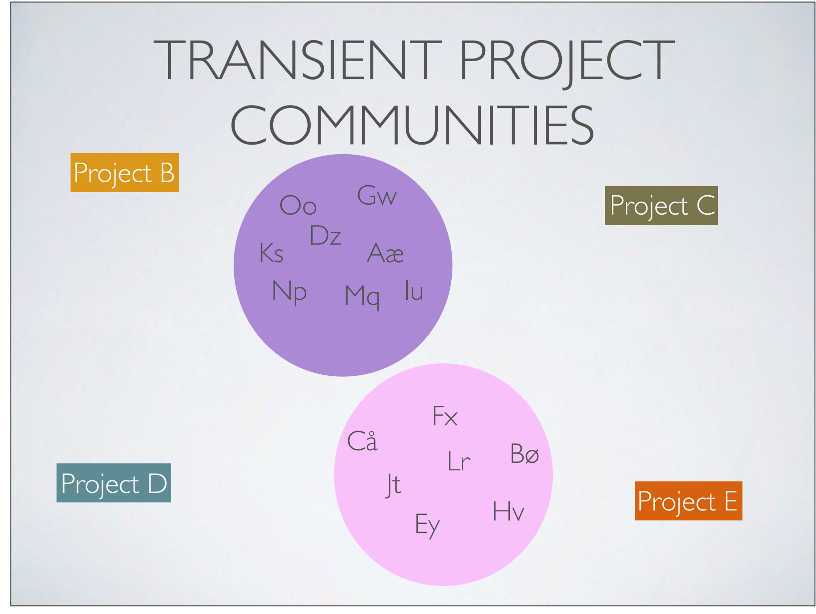






TRANSIENT PROJECT COMMUNITIES

- cohorts of people who are engaged in some temporary bounded joint endeavour which results in an agreed upon outcome
- on reaching this outcome, however successful the target product ultimately turns out to be, the cohort as known as that group of people connected to the project, disbands and members move on to contribute to other collaborative projects within other constellations of membership
- these bounded project communities are necessarily ad hoc, with members drawn together for this project and on the basis of a contributor's expertise, availability, interest, experience, geographical location, reputation, testimonials, and/or personal connection.
- each individual project presents its own unique set of tasks, challenges, requirements, and demands for staffing, expertise and experience, it would be rare to find the same constellation of members participating across different projects. (Hazel, in prep.)

SEQ 1

TIN and CAT enter SR; TIN indicates a chair on the stage

TIN: men hvad med denne stole↗	TIN: but what about this chair↗
CAT: det skal vi ?fjerne?	CAT: we have to get rid of it

TIN carries the chair off stage

SEQ 2

CAT:	oka::y:::↘	
	(touches curtain)	
	åh::: hvad med den	er:: what about this
	(turns to RIK in auditorium)	
CAT:	that's not here r-right↗	
RIK:	j⌈a⌉	yes
CAT:	⌊we⌋::: (0.4) we don't know when	
KAT:	den er xx	this is xx

SEQ 3

JEN and CATH at mid-stage curtain

JEN:	this way
CAT:	yeah
	(0.7)

JEN positions herself behind the curtain. CATH tracks her to where she is

CAT:	here→

SEQ 4

CAT: okay↗(1.0) er:::

(1.7) *(turns upstage)*

CAT: Didier↗

(0.3)

DID: yes↘ (0.5) YES→

CAT: du er lige her med billeder↗ (.) også→
you're right here with the pictures (.) too

(0.9)

DID: hva↗
pardon

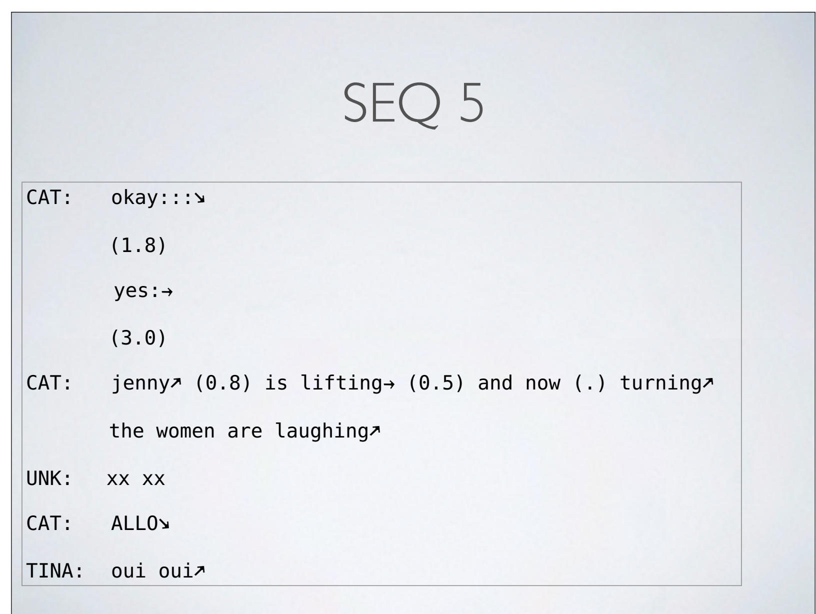
(2.1)

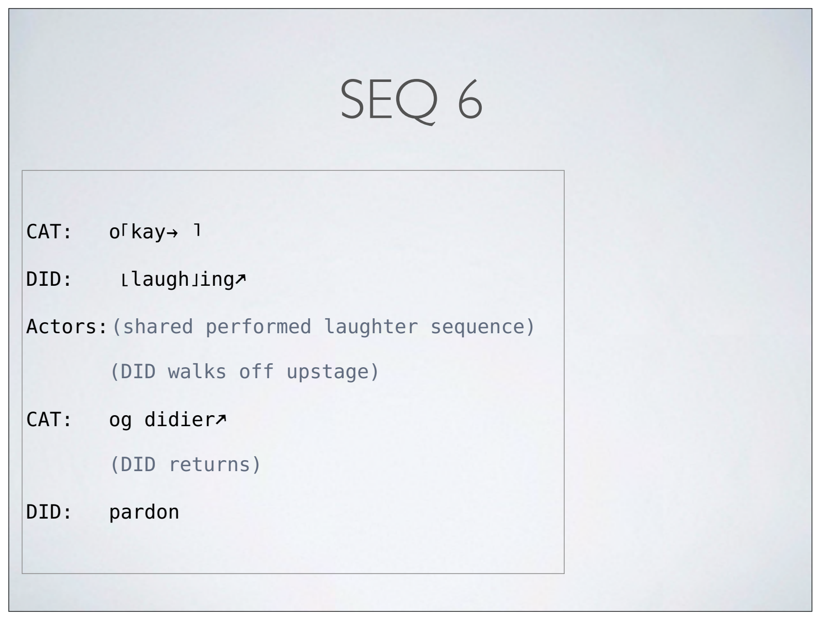
CAT: tu tu tiens les photos↗
you you take the photos

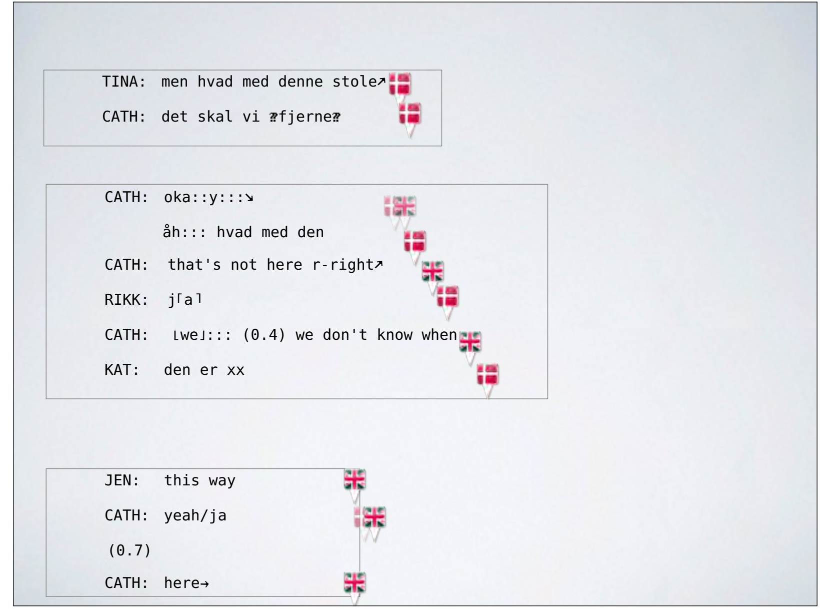
DID: d'accord
okay

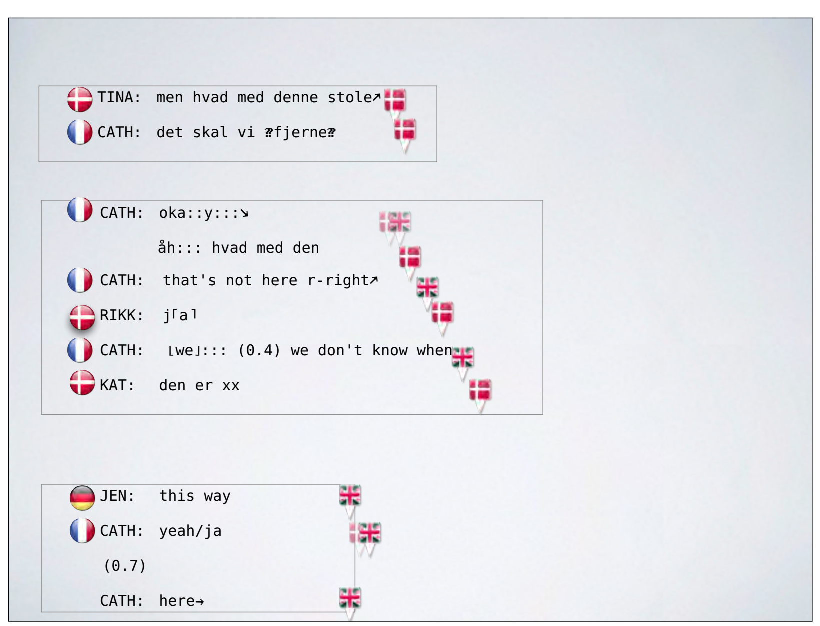
CAT: eh tu les tiendra xx xx
er you have to take them xx xx

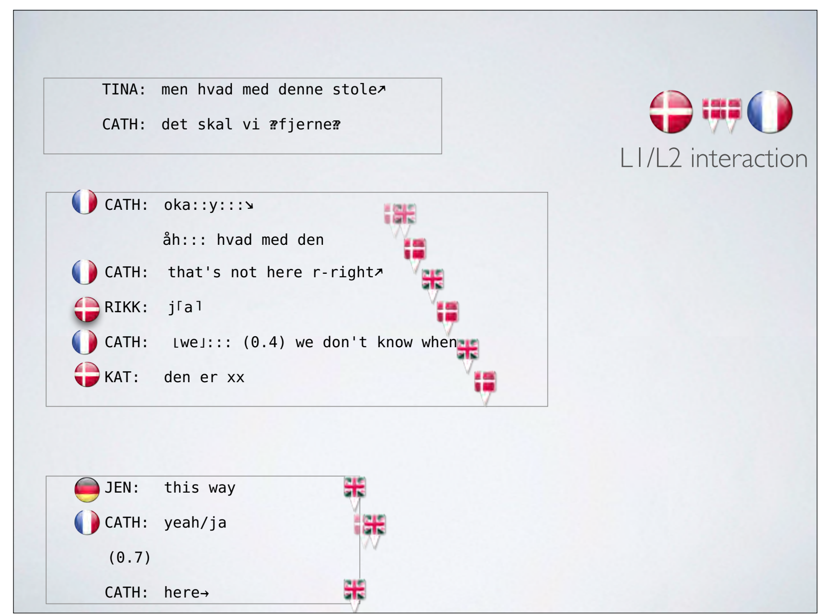
DID: ⁈bas bas⁈

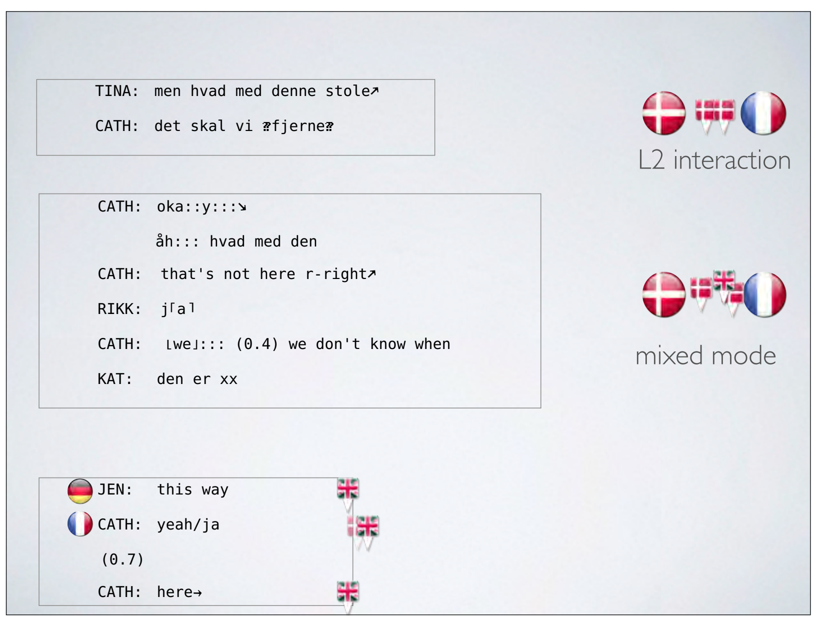







TINA: men hvad med denne stole↗
CATH: det skal vi ↗fjerne↗
CATH: oka::y:::↘
åh::: hvad med den
CATH: that's not here r-right↗
RIKK: j⌈a⌉
CATH: ⌊weɹ::: (0.4) we don't know when
KAT: den er xx
JEN: this way
CATH: yeah/ja
(0.7)
CATH: here→


TINA: men hvad med denne stole↗
CATH: det skal vi ↗fjerne↗
L1/L2 interaction
CATH: oka::y:::↘
åh::: hvad med den
CATH: that's not here r-right↗
RIKK: j⌈a⌉
CATH: ⌊weɹ::: (0.4) we don't know when
KAT: den er xx
JEN: this way
CATH: yeah/ja
(0.7)
CATH: here→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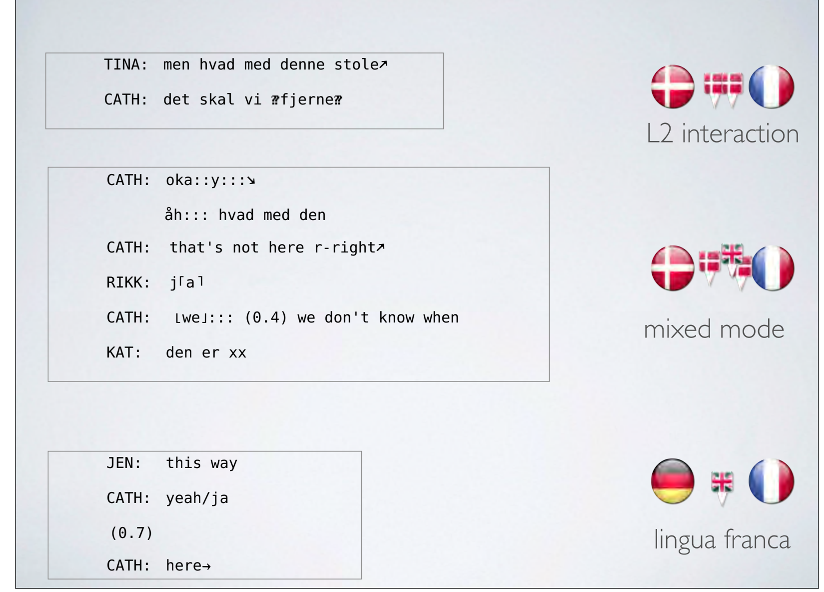
CATH: det skal vi ↗fjerne↗
L2 interaction
CATH: oka::y:::↘
åh::: hvad med den
CATH: that's not here r-right↗
RIKK: j⌈a⌉
CATH: ⌊weɹ::: (0.4) we don't know when
KAT: den er xx
mixed mode
JEN: this way
CATH: yeah/ja
(0.7)
CATH: here→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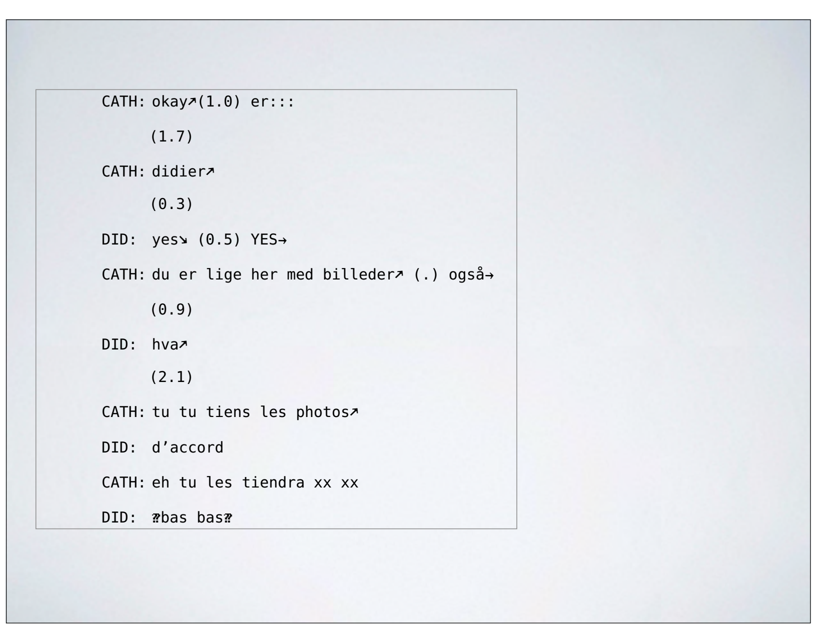
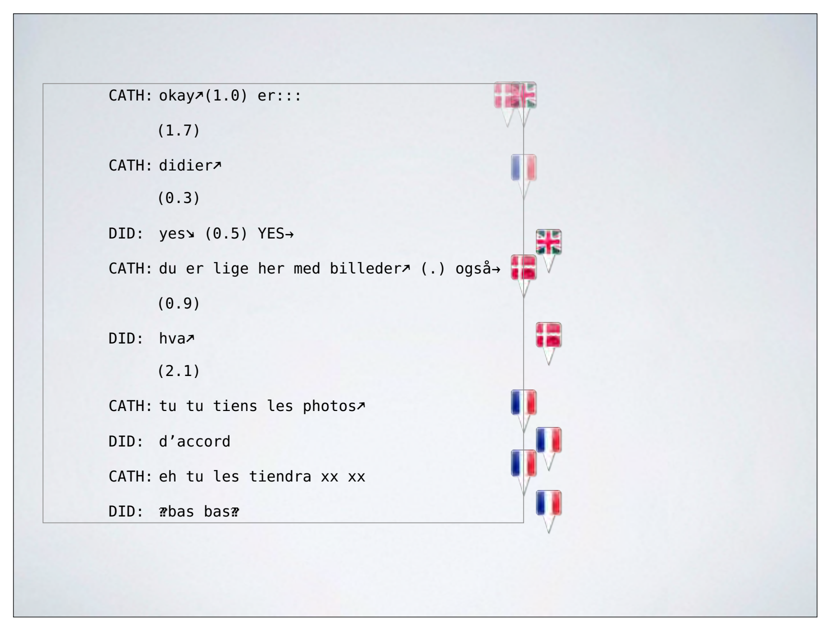
KAT: den er xx
mixed mode
JEN: this way
CATH: yeah/ja
(0.7)
CATH: here→
lingua franca


CATH: okay↗(1.0) er:::
(1.7)
CATH: didier↗
(0.3)
DID: yes↘ (0.5) YES→
CATH: du er lige her med billeder↗ (.) også→
(0.9)
DID: hva↗
(2.1)
CATH: tu tu tiens les photos↗
DID: d'accord
CATH: eh tu les tiendra xx xx
DID: ⍰bas bas⍰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(1.7)
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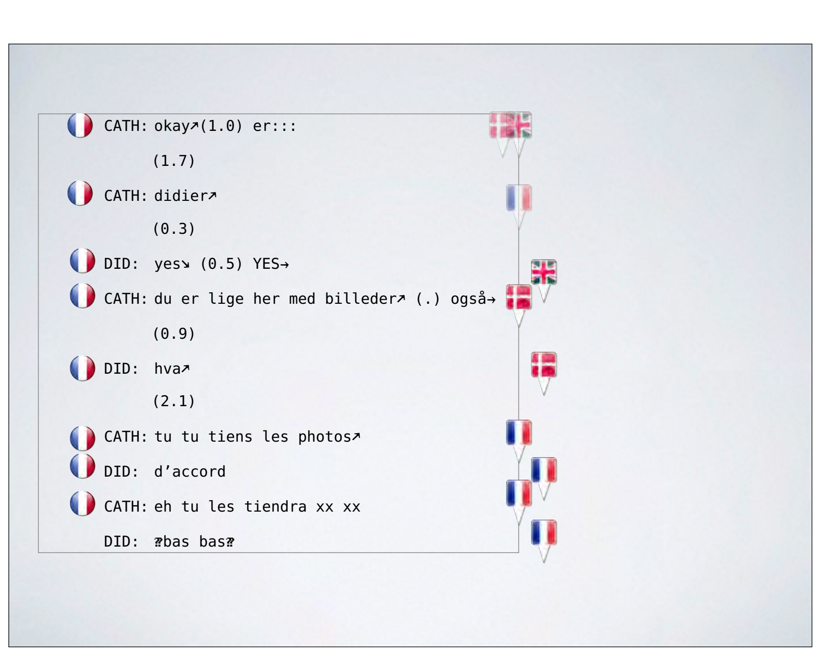
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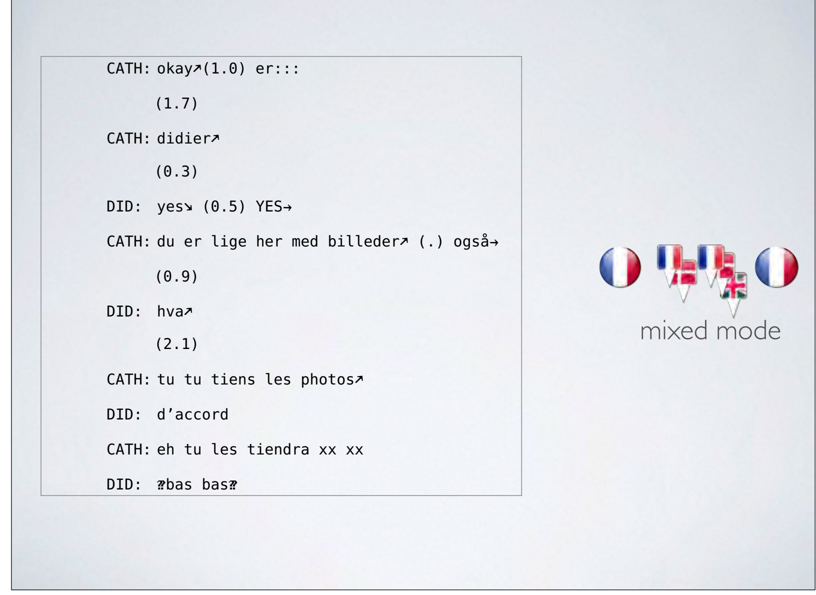
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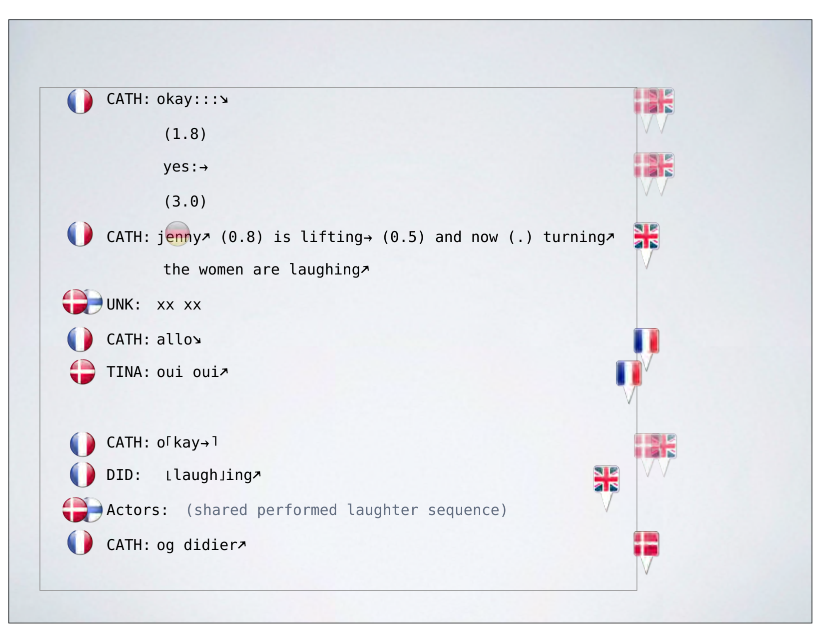
(1.7)
CATH: didier↗
(0.3)
DID: yes↘ (0.5) YES→
CATH: du er lige her med billeder↗ (.) også→
(0.9)
DID: hva↗
(2.1)
CATH: tu tu tiens les photos↗
DID: d'accord
CATH: eh tu les tiendra xx xx
DID: ⍰bas bas⍰
mixed mode


CATH: okay:::↘
(1.8)
yes:→
(3.0)
CATH: jenny↗ (0.8) is lifting→ (0.5) and now (.) turning↗
the women are laughing↗
UNK: xx xx
CATH: allo↘
TINA: oui oui↗
CATH: o⌈kay→⌉
DID: ⌊laugh⌋ing↗
Actors: (shared performed laughter sequence)
CATH: og didier↗

CATH: okay:::↘
(1.8)
yes:→
(3.0)
CATH: jenny↗ (0.8) is lifting→ (0.5) and now (.) turning↗
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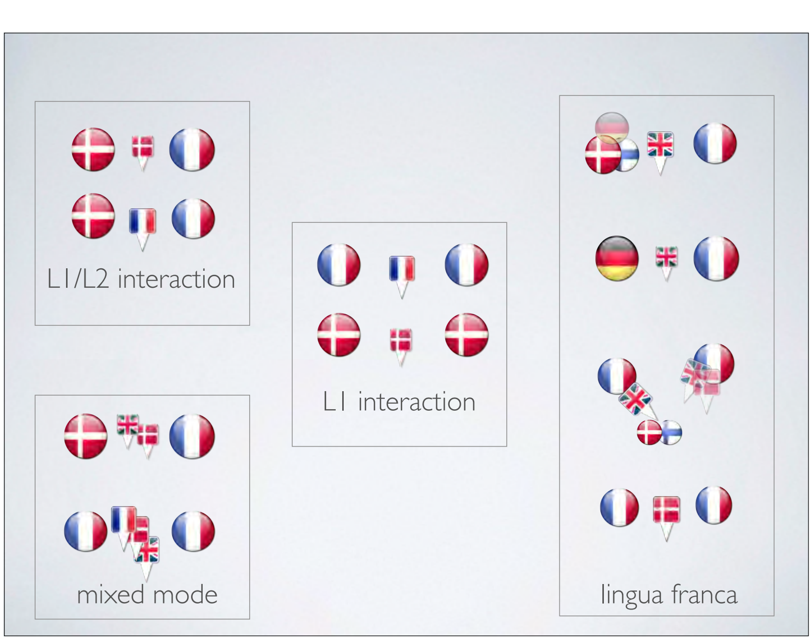
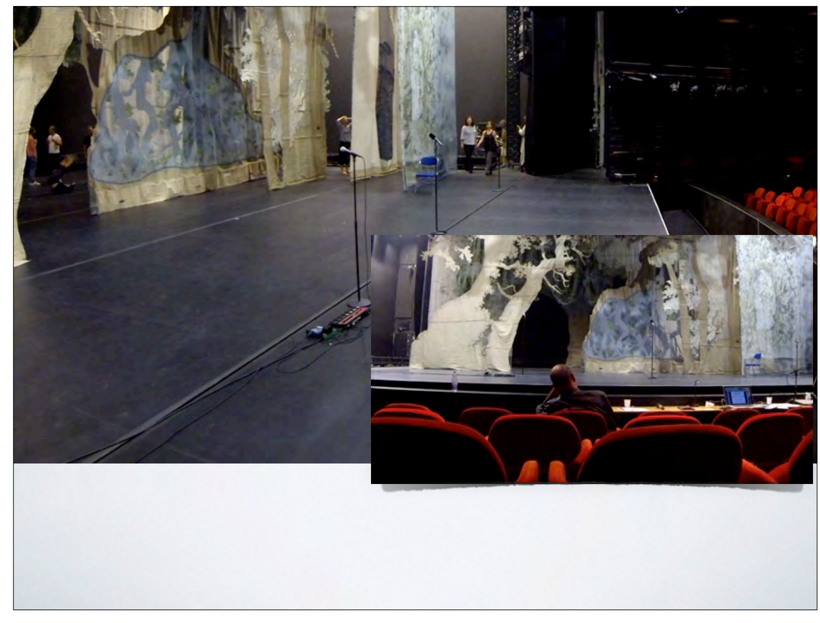
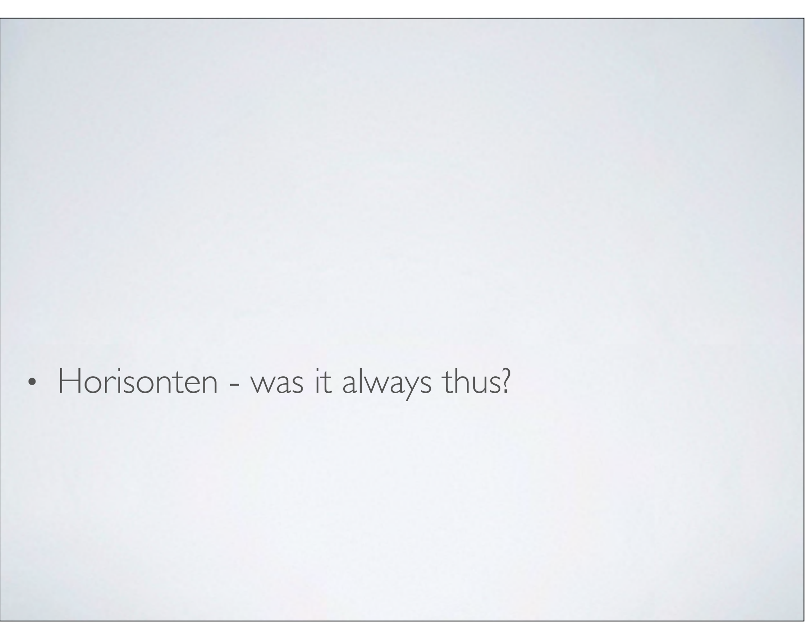
Actors: (shared performed laughter sequence)
CATH: og didier↗
lingua franca
L1/L2 interaction
lingua franca
lingua franca?


L1/L2 interaction
L1 interaction
lingua franca
mixed mode





HORISONTEN

En bevægende teaterforestilling om hjertets og fysikkens love
En co-produktion mellem Det Kongelige Teater og Aaben Dans, Roskilde.

**** *Forestillingen lyser af mod* Pol.
**** *Stor skønhed* Berl.
Drømmesmuk horisont. Åben Dans og Det Kongelige Teater har skabt den smukkeste fusionsforestilling. Aldrig før har Skuespilhusets scenerum virket så magisk, Information

Livet er alle vegne, men lægger vi mærke til det? Det gør Horisonten. Fra naturlovenes grundregler til poesiens vingesus tager forestillingen favntag med det, vi ikke altid kan få øje på – det rene blik og den skønne følelse, når vi for alvor evner at se verden omkring os.

HORISONTEN hylder den skønne og grusomme verden i en forestilling, hvor 22 medvirkende, fra klassisk ballet og moderne dans, cirkus, opera, fysisk og klassisk teater står på scenen foran et væld af imponerende bagtæpper fra Det Kongelige Teaters historiske repertoire.

Kunstnerduoen, koreograf Thomas Eisenhardt og den femdobbelte Reumert-vinder instruktør Catherine Poher,har gennem mange års samarbejde skabt et kunstnerisk sprog, hvis sanselighed og humor bliver fuldt udfoldet på den store scene.

MEDVIRKENDE

Dansere
Gudrun Bojesen
Jenny Ecke
Jeppe Kaas Vad
Kristine Drewsen
Mette-Ida Kirk
Ole Birger Hansen
Riikka Inkeri Laurilento
Sorella Englund

Skuespillere
Folmer Kristensen
Johannes Lilleøre
Maria Rossing
Stine Schrøder
Tammi Øst
Tina Gylling Mortensen

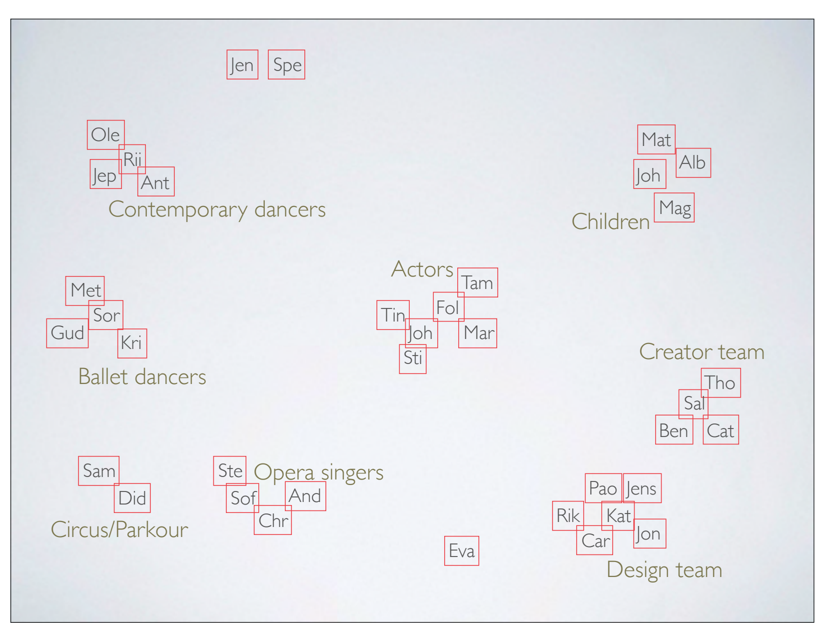
Performere
Didier Oberlé
Samuel Gustavsson

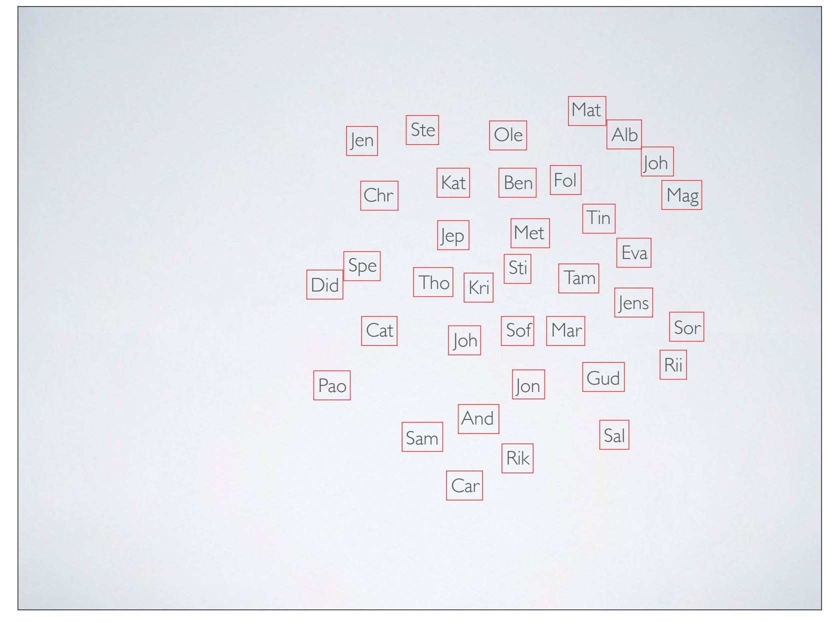
Sangere
Andreas Landin
Christian Damsgaard
Sofie Elkjær Jensen
Sten Byriel

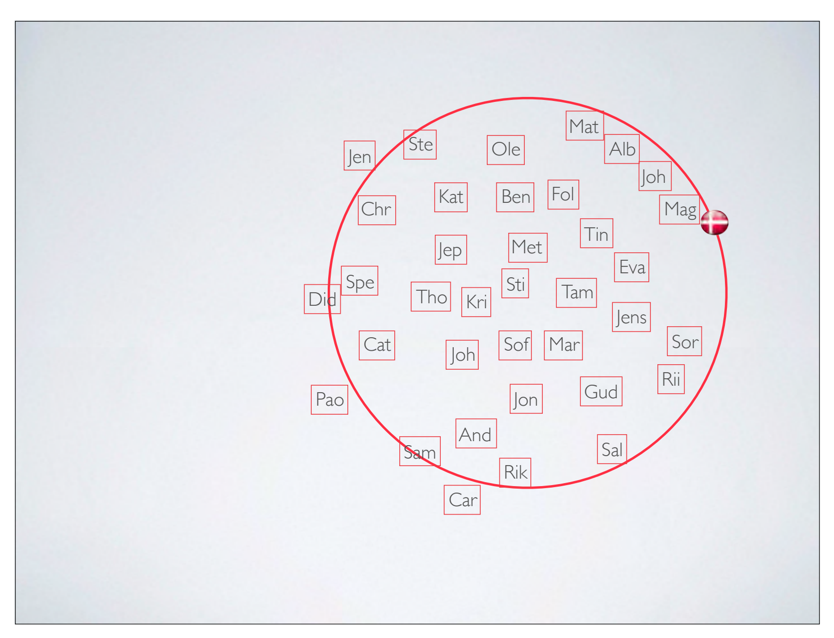
Børn
Albert Allingham Månsson
Johanne Grünbaum
Magnus Selin Svendsen
Mathilde Vincens Blum

Kunstneriske hold
Idé / Catherine Poher
Iscenesættelse + koreografi /
Catherine Poher + Thomas Eisenhardt
Scenografi / Rikke Juellund
Komponist / Jenno
Lysdesign / Carina Persson
Skyggekunstner / Paolo Cardona
Lyddesign / Jonas Peter Vest
Forsker + digter / Salim Abdali
Dramaturgi / Benedikte
Hammershøy Nielsen
Instruktørassistent /
Kathrine Lund
Fotograf / Per Bak Jensen

Projektstyregruppe
Mette Bisgaard, Producent
Pernille Møller Taasinge, producent
Eva Friis, produktionsleder
Jane Barlebo, kostumier
Rasmus Clausen, scenemester
Eva Dahl, forestillingsleder



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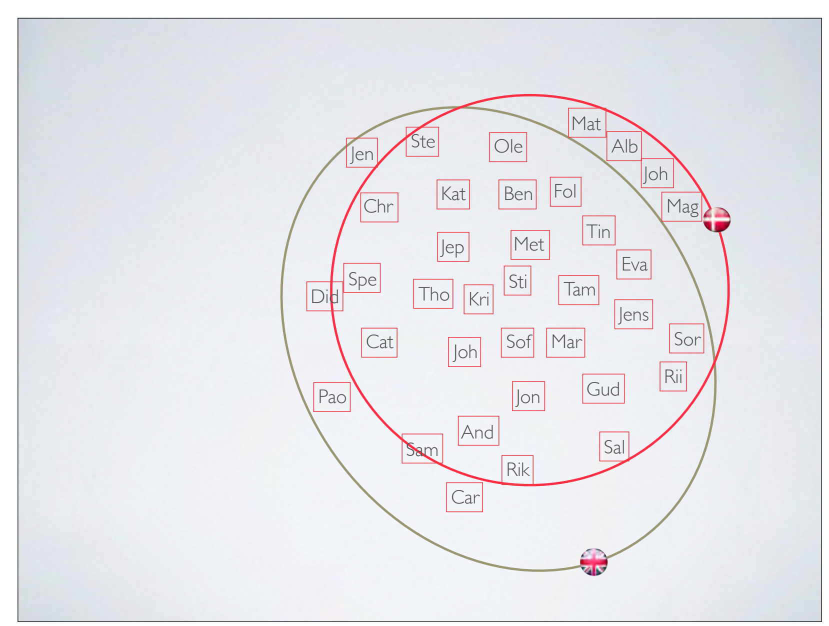
Jon
And
Sam
Sal
Rik
Car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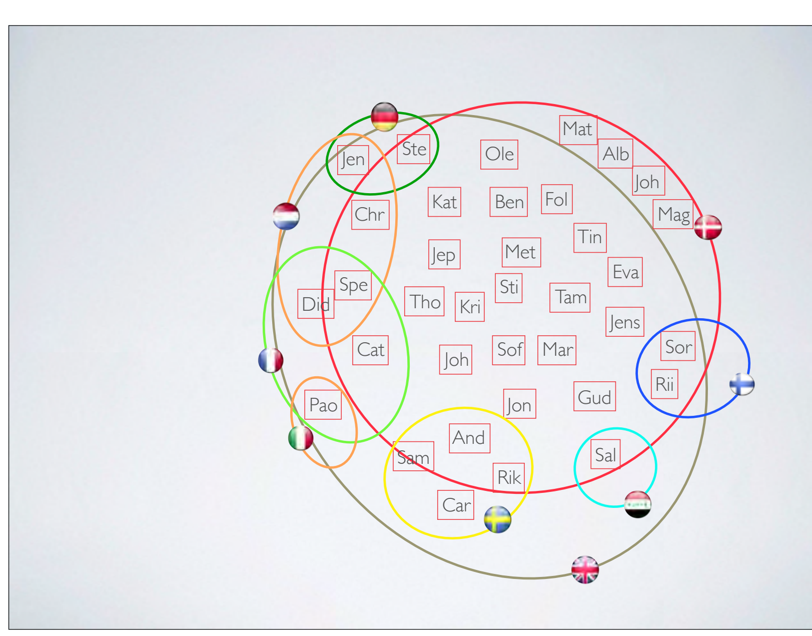
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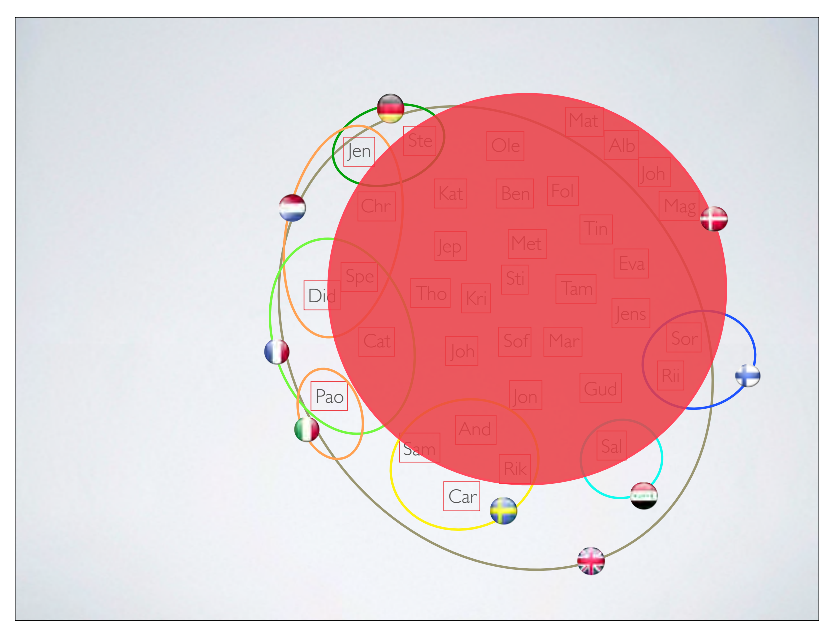
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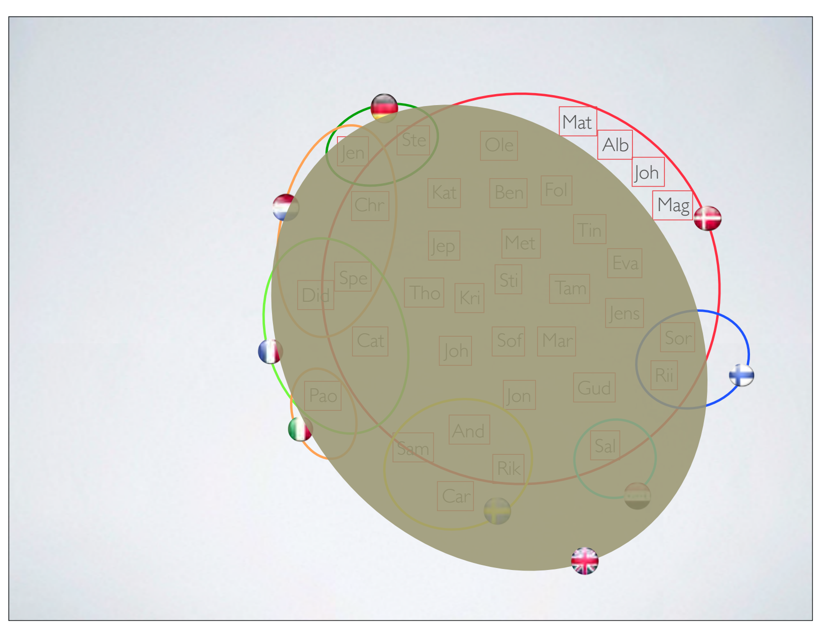
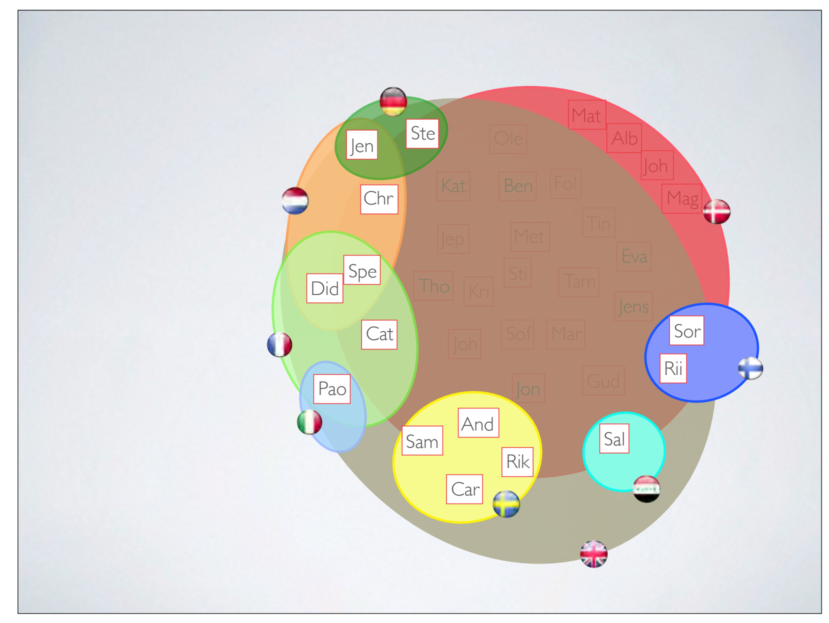
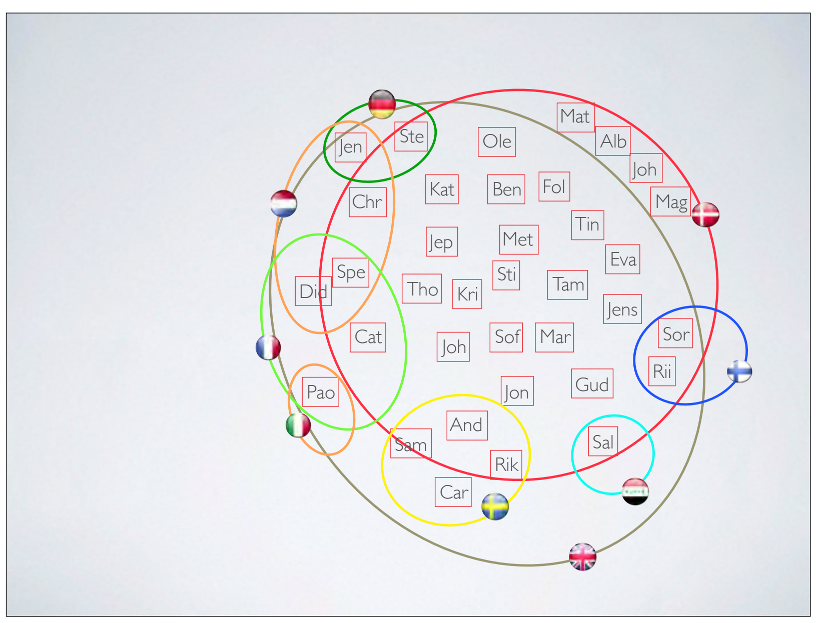






MAY DAY I

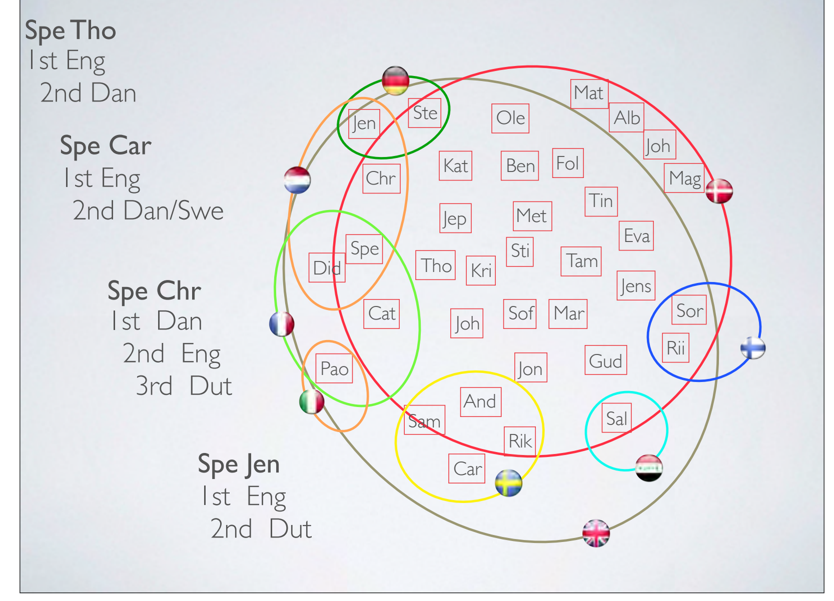
```
*DIR:   så er det Jenny↗ •
        (0.9) •
        som er:: ja isedet fra antoinette↗ •
        som er blevet gravid og •
        føder ?lige? xx til august •
        så er hun kunne ikke mere være sammen med os •
        selvfølgelig •
        she has come from germany↗ •
*JEN:   yes
*DIR:   and she is er antoinette's very good friend •
        and has been studying with antoinette •
        and working with antoinette in germany •
        so and she already dancing in Aaben Dans •
        all the part antoinette dances so •
        so it's •
        so •
        you're welcome to xx •
*JEN:   thank you •
*DIR:   and i think •
        (inaudible) •
*JEN:   is he the only one↗ •
*DIR:   well it's going to be some days some people come •
        we all have to do xx •
        (0.8) •
*DIR:   trying to do everything •
        (1.1) •
        i'm going to talk in english so you can understand
        (someone coughs)
        if that's all right •
*JEN:   okay i'm trying •
*UNK:   you don't have to •
*JEN:   huhuhuh •
*DIR:   er but also for paulo↗ •
        and so he can: •
```

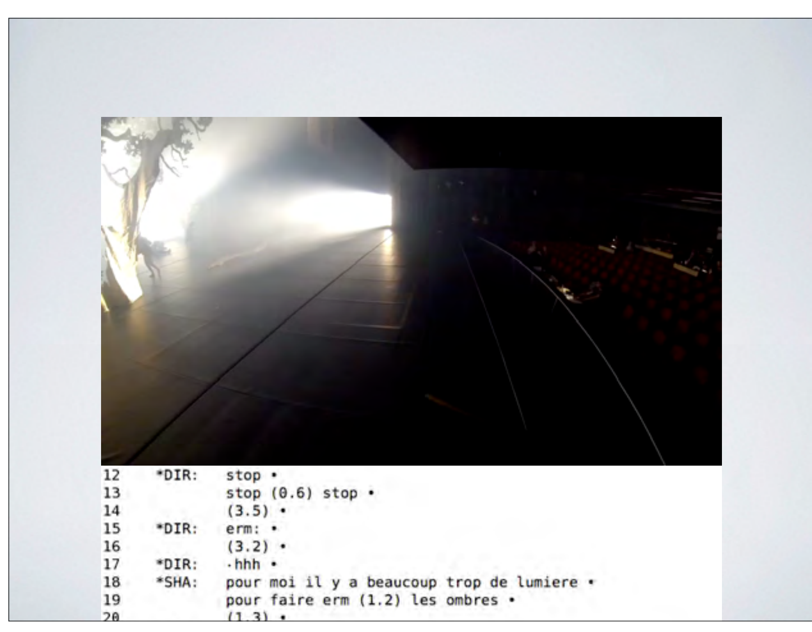
MAY DAY I

```
12  SPE:  xx xx xx xx in ireland
13  JEN:  is it because i have an irish lilt
14        is that why you're asking
15        yeah yeah i spend a lot of time in ireland
16        people start to complain about it
17        eh hah hah hah hah hah:
```

MAY DAY I

```
33 JEN:  the moment you start saying things like
34       have youse eaten
35       that's when you know you've spent too much time there
36       (2.7)
37 STE:  xx xx xx xx in deutschland gewohnt
38 JEN:  ich lebe in deutschland
39       genau
40 STE:  in berlin oder↗
41 JEN:  in bremen
42 STE:  in bremen:↘
43       dass ist super↘
44 JEN:  genau↗
45       sie haben in deutschland ⁇gelebt↗⁇
46 STE:  ja ich habe xx viel in deutschland gearbeitet→
47       in berlin↗
```





LANGSCAPING

- The sizeable team of participants involved in the creative process of putting *Horisonten* together was drawn from a range of European countries, and a wide range of linguistic identities were present. Although Danish and English were the predominant languages in the setting, others, for example French and Swedish, were also recurrent features of the linguistic make-up of the cohort. Moreover, the language(s) chosen for carrying out particular activities between members of the team evidenced a shift over time, and the language used between configurations of members also appeared to become less stabilized, rather than evidencing increased stability, and without this being treated as problematic

LANGSCAPING

- there is an orientation to developing a sense for what can be done with the range of languages and language competences available, following which these languages are adopted as a larger default set of linguistic resources to be used as a whole. This would appear to go against an often-voiced understanding of language choice in the international workplace, where it is assumed that participants select a/the single language that best fits the linguistic constraints of the particular participation framework. Rather, these experienced practitioners of temporary, project-focused workplaces appear to explore how far the linguistic horizons of this temporary team stretch, and treat this landscape as containing the available sets of linguistic resources through which to carry out the work.

- "Sometimes I am justled among a Body of Armenians: Sometimes I am lost in a crowd of Jews, and sometimes make one in a Groupe of Dutch-men. I am a Dane, Swede, or French-Man at different times, or rather fancy my self like the old Philosopher, who upon being asked what Country-man he was, replied, That he was a Citizen of the World."
Addison, 1711

Working paper – not to be distributed

Internationalization through English: Language socialization and norm negotiation in a transient multilingual workplace

Dorte Lønsmann
Copenhagen Business School

Abstract

This case study of a team in an international workplace focuses on the processes of language socialization in a transient multilingual community. Using interview and observational data, the analysis shows how new and old members negotiate social and linguistic norms. In this transient multilingual workplace long-term employees are socialized into the linguistic practices of the newcomer who is positioned as a catalyst for change. Language socialization in a transient multilingual context is shown to change existing linguistic norms and practices rather than socializing newcomers into them. However, the socialization process is shown to be bi-directional: while newcomers are used as catalysts for increased use of English and through this the creation of 'a global mindset', they are at the same time socialized into the existing egalitarian workplace culture.

Keywords: transient multilingual community, language socialization, language choice, global mindset, workplace interaction

Introduction

Internationalized workplaces are also often transient communities. These workplaces are characterised by frequent changes in organisational structure and by frequent changes in employee composition. Departments are created, dissolved and moved, and employees are hired, moved, or reassigned. The constant influx of new employees entails a continuous process of initiation into workplace culture and workplace norms. At the same time, increasing internationalization of the corporate sector means that companies recruit internationally, post employees abroad and create virtual teams that collaborate across national borders. Such transient internationalized workplaces are typically highly linguistically diverse with several languages used for a variety of purposes. This means that among the workplace norms are norms for language use and language choice. Traditionally, language socialization means that the newcomer is socialized into the existing cultural and linguistic norms. However, in these transient multilingual communities there may not be stable norms to be socialized into. And as this article investigates, stable norms may not be the goal; sometimes changing existing norms is.

Despite the frequent mention of language socialization as a lifespan process in the literature, language socialization in the workplace remains relatively unexplored, as also noted in Roberts' (2010) review article. While some studies have focused on novices being socialized into a particular professional field, e.g. hair stylists (Jacobs-Huey 2003), studies focusing on language socialization in multilingual workplaces are scarce. Studies within critical ethnography, such as Goldstein's (1997) study of language practices among Portuguese factory workers in Toronto, and work done in call centres (Duchêne 2009, Heller 2002) shed light on how language competence can become a commodity in multilingual workplaces. These studies also shed light on how language ideologies, e.g. those stressing standardized bilingualism and professional language use, are connected to the distribution of power in the workplace (Duff 2008a:264), but they do not focus specifically on the processes of language socialization in multilingual workplaces. The few studies that do focus on

language socialization in multilingual workplaces tend to concentrate on immigrants in blue-collar jobs as in the case of Duff et al.'s study of immigrant care aides in Canada (2002). In Baquedano-López and Mangual Figueroa's (2011) review of studies of language socialization in immigration contexts, there is no mention of language socialization in work contexts and only passing mention of 'transnationally mobile knowledge workers'. They do, however, call for new studies of bidirectional socialization that focus on how "immigrants groups influence the cities and locales they inhabit" (2011:555). While I agree with the need to focus on bi- or even multidirectional language socialization, and especially with a need to focus on how newcomers influence the setting they arrive in, I want to move beyond 'immigrant groups' as this view does not reflect the complexity and diversity of international workplaces as sites of language socialization. Instead we need to look at how newcomers in transient multilingual settings, such as an international workplace, are socialized into the linguistic and cultural practices of the workplace, but also how their arrival can be a means to changing existing practices.

Sociolinguistically oriented studies of language policy in multilingual workplaces (e.g. Bellak 2014, Kingsley 2013, Lønsmann 2011) often take an ethnographic perspective and consider how the organisational context impacts on language choice and language policy, but typically do not consider the other side of the link, namely how language choice can contribute to changing organisational culture. By applying a language socialization perspective on language norms and language policy in multilingual workplaces, language is seen as intimately connected with organisational culture, both as affected by the culture and as contributing to creating that culture.

The case I am analysing here focuses on language practices, policies and norms in a six-person HR team in a large international company based in Denmark. At the time of the fieldwork the team was adjusting to the arrival of a new international employee who was the first non-Danish-speaking team member. The analysis focuses on the role of this new employee in bringing about changes in language use and organisational culture. I am interested in exploring how language socialization works in a transient multilingual community where the goal is not to socialize newcomers into existing cultural and linguistic norms, but to change the norms. This leads me to the following research question: How does the context of a transient multilingual community influence language socialization? I will begin by discussing transience and how it relates to the concept of superdiversity, and follow this by a discussion of language socialization as a lifelong process. The next section introduces the data and methods, followed by findings from the analysis, divided into sub-sections on 'A transient multilingual workplace', 'Negotiating norms for language choice', 'Changing the norms by bringing in a catalyst' and 'Double socialization'. The last section presents the conclusions of the study.

Transience and superdiversity

While the speech community and later communities of practice have been foundational theoretical constructs in much linguistic anthropological research, recently new forms of less stable communities are gaining increasing attention. In a contribution from the field of mobility studies, de Sapio discusses the evolution of transient communities in Victorian railway carriages (2013). De Sapio is interested in "the creation or improvisation of new social rules and roles governing interpersonal contact while on a rail journey" (2013:202). These communities are on the one hand characterized by fluidity, with the travellers coming together for a relatively short period of time and people in the carriage change along the journey. On the other, de Sapio also calls attention to the norms and roles people bring with them into these transient communities. In a sociolinguistic study also concerned with tourism, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) argue for rethinking central sociolinguistic tropes such as 'community' and 'authenticity' (2010:255). In their study of fleeting

encounters in heritage tourism in New Zealand and South Africa, they point to the importance of processes of 'recontextualisation' in these cross-cultural and multilingual encounters. Jaworski and Thurlow's analysis demonstrates how language is recontextualised for touristic purposes, but also how values, meanings and functions may remain stable across time and space, e.g. when their participants draw on common frames about gender roles. Compared to the kind of transience we investigate in this special issue, de Sapio's transient communities are relatively short-lived and could more appropriately be characterised as "communities existing *in the moment*" as Jaworski and Thurlow (2010:281, emphasis in the original) label the interactions in their study. In these communities *in the moment*, participants have a larger need to draw on common frames since there is less time to develop shared meanings. Since the encounters are relatively fleeting, there is also less need to negotiate common norms and rules than in longer term transient communities.

Mortensen (2013, 2014) introduces the concept of transient multilingual communities as an opposition to stable communities, either mono- or multilingual. Mortensen considers student project groups and international student cohorts as examples of such communities which are characterised by less stable norms for language choice than traditional speech communities or communities of practice. In transient multilingual communities, norms for language choice are not necessarily part of the communicative competence of members, but must be negotiated more or less explicitly in and through practice (Haberland 2007, Hazel and Mortensen 2013, Mortensen 2014:438-439). Lønsmann (2014:112) applies the concept of transient multilingual communities to an international corporation in order to illustrate the ever-changing linguistic diversity of such settings due to constant employee mobility. In one study, the notion of transience is couple with a language socialization perspective. Goebel (2010) uses the transient multilingual setting of a diverse Indonesian neighbourhood as the backdrop for an investigation of language socialization. Similarly to Mortensen, Goebel points to the fact that rules and norms for conduct cannot be taken for granted in such a transient setting because participants do not share trajectories of socialization (2010:223). Like Jaworski and Thurlow, Goebel emphasises the importance of recontextualisation. He concludes that learning depends on the extent to which the newcomer is able to appropriately recontextualise signs, in this case specific language alternation practices. While Goebel points out that "distinctions between newcomers and hosts continually change" in transient settings (2010:203), his analysis focuses on the socialization of a newcomer into the existing linguistic practices of the setting, and does not fully explore the importance of the transient setting for the language socialization process.

The concept of transience can be seen as a critique of the superdiversity concept, as it has been applied in sociolinguistics (Blommaert and Rampton 2012, Rampton et al. 2015). The shift in focus from stable (speech) communities – and the reduction of complexity implicit in this concept - to a focus on this complexity has led to the popularity of the concept of superdiversity. Rampton et al. define superdiversity as the "diversification of diversity", and insist that 'super' implies a need for rethinking, while 'diversity' "aligns with a set of rather long-standing discourses" (2015:4). For sociolinguistics this means that 'superdiversity' marks a shift of footing, which among other things entails a focus on micro- and meso-levels rather than the macro-level. Where superdiversity has seen a surge of popularity in the last few years, I suggest that it still falls short when it comes to capturing certain kinds of settings and communities defined not just by diversity, but by fluidity and changing language norms, those that we call transient multilingual communities. Reyes (2014) suggests another problem with the concept of superdiversity. According to her, the world has not become more diverse or superdiverse, instead we as researchers have just started focusing more on it. With the concept of transient multilingual community, I do not want to argue that the world has become more transient. Rather I suggest that in the context of multilingualism, it is beneficial to

apply the concept of transience if we want to understand what is going on in terms of linguistic norm development and language socialization. By focusing on transient communities, this article also answers recent calls for problematizing traditional notions of the community in language socialization research (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002:346-347) and for including more research on language socialization in "workplaces experiencing rapid changes in the norms of language use, especially with new, globalizing multilingual and multimodal discourses" (Duff 2008b:116).

Language socialization: Innovation of social order across the lifespan

Schieffelin and Ochs originally defined language socialization as "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" (1986:163). In 2011, they continue this thought by specifying the goal of language socialization research as understanding "the role of language … in the quotidian reproduction and innovation of social order and cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, ideologies, symbols, and indexes" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011:11). Ochs and Schieffelin's definition thus stresses the potential of language socialization not just for reproducing the social order, but also for *innovation* of the social order and cultural knowledge. In the transient multilingual workplace this would include the innovation and negotiation of new linguistic norms, but also of the workplace culture.

While the field of language socialization has always regarded language socialization as a lifelong process (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986), much early research focused on the child's socialization into a community. Several newer studies emphasise language socialization as a lifelong process, however. Ochs and Schieffelin argue that research into language socialization brings to the fore "how persons across the life cycle and across different generations are alike yet different, recognizable yet transformed, lending on-the-ground insight into how habitus and practice become durable, transposable, and restructured over time" (2011:5). Bayley and Schecter (2003b) note that most language socialization takes place in multilingual contexts that change across the lifespan. Another shift in later research has been towards an emphasis on the dynamic and multidirectional aspects of language socialization (e.g. Bayley and Schecter 2003a, Duff 2008b, Ochs 1999). As Duff (2008b) points out, the 'expert-novice' dichotomy is still frequently found in language socialization studies. The problem with the metaphor is that it erases the multi-directionality of language socialization, and overlooks the importance of personal histories and experiences in L2 language socialization. In addition, I want to add, newcomers often also bring with them firm expectations to language use in their new community, which also influence their attitudes to the new language practices they encounter and their language socialization.

Bayley and Schecter emphasise the role of the novice as an active agent particularly in multilingual contexts where "the identity being formed is not one that has previously been available" (2003b:6). Pontecorvo et al. (2001) also emphasise that language socialization is not as a one-way street where the child or novice learns from the adult or expert, but a process that can go both ways, as in their study where older members of a community are socialized into the use of new technologies by children. The present article positions itself within these new perspectives with its focus on the multi-directionality of language socialization in a multilingual workplace.

Methods and data

The data for this article comes from an ethnographic case study conducted as a part of the LINGCORP project[i]. During two months in 2013 I carried out participant-observation in an HR team in a Danish multinational company. I shadowed (Czarniawska 2007) each team member for one or two days at work, participating in face-to-face meetings, lunch, and video conferences, and

sitting next to them when they worked at their work stations in the open-plan office. I also carried out ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979) with five team members. The interviews took place in meeting rooms next to the informants' workspace and lasted between 43 and 72 minutes. Focus in the interviews was on informants' daily work, language use in the team and language barriers. I also collected a variety of written material, including employee magazines and language policy documents.

Pseudonym	Nationality	Job description	Language competence[ii]
Morten	Danish	Head of department	Danish, English, a little German, Swedish/Norwegian
Leif	Danish	Project manager	English, Danish
Sally	Canadian-Taiwanese	HR partner	English, Mandarin, French, Danish
Anna	Danish	Communication partner	Danish, English
Isabel	Spanish	Training partner	Danish, English, Spanish, French

Table 1. Informants.

In addition to the five full-time staff members, a Danish student assistant started working in the team during my fieldwork, but was not interviewed

The data analysis combines ethnographic domain analysis with linguistic micro-analysis of interviews and observational data. Using ethnographic domain analysis (Spradley 1979) entails a coding process where concepts are organised into domains and, subsequently, taxonomies, which are then further elaborated on in a componential analysis. The relevant domains found in the analysis included job types, nationality, team culture, language competence, languages, language use, motivations for language choice, language barriers, and strategies for overcoming the language barrier. As can be seen from the domains that emerged from this analysis, rather than being a full ethnographic analysis, it focused on language and culture in the team. Subsequent to the ethnographic analysis, the interview data was analysed using interactional sociolinguistic micro-analysis (Rampton 2006). Relevant sequences were identified by listening through the interviews repeatedly and were then transcribed in the software transcription programme CLAN by student transcribers. The subsequent microanalysis focused on producing detailed and comprehensive analyses of these key episodes of interaction (Gumperz 1999) by "drawing on a range of frameworks to describe both small- and large-scale phenomena and processes (e.g. pronunciation, grammar, genres, interaction structures, institutions, social networks)" (Rampton 2006:24). Since the ethnographic analysis had been completed at this stage, these results fed into the micro-analysis.

Analysis: Dynamic language socialization in a transient multilingual workplace

The analysis is structured in four parts. The first part presents results from the ethnographic domain analysis with a focus on the transient nature of the workplace under investigation. The second part of the analysis focuses on the negotiation of norms while the third part homes in on the role of the newcomer as a catalyst for changing norms and practices, more specifically how increased use of English would lead to a change in workplace culture. In the fourth part of the analysis I consider

how language socialization in this transient international workplace setting has a double focus. Even as the newcomer socializes 'old' employees into new international norms and practices, she is also being socialized into Danish workplace culture.

A multilingual and transient workplace

This section presents the results of the ethnographic domain analysis in prose form. Particular emphasis is put on the transient and multilingual nature of the workplace as this will be important for subsequent parts of the analysis. The HR team under investigation is a part of the production division of a large international company with 37,000 employees in more than 70 countries around the world. The manager and the four employees are all academics with degrees in e.g. communication, finance and linguistics. The people they communicate with are also mostly academics (typically managers at different levels), but also employees 'on the floor', e.g. operators in the production facilities. The production division has facilities in five countries (Denmark, France, USA, Brazil and China), and the team members support these five sites with regard to HR, communication and training. This means that the majority of the team work with partners around the world in cross-cultural teams. The exception is Sally who only supports the Danish site. Most of the team's members have regular video conferences with their counterparts in the production facilities, as well as visits to and from the sites several times a year. Working in cross-cultural teams means that team members work multilingually. As Table 1 shows, all team members consider themselves proficient in English, have some Danish competence, and most of them also competence in other languages.

The team is seated in an open office space with teams from other department. While there are no visible boundaries between teams, during my fieldwork the HR team never spoke to employees from the other teams, not even the employee whose desk was physically in the middle of the team. This type of invisible boundary is also in place when it comes to the hierarchical boundaries. As Sally, the new international employee, notes in her interview, Morten, the manager of the team, has a desk like everyone else with nothing like a separate office to indicate his position. Titles and hierarchy do appear to be important in the team and in the organisation, however, with clear communication lines according to position in the hierarchy and a title structure specific for the company and frequently referred to. Morten also positions himself as someone who takes his manager role seriously when he in his interview talks about taking care of the welfare of his employees and about setting strategic goals. With the exception of the two employees involved in training, the team members do not cooperate on a daily basis. Their tasks are quite separate and their closest collaborators are typically their partners on the five international sites. The communication partner Anna describes the team as 'atomised' without common work tasks. All team members are very focused on their work, and they work a lot. They do not spend much time small talking. If they are not in meetings or travelling, they usually eat lunch together, but other than that there are no breaks. The team members seem aware that this sets them apart from other teams. When I ask about coffee breaks, Sally says "It's not like we do it regularly – that's what we don't do that everybody else does". This characteristic of the team begs the questions of whether they really are a team since they do no collaborate on a day-to-day basis. They do, however, see themselves as a team. They have, for instance, the occasional social event for the team as well as weekly team meetings. Importantly, they are designated a team in the organisational structure of the company.

A characteristic of not only this team, but the company in general is its transient nature. This international workplace is characterised by frequent organisational, human resource and spatial changes. People may work in the company for a long time, but not in the same position, department or country. Morten, Anna and Isabel have all moved around in the company since they were hired.

During the period when I was in contact with the team – from first contact to feedback six months after the fieldwork - the composition of the team changed a lot. Sally was relatively new to the team when I met her, the student assistant Peter joined the team during the period, and Leif left for another position within the company at the end of the period, as did Anna. When I came in to provide feedback, a new international team member had just started that day. Two years after the fieldwork, at the time of writing this article, only two of the team members were still in the team, while six new employees had joined the team. The team still exists, but has moved to another area in the organisation. From discussions in the meetings I observed, this dynamic seemed typical also of other teams and employees in the company. Physically, the workplace is characterised by transience as well, as the team moved from one site to another a few kilometres away between the time of my fieldwork and my coming back to provide feedback. In both locations, the office was set up with everything on wheels. The shelves between the desks could be moved around, and there were very few stationary items in the open office. The team members each had their own desk in the office, but when Sally went to the Danish production site (usually a couple of days a week), it was a system of rotating desks. Some of desks had a red laminated card pegged to them with the text "Table not free" indicating that the rest of the tables were indeed free, and employees simply chose one when they came in in the morning and plugged in their laptop.

The multilingual and transient characteristics of this workplace are particularly pertinent when we look at language norms and workplace culture. The next sections focus on how the transient multilingual setting influences linguistic and workplace norms.

Negotiating norms for language choice

As discussed above, transient communities are characterised by less stable norms for language choice than non-transient communities, and because norms are fluid they have to be negotiated continually.

Before Sally joined the team, the linguistic norms in the HR team were pretty well established. The four Danish-speaking team members used Danish with each other and other Danish colleagues, and English for communicating across borders, e.g. in video conferences. Other languages are only used infrequently, and not at all during my observations, although team members report using Mandarin, French and Spanish for social occasions and small talk. At the time of my fieldwork, Sally had recently started working in the team. Having grown up and gotten her education in English-speaking countries, she was categorised by her co-workers as a non-Danish-speaker. In fact Sally had worked in Denmark before and had had a Danish boyfriend, and put down Danish on her list of language competences. In her interview she explained that she could understand most things in Danish, but only speak very little. Sally also explained that she had been told that English was the corporate language so she expected English to be the working language. For work purposes then, Sally was a non-Danish speaker. This change in the linguistic milieu led to a focus in the team on norms for language choice for the team-internal communication. Morten explains in his interview:

Ex. 1 What does that do to a team?

1	MOR:	så har vi øh diskuteret en hel masse nu hvor Sally hun er kommet til
2		det gjorde hun her i øh december måned det er egentlig første gang
3		at vi har en ikke-dansktalende medarbejder i teamet
4	INT:	ja
5	MOR:	ø:hm så der har vi der har vi brugt lidt energi på at tale hvad gør det
6		egentlig ved ved sådan et team
7	INT:	mmh

8 MOR: øh (.) der har vi så aftalt nu at ø:h når Sally hun er her
9 så taler vi engelsk og det er også selvom Anna og Leif måske lige
10 sidder ind over bordet
11 INT: ⌈mmh⌉
12 MOR: ⌊og lige⌋ skal vende et eller andet omkring hvad skete der i weekenden

1 MOR: so we have uh discussed a lot now that Sally has joined us
2 she arrived in December this is actually the first time
3 that we have a non-Danish-speaking employee in the team
4 INT: yes
5 MOR: um so we have we have spent some energy talking about what does
6 that actually do to such a team
7 INT: mmh
8 MOR: uh (.) we have agreed now that uh when Sally is here
9 then we speak English and that is also if Anna and Leif are leaning
10 over the table
11 INT: ⌈mmh⌉
12 MOR: ⌊just⌋ chit-chatting about something that happened over the weekend

Morten here explicitly spells out the new norm for language use: "when Sally is here then we speak English" (ll. 8-9), even if two Danes are discussing something not work-related. The way this rule or policy came into being is not clear. Morten says that they have spent some energy talking about this issue and that they "have agreed". It seems like the other team members are on board, however, and agree with the new norm. In practice, however, language choice is still negotiated. Anna relates an interaction where she addressed Morten in Danish, and he responded: "Oh, remember English!". What we can see here is a case where existing language norms are changed by the arrival of a new team member. Instead of Sally being socialized into the existing language norms (speaking Danish in the team), the team is being socialized into her language practices (speaking English).

Interestingly it is not Sally who does most of the explicit language socialization, in fact she is quite reticent about it. She talks at length in her interview with me about feeling excluded due to the use of Danish in the team. The Danish team members also talk about the fact that Danish *is* used in the team despite an explicit agreement to use English around Sally. Sally has not, however, brought this up with her colleagues directly. Instead she uses more indirect ways of socializing them into the new norm:

Ex 2. I mentioned someone else
1 SAL: I brought it up in a (0.6) through a different way
2 I mentioned someone else (0.2) who was in uh my area
3 who is also experiencing the same ⌈thing⌉ and I also (0.5)
4 INT: ⌊yeah⌋
5 SAL: tried to get their feedback on ta ta ta ta

Here, Sally introduced the problem with being excluded because of the use of Danish as though it was really a friend's problem and asked her co-workers to reflect on the issue. When Sally tries to socialize her colleagues by telling the fictive story of a friend of hers who has problems, it resembles what Goodwin and Kyratzis (2011:367) describe with children who police the local social landscape using gossip and hypothetical stories. Another strategy Sally relies on is silence:

Ex. 3 Then they kind of notice
1 SAL: sometimes (0.6) things continue in Danish (1.0) but then
2 you know I'm (0.3) quiet then they ⌈kind⌉ of notice
3 INT: ⌊yeah⌋

That norms are still being negotiated can also be seen from Sally's experiences with co-workers trying to socialize her into the 'old' norms:

Ex. 4 When are you gonna start speaking Danish?
1 SAL: sometimes they say oh when are you gonna start speaking Danish
2 INT: yeah
3 SAL: and (0.3) I feel a bit like okay so I should ☺be the one to☺ change first

These examples highlight the norm negotiation process initiated by Sally's arrival. When the team composition changed from all Danish-speakers to including a perceived non-Danish speaker, it occasioned a series of negotiations where team members talked about having a non-Danish-speaking team member, what this would do to the team, and what the norm should be for language choice. Subsequently, the team members socialize each other into the new norm, using a range of strategies from explicitly correcting each other to more subtle cues. At the same time, the old norm still reasserts itself when co-workers socialize Sally into acknowledging the position of Danish in the workplace.

Changing the norms by bringing in a catalyst

During my fieldwork I wondered why the team members saw 'English only' as the most obvious solution to the challenges presented by the new linguistic constellation in the team. When I looked further into this, it appeared that changing the language was not the end goal of the socialization process, rather it was seen as a means to a different end: increased internationalization in the team and in the organisation.

Three months after the end of the fieldwork, two team members attended a seminar on language policy with the researchers from the LINGCORP project. Subsequently the team members created a language policy for their team, which mandated that "English is spoken whenever a non-Dane is present – including informal talk", and that they all "commit to bring it to attention when Danish is spoken with a non-Dane present". The policy had "inclusion of non-Danish employees" as its explicit purpose. In addition, however, the language policy also states as a goal to "develop a global mind-set". Increased internationalization was an explicit goal not just of this team, but of the wider organisation. The company had a diversity key performance indicator which in addition to setting a goal for the gender ratio in high level management groups also dictated the inclusion of at least one non-Dane in these groups. In addition, a project in the production division focused on integrating "international talents" in the Danish HQ organisation. Part of the goal of this project was to allow an exchange of values between Danes and non-Danes. Morten talks about the success of bringing a Chinese employee to a remote location in Denmark:

Ex. 5 A catalyst for the international mindset
1 MOR: vi [har] en kineser i Hjørring af alle steder ik
2 INT: ha ha ha
3 MOR: altså (.) Hjørring ⌈ha ha⌉
4 INT: ⌊ja⌋
5 MOR: ø:hm (0.8) og det var (0.5) altså (0.7) ☺ outrageous ☺ da der var nogle

6 der foreslog at vi skulle have en kineser en kinesisk kvinde til Hjørring
7 INT: ja ha
8 RES: men det har bare betydet rigtig meget for Hjørring-organisationen
9 INT: okay
10 MOR: fordi de har (.) de har kastet sig ind i kampen og sagt okay jamen
11 øh så må vi jo ø:h så vi sætte os ind i hvad betyder det egentlig
12 at være kineser
13 INT: mmh
14 MOR: ø:hm så må vi begynde at arbejde noget med noget engelsk så må vi
15 begynde at skrive på engelsk og så videre
16 INT: mmh
17 MOR: så på den måde er det egentlig også en katalysator ⌈fo:r⌉ øh for hvad hedder
18 INT: ⌊mmh⌋
19 MOR: de:t øhm (1.3) for og og og og drive på med den her (.)
20 det her mere internationale mindset

1 MOR: we have a Chinese person in Hjørring of all places right
2 INT: ha ha ha
3 MOR: you know (.) Hjørring ⌈ha ha⌉
4 INT: ⌊yeah⌋
5 MOR: um (0.8) and that was (0.5) you know (0.7) ☺ outrageous ☺ when someone
6 suggested that we should get a Chinese a Chinese woman to Hjørring
7 INT: yes ha
8 RES: but it has just meant a lot to the Hjørring organizationen
9 INT: okay
10 MOR: because they have (.) they have thrown themselves into the game and said okay
11 well uh then we have to uh then we have to familiarize ourselves with what does
12 it actually mean to be Chinese
13 INT: mmh
14 MOR: um then we will have to start working with some English then we will have to
15 start writing in English and so on
16 INT: mmh
17 MOR: so in that way it is actually also a catalyst ⌈fo:r⌉ uh for what is it called
18 INT: ⌊mmh⌋
19 MOR: um (1.3) for for for getting on with this (.)
20 this more international mindset

Morten here describes how the Chinese employee in Hjørring (an almost laughably remote provincial location as seen from the interaction in ll. 1-7) functions as a catalyst both in terms of increased cultural awareness (ll. 11-12), but also a catalyst for linguistic changes (ll. 14-15) and ultimately for a change in mindset towards a more international one (ll. 19-20).

As the language policy showed, increased internationalization in the form of developing 'a global mindset' is also a priority in the HR team. What a global mindset is is never defined, but seems to include a willingness to speak English and an understanding for other cultures, and perhaps also a willingness to work across national borders. In Morten's team, the new international employee is also positioned as a catalyst. The job description for Sally's position specifically stated that Danish competence was not necessary because it was seen as desirable

to attract non-Danes to apply. In the section that follows immediately after Ex 5, Morten explains how this was useful to him:

Ex. 6 A tool to set an agenda

1 MOR: og det var det samme jeg sagde til Sally da jeg rekrutterede hende
2 så sagde jeg Sally jeg ved det det bliver sikkert hårdt for dig
3 INT: ja
4 MOR: men du skal være opmærksom på at grunden til at jeg tager dig
5 som HR partner ind i den danske del af organisationen
6 er fordi at du kommer også til at være et redskab for mig
7 til og og sætte en agenda og ⌈drive en⌉
8 INT: ⌊mmh⌋
9 MOR: agenda
10 INT: ja
11 MOR: som jo så betyder nu at i det led de ledelsesgrupper Sally hun
12 sidder jamen der taler de også engelsk nu ⌈lige⌉ pludselig ikk'
13 INT: ⌊ja⌋ ja
14 MOR: hvilket de aldrig har gjort før
15 INT: så de:t kan godt altså så der er også den agenda med ⌈o:g⌉
16 MOR: ⌊ja⌋
17 INT: rekruttere ⌈interna⌉tionalt
18 MOR: ⌊ja⌋

1 MOR: and it was the same thing I said to Sally when I recruited her
2 I said to Sally I know it will probably be hard for you
3 INT: yes
4 MOR: but you have to know that the reason that I am taking you in
5 to be HR partner in the Danish part of the organizationen
6 is because you will also be a tool for me
7 to to set an agenda and ⌈drive an⌉
8 INT: ⌊mmh⌋
9 MOR: agenda
10 INT: yes
11 MOR: which means that now in the management groups Sally she
12 is in well there they also speak English now ⌈suddenly⌉ right
13 INT: ⌊yes⌋ yes
14 MOR: which they never did before
15 INT: so it does so there is also that agenda when ⌈you⌉
16 MOR: ⌊yes⌋
17 INT: recruit ⌈interna⌉tionally
18 MOR: ⌊yes⌋

Morten here calls Sally "a tool to set an agenda", i.e. an agenda of internationalization. In ll. 11-14 it becomes clear that part of what he intended to change was to get management groups to speak English instead of Danish. So bringing Sally in, specifically to work in a Danish part of the organisation, was with the aim of using her as a catalyst to bring about change, at the concrete level a change from speaking Danish to speaking English, but also at the more abstract level to bring about a more global mindset, both among the people Sally supports as

an HR partner and in the team. In this way, recruiting a non-Danish speaker to work in a previously Danish-speaking team functions as a way of forcing people to speak English. This type of implicit language socialization is backed up formal language socialization in the form of a language policy and explicit language socialization with employees reminding each other to speak English.

While being an international employee in an increasingly globalised workplace comes with a certain prestige, it is not always easy being a catalyst. As the first non-Danish speaker in the team, Sally is a trailblazer, i.e. the burden of making people change is on her. Sally talks about feelings of exclusion when the Danes talk over her head in Danish. She feels like they do not respect her or that she is not important enough the make the effort to speak English. Even though Sally has the right (English) language practices and the right (global) mindset, she is also a newcomer and a minority in the team. This puts her at a disadvantage compared to the Danish-speaking majority who have also been at the company longer. As an international newcomer she occupies at the same time highly valued and relatively powerless positions.

Drawing up a language policy with the goal of implementing a global mindset and the practice of using English only in the team as the way to get there underscores the intimate connection between increased use of English and the introduction of a global mindset. A recent study of language ideologies in international workplaces in Europe has shown that English is seen as the one and only language of internationalization (Lønsmann 2015). Work by Angouri (2013), Nekvapil and Sherman (2013), and Millar et al. (2013) also confirms the privileged role of English in international workplaces at the level of language ideologies (though not necessarily in practice). Furthermore, Lønsmann (2015:351) shows that the degree of internationalization of a company is discussed in terms of the amount of English used. Considering language ideologies can perhaps also explain why the Danes simultaneous agree to an English-only policy and try to socialize Sally into using Danish at work. Kraft and Lønsmann (in press) demonstrate how the ideology of Danish as the natural language in Denmark and the ideology of English as the natural language for international communication are part of the same language ideological landscape. When international interactions take place in a Danish workplace, like the one investigated here, the two ideologies come into competition and could cause employees to simultaneously argue for an English-only policy and insist on their international co-worker learning Danish.

Double socialization

Roberts (2010:216-217) points out that migration and mobility create the need for double socialization into the workplace, i.e. both socialization into the specific workplace, which all new employees face, and socialization into the linguistic and cultural practices of work in a new country. The double socialization in my data is different from this definition. While integrating international talents into the Danish organisation is done partly with the aim of making the Danish organization more international, the socialization process is bi-directional. As we saw above, international newcomers function as catalysts for socializing others into new linguistic practices, but the newcomers are at the same time socialized into Danish and company-specific work practices and discourse. Anna is in addition to her work as communication partner also part of the management team. She explains about the importance of the transfer of values:

Ex. 7 It has to do with transfer of values

1 ANN: vi vil meget gerne have nogle af de udenlandske (.) ind i den danske
2 organisation sådan så ⌈de⌉ også kan
3 INT: ⌊ja⌋
4 ANN: blive set af den danske organisation og (.) har det også noget med
5 noget sådan rent øh værdimæssige overførsel og sådan noget så (0.3)
6 så vi vil gerne have altså at der er en udveksling mellem dansk og
7 ikke danskere
8 INT: så når du siger værdimæssige overførsel og du snakker også om
9 the [company] way
10 ANN: ja men det er the [company] way vi taler om når jeg
11 siger ⌈værdimæssige⌉ så ⌈det er de⌉ værdier der ligger i (0.6)
12 INT: ⌊ja ok⌋ ⌊hvad⌋
13 ANN: jamen vi behandler alle med respekt for eksempel vi har en øh (0.5)
14 en øh åben og ærlig ø:h (.) kultur (0.6) vi øhm (0.7)
15 vi går aldrig på kompromis med sikkerhed eller med at business ethics
16 ⌈og⌉ kvalitet altså (0.5)
17 INT: ⌊hm:⌋
18 ANN: det det er alle de der vores essentials

1 ANN: we would really like to get some of the foreigners (.) into the Danish
2 organization so that ⌈they⌉ can also
3 INT: ⌊yes⌋
4 ANN: be seen by the Danish organization and (.) it also has to do with
5 purely uh transfer of values and things like that so (0.3)
6 so we do want there to be an exchange between Danes and
7 non-Danes
8 INT: so when you say value transfer and you also talk about
9 the [company] way
10 ANN: yes but it is the [company] way we are talking about when I
11 say ⌈values⌉ then ⌈it is those⌉ values built into (0.6)
12 INT: ⌊yes okay⌋ ⌊what⌋
13 ANN: well we treat everyone with respect for instance we have a uh (0.5)
14 an uh open and honest uh (.) culture (0.6) we um (0.7)
15 we never compromise when it comes to safety or business ethics
16 ⌈and⌉ quality you know (0.5)
17 INT: ⌊hm:⌋
18 ANN: that those are all our essentials

The interviewer and Anna both refer to ”the company way” and ”our essentials”, a set of values set out on the company website. While these values are already promoted in the global corporation, Anna here argues that the physical presence of international employees in Denmark, and an exchange between Danes and non-Danes, would lead to the transfer of these company values to the group of international employees who she later refers to as “talents”.

This bi-directional socialization process is also visible at the micro level in the team interactions. One practice that is noticeably different for Sally is the role of the manager. In the interview she notes her surprise that the manager just has a desk like everyone else, not his own office. She also struggles with the more assertive communication style required from her

in the Danish setting. When she told Morten, her manager, about feeling excluded because her co-workers spoke Danish around her, she was disappointed by his response:

Ex. 8 It should be my manager setting the frame
1 SAL: I've had a conversation with Morten um (0.6)
2 in the beginning that okay (0.7) you know I felt something (.)
3 about it (0.7) um and he suggested I (.)
4 that I address my t- team (0.8) about it and (.)
5 I felt a little bit strange about that
6 INT: yeah
7 SAL: um (.) but (.) you know but then I (0.7)
8 I didn't really address it I didn't feel that comfortable (.)
9 being the one addressing ⌈that⌉
10 INT: ⌊hmm⌋
11 SAL: it should be my manager I think (.)
12 INT: yeah
13 SAL: setting (0.7) the guidelines or ⌈setting⌉ the frame
14 INT: ⌊yeah⌋
15 SAL: for- (0.9) for uh us working here

Sally believes it is the manager's job to set the guidelines, but Morten suggests that she herself "address the team about it". Sally says that her Danish colleague Anna also encourages her to "just tell us to stop" speaking Danish. Sally comments to the interviewer that that would be uncomfortable for her: "I mean I'm not gonna be like hello every five seconds if they start speaking [Danish] you know". But actually this is exactly what Morten and Anna are trying to teach her to do. Morten touches on exactly the same issue in this interview: how to handle the situations where the Danes forget to speak English around Sally:

Ex. 9 Please tell us when we slip up
1 MOR: det tror jeg er noget af det som ø:h som ø:h som er vigtigt for mig
2 at jeg sammen med mine danske kollegaer og medarbejdere får vist Sally
3 at altså vær nu sød og ø:h og og vi altså lov os nu at du siger
4 når vi nu falder i ikke for det sker jo

1 MOR: I think that is part of what uh what uh is important for me
2 that I together with my Danish co-workers and employee show Sally
3 that please uh we you know promise us that you will tell us
4 when we slip up because it does happen

Morten wants Sally to tell him and the other Danish-speakers when they slip up and slip into Danish. This short extract makes two different norms explicit. The first is the linguistic norm for speaking English around Sally, which Morten here ratifies by saying that he encourages Sally to admonish people who forget. The second norm is a communicative or cultural norm for who should take responsibility for making sure people follow the linguistic norms. Morten here makes it clear that the norm is that Sally herself should speak up. So while Sally functions as a catalyst for changing linguistic practices in a more international direction, she is at the same time being socialized into Danish (or perhaps company-specific) work practices, specifically into a different management style than she is accustomed to and to a more assertive communication style. In this

transient multilingual workplace, the socialization works in two directions then: the newcomer is being socialized into the Danish working culture, but the rest of the team are being socialized into new, more international linguistic practices and a more global mindset.

Conclusion

The primary form of language socialization in this case was with the explicit goal of introducing a global mindset in the team and in the organisation at large. The socialization process worked in three steps: First, the company increased the number of international employees in the Danish sites, both through strategic recruitment and through increased exchange. This first step meant that the employee group went from Danish to international. The second step was to use these new international employees to make the whole employees group speak (more) English, i.e. changing language practices from Danish to English. A range of language socialization practices was used at this stage, including explicit admonishing and the subtle use of silence. In the third step, the presence of international colleagues and the increased use of English were thought to move employees from a Danish to a global mindset. While the first two steps are concrete and the first at least easy to measure, the aim of creating a global mindset is more abstract and very hard to measure.

Simultaneously with this process, however, the international newcomers are also being socialized into the Danish and company-specific workplace culture and values. Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez define socialization as “the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community” (2002:339). In the community investigated in this article, what members need to participate effectively and appropriate is a global mindset, but also knowledge and acceptance of the workplace culture, an egalitarian culture which requires employees to speak up for themselves and the manager to take a more withdrawn role. Where the long-term employees master the second requirement, international newcomers are treated as catalysts to inculcate the first. Concurrently with this kind of reverse language socialization, the newcomers are also socialized into existing workplace norms, making the language socialization process a complex affair with the goal of ending up with employees who speak English, have a global mindset, and who are socialized into existing local workplace values.

This article has investigated language socialization in an internationalizing workplace with a particular focus on the importance of the transient and multilingual nature of that workplace. The article shows that language socialization in the context of a transient multilingual workplace is bi-directional, or a process of double socialization. The new employee is not the (only) one who undergoes transformation. In a transient context, language socialization is not just dynamic with experienced members learning from each other, but may be reversed so that the experienced members are learning new norms from the new members of the community. The key finding here is the use of new employees as catalysts for such a change in norms. We have also seen how new and old members of the community negotiate new norms. Here then, it is the existing workplace community that is transformed. Where the point of language socialization in stable communities was to some extent to preserve that stability, in more transient settings language socialization can also be a way to change norms. Newcomers have the potential to bring about change and become catalysts for the process of transforming linguistic and cultural norms and practices. In these cases stability is not the goal, change is. This means that while the transformative potential of language socialization is usually applied in relation to changing a newcomer from novice to expert, in the context of the transient multilingual workplace, the transformative potential to be investigated is that of newcomers changing the linguistic and cultural norms and practices.

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Appendix 1. Transcription conventions

Speaker ID:	LEIF
Overlapping speech:	⌈okay⌉
	⌊who⌋ who are not
Pause in seconds:	(0.8)
Pause shorter than 0.5 seconds	(.)
Prolonged sound:	um:
Smiley voice:	☺you know☺
Emphasis:	<u>Danish</u>
Pseudonym:	[company]

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[i] The LINGCORP project (An Ethnography of Language Encounters: Language and Interaction in the Globalized Corporation) is funded by The Danish Council for Independent Research for the period 2012-2016. See more at http://lingcorp.ruc.dk/lingcorp/Home.html.

[ii] As reported in background questionnaires.

Data session

The following transcript constitutes advance input for the data session on Monday afternoon, but there is really no need to study the transcript in detail before coming (unless you really want to).

We will follow the data session format described in the handout (recycled from another occasion) inserted immediately after the transcript.

Thomas – choreographer; Jenny; Sten; Ole; Jeppe; Folmer; Johannes – performers

```
17    *THO: okay
18    *STE: mn
19    *THO: godt
            eh so we are: in- (.) we are not quite at the middle are we⬀
20          (0.4)
21    *JEP: not at all
22    *THO: so: we: actually we still:: nee:d a: (0.6) couple metres↗
23          (0.7)
24    *JEN: yeah→
25    *OLE: but we can also now we ⌈just bring⌉ her up and down
26    *JEN:                        ⌊i wonder  ⌋
27    *OLE: but we can also ⌈move               ⌉
28    *THO:                 ⌊yeah i think you sh⌋ould move→
29    *JEN:                 ⌊yeah::⌋
30    *THO: while you're (.) while you're up there↘
31    *JOH: mn↘
32          (0.7)
33    *THO: er::m yeah at and er huh this is (0.4) ↓too::→
34    *OLE: xxx xxx xxx
35    *THO: coquet↘
36          (0.7)
37    *THO: but there's something ni- yeah→
38    *JEN: huhuh ⌈huh huhuhuh⌉
39    *THO:       ⌊the- the- but⌋⌈it's nice⌉ that→ (0.3)
40    *OLE:                      ⌊xx xx⌋
41    *THO: this ⌈shyness about⌉ it but wh-→
42    *STE:      ⌊xxx xxx xxx⌋
43          (0.7)
44    *THO: ↑er:: it's it's extremely romantic↘ this (.) thing↘
45          (1.0)
46    *STE: mn
47          (0.3)
48    *THO: like (.) er:: the whole s:et up an: and→
49          and it (0.5) and it should be like over the edge→
50          (0.5)
51          but (1.1) not (.) over the edge over the edge↘
52          so i- there's a (.) kind of a fiˈne line there↘
53          (0.4)
54    *THO: so it's nice that it's it's→ (0.3)
55          that the picture is:: extremely er romantic↗
56          (1.1)
57    *THO: ⌈but⌉
58    *JEN: ⌊but it⌋ can't become a caricature no↗
59          li⌈ke a⌉
60    *THO:   ⌊what↗⌋
```

Thomas – choreographer; Jenny; Sten; Ole; Jeppe; Folmer; Johannes – performers

62   (0.6)
63   *JEN: wha⌈t's a⌉⌈caricature⌉
64   *THO: ⌊but ⌋
65   *JEP: ⌊caricature⌋
66   *THO: but it should not ⌈be a   ⌉ (.) carica-
67   *JEN: ⌊caricature↗⌋
68   *THO: y-er ⌈no it⌉ shouldn't be that↘
69   *JEN: ⌊yeah→⌋
70   *THO: ⌈so there⌉ should also be a certain
71   *JEN: ⌊mhm⌋
72   (0.6)
73   *THO: dryness (.) to ↑it
74   (1.2)
75   ↑er::m::↘ (1.0) pt (0.4) er:::↘
76   (1.1)
77   *JEN: there is also it feels like↘ (0.3)
78   like after the very first lift into the ↑big lif::t≈
79   *THO: +≈ yeah↗
80   *JEN: it's very short n⌈ow⌉
81   *STE: ⌊ye⌋ah be⌈cause⌉ we could (.) ⌈use more time there⌉
82   *THO: ⌊↑yeah↗⌋
83   *JEN: ⌊it's basically one⌋ movement↗
84   ↑it feels like↗
85   *THO: yeah↗
86   *JEN: well no there's that↘
87   (0.4)
88   *JEN: but then (0.5) ⌈i don't (0.3) do→ ⌉
89   *OLE: ⌊but before also we⌋ had two steps there→ huhn huhn
90   *JEP: yeah::: it's xx xx xx
91   (0.4)
92   *JEN: what if i just (0.3) what if: the hand just doesn't touch↘
93   (0.6)
94   *THO: yeah↗
95   *JEN: so it's not
96   (0.4)
97   *THO: yeah yeah↘ (0.2) yeah→
98   (4.0)
99   *JEN: mn↘
100   *THO: but the turning away:: is is nice↗
101   (2.4)
102   *THO: but it can be (0.2) pretty dry→
103   (4.7)
104   *THO: and then maybe open up again
105   yeah and the- maybe we should have:
106   (1.7)

Thomas – choreographer; Jenny; Sten; Ole; Jeppe; Folmer; Johannes – performers

107   *THO: ⌈a step⌉ (0.5) or two:→
108   *JEN: ⌊mhm↘⌋
109   *STE: and then fly↘
110   *THO: and then w⌈e f⌉ly↘
111   *STE: ⌊fly⌋
112   *JEN: mhm↘
113   (0.9)
114   *THO: can we try to look at that↘
115   *JEN: yeah
116   (1.4)
117   *JEN: it's really nice now as well
118   slow xxx xxx you're holding me
119   *JEP: mn
120   *JEN: xxx xxx xx
121   (1.4)
122   *JEP: i think we can be even slower than xx xx really just leaning
123   *JEN: mn
124   (0.5)
125   *JEP: before we (1.1) take the feet
126   (0.6)
127   *JEN: clears throat
128   ROUTINE AGAIN
129   *THO: okay (1.1) ↑°yeah°
130   *THO: this we have to do: (0.3) with (0.3) didier being
131   there↘
132   *STE: yeah↘
133   *THO: so we can make⌈the er xxx   ⌉ the contact yeah
134   *JEP: ⌊⁇just kind of finding the last⁇⌋
135   *THO: okay tell me what was the difference ↓now↗
136   where where↗
137   (0.3)
138   *JOH: we took more st⌈eps ⌉
139   *STE: ⌊we've⌋ two more steps one more step before→
140   er:: lifting her≈
141   *THO: +≈ before the the first lifting↗
142   *STE: n⌈o⌉
143   *JEP: ⌊be⌋fore the ⌈sec⌉ond one
144   *OLE: ⌊yeah⌋
145   *THO: the ⌈second lift okay⌉
146   *JOH: ⌊second one   be⌋tween the liftings↘
147   *OLE: and also we did the two steps er in the air↘
148   *JOH: mn↘
149   *THO: yeah↘
150   *STE: yeah↘
151   *OLE: the first four steps one→

Thomas – choreographer; Jenny; Sten; Ole; Jeppe; Folmer; Johannes – performers

152 *STE: this ⌈one↘⌉
153 *THO: ⌊okay↘⌋
154 *FOL: xx
155 (0.3)
156 *THO: yeah you're almost there you ⌈you are:→ ⌉
157 *OLE: ⌊we still have the→⌉
158 *JOH: but we still have some:→
159 (0.3)
160 *THO: yeah but that's nice because there's→
161 *JEP: that's the last thing after ⌈folmer→ ⌉
162 *THO: ⌊that is the⌋ the last two metres↘
163 *JOH: yeah→
164 *THO: er:: so so we are in fact where: (.) we should be↘
165 er the er (0.6) the ↑first lift in the air↗
166 (1.0)
167 could be a bit longer↗
168 especially coming ↓down↗
169 (0.4)
170 *STE: okay↘
171 *THO: the the:: (0.5) slower it is↗
172 coming down↗
173 the more magic it is↘
174 *STE: yeah↘
175 (2.1)
176 *THO: okay (.) let's (0.5) do it one last time↗
177 and (0.5)
178 kan vi optage↗
179 *KAT: yeah↗
180 (1.3)
181 *JEP: can we (0.5) the the leaning↗
182 how much are we leaning her↗
183 (1.2)
184 *THO: ⌈oh yeah (0.2) the lean yeah⌉
185 *STE: ⌊xxx xxx xxx xxx xxx more⌋ back⌈wards⌉ or what
186 *JEP: ⌊yeah⌋
187 *THO: xx er the leaning could be nice that it was
188 *STE: ⌈slow through it⌉ ⌈and⌉ longer
189 *JEP: ⌊xxx xxx xxx⌋
190 *THO: ⌊yeah⌋
191 *JEP: so she gets ⌈down↗ ⌉
192 *OLE: ⌊but would⌋n't it be nice if
193 xx xx xx so that she leans more backwards xx xx xx xx
194 (1.0)
195 *JEP: wait because you can actually lean

THE DATA SESSIONS

In the afternoons of Days 1, 2 and 3 of the summer school, we will have the opportunity to become acquainted with the various projects the participants are currently undertaking. This will take the form of either a short presentation on the project or, alternatively, a data session. As some of you may not have had any prior experience of such sessions, we will here give a brief outline of what a data session is, how one is organized and carried out.

Although the particular organization of a data session may differ somewhat from research group to research group, our experience is that it is useful to set out some clear ground rules from the start. This allows participants to remain focused on the data, rather than becoming preoccupied with negotiating *in situ* the particular norms and practices being adopted for the activity.

The particular organization described here is then *one* way of organizing a data session. Of course, we have selected this type because, in our experience, it provides the 'cleanest', most productive way of structuring the activity.

A. What is a data session?

In much interaction research, **data sessions** have come to occupy an important tool in the analytic process. According to Ten Have, a data session

> "consists of analysts coming together for a free discussion of some piece(s) of data, i.e. tape recordings and/or transcripts. In this context individual insights and intuitions can be exchanged and criticised freely under the auspices of the basic rule that any argument has to be made "in the presence of data", that is referring to the details of actual cases as available in the research materials at hand." (Ten Have 2002:43[1])

A data session is then a focused gathering of members of some form of research community, including "departmental colleagues, research/working groups, or members of collaborative projects" (Tutt & Hindmarsh, 2012:212[2]) where extracts of **data** are presented, analyzed and discussed. It is important to stress here that what participants are generally interested in is *not* the *findings* of an analysis that has already been carried out, nor indeed the particular thoughts of the researcher whose data is being discussed. Findings would be more appropriate for presentations, where a researcher may present the results of an analysis. Data sessions, in contrast, are often conducted on sections of data for which the only analysis that has been undertaken, is that involved in producing a **transcript**. As such, data sessions are considered especially useful for very early stages of the analytic process. They are usually conducted as very open, dialogic activities, more like focused brainstorming sessions than demonstrations of research activities.

> "In this way, one can try to promote an intersubjectively constituted understanding in an early phase of the research trajectory. In such a session, the tape[3] functions as a "given object", while all subsequent re-workings of it – transcription, understanding and analysis – are open to intersubjective scrutiny." (Ten Have 2002:43)

B. What do you get out of a data session?

If you are the person presenting an extract of your data, having a group of other researchers spend some time attending to your selection can be of immense benefit to your further lines of analysis. Input from the rest of the group can lead to a much richer understanding of what is there. Furthermore, others may recognize something in the data that they have seen elsewhere, either in publications or in other data sets, and may be able to direct you to these resources.

Participating in a data session presented by another researcher can be just as beneficial to your own work. Being in the position to have access to data, and the expertise of other researchers attending to a piece of data can lead to observations that you are able to apply to your own work. They are also just good practice!

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[1] Paul Ten Have, (2002). The notion of member is the heart of the matter: On the role of membership knowledge in ethnomethodological inquiry. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *3*. Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/834

[2] Dylan Tutt & Jon Hindmarsh (2011) Reenactments at Work: Demonstrating Conduct in Data Sessions, *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 44:3, 211-236

[3] 'Tape' here refers to audio or audiovisual data recordings

C. What do you *need* for the data sessions?

If you are presenting data for one of the sessions, there are things you will need to provide.

1. Data. The first is of course some *data*. If you are providing data in the form of audio or video data, this should be in a format that can be played(!), and if you have any doubt about this, check with the course organizers, or make arrangements to enable this. Generally these days, audiovisual data are played from a computer. The rooms where the data sessions will take place are equipped with projectors and speakers. If you wish to use a laptop (your own or one provided by us) you can connect to these. If your data are text-based (e.g. online forums, written interviews), then printouts will suffice.

2. Transcript. *If* you have audio or audiovisual recordings, please provide a *transcript* of the section you have selected. Each participant in the data session group will be given a copy (we can print these at the university). The level of detail in the transcript will depend very much on your own research methodology. If you are providing a transcript of the verbal or vocal production of the participants in your data, please aim to be as faithful as possible to the recording, rather than glossing over elements of talk that might seem irrelevant (hesitations, discourse markers, pauses). It is always better to include such elements when preparing the transcript for the data session, than have the data session participants each add these elements during the session.

If your analysis is focussed mainly on “the content” of what an interviewee is saying during an interview or something similar, you may be working with less fine-grained transcripts. That is OK too, but please make sure to bring the actual recording along for everyone to hear/see – if at all possible.

How long should an extract be? Again, this will depend on your research questions and methodology. A full data session may look at anything as small as a single pair of utterances. It may look at larger sequences, but we would suggest not selecting anything much longer than two pages of transcript or documentation, or a few minutes of audio/video data. The data sessions this week will only be 1 hour long, and this limits the amount of data that can be covered (cf. the schedule below).

*If you are not presenting any data for any of the data sessions, then a **pen** will suffice.*

D. What *happens* in a data session?

1. The person presenting will **introduce the data** (3-5 minutes max.). You may give some context to the data. Refrain, perhaps, from describing the data in too much detail, as we will be able to ‘see’ the data ourselves when we move to the next step.

2. The presenter **plays the data recordings** a number of times (5-7 minutes max.). In the case of text-based data, the participants may like to read through the documentation a few times.

3. Following this, participants (including the presenter) are free to **nominate a section** of the data to focus on. This is usually one section of the full data fragment.

4. This **smaller selection** is viewed again a number of times, until there is some agreement between all that it has been heard/seen/read enough (5-7 minutes).

5. The group will then take **10 minutes** to work with the transcript/text-document. During this time, each member may develop analyses of elements s/he deems interesting (10 minutes).

6. Following the 10 minutes, there will be a **‘round’**: each participant is given the opportunity to make an observation regarding what he or she was interested in. This is *not* the place to give a full analytic account for the entire section. A single observation is enough here. It is usual for a participant to do this by drawing others’ attention to elements *in the data* and/or *in the transcript*, referring back to Ten Have’s ‘rule’ that claims are made ‘*in the presence of data*’. If you have not found anything you would like to comment on, you can pass to the next person. The presenter is customarily the final person to offer comments, sometimes using this opportunity to say something about why this section was of interest (15-20 minutes).

   IMPORTANT: the ‘round’ is *not* a time for discussion. If you have something you would like to add to someone’s observation, please make a note and return to this after the ‘round’.

7. Once the round has been completed (or suspended due to time restrictions), there is time set aside for **open discussion** (10 minutes).

8. The data session is brought to a **close**.

Expensive English

A postcolonial semantic approach to language ideologies

CARSTEN LEVISEN

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Centre for European Studies, Australian National University

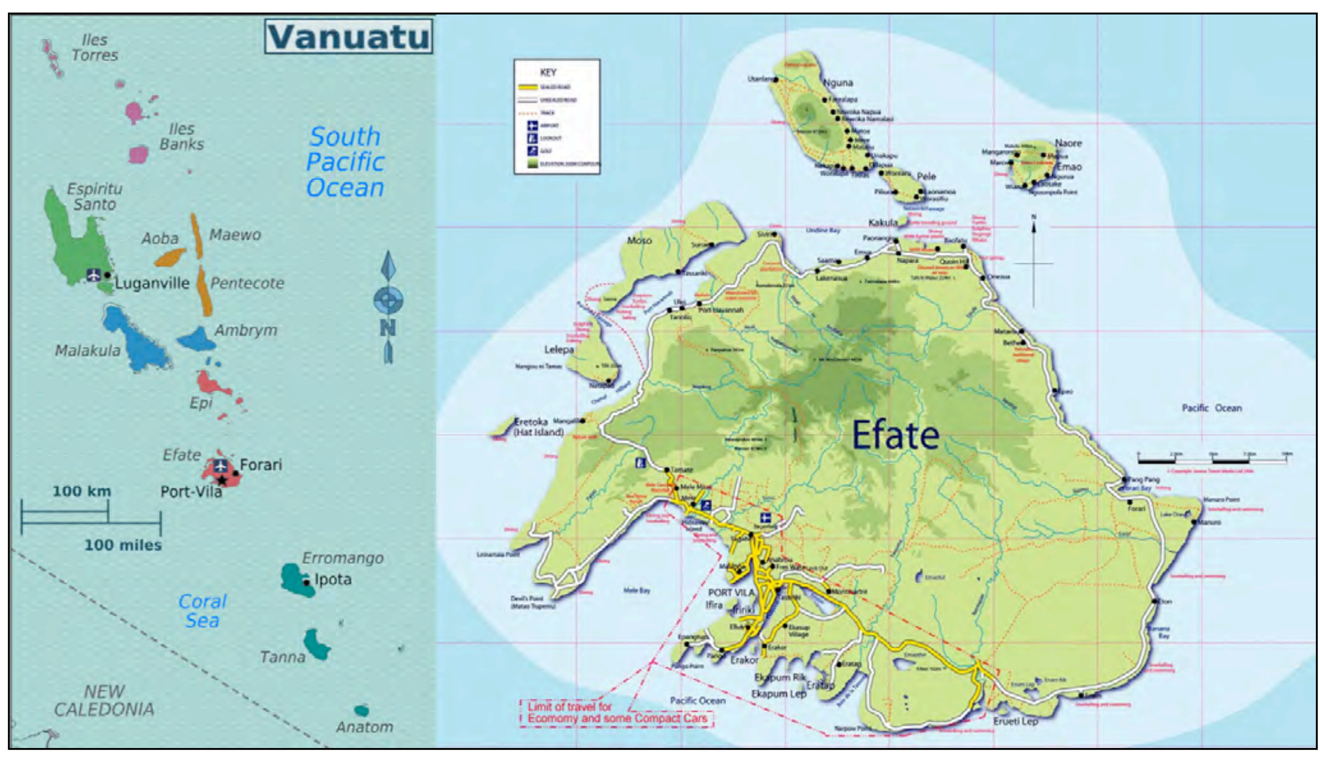
Cognitive Creolistics, Aarhus University

Pacific Language Unit, University of the South Pacific

Language Ideologies in Tourism Industry Workplaces: A Case Study of Port Vila, Vanuatu

- *Cognitive Creolistics*
- *Urban Ethnolinguistics*
- *Postcolonial Semantics*

Joined the LINGCORP project in 2015. Since 2013 involved in the Cognitive Creolistics project (Aarhus) on how creole words capture human experience. Initiated the 'Urban Ethnolinguistics' program in Port Vila in 2014 with Augustron Asial, University of the South Pacific. With Melissa Jogie (ANU), Eeva Sippola (Bremen), and others, I have initiated a Postcolonial Semantics group, and I'm currently writing a book called Postcolonial Semantics.. The LINGCORP project on Tourism in Port Vila is connected to these 3 projects, and they all have interacted and influenced each other



Vanuatu – A postcolonial nation in the Pacific, previously known as "New Hebrides". Gained independence in 1980 from a British/French condominium. Capital is Port Vila (Vila) on the island of Efate.

Ethnolinguistic immersion

The talk presented today is based on semantic fieldwork 2013-2015. Ethnographic observation, cultural discourse studies, interviews, recordings etc.. I learned Bislama (immersion method).

Ethnolinguistic Situation

- ”100” Southern Oceanic Languages
- Bislama (creolized)
- English (Englishes)
- French
- Chinese

Port Vila is often described as an ”extreme” in terms of ethnolinguistic diversity. There are 30.000 inhabitants. And numerous languages – some say 100 different Southern Oceanic languages spoken, along with Englis(es), French, Chinese. And the national creole Bislama – which also comes in different varieties. Personally, I don’t believe so much in counting languages – neither do Melanesians. But more about that later.

Demographic Context
Pikinini and *Yangfala*

Pikinini 'children'. Yangfala 'young people' (people under 16) make up 40% of the population.

The Historical Context

The story of Bislama begins in the canefield of Queensland, Australia. Melanesian laberours worked (some were blackbirded) in a white-driven colonial economy in the last part of the 19th Century. Later, these people were deportated back to Melanesia. Bislama began as a make-shift pidgin language. 90% of the words are from English. The grammar was optimized for communication. The universe of meaning (semantics and pragmatics) is predominantly pan-Melanesian.

Kastom

Kastom 'traditional culture' is keyword of contemporary Vanuatu. It refers to the imagined precolonial past, and maintaining "taem bifo" in the present.

Jioj

Jioj (previously known as skul) is a very important part of the community. There is a wealth of different churches – new protestantisms such as the pentecostal church is growing in popularity on the expense of traditional colonial churches such as catholics and presbyterians.

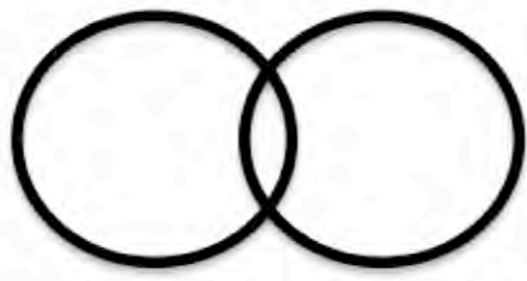
Many yangfala (young people) don't really fit into the expectations of kastom or of jioj. Reke 'reggae' stands for a significant youth-cultural movement based on blakman (black) values and manples (people of the place) values.

Postcolonial Semantics

- Local words as guide to social and cognitive reality
- Enactments of linguistic worldviews
- Metalinguistic adequacy of all languages
- Decolonization of metalanguage
- Confrontation of conceptual colonialism

Words as crystalizations of cultural knowlegdes and ideologies – i.e. they are not arbitrary, but reflective of values, attitudes, and conceptual needs of speakers.
• Words as both constituted of and constitutive of "imagined social realities" – i .e. word meanings are believed to be communally shared.
• Folk concepts embedded in words are (often) not conforming to what professional linguists deem "relevant", "right", or "fitting" for a description

Language ideology



Language ideologies can be understood as ”ideology in language” (or language as ideology), and ”ideology of language”. I’m interested in the interface ”Ideology of language in language(s)”

Makoni's Critique

Most people only encounter the "unmixed" speech as part of the formal process of education. The uneducated speakers may never have encountered the languages in their "unmixed" state. Thus the speakers cannot be said to have the capacity to speak languages which they do not control, may never have controlled, and are unlikely to get exposed to unless they get formally educated! (Makoni 2003:141)

Anglo Metalinguistics

- *Languages*
- *Dialects* (of languages)
- *Varieties* (of languages)
- *Creoles* (pidgins, jargons etc.)
- *English* (Englishes)

English provides only one out of many solution to metalinguistics. These terms are not neutral – but full of Anglo (European) baggage.

Bislama Metalinguistics

Waetman 'white people'

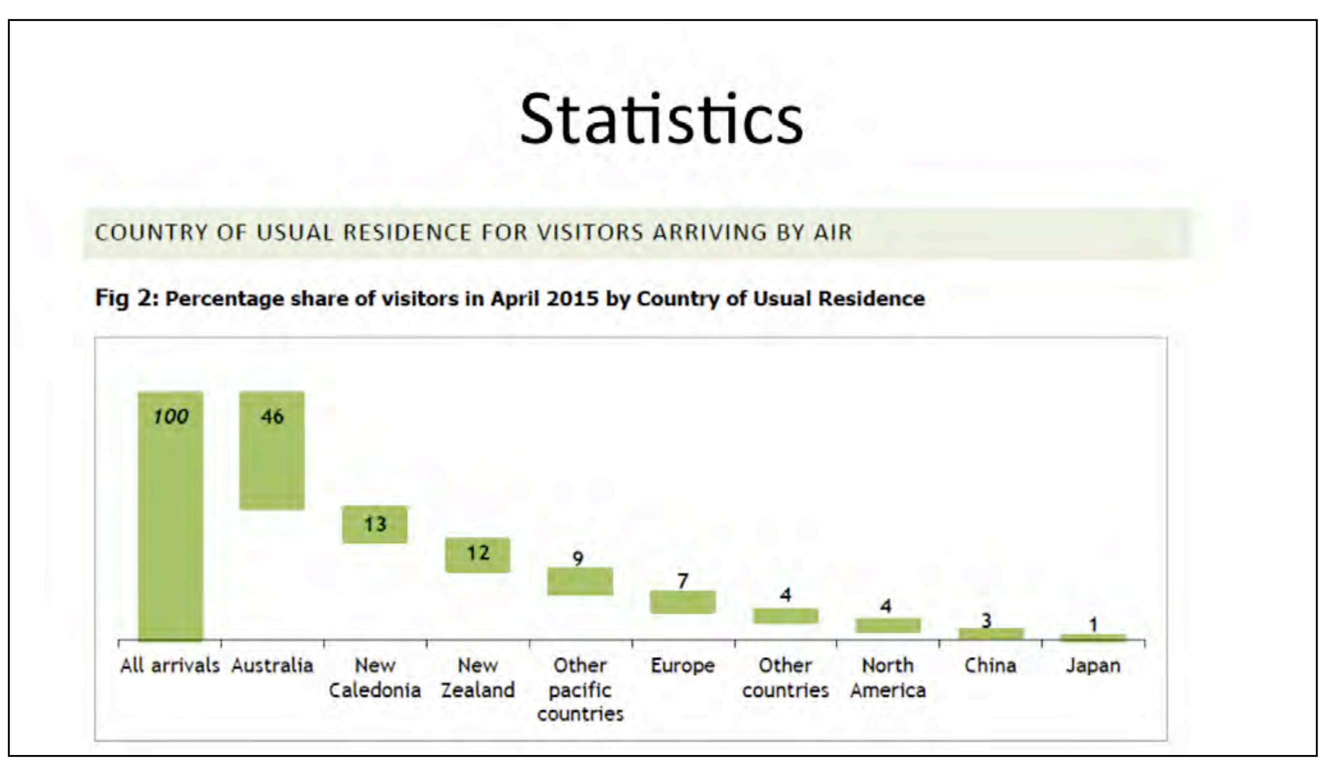
- *Inglis*
- *Franis*

Blakman 'black people'

- *Bislama*
- *Lanwis*

Bislama operates in a different metalinguistic space. There are 4 main categories Inglis, Franis (the colonial waetman categories), and bislama, lanwis (the two blakman categories). Bislama is not conceptualized as "a language", but as a medium of interethnic communication. There is racialized discoursive foundation for these concepts – based on waetman and blakman

Tourism is very important for Vanuatu's economy. It has declined dramtically since hurricane Pam.



The majority of tourists are from Australia. Followed by Francophone white Kaldosh from New Caledonia and New Zealanders.

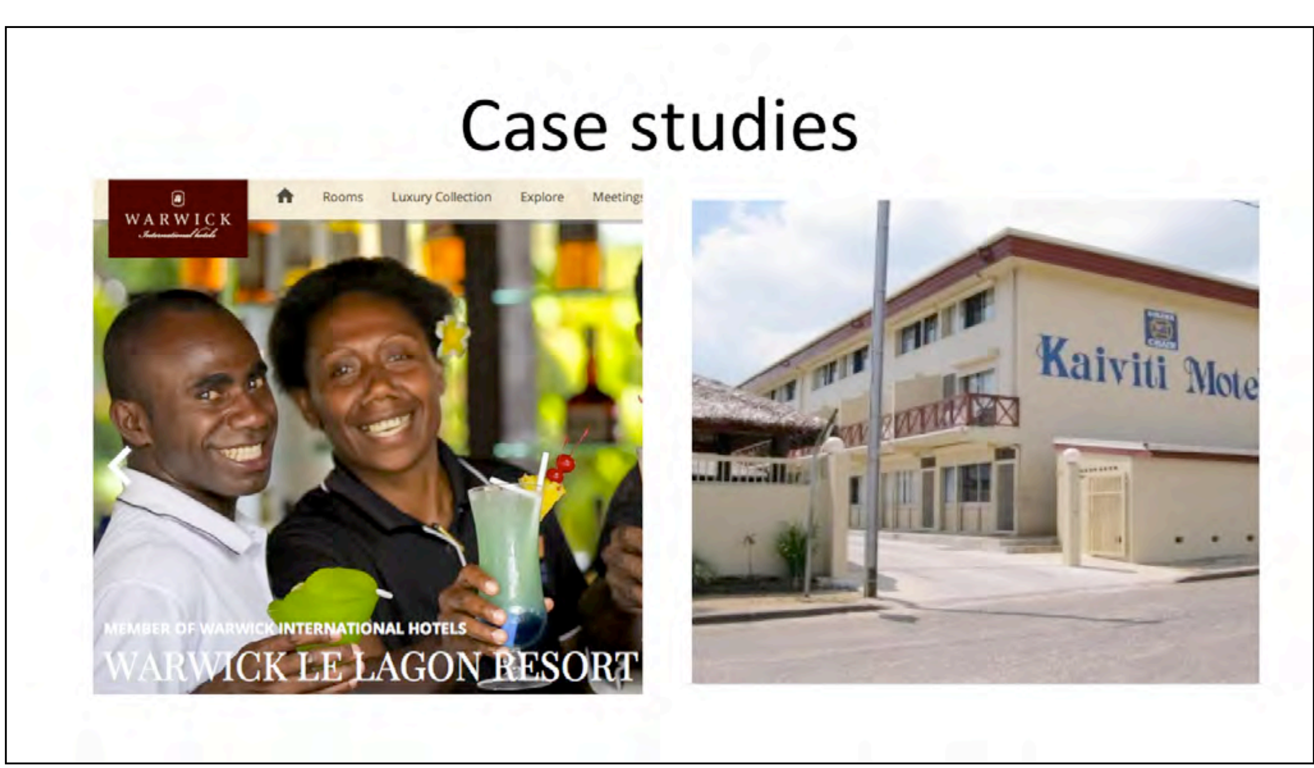
Exclusive tourism, such as wedding tourism is quite popular.

NGOs and Evangelization

Port Vila is full of NGO's and Evangelizers from various nations (US, Fiji, Tonga, ++). These are not tourists as such, but needs to be accounted for as well.

Weddings, luxury, cruiseship

NGO's, Religious Groups/Evangelism



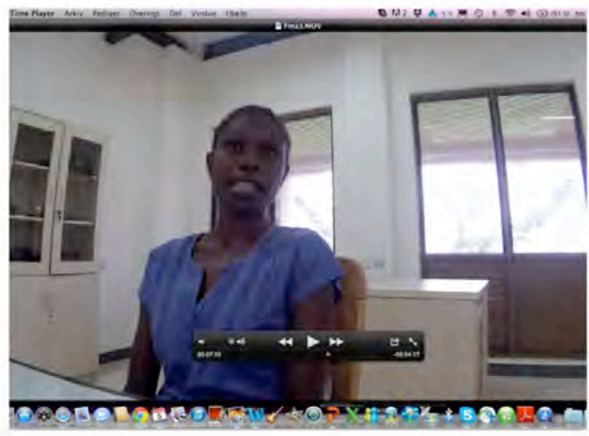
Two cases: Warwick Chain + Best Western Chain

Le Lagon (Warwick International)

WIH – Founded 1980 (Head Quarter: New York). 60 hotels in 30 countires

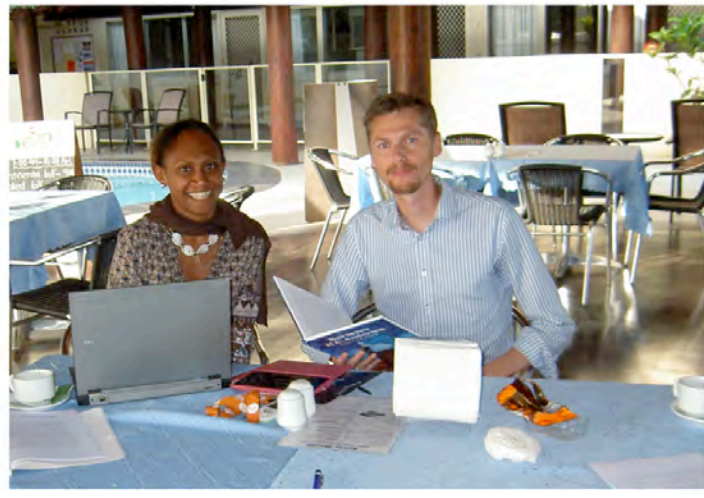
WARWICK
International hotels
Find a Hotel
Warwick Destinations
Meetings & Events
Offers
Photo Gallery
More
EUROPE
AFRICA / MIDDLE EAST
SOUTH-PACIFIC
From One Icon to Another

Workplace Interviews



- 200 staff, all blakman
- Chinese owner
- Australian manager, married to Papua New Guinean

Kaiviti Motel (Best Western)



Best Western Hotels. 1946. 4000 hotels in 100 countries. Headquarter: Phoenix Arizona.

Kaiviti (Best Western)

- 20 staff – all blakman
- Australian owner/boss
- Staff from different islands, Bislama is their shared code
- They speak *Inglis* and *Franis* with tourists
- They speak *Inglis* at staff meetings and with boss

Sori Masta 'Sorry Master'

In-language-of-language

Constructs of the Bislama-English continuum

- *broken inglis*
- *lanwis blo rod*
- *ekspensif inglis*

Semantics of languaging: ”Broken Inglis” is an old term which is linked with how schools (Inglis schools) attempt to straigthen the local speech practices. Lanwis blo rod 'literally language bilong road' is a mocking term based on the expression pikinini blo rod ”illegitimate children”. Speakers describe their own code a illegitimate – a lanwis born out of wedlock in colonial Queensland.The new term which I documented for the first time in 2015 is ekspensif inglis.This term is interesting because it takes a different perspective on the Bislama-English continuum. Its semantics is based on the idea that some speakers fake a ”super – Inglis” accent, either by intonation, words used, or pragmatic style, in order to achieve ”Western” status.The term strongly disapprove of this behaviour, thus underlyingly criticizing hyperacrolectal features and people

Ekspensif inglis

- *Ekspensif* (woman, dress, inglis)
- The cultural concept of *flas* 'boastful, fake, selfish'

Ekspensif as a negative term, is a part of a general cultural ideology, in which women are behaving overly Western, or dresses which screams "I'm not from Vanuatu, look at me, I'm an individual". It is related to the cultural keyword flas – a word from English flash, which constures negatively people who stand out and act in a fake, selfish, boastful way. In tourism communication, it is expected to speak Inglis, but not too Inglis. If someone speaks ekspensif inglis, the community takes revenge by labelling people with the word ekspensif. (The word sas means "expensive", ekspensiv is only used in this sense).

Concluding question 1:3

- How can postcolonial semantics (and cultural semantics in general) help enlighten the emergent ”tranciency paradigm”?

Concluding question 2:3

- The stranglehold of Anglo metalinguistics has led to a conceptual colonialism in global/ international discourse
  - do we need a *lanwis* ideology?

Concluding question 3:3

- Europe is going through an unprecedented ethnolinguistic change – what can we learn from postcolonial Melanesia?

Draft paper prepared for the LINGCORP seminar November 2015
Not to be distributed

Why this language policy now? A case study from a multinational company

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Copenhagen Business School

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University of Copenhagen

Notes for discussants at the LINGCORP seminar 2015
This paper is work in progress. It was presented as a paper at the *iMean* conference in Warwick in April, and we are now in the process of turning it into an article, possibly for *Language Policy*. What the paper is lacking most at the moment (as we see it) is a more comprehensive theoretical framework. We would like to position the paper within the tradition of critical language policy studies and also plan to draw on Bourdieu's notions of symbolic power, linguistic capital, and mechanisms of censorship on a market. We would, however, like your input with regard to the theoretical frame. What kind of theory would you propose as relevant to the paper? Any other possible suggestions for improvements in terms of structure, focus, clarity etc.? We look forward to your input and thank you very much in advance for your time.

1 Introduction

Today many international workplaces are also multilingual workplaces that transcend national, sociocultural and linguistic boundaries. Employees are stationed abroad, work in virtual teams with co-workers in other countries, or they meet internationalisation at home when the organisations that employ them become increasingly transnational in their activities. These processes lead to workplaces that are characterised by cultural as well as linguistic diversity. In many cases international companies try to manage linguistic diversity – and possibly also cultural diversity – by establishing formal language policies, i.e. some sort of formal language management regime that in principle applies to the company at large. In many multinational companies in Europe, such language policies often amount to nominating English as 'the corporate language' (Angouri 2013; Lønsmann 2011; Millar, Cifuentes & Jensen 2013; Nekvapil & Sherman 2013).

However, managing diversity by introducing a monolingual English policy does not solve all sociolinguistic problems related to multilingualism. Studies from the business communication literature have shown that the use of English as a corporate language may lead to shadow structures (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999) where employees with competences in English and the headquarter language obtain positions of power unrelated to their position in the organisational hierarchy, while Neeley (2013) discusses how the introduction of English as a corporate language in a French company leads to status loss for managers who are non-native speakers of English. Tange and Lauring's (2009) study shows that having English as a corporate language may lead to 'language clustering' where employees with similar language backgrounds tend to group together and thereby exclude other employees. Lønsmann (2014) points to the importance of language ideologies in these processes of exclusion. These studies all, in different ways, underline Spolsky's (2004) well-known point that explicit language management is arguably only one aspect of the 'language policy' of a given speech community. The language practices of a community do not necessarily follow explicit policy, and the level of language ideology plays a powerful role in establishing links between different ways of speaking and social structure.

While there is some evidence of the consequences of implementing corporate language policies, few (if any) studies have looked at the process of creating a new corporate language policy from a critical perspective. Our interest in this article is in investigating the strategic aims underlying the introduction of a new language policy in a multinational company. The central questions we

ask are: Why is the language policy introduced? To what extent can the language policy be seen as a tool that is designed to bring about change in company culture? And what are the consequences of this language policy for the employees?

The case company is a Danish multinational corporation which is in the process of introducing English as a corporate language. Using language policy documents and interviews with language policy makers, we investigate the underlying language ideologies of the policy (making process), the strategic aims underlying the language policy and how the language policy functions as a means of exerting power, also beyond the domain of language. Section 2 presents the case and the methods of data collection and data analysis, while section 3 presents the analysis, organised under three themes. Conclusions and perspectives are presented in section .

2 Data and methods

The case company CONSULT (pseudonym) is a multinational engineering and consulting company with 12,000 employees and operations in 57 countries. The company headquarters is based in Copenhagen, Denmark. In 2012 a new CEO put CONSULT on an 'internationalisation journey' with increased international revenue and more outsourcing to India as key strategic priorities.[1] The new CEO also introduced two new slogans 'Stronger together' and 'One company', both of which allude to the strategic focus on increased internal collaboration and globalisation of the company. Our case focuses on the Danish part of the organisation, here pseudonymised as CONSULT DK.

CONSULT DK has 3,000 employees across Denmark. At the end of 2012, one of the executive directors for CONSULT DK initiated a language strategy project with the aim of implementing English as a corporate language. While English had been the *de facto* corporate language in CONSULT for a number of years, no explicit language strategy or policy existed. The aim with the new policy was to implement English 'for real', as one informant put it. In 2013 a group of HR and communication employees were tasked with the new language strategy project. They began their work by 'taking the temperature in the Danish organisation' (quote from interview with communication employee) with regard to the use of English. They did this by carrying out interviews with employees as well as a questionnaire survey. While the aim of management was to make a shift towards more English more or less from day to day, specifically to have all top-down communication in English only, the project group found a lot of resistance among the employees to this increased use of English and ended op arguing for 'a soft transition' where Danish and English would be used in parallel in 2014-2015. In January 2016 the language strategy would be fully implemented, and all top-down information would be in English only.

End 2012	Decision to make a language strategy: implementing English as a corporate language "for real"
2013	Work group prepares language strategy
Mid-2014	Announcement of new language strategy: beginning of "soft transition" period
2016	Implementation: English only from management

Figure 1. Main stages in the creation and implementation of the language policy.

[1] "We are on a journey and we will become even more international in future." (from slide introducing language strategy to managers)

One of the authors has been conducting fieldwork in CONSULT since 2013 on a number of subprojects related to the LINGCORP project[2]. For this paper, we draw on three interviews that were conducted with HR and communications employees involved in making the language strategy as well as various language policy documents, including the intranet news item presenting the strategy to the organisation, the full language strategy published in the employee handbook and PowerPoint slides sent by the communication department to heads of department for use in introducing the language strategy. Ethnographic observations, individual interviews and focus groups conducted in four CONSULT DK departments will be drawn on as secondary data.

The data has been analysed using methods of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998). First the data was coded for central concepts and categories which were then analysed in terms of their properties and dimensions. In the next phase, we assembled the categories and concepts into overarching categories, which resulted in the three themes presented in the analysis below: 'language ideology', 'strategic aims', and 'language policy as power'.

3 Analysis

Theme 1: Language ideology

Embracing linguistic diversity or imposing linguistic uniformity?
This first part of the analysis concerns some of the central language ideological currents manifest in the language policy documents, particularly ideas and beliefs about linguistic diversity. The documents are in principle very positive and open towards linguistic diversity, but this positivity is in conflict with the linguistic uniformity that they in fact end up promoting. The formal Language Policy document that was drawn up in 2014 and now features as part of the internal handbook for employees contains the following quote:

> Even though English is our official corporate language, we work with the concept of 'parallel languages' in CONSULT. This means that the use of English goes hand-in-hand with Danish, Swedish, German, Arabic, Hindi, Urdu and all other languages spoken by CONSULT employees. Your choice of language depends on the situation and the people with whom you communicate.
>
> So English as our corporate language should not be seen as a way to restrict or limit our use of language, but rather as an important supplement to the linguistic diversity in our organisation. Ultimately, using English as a common corporate language across borders and cultures helps us to achieve the goals we set. Not just our own, but also those of our customers.

On the surface it appears that the language policy embraces linguistic diversity, and recognizes the need for multiple languages in the company sphere. English has a dominant role, but several other languages are mentioned explicitly, and it is stressed that "English … should not be seen as a way to restrict or limit our use of language, but … as an important *supplement* to the linguistic

[2] The LINGCORP project (An Ethnography of Language Encounters: Language and Interaction in the Globalized Corporation) is funded by The Danish Council for Independent Research for the period 2012-2016. See more at http://lingcorp.ruc.dk/lingcorp/Home.html.

diversity in our organisation." So, at the face of it, the language policy at CONSULT values linguistic diversity, and recognizes the need for multiple languages in the company sphere.

However, if we look at how the strategy was presented as part of an intranet news item in 2014, a different picture emerges. In this distilled form of the language policy – which is now presented as a *strategy* – the text now reads like this:

> Our approach
>
> English is our corporate language, but it goes hand-in-hand with the use of all other languages spoken by CONSULT employees. Your choice of language depends on the situation and the people you communicate with.
>
> We wish to create a respectful process in our implementation of the strategy, where we take each other's worries and challenges into concern. We support an open culture, in which it is ok to give a presentation in English even though you are not fluent, or contribute to conversations at meetings even though you feel that your English is somewhat unpractised. What matters is that we communicate and practice.

In this version English has even greater prominence, and there is no mention of other specific languages. There is still a paragraph to the effect that English "goes hand-in-hand" with other languages spoken by CONSULT employees, and a reassuring comment that "your choice of language depends on the situation and the people you communicate with". However, once these tokenistic comments have been made, English is strongly pushed as the norm. It is stressed that "we wish to create a respectful process" and "we support an open culture" – but the respect and the openness seems to be directed squarely at English, not at the need or desire to use other languages. In consequence then, "the open culture" which the text talks about, is not an open culture where all employees are encouraged to make use of their diverse linguistic resources, but an open culture "in which is it ok to give a presentation in English even though you are not fluent, or contribute to conversations even though you feel that your English is somewhat unpractised".

On the basis of this, it seems that diversity at CONSULT is 'managed' through mainstreaming. On a more critical note, we could say that diversity is not really managed at all – it is glossed over in/by English. In tune with what might be considered an inclusive and politically correct language ideology of diversity, individual employees' ability to speak multiple languages is recognised and through this recognition given at least some legitimacy in the organisation. However, despite this recognition, it is clear that there is an even greater premium on English. Linguistic diversity may have symbolic value, but English is presented as the only language that has real commercial value for the company, and by implication, for the individual employee. It may be that "choice of language depends on the situation" but "ultimately, using English as a common corporate language across borders and cultures helps us to achieve the goals we set". These statements are indicative of a language ideology that sees English as the only and obvious 'natural' language of the international market, the language of globalism (Haberland 2009), cf. the discussion in the next section about the idea of English as *the* language for international collaboration.

In sum, the essential message that transpires from the language strategy documents is that people working at CONSULT may speak many different languages, but to facilitate internationalisation of the company and help the company meet its strategic goals, they should speak English.

Theme 2: Strategic aims

Language policy as a way to 'produce a global mindset'
The second theme that emerged from the analysis focuses on the language policy as a strategic tool, not only for managing linguistic practices in the company but also for achieving changes in company culture. We argue that the language strategy at CONSULT is designed not just to bring about changes in language use, but also aims at influencing the way employees orient to internationalisation. Ultimately – through this change of mindset – the language policy is intended to enable CONSULT to reach the financial goals they have set.

As we summarised in the section 2 above, CONSULT has in the years before we conducted our fieldwork been on a trajectory of increased internationalisation. One important strategic goal has been to increase the amount of international collaboration, most prominently through outsourcing to the Indian part of the company. Our analysis indicates that the new language strategy is seen as important tool in the internationalisation process, and therefore, by implication, one of several initiatives taken with a view to increasing the revenue of the company.

In a set of slides given to heads of department in CONSULT DK to aid them in presenting the language strategy to employees, the connection between English and international success is spelled out. Under the heading "Why do we need a language strategy?", the following reasons are given:

> English is key to creating a Global Mindset. We aim to work even stronger together internationally, and to employ more non-Danish speaking colleagues
>
> International revenue should increase from XX% in 2013 to XX% in 2016
>
> Cooperation with India should increase from XX% in 2013 to XX% in 2016
>
> English as a common language is a prerequisite for sharing knowledge, setting the right team, employee mobility, and working internationally

English is here explicitly tied with strategic goals. The slide sets out both general and specific goals for increased international collaboration and earning, and the introduction of (more) English is tied to these goals. First, English is "key to creating a Global Mindset". It is not clear what exactly a 'global mindset' is, but it is linked in the text to working "even stronger together internationally" and "employing more non-Danish speaking colleagues". Working stronger together internationally is then in the following two sentences explicit linked with increased international revenue and increased outsourcing to India. In the last sentence English is positioned as necessary for these developments. The concept of a 'global mindset' and the importance of 'creating' such a mindset occurs several times in our data, always more or less explicitly linked with the introduction of the language strategy and increased use of English. This example is merely the most explicit one.

On another slide in the same presentation, English is presented as instrumental in reaching company goals, and the goals of the customers:

> In the end – the use of English as common language across borders and cultures helps us reach the goals we set. Not only our own goals, but also those of our customers.

This kind of discourse which positions English as necessary, but at the same time as a tool to reaching a bigger goal draws upon an ideology of English as *the* language for international collaboration (Lønsmann 2015; Nekvapil & Sherman 2013). By positioning English as intimately linked with reaching strategic goals, English gains importance. At the same time, other languages, and their speakers, are devalued. Presumably, in a set of slides produced by the communication department, sent to heads of department to use in presentations to employees, this positioning of English is meant to motivate the choice of English as a corporate language to the employees. The message is unmistakably clear: 'English is now the corporate language, and this is important because it helps CONSULT reach its goals'.

As documented in another study (Lønsmann submitted), however, management goals do not align with employee goals. While management takes a long-term strategic perspective, employees are typically concerned with reaching short-term goals, e.g. meeting a deadline at the end of the week. If you are a Danish-speaking consultant working with Danish-speaking customers in Denmark (as most employees in CONSULT DK are), increased use of English does not help you reach these short-term goals.

What emerges from this part of the analysis, then, is that the language policy work at CONSULT is not only about language use. One thing that the language policy does – or that it is intended to do – is to change the culture in the company. What we see here is an attempt to change the company culture by changing the language. The underlying assumption seems to be that increased use of English will help change the company culture in the direction of a 'global mindset'. The logic is that more English will lead to a more international mindset which again will make employees ready to embrace internationalisation, e.g. in the form of outsourcing tasks to India, which will help CONSULT increase their international revenue. In the end then, the introduction of a language policy of English as a corporate language is a tool designed to change the company culture and through this increase earnings.

Theme 3: Language policy as power

The third theme emerging from the analysis centres on language policy as part of power structures in the organisation. We are interested in the effect of the language policy on power and agency at two levels: first how it impacts different groups in the organisation, and secondly how it impacts individual employees.

One of the first things that can be noticed is that the new language policy at CONSULT DK exposes existing power differences, and appears to reinforce them. For one thing, these differences are reflected in the different kinds of material different groups of employees have access to. Most of the materials we have analysed were produced with top management or heads of department as recipients. As shown in Theme 1, the information that gets through to the employees, in e.g. a news item on the intranet, can look very different from what management

gets to see. This difference between hierarchical levels is linked very explicitly with power and powerlessness, also when it comes to language choice. This quote is from a set of slides sent to heads of department in Business Support, e.g. HR, IT etc.

> "Make it part of your business plan to recruit one or more non-Danish speakers in your department(s). All feedback from CONSULT DK states relevance as a key issue when it comes to English, e.g. you are working with someone who does not understand Danish and therefore forced to practice your English"
>
> (slides to heads of department)

The slides essentially encourage heads of department to recruit non-Danish speakers to force the Danes to speak English. Top management here tells middle management (using the imperative) to force employees to use English – and not because of an immediate need to do so at the local level. But because management says so, and because it is considered important in the bigger scheme of things (cf. the analysis under Theme 2).

The distinction between the Copenhagen headquarters and the regional offices comes up frequently in the interviews. Here is an example where a communications employee is asked whether the use of English might be seen as an unwelcome imposition:

> "ikke så meget her i København men hvis man sad ude i landet på et af de mindre kontorer hvor man kun har danske kunder og hvor man kun har danske kolleger så er det meget sådan noget med men når vores øverste direktør han sender materiale ud på engelsk så altså vi så læser vi det ikke fordi det nej det er nok ikke relevant for os eller det tager for lang tid eller vi skal Google Translate det eller alt muligt ik"
>
> "not so much here in Copenhagen but if you were placed around the country in one of the smaller offices where you only have Danish customers and where you only have Danish colleagues then it is often like when our CEO sends out material in English then you know then we don't read it because that's no that is probably not relevant for us or that takes too long or we'll have to Google Translate it"
>
> (interview with communications employee)

This excerpt shows that it is common knowledge in the organization that English is much more immediately relevant in the administrative and management parts of headquarters than in the regional offices. Employees in the regional offices may not even read the messages or they may struggle to understand them. These differences are not taken into account in the language policy, despite this being common knowledge to the people making the policy. Instead the language practices of the Copenhagen headquarters are taken as the point of departure, and promoted as the standard.

These processes mean that English – whether it is in fact relevant or not for the individual employee – is positioned as an indispensable tool for all members of the organization. It becomes a commodity that employees are expected to either have already or be prepared to acquire.

In Theme 2 we saw that part of the company logic is that "English as a common language is a prerequisite for … setting the right team". The implication of this is that those who do not have

English are in fact on the wrong team. In much of the material we have analysed, learning English or improving one's English is presented as something that can pave the way for interesting international opportunities within the company. But with the new language policy, and the wider strategic move to change company culture we see it as being part of, this is probably not simply intended as an optional extra. Improving one's English competences may in fact be a necessity for staying in the organization. The institutional importance of English is underscored by the fact that English is part of the obligatory performance management interview that all employees attend twice per year:

> "English skills will be part of the Mid-Year performance management interview. The purpose is to discuss with your nearest manager whether your English skills match your current and future tasks and responsibilities – or whether you need an upgrade"

The implication is that your English skills may have a direct impact on your tasks and responsibilities. If your skills are not good enough, you may need 'an upgrade'. Such upgrades are partly paid for by the employees themselves. CONSULT pays the course fees, but the course is attended in the employee's own time. The question is whether employees can really afford to say no to such offers.

In June 2014 heads of department were issued with a so-called 'manager's kit' in the form of slides that were intended to be used when the language strategy was introduced to employees at local staff meetings. In these slides, the following points are made:

> "We should support a respectful process" and "allow time for a transition phase where we practice, make mistakes, discuss and learn."
>
> "If a colleague is not comfortable speaking English, it is ok to contribute to the conversation in Danish during the transition period. This way we make sure that all opinions and views are expressed."
>
> (slides sent to heads of department)

As evident from these quotes, it is underlined that CONSULT wants a respectful process, they also want to promote "an open culture" and to allow time for a transition phase. During this transition phase English and Danish will still be used in parallel. However, the idea is that after 1 Jan 2016, only English will be used in communication from top management. Respect and tolerance in this case then seems to mean that it is important to take people's insecurities into consideration – but only until the end of the transition period.

Even if the idea of a uniform English-for-all policy is not fully implemented in 2016 (which we doubt it will be), it is still clear that the language policy has by now been established as a tool that managers can use to exert power over their employees. The ability and willingness to speak English has become institutionalised as the external indicator of a particular kind of 'global mindset' which is promoted as an indispensable requirement for those who want to join the company's 'journey of internationalization'.

Discussion and conclusion

What we have argued in this paper is that ‘language strategy’ in the case of CONSULT is quite clearly more about strategy than language. Through the language strategy process, language – and by that we ‘of course’ mean English in this particular context – becomes institutionalised as an index of ‘global mindset’. This development, in turn, becomes useful as a tool for management who are licensed – and encouraged, even – to use employees’ (orientation to) English in evaluating their performance. From this perspective, an employee’s competence in and orientation to the use of English becomes an index of their readiness to follow the path of internationalisation the company is on. In short, language choice/preference of individual employees (and by extension entire departments) becomes an element that contributes to the way power is structured in the organization, typically by reinforcing existing power structures such as management vs. employee, or headquarters vs. regional offices.

In the introduction we asked: Why is this language policy introduced? And why now? To what extent can corporate language policy be seen as a tool designed to bring about change in company culture? And what are the consequences of the language policy for the employees? The analyses show that the language policy at CONSULT DK is closely linked with the internationalisation strategy for the company at large. We have also shown that internationalisation in this company seems to equal the use of English. While mentioning the use of parallel languages, the language policy also insists on English for all employees and by doing so effaces linguistic diversity (or at least attempts to do so). The language policy is also intended to facilitate or support a change in company culture by imposing a ‘global mindset’ through the use of English. In this way, we have argued, language policy also becomes an instrument of control that helps management to identify individuals and groups who are prepared to ‘embrace the new mindset’ – and those who are not. In this sense, the language policy initiative can be seen as a tool that is used – if not designed – to facilitate change in company culture well beyond practices related to language choice, and also as a tool for determining which employees the company should bet on in its new international future

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Position paper for sub-project on **Language learning and motivation**

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This sub-project had a very slow start because we did not gather data as efficiently as the other sub-projects. But we are getting there now, combining the project's own data with those gathered in Japan in September 2015 in cooperation with members of the project "International business communication in offshore projects" at the University of Copenhagen, led by Mie Femø Nielsen. Our own data consist at this time of less than ten interviews with Danish and transnationally mobile members of the staff in four multilingual workplaces.

The original idea was to investigate the different trajectories of language socialization that are relevant for people working in what we in the beginning called the global corporation and later redefined as the globalized corporation. The common-sense idea was the following: on the one hand, Danes working in a globalized corporation in Denmark have to adapt to the outer world that largely does *not* speak Danish. On the other hand, their colleagues from abroad (transnationally mobile staff) will either have to learn Danish or have to improve their English since English undoubtedly is the preferred *lingua franca* of Danes (and Scandinavians in general) – or both.

Pre-Lingcorp research done by members of the team has already suggested that things are not that simple. Here we refer, among others, to research done by the CALPIU team on transnationally mobile students and to Lønsmann's study of a Danish company having adopted the idea of English as a corporate language (Lønsmann 2011)[1]. One thing we soon realized that there are two connected but by now means identical problem areas: language choices for communication with customers and suppliers outside Denmark, and language choices for internal communication. As to the first, increased globality[2] of trading connections may have affected the width of language choices, but here the corporation cannot set its own policy since it has to adapt to the other actor's linguistic affordances and preferences. If they accept the Danes' choice of their preferred lingua franca, English, everybody is happy. If not, the corporation has to cope with it. Language policy, we soon found out, was almost always understood as an internal measure to cope with the challenges of the increased globality of the labour market: how can we help inclusion of the transnationally mobile part of the workforce? This has to take its point of departure in the already existing affordances, and this means, in Scandinavia at least, using English because that is what the local workforce can provide. Often the language policy manifests itself in admonitions to speak English, as we learned from one of our interviews:

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[1] It is interesting that a manager from the very corporation studied in Lønsmann 2011 at a recent discussion rejected the term 'corporate language' and pleaded for the use of 'common language' instead.

[2] 'globality' is used in the sense of Beck (1997) as distinct from the age-old process of 'globalization' and the neo-liberal ideology of 'globalism' (cf. Haberland 2009, 2013).

155	INF	ehm unser Projekt war sehr international
156		wir hatten überall Schilder wo stand hier wird nur Englisch
157		gesprochen (0.4)
158		und da im ⌈Prinzip⌉
159	INT	⌊mhm⌋
160	INF	eigentlich alle Nationalitäten auch fast nur ein oder
161		zweimal vertreten waren (0.4)
162		hat man tatsächlich auch nur Englisch gesprochen (0.8)

155	INF	ehm our project was very international
156		we had signs all over the place which said here only English is
157		spoken (0.4)
158		and since in ⌈principle⌉
159	INT	⌊mhm⌋
160	INF	actually all nationalities also almost were only represented
161		once or twice (0.4)
162		we spoke in fact only English indeed (0.8)

This example is instructive. It does not only display the prevailing ideology of inclusion management by only speaking English, and how it shows itself in the setting up of signs saying that only English is spoken here (156f.). It also shows that this is a necessary move, as Janus Mortensen already remarked on similar signs in an international university program: "Their mere presence indexes that English is not the only language in this setting." (Mortensen 2014:427) It furthermore shows that often using English is the only practicable move, since it is the only language shared by all, and, probably even more important, there is no competing language that is shared if not by all then by sufficiently many.

2

In the words of the original research application: "Two obvious accommodation routes will be that of incoming employees learning Danish and that of local staff improving their skills in English for use as a lingua franca, but the project will investigate other options (especially that of improving receptive skills in other Scandinavian languages). The main questions are

- which languages are learnt …
- what is the motivation for language learning, and
- why are some languages not learned?"

As analysis model we suggested at that time mainly one developed by François Grin (2003) which he called the 'COD model'. This was originally meant to describe the vitality of minority languages with reference to *Capacity* to speak the language, *Opportunity* to use it with others, and *Desire* of using it. Already preliminary attempts, still in the framework of CALPIU, suggested that a fourth factor was missing: the perceived or actual *Need* to use a language (Haberland 2011).

(The reason why Grin did not include the *Need* is possibly related to his interest in minority languages. Since minority languages in Europe – even large ones like Catalan – often are spoken by bilinguals, there is often no absolute necessity to use them, since one usually has at least one other alternative. This does not fit at

all the situation of, e.g., Danish in Denmark. Although English speakers (but not necessarily speakers of other languages) in Denmark can manage in an astonishingly wide range of situations without Danish, which sometimes lures them into thinking that they have no need for Danish, there are also many situations where either information in English is not provided or where attempts to speak English are not successful.[3])

Originally we considered supplementing the extended COD model by the 'Do-Think-Feel' model (practice, knowledge, subjectivity) used by Llurda et al (2009). Llurda and his team categorized languages as to what people do with them (practice), what they think about them (knowledge), and how they feel about them (subjectivity). (This model is based on Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2003:44)). This ran into problems, though. What worked fine in Llurda et al.'s analysis somehow didn't work with our material.)

The general point of departure is often the view that language learning is something the individual does, in the same way as the individual is the subject of "mastering" a language. There have been two main recent challenges to this, on the one hand Bonny Norton Peirce's introduction of 'investment' rather than 'motivation' as a factor in language learning – which is said to have moved language acquisition research from psychology to sociology. We have difficulties in seeing this as more than a new fad. More important to us is the move to see language use as a kind of 'distributed cognition' (Hutchins 1995) or 'collective action' (Searle 1990)): using a language is not something that the individual does on the basis of something they have acquired (Capacity), but an activity which is not just cooperative *inter*action but which essentially consists in (two or more people) doing something one cannot do on one's own. (As you can clap your hands, but cannot clap one hand, there are collective actions that are always described by verbs with a plural subject, since they cannot be performed by one person alone, like having a row or agreeing on something.) We can focus on the contribution of one person to the shared action, but only by way of reduction and abstraction. Already in an early Lingcorp working paper we wrote,

> "Although languages often are ascribed to other speakers as one of their properties (like being bald, wearing glasses or being a Catholic), it is probably better to consider languages as a case of 'distributed cognition' (Hutchins 1995), a form of practice shared with other participants. Seen like that, the distribution does not have to be even – some people can accomplish a successful order of a *cafè tallat* in Catalan together with their interactants, while maybe not being able to have a conversation in that language with the same people. Languages should therefore not be considered as a kind of object one can have, but media in which one can share practices with others.
> We do not consider the languages that a person uses as members of a set of his or her 'languages' with a special, designated member of this set being the language users proper language (often called mother tongue, a highly ideologically loaded

[3] Chinese students interviewed for the CALPIU project mentioned in particular two salient situations connected with public transport: loudspeaker announcements on stations (in cases of delays or platform changes) and communication with bus drivers (especially those with a migrant background).

> term), a set that is considered the persons repertoire. Hence the term 'interlingual communication' … does not necessarily make sense to us, since it assumes that people in these cases use the secondary members of their repertoire set when they meet people whom they share some of their repertoire with, but not their the designated member of that set, the language properly belonging to them. We rather think of languages as media in which participants can accomplish a task by having access to them in different ways and to different degrees.
> …
> On the other hand, we can see that participants do exactly what we reject as analytical conceptualization. They ascribe languages to people as one of their properties and do not see them as something people can do, but never can do on their own, rather always in interaction." (Hazel and Haberland 2013: 7-8)

The latter has, of course, implications for what we can learn from our interviews. Our informants will tend to describe their linguistic socialisation trajectories in terms of languages they have acquired and either had the opportunity or the need to use to different people. While Grin's *Capacity* and *Desire* still are located in the individual (something the individual *has*), *Opportunity* to use a language is always something a person shares with others. The same goes for *Need,* which is always something that is tied to a situation involving other people (although they may not be present in the case of written communication).

We are using rather simple-minded colour coding system for analysing our interviews, marking bits of the transcripts as Capacity Opportunity Desire Need. Our procedure was to go through the interviews looking for 'rich points' in the sense of Fabricius, Mortensen and Haberland 2016, a procedure which is inspired by Michael Agar's (1996) use of this concept in a different context (that of intercultural communication). What we consider 'rich points' revealing itself in an interview are notable statements by the interviewees that expose or highlight some of the ideologies or attitudes behind the management of the language socialization trajectories of the members of what we consider a *transient setting.* 'Notable' means something that comes as a surprise, admitting that one has to train oneself to be surprised that common sense just considers natural, since, with a nod to Gramsci, common sense is not always good sense.

After we have gone through the transcripts, they would look like this.

20	INF	+aber ich kann auch anfangen zu erzählen welche Sprachen ich	Capacity
21		kann und was ich ⌈gelernt hab oder ja⌉	
22	INT	⌊ja ja aber am besten⌋	
23		chronologisch ⌈nich⌉ von Geburt an	
24	INF	⌊ja⌋	
25	INT	das wäre vielleicht am übersichtlichsten	
26	INF	okay	
27		okay also ich bin in Deutschland geboren	
28	INT	mhm	
29	INF	bin aufgewachsen	
30		hab natürlich dann als erstes Deutsch gelernt	Capacity
31	INT	⌈mhm⌉	
32	INF	⌊und dann habe ich in⌋	

33		in der fünften Klasse	
34		so mit zehn elf	
35		angefangen Englisch zu lernen (0.5)	Capacity
36		mit (0.8) dreizehn dann Französisch	
37		und mit fünfzehn Spanisch (0.5)	
38		ich muss dazu sagen	
39		meine Mutter war Englisch- und Französischlehrerin (0.2)	Opportunity
40	INT	⌈mhm⌉	
41	INF	⌊sprich⌋ wir sind immer viel nach Frankreich und England gefahren	
42		hauptsächlich Frankreich (0.4)	
43		so dass ich eigentlich (0.4)	
44		ich hatte auch so französische Brieffreundinnen (0.3)	
45		wo wir so regelmäßig uns besucht haben (0.2)	
46	INT	mhm	
47	INF	so dass ich eigentlich immer so ein bisschen zweisprachig	
48		aufgewachsen bin	
49		weil wir auch oft (0.5)	
50		irgendwelche Austauschlehrer	Opportunity
51		und sonst was	
52		zu Hause zu Besuch ⌈ hatten ⌉ (0.4)	
53	INT	⌊mhm⌋	
54	INF	ehmm (0.3)	
55		dann habe ich (0.2) Außenwirtschaft studiert	Opportunity
56		das war ein Studiengang der (0.4)	
57		teils auf Deutsch stattgefunden hat (0.4)	
58		aber auch (0.3) Lektoren hatte (0.1)	
59		die aus Frankreich oder England kamen (0.3)	
60		und da waren die Vorlesungen dann auf Englisch und Französisch	Need
61		(0.6) em ich hab nebenbei noch weiterhin Spanischkurse gemacht	Desire
62		(0.7) und (0.7)	
63		im Rahmen des Studiums war ich dann auch	
64		erst ein halbes Jahr in Frankreich (0.5)	Opportunity
65		und dann noch ein halbes Jahr in Singapur (1.4)	
…			
166	INT	und hab dann aber	
167		weil meine (0.1) Schwiegereltern (0.3)	Need
168		auch überhaupt weder Deutsch noch Englisch sprechen (0.3)	
169		dann (0.6)	
170		gleich als erstes mal noch angefangen (0.5)	Desire
171		Dänisch zu lernen	
…			
185	INF	und dann gin- ging die Zeit ins Land	
186	INT	ja	
187	INF	ich hab mehr und mehr Dänisch mit meinem Mann gesprochen	Opportunity
…			
234	INF	jaja d- die können es halt nich	Need
235		und entweder man will die ⌈ganze⌉ Zeit exkludiert sein	
236	INT	⌊ja⌋	
237	INF	oder man strengt sich an lernen zu- und das ist ja auch dabei	Desire

238		ja- ja- die- die die Partner	Opportunity
239		sind nämlich meist nicht daran interessiert	
20	INF[4]	+but I can also start by telling which languages I	Capacity
21		know und what I ⌈have learnt or yes⌉	
22	INT	⌊yes yes but best⌋	
23		in chronological ordec ⌈you know⌉ from birth on	
24	INF	⌊yes⌋	
25	INT	that would maybe be most clear	
26	INF	okay	
27		okay well I was born in Germany	
28	INT	mhm	
29	INF	grew up	
30		did of course learn German first	Capacity
31	INT	⌈mhm⌉	
32	INF	⌊and then I did⌋	
33		in fifth grade	
34		so at ten eleven	
35		start learning English (0.5)	Capacity
36		at (0.8) thirteen French then	
37		and at fifteen Spanish (0.5)	
38		I have to add	
39		my mother was an English and French teacher (0.2)	Opportunity
40	INT	⌈mhm⌉	
41	INF	⌊that is⌋ we always went a lot to France and England	
42		mainly France (0.4)	
43		so that I really (0.4)	
44		I also had such French (female) pen pals (0.3)	
45		where we so regularly have visited us (0.2)	
46	INT	mhm	
47	INF	so that I really always grew up such	
48		a bit bilingual	
49		since we also often (0.5)	
50		some sort of exchange teachers	Opportunity
51		or suchlike	
52		had on visit at ⌈ home⌉ (0.4)	
53	INT	⌊mhm⌋	
54	INF	ehmm (0.3)	
55		then I studied (0.2) international business	Opportunity
56		that was a program which (0.4)	
57		in part took place in German (0.4)	
58		but also (0.3) had lecturers (0.1)	
59		who came from France or England (0.3)	
60		and there the lectures were in English or French	Need
61		(0.6) em I kept taking Spanish courses on the side	Desire
62		(0.7) and (0.7)	

[4] hesitation phenomena and placement of pauses and overlaps cannot be rendered adequately in a glossing; but they are part of the representation of the data. See Haberland and Mortensen (2016:585) and Kasper (2013) on the status of pauses and hesitation phenomena in interviews.

63	as part of my studies I was also	
64	first half a year in France (0.5)	Opportunity
65	and then also half a year in Singapore (1.4)	
…		
166 INT	but then I have	
167	because my (0.1) parents-in-law (0.3)	Need
168	also at all neither spoke German nor English (0.3)	
169	then (0.6)	
170	I for the first time started on top of it (0.5)	Desire
171	to learn Danish	
…		
185 INF	and then time pass- passed	
186 INT	ja	
187 INF	I spoke more and more Danish with my husband	Opportunity
…		
234 INF	yes yes th- they just can't manage it	Need
235	and either you want to be excluded the ⌈whole⌉ time	
236 INT	⌊ja⌋	
237 INF	or you make an effort to learn to and it is also the thing	Desire
238	yes- yes- the the the partners	Opportunity
239	are often not interested in it	

More of a problem than negative statements ("[they] neither spoke German nor English", 168) are implicit statements made by *not* mentioning a Capacity, Opportunity, Desire or Need at all. The informant mentions no language in connection with her stay in Singapore (65), and we can infer that she mentions her stay at a university in Singapore as an Opportunity for her as well as the Need to practice her English. But when she mentions two of the languages she has earlier claimed proficiency in, German and English, she does not mention the others, French and Spanish. Why not? What probably is at play here is a hierarchization of languages as to likelihood of being used as a *lingua franca* in a given context. Although it is perfectly possible to hear French or Spanish used as *lingue franche* in Denmark, it is not what one expects to be likely. The informant would have mentioned it, if she had had the opportunity to use French with her in-laws, as something remarkable.[5]

Some statements have to be considered as implicit; when INF says 'war ich dann auch erst ein halbes Jahr in Frankreich und dann noch ein halbes Jahr in Singapur' (63-65) she first describes an Opportunity to use her French (although she does not say explicitly that she studied in French in France). But what are we to make of her stay in Singapore? Since she gives a rather systematic chronological account of her language biography, we must assume that the mentioning of Singapore is relevant, but in which sense? Among the many languages spoken in Singapore, there are four official languages (Malay, the national language, as well as Mandarin, Tamil, and English). But since she only has mentioned English before, and since she *studied* in Singapore (63) which she

[5] Thanks to Sonja Barfod for pointing this out.

probably did in English[6], we have to read this as another statement about her Opportunity to use English.

Finally, we have to allow for negative statements. When INF (in 167-168) states that her parents-in-law had neither German nor English, this is in the first place a negative statement of opportunity: she had no opportunity to speak German nor English with them. At the same time it is a positive statement about the need to learn Danish, which leads to the Desire to actually learn the language (and ends with the Capacity to actually speak the language, which creates new Opportunities to speak Danish with her husband, 187).

166 INT	und hab dann aber	
167	weil meine (0.1) Schwiegereltern (0.3)	Need
168	auch überhaupt weder Deutsch noch Englisch sprechen (0.3)	
169	dann (0.6)	
170	gleich als erstes mal noch angefangen (0.5)	Desire
171	Dänisch zu lernen	

166 INT	but then I have	
167	because my (0.1) parents-in-law (0.3)	Need
168	also at all neither spoke German nor English (0.3)	
169	then (0.6)	
170	I for the first time started on top of it (0.5)	Desire
171	to learn Danish	

One might well argue that the choice of categories in our coding is rather arbitrary. Multiple colour coding could help here.

What have we found out so far? Not nearly enough, and certainly not enough to satisfy our wish to be able to make generalisations. There are of course recurrent themes that we recognize from the interviews with transnationally mobile students in the CALPIU project. The role of in-laws in the realization of the need to learn the local language seems to be quite widespread[7], while partners are less motivated to act as catalysts. The popular perception that more and more companies use English as a 'corporate language' disregards the diversity between and within companies. Hence, people can react in equally diverse way to the linguistic challenges of their workplace (and that goes for Danes and transnationally mobile staff equally). We hear both that everybody is fine with using English only and that it is impossible to do everything in English. Different companies have different corporate cultures, also when it comes to language practices.

It also seems that the more languages an employee is comfortable with, the more she will underline the advantages and even necessity of linguistic diversity. Thus

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[6] Background information easily available (but which INT was not aware of at the time of the interview) is that the Singapore government since the 1980's has promoted English strongly as the language of university instruction.

[7] With the transnationally mobile students interviewed for CALPIU, there was, not surprisingly, a marked difference between those on short-term visit (exchange students) and degree-seeking students, exchange students may have partners but are probably not long enough in the country to meet the parents.

linguistic capital is valued very highly by those who possess it. We have yet to meet a strictly monolingual person[8], which (we guess) would be an English speaker.

Some of the people we have interviewed have apparently been keen observers of the linguistic practices at their workplace and given detailed descriptions of the roles languages play. There seems to be a great diversity also in this. Assuming a fixed set of coding categories has the advantage of self-discipline, which is, of course, the opposite of "unmotivated looking". But it can also lead to discoveries when something suddenly turns out to be unexpected and not easily dealt with.

A topic that came up in our recent interviews at an institution of higher education was the economic gain that comes from offering outsiders the affordance of another language, either Chinese (which people seem to be keen on to learn) and especially English (which is seen as a form of linguistic capital that Danish institutions can use in the competition with other institutions to be turned into economic capital).

What comes in here, is not the individual member of the organisation with her Capacity, Opportunities, Desire and Needs to speak a language (*in casu*, Chinese and English) and, as a consequence, her efforts to learn or develop this language. It is the gain that the organisation has from its members' language affordances. The organization does not use a language, it is its members that use the language. But the members can have the desire to add to the attraction of the institution for speakers of other languages than the local one (*in casu*, Danish). This is maybe another reason to de-individualize our thinking about the relationship between languages and people.

[8] Continuing a principle from the CALPIU project, we conduct interviews as far as possible in the language the interviewee prefers. In our sub-project, we have so far used English, Danish and German.

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Language in blue-collar workplaces

Dorte Lønsmann and Kamilla Kraft

Notes for discussants at the LINGCORP seminar 2015
This working paper is a draft version of a chapter we are working on for the forthcoming *Handbook of Language in the Workplace* (ed. Bernadette Vine). This means that this version lacks a conclusion as well as a section on methods for investigating language in blue-collar workplaces, both of which will be added later. We would like your feedback on the following:

- Can you suggest any literature on language in blue-collar workplaces presently missing from the paper?
- Are any critical issues or topics missing?
- Any other suggestions for improvement?

Do blue-collar workplaces need their own chapter in a book on *Language in the Workplace*? Or perhaps we should ask: what is so special about the language in blue-collar workplaces? While language and communication are viewed as essential parts of the work of service and administration workers, so-called white-collars, the link between language and communication and manual workers, so-called blue-collars, may seem less obvious. Yet, research has shown that language and communication play a significant part in the everyday work and social lives of blue-collar workers. This chapter presents an overview of research on language and blue-collar workers with a particular focus on how language competence and language use in blue-collar workplaces are influenced by a labour market characterised by neo-capitalism, globalisation, mobility and migration. The chapter also discusses the professional and social consequences of these economic and globalising forces for blue-collar workers.

1. Historical perspectives: Language and labour

Society today is defined in a lot of ways: post-modernism, late modernity, late capitalism, neoliberalism, new economy, post-Fordism. While their foci change, major similarities remain: society has become economised, the stability of Keynesian welfare regimes has been replaced with the flexibility of neoliberal competitiveness (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000; Harvey 2005; Sennett 1998), the individual is made responsible for own life choices including work trajectories (often called 'careers') and the opportunities they enable as well as disable, popularly known as 'self-realisation' (Willig 2009). Reward-and-compete strategies are common under these conditions as incentives to enhance the workers' motivation for performing. This work structuration is often labelled 'the new work order' (Gee et al. 1996), and within this new work order has been created a "new word order" (Farrell 2001). It should, however, be noted that language, and talk, have not always been positively valorised in the workplace. By taking a historical perspective on labour, Boutet (2012) demonstrates that language and talk under Fordist regimes of production efficiency were seen as disruptive to the work. This highlights the shift to contemporary orders of production where language and communication are encouraged and often are the very product of the labour process, what Boutet herself names *travailleur du*

langage (Boutet 2001). In short, a lot of work has been transformed into language work (Heller 2010; Roberts 2010). Much research done on language use in the new work order focuses on the service sector. In contrast, blue-collar workers are typically not imagined as language workers. Definitions of blue-collar workers typically refer to manual, hard physical work, and always indexes people on 'the floor'. As Gibson and Papa (2000: 68) note, blue-collar work is characterised by *not* being service work:

> The term "blue-collar" refers to skilled tradespeople, factory workers, farmers and other labourers, as compared to "white collar" (professional and managerial) and "pink collar" (secretarial and service) occupations (Halle, 1984). Blue-collar work generally connotes an occupation in which a person engages in some type of physical labor that is paid in an hourly, rather than fixed, wage (Lederer, 1987).

It is the aim of this chapter to show how language and language work are also important aspects of the production sector/blue-collar workplaces.

Another aspect of the labour market (as well as society at large) today is the global dimension. Supranational policies of free mobility and trade between member states influence the labour structures we see at present with increased mobility and migration of the workforce as a result. As Blommaert (2010) shows, globalisation also has a direct impact on what is done with language and how it is done. Blommaert argues that what can be done with language in one setting will not work in another; what is a linguistic resource in one time and space dimension is not in another. With this in mind, the chapter includes a strong focus on blue-collar workplaces influenced by macro-sociological phenomena of late capitalism and globalisation.

2. Critical issues and topics

In this chapter, we choose to focus on three dimensions we believe to be critical for the field of language in blue-collar settings. The first aspect is embedded in a more general endeavour, to present an overview of the scientific work that has been carried out within the field of language and blue-collar labour. Like in any other social sphere, language is important for norms and identity building, socialisation, and relations with others. Thus, section 2.1. addresses how workers make sense of their work as a part of their identity, but also how they position themselves and others as in- and out-group members through specific linguistic practices. The following two sections take a more specific look at two critical processes in the global labour market of today. Hence, section 2.2 presents an overview of the literature on migrant workers in blue-collar workplaces, while section 2.3 investigates the impact of workplace internationalisation, and the shift to English as a corporate language, on blue-collar workers in non-English speaking countries.

2.1 Language and identity in blue-collar workplaces

Stereotypes about blue-collar workers and their language use are often strong. The Danish expressions 'skurvognssnak' (lit. 'workers' hut jargon') and the English expressions 'swearing like a sailor/trooper/dock worker' all point to

underlying stereotypes about the language of blue-collar workplaces being associated with rough and unpolite styles of speaking. It appears that these stereotypes and assumptions surrounding language in blue-collar workplaces have a strong influence on the way both language practices and norms for language use are perceived in other spheres. An article from the *Georgia State Law Review* (Brannan 2000) shows how stereotypes about blue-collar language have impacted judgments in court cases where blue-collar workers have sued employers over a hostile working environment. Brannan finds that judges have argued that whether an environment is hostile or not depends on the setting so that discriminatory and offensive behaviour is more tolerable in blue-collar settings. In her review Brannan points to several cases where the court voted in favour of the employer, i.e. dismissing the blue-collar employee's claim that he or she was harassed, based on the context of the blue-collar workplace where "humor and language are rough hewn and vulgar" (2000: 797) with one judge arguing that "The shop floor is a rough and indelicate environment in which finishing school manners are not the behavioural norm" (2000: 800). From these court decisions and judge's opinions emerge a picture of blue-collar workplaces and workers as people doing dirty and dangerous work in a coarse and vulgar setting with less refined manners than other types of workplaces. The stereotypes underlying the judges' rulings also emphasise that the norms for language use is different in blue-collar workplaces. But one thing is stereotypes and machinations, what do studies tell us about blue-collar workers' own understanding of their work and how is it expressed through their own narratives?

Studies looking at blue-collar identity have found that e.g. miners and construction workers themselves see their workplace and its norms as different from those of white-collar workplaces. Lucas and Buzzanell's (2004) study of American miners focuses on how these blue-collar workers make sense of career and success. Unlike white-collar careers, blue-collar careers are typically not tied to an ascending ladder of career development, in which successful workers distinguish themselves in terms of salary or promotions. Lucas and Buzzanell find that the blue-collar workers in their study use occupational narratives to position co-workers as heroes, villains or fools. Through the concept of *sisu* (from Finnish, meaning determination), the miners construct an occupational culture that enables them to find dignity and meaning in work that outsiders see as dirty, dangerous and low-paying. Lucas and Buzzanell argue that *sisu* as a philosophy or occupational ideology may be unique to blue-collar work (2004: 286). In a similar vein, Lucas (2011) finds that miners construct a positive self-identity about their occupational and social positions by arguing that all work is valuable and important, and that dignity is based on the quality of the work. In Gibson and Papa's (2000) study of an American blue-collar factory workplace, the workers' identity is based around a strong work ethic. The workers argue that to work at the company you have to be an extremely hard worker, and a very motivated and conscientious worker. Hard work becomes a display of masculinity with workers constructing their identity around the idea of body-punishing work and the ability to withstand the rigors of blue-collar life.

In such contexts gender is often a pertinent identity category either in the way that women are positioned differently from men or because they have no place in the setting at all. Baxter and Wallace (2009) show how male British construction workers construct their occupational identity in relation to a number of threatening outgroups such as Polish immigrant workers and rival builders. By doing so, the workers construct a strong sense of solidarity and a cohesive normative identity as white, British, working-class and male. Baxter and Wallace conclude that women are viewed as so unthreatening to male experiences in the building trade that they do not even qualify for a place in the 'out-group' and that this 'negative semantic space' makes it difficult for women to enter the profession. Many of the cases presented in Brannan (2000) show how women's entry into previously masculine workplaces has been resisted by the male workers through the use of sexually offensive language and sexual propositions. Tallichet (1995) investigates how such resistance to women coal miners' integration has inhibited their job advancement. She finds that men's sexualisation of women miners, i.e. their use of sexual harassment, gender-based jokes and profanity that objectifies and diminishes women, functions to emphasise gender differences in the workplace. This contributed to maintaining the gendered relations between women and men, where women were first and foremost seen as women and only second as workers. It also defined which positions in the work hierarchy were considered appropriate for women so that stereotypes about women being unsuited for working with machinery kept them in more menial mining jobs and support roles for the men. We can see that the workers in the studies construct the blue-collar workplace as a place of hard work, determination, dignity and masculinity. Women often do not have a place in these communities and if they are there, their presence is resisted through sexualised language and behaviour. In this way language plays an important role in constructing blue-collar identities. These are clear examples of language being used for exclusion, but scholars have shown that language can also be used to create inclusion, e.g. through ingroup solidarity.

Holmes and Woodhams' (2013) study of New Zealand construction workers focuses on the socialisation process of becoming a legitimate member of this blue-collar workplace community of practice. By focusing on differences in the use of directives and humour between the more and less experienced members, the analysis shows that apprentices need to acquire both technical jargon and verbal shorthand in order to participate and make an effective contribution on the construction site (2013: 282), and the ability to manage transitions between relational and transactional talk at work. The analysis provides insights into how workers negotiate their own and others' membership of the professional community of practice that constitutes this building site through the use of technical jargon, different kinds of directives, humour and relational talk. Holmes and Woodhams' analysis also points to the fact that both transactional and relational skills are necessary to become a fully-fledged member of this blue-collar workplace community of practice.

In a series of studies focusing on the same blue-collar work team, Holmes and colleagues investigate the role of specific kinds of language use in creating solidarity and constructing a workplace culture. Daly et al. (2004) focus on the

use of expletives in complaints and 'whingeing' in their study of a factory work team. They find that complaints and refusals are expressed very differently within this blue-collar team than in studies conducted in middle class contexts. Between team members complaints and refusals are expressed in a very direct and apparently confrontational manner with frequent use of expletives (2004: 959). Interestingly, the use of the expletive 'fuck' is in this context used for a variety of purposes, including as a strategy for redressing the face threat of complaints and refusals on the factory floor. Daly et al. argue that in this particular blue-collar community of practice, 'fuck' is in fact used to express positive politeness and solidarity (see also Newton 2004 on how these findings can be applied to teaching workplace communication to immigrants). Holmes and Marra (2002) investigate how workplace humour contributes to workplace culture. They find that humour in a factory setting is characterised by one-liners and competitive sequences. Like in the study of expletives, we see that more apparently confrontational language use is found in the blue-collar setting than in white-collar settings. Holmes and Marra argue, however, that the style of humour in the factory setting reflects the team's close working relationship and that humour is used to cement highly solidary relationships and to make routine tasks more interesting. These sociolinguistic ethnographic studies of language in blue-collar workplace contexts thus provide us with insights into the relationship between workers, work and language, and provide a complex view on language use in blue-collar workplaces, and particularly on the meanings associated with the type of language sometimes viewed as coarse or vulgar.

2.2 Labour migration

While the previous section focused on monolingual blue-collar settings, this section moves the focus to the impact of globalisation processes on blue-collar workers. And where the section on language practices took the agent perspective with the discussion of how workers through language construct specific workplace norms and identities, this section will pay more attention to studies that demonstrate how language is used by institutions to structure the work and workplaces of migrant workers, and what the consequences of this are. Throughout this section, we will show how language training and proficiency often become central aspects of logics about blue-collar work migrants.

Labour migration has often implied settlement in another country. The inclusion of migrants into the labour market is often understood as a matter of acquiring the proper skills, not least languages. This is evident in Cohen-Goldner and Eckstein's quantitative study on male immigrants from Russia to Israel and their likelihood of being placed in blue- or white-collar jobs based on their "local accumulation of human capital and imported skill"' (2008: 837), among these language proficiency in Hebrew and English. The authors conclude:

> "Participation in training programs affects mean wage offers and job-offer probabilities by occupation and provides direct utility. Furthermore, the knowledge of the new country's language changes over time and imported human capital affect both mean wage offers and job-offer probabilities by occupation." (2008: 868).

While these authors argue for the benefits of immigrant training programmes and the usefulness of acquiring the local language, other scholars are more sceptical about these programmes and their effects. Allan (2013) even shows that language programmes for immigrant workers in Canada often focus on the lacking skills of the migrant workers and hence work as an instrument for legitimising structural systems of stratification between migrant and local workers. Other studies of migrant workers and the labour market have demonstrated how social stratification of migrants can often also be seen in the work they get in the new societies, and how such inequalities are often sought to be balanced through programmes of language teaching for migrant workers (Goldstein 1996:25-28).

The logic of skill accumulation as a need for migrant workers is challenged through a range of studies that reveal other relations at play in the access to work. Erickson and Shultz describe such a relation in *The Counselor as Gatekeeper* (1982). Their focus on institutional encounters as intrinsic moments of gate-keeping have been taken up among others by Bremer et al. (1996) who demonstrate a range of challenges for migrants in their social as well as professional lives. A core finding of theirs was that the migrant worker in interactions is often charged with the primary interactional responsibility to counter the linguistic asymmetries between them and their local interlocutors. Roberts (2013) and Tranekjær (2015) continue with similar approaches and focus on job and internship interviews. Both find that language competence of the migrants is often what is problematised, but that their ability to communicate is rarely the problem in interaction. Tranekjær looks at migrants who are unable to access the labour market based on the rationale that their level of proficiency in Danish makes them unable to communicate proficiently. Tranekjær demonstrates that the migrants who go through interviews for internships in different institutions do not have problems communicating, but are often met with cultural and religious stereotypes from the interviewers. In the same vein, Roberts (2013) shows how migrant workers applying for low-status jobs in the UK often do not make it through the interviews because of their inability to produce narratives in their answers which reflect an Anglo-American style of narration. Often, their inability to follow the structure that is expected by the interviewers, viz. doing interviews and performing as an interviewee in a highly culture specific way, means that they do not get the job.

In their study of meat workers Piller and Lising (2014) show that language rarely matters for the worker in the workplace because of the type of work carried out: “All the participants reported that the speed and physically demanding nature of their work left virtually no scope for talk during work.” (2014: 47). This also mean that the Philippino migrant workers have little opportunity of gaining or improving English competences - even though this is seen as important by their colleagues and by themselves as important for other aspects of socialisation into the new community.

Contrary to these findings, Duchêne (2011) shows that linguistic resources can be very important and a part of the work carried out by blue-collar workers. In his study of luggage handlers in Zürich Airport, he demonstrates that this low-

status job is often given to immigrants not least because of their limited proficiency in the official languages, German and French. Yet, the company has implemented systems that still can make use of the migrant workers' various linguistic resources, so that the front-line personnel can call upon the luggage handlers should the official languages or English not suffice to serve a customer. This enables the company to profit on employees with flexible skills while the luggage handlers themselves receive little else than a chance to become visible for a brief period of time.

While migrant workers who have to settle in a country and gain access to the labour market are likely to be subjected to the conditions described above, another category of workers are the 'temporary', 'transnational' or 'guest' workers who seem to be faced with slightly different challenges. Most of the time, getting access to jobs is not a problem for them because they fill structural holes in the labour market of the host country. However, they are also subjected to other logics about the need for linguistic resources, as Duchêne and Heller point out with the case of Switzerland in the post-war period: "[…] labor imported from southern Europe was understood to be temporarily residing in the country as "guest workers," and therefore not requiring investment in the development of their linguistic repertoire." (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 2).

Mobile migrant workers who do not, or are not expected to, settle permanently are often not considered worth the investment of language training. As Kraft shows in her work on construction workers in Norway, even though some temporary migrant workers are employed for several years, and serve important functions related to language work, employers will continue to attend to the logic of temporariness as a way to explain why language training is not being facilitated. At the same time, the workplace and work are structured in ways that are explicitly connected to language. As a manager explained about the site's language policy:

Interviewer: du sa at øh: språ- by- byggplassens språk er norsk øh:: er det på en måte øh:: nedfellt noe steder:
er det lissom en sånn [politik dere ha-]
Manager: [det står jo i denne:] det vi kaller det øh P xxx boka vår, prosjektorganisasjonsboka
Interviewer: ja ja. men hva betyder det i praksis?
Manager: nei det, i praksis betyr det at vi godtar i utgangspunktet at vi ska ha norsktal:ende baser og øh: formenn. heller si formenn og baser og: og prosjektledere ska være norsktalende eller skandinavisktalende for å være helt kor[rekt da]
Interviewer: [ja ja]

Interviewer: you said that erm: lang- con- the language of the construction site is Norwegian erm:: is that somehow er:: written anywhere:
is it kind of a [policy you ha-]
Manager: [it is stated in this:] what we call erh our P xxx book, the project organisation book
Interviewer: i see. but what does it imply in practice?

Manager: *well, in practice it means that we in principle accept that we have to have norwegian-speaking team leaders and foremen. rather say foremen and team leaders and: and project leaders have to be norwegian-speaking, or scandinavian-speaking if we are to be completely [correct]*
Interviewer: *[yes]*

Specific linguistic resources are officially required for all managerial positions. Kraft finds, however, that the internal structures of the workplace are dependent on a large body of temporary Polish workers. Unofficial team leaders are then needed for organising these workers, a task that requires linguistic resources in both Polish and Norwegian. This means that some workers self-skill in acquiring sufficient Norwegian to take care of this task. This is rewarded in different ways, such as salary bonuses and potentially a permanent position with a contractor. In this workplace, multilingual competences of blue-collar workers are not only important to production efficiency but also in relation to upholding national regulations of safety in the sector. Talking about permanent employment of the Polish leased workers, one of the contractor's safety and quality coordinator explained how their linguistic resources in Norwegian can be a benefit in this regard:

Coordinator: hvis vi har en fra [company name] som er polsk, som snakker bra norsk? (0.8) så tilfredstiller vi et lovkrav om kommunikasjon,
(0.7)
så lager jeg en sikker jobbanalyse, så kan han hjelpe meg å få det på polsk.
Interviewer: mm?
Coordinator: kravet er at v- (0.2) de ska kunne få (0.5) det på sitt språk
(2.4)
Coordinator: så
(1.0)
Interviewer: okay
Coordinator: så sikrer vi den.

Coordinator: *if we have someone from [company name] who is Polish, who speak good Norwegian? (0.8) then we can satisfy a legal requirement about communication,*
(0.7)
then when I make a safety job analysis, he can help me get it in Polish
Interviewer: *mm?*
Coordinator: *the requirement is that w- (0.2) they have to get (0.5) it in their language*
(2.4)
Coordinator: *so*
(1.0)
Interviewer: *okay*
Coordinator: *then we have taken care of that.*

In short, language can be used by the migrant worker as a resource to buy greater levels of stability and job maintenance in a sector which, Kraft argues, is often dominated by structural stratification, and where migrant workers by default are imagined as poor workers.

This section has shown that a lack of language competences for some blue-collar work migrants is problematized to the extent that it bars them from entering the labour market, but also the central role of institutional gatekeepers in these interactions. We have also seen how the language skills of blue-collar workers are central to organisational goals of customer service, efficiency, safety and profit, but that obtaining these competences is left up to the workers themselves. In short, language and multilingualism can show up in a range of ways in relation to migrant workers in or at the doorstep to the blue-collar workplace. All of the studies imply that this is to some extent interlinked with concerns about socialisation into the workplace and society at large, but also about sector regulations regarding safety as well as employers' concern about production efficiency and profit.

2.3 International blue-collar workplaces: inclusion and exclusion

Multilingualism is not only an issue for blue-collar work migrants; some blue-collar workers meet internationalization at home. When traditional blue-collar workplaces become increasingly internationalized, often because the larger organisation does, it has consequences for blue-collar workers who often find it difficult to meet the demands of the new international language environment. In many European companies, the solution to the increased linguistic diversity brought on by internationalization processes and internationalisation strategies is to introduce English as a corporate language or working language. The consequences of introducing English in companies based in non-English-speaking countries have been the focus of a number of studies in recent years both in sociolinguistics and in the field of language in international business. Most of these studies focus, however, on either managers (Logemann and Piekkari 2014, Neeley 2013, Nekvapil and Sherman 2013, Vaara et al. 2005) or white-collar workers (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014, Lauring and Klitmøller 2014, Millar, Cifuentes and Jensen 2013, Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2015; Tange and Lauring 2009). While white-collar employees may experience language-based exclusion when English is introduced as a corporate language, they typically have longer education and therefore also more language training than blue-collar workers. In addition, white-collar workers, and managers in particular, might have more power to decide their work tasks than do blue-collar employees. Changing from the local language to English may therefore be a challenge to these employees.

Lønsmann (2011, 2014, 2015) investigates the use of English as a corporate language in a pharmaceutical company in Denmark. The study covers six departments in the company headquarters, including the blue-collar service department. In this department 100 blue-collar workers clean the buildings, man the gate and do groundskeeping. The majority are Danish with a small minority of immigrants. Lønsmann focuses on one team of six service assistants. When

asked in the background questionnaire about language use at work, all six answer 'Danish'1. When asked about other language competences, only one claims to have some English proficiency ('A little. Only spoken.'). The ethnographic study shows, however, that the service assistants encounter English at work every day. Computer programs are in English, and on the walls are signs and posters in English. To some extent the service assistants ignore this use of English, but it can also be a source of frustration. All signs with department names and locations are in English. And with department names like "Psychopharmacology" or "Toxicology", which would be difficult enough to understand in Danish, this means that some service assistants do not know or understand the name of the department they clean. In the focus group interview, the service assistants are talking about how all signs are in English, and one of them says:

> ja på hvilken afdeling arbejder vi ja kan du forklare det på dansk
> *well which department do we work in well can you explain that in Danish*
>
> (Margrethe, Danish service employee)

The service assistants daily encounter a lot of signs they do not understand, but not even knowing the name of the department they work in is understandably frustrating to them. The service assistants are required to check their email every day, and while their head of department always writes to them in Danish, other emails are in English, and this poses a problem. One of them says:

> *der kommer tit nogle engelske mails som vi ik- vi bare lukker ned for vi kan ikke forstå dem sletter dem simpelthen ik*
> we often get English emails which we can't we just close because we can't understand them just delete them you know
>
> (Gitte, Danish service employee)

The participant observation revealed that not all the service assistants used the computer. Instead they relied on their co-workers to get the information they needed. For the service assistants, English is a barrier which keeps them from easy access to information provided on signs and in emails, but also from opportunities for social mobility. As one of them says:

> *og så kunne der måske være at man kunne komme lidt længere end bare rengøring ja at man kunne søge noget andet hvis man kunne det engelsk også på computeren ik og så længe du ikke kan det så må du jo så blive dernede*
> then you might be able to go a little further than just cleaning you could look for something else if you knew English also on the computer right and as long as you don't know it you have to stay down there
>
> (Thea, Danish service employee)

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[1] One has German as L1, one has Faroese as L1, the rest Danish.

Thea here links English skills with opportunities for a better job, going 'a little further than just cleaning'. In this workplace the blue-collar workers are excluded from basic information because English has been introduced as a corporate language, but their lack of English skills also preclude them from changing careers outside of this specific company. As shown in Lønsmann (2014), the language ideology which positions all Danes as competent English speakers means that the actual diversity in English competence among Danes is 'erased' (in the terms of Irvine and Gal 2000). When the Danes are constructed as a homogeneous group of proficient English users, the Danes with no English competences become invisible and so does the exclusion they experience in the workplace.

Another ethnographic case study by Lønsmann focuses on blue-collar warehouse workers who meet internationalization at home in a different way. The warehouse is part of a Danish company distributing veterinary supplies around the world. The company is in the process of introducing English as a corporate language, but at the time of the fieldwork, this process focused on the administrative, white-collar staff. All warehouse employees are Danish and in contrast with the service assistants, these blue-collar workers do have some English skills and in some cases also German. The large majority of signs in the warehouse are in Danish with a few in both Danish and English. Despite the dominance of Danish, the warehouse is not a monolingual setting, however. The front part of the warehouse is dominated by the loading docks where trucks back up to load or unload goods. Here truck drivers come and go continuously. Many of them are Danish, but a substantial number arrives from a range of European destinations. A large part of the company's sales goes to the Norwegian and Swedish markets, with three regular truckloads sent off every day. The drivers who deliver goods to Sweden and Norway are typically Romanian or Bulgarian drivers who work in Scandinavia for a period of three months before returning to their home country. A small minority of these drivers knows a little English, but most do not. This means that while the warehouse workers are Danish, the loading docks constitute a transnational and multilingual setting. This study investigates the strategies used by warehouse workers dealing with truck drivers who they do not share a language with. This was an issue pointed to by all warehouse staff I talked to, in interviews or informally. In the following excerpt Jen presents the problem and also one of the solutions:

1 JEN: der kommer sommetider en chauffør eller et eller anden ud til os
2 …
3 og de kan jo hverken engelsk eller tysk eller noget som helst
4 så der bliver sådan lidt øh
5 (tegnsprogs lidt)
6 INT: ja okay
7 JEN: så går det jo
1 JEN: sometimes a truck driver comes in
2 …
3 and they know neither English nor German or anything at all
4 so then it becomes kind of uh

5 (sign language a little)
6 INT: yes okay
7 JEN: so we manage

The problem is that sometimes drivers come in who do not speak English or German (which are consistently referred to as the warehouse workers' preferred lingua francas). Danish is not mentioned probably because it is not expected that foreigners would know Danish. Jen also presents the solution: the work gets done with the use of gestures. Another example, this time from the field notes, illustrates how a Danish warehouse worker interacts with a truck driver:

> Sue uses Danish to the Bulgarian truck driver, e.g. ”Here you go”, when she hands him back the paperwork. A little while later she says over my shoulder [in Danish]: ”It is ready for you”. When I turn around, she is talking to the Bulgarian driver again. When he leaves, he says: ”Bye bye”, and Sue replies: ”Bye bye”. She says that he comes here often. He is one of the regulars, driving between Denmark and Sweden.
>
> (excerpt from field notes)

Sue here uses a range of communicative strategies to complete the interaction. She speaks in Danish, although she cannot expect the driver to understand much, if anything, and later in English in reply to his use of the phrase "bye bye". More implicitly Sue relies on routine. The warehouse workers and truck drivers operate within a specific frame of expectations: The truck driver is there to deliver or pick up goods, and the warehouse worker facilitates this process. Each step of the process within the interaction is also known to both parties from the beginning. Sue explains for instance: ”som regel ved de de skal skrive under på noget”/”usually they [the truck drivers] know they have to sign something”. Some drivers come back week after week, making the frame even more specific. In the example with Sue and the Bulgarian driver, she recognizes him as one of the regular drivers and therefore knows without him having to say anything that he is there to pick up the goods she has readied for Sweden.

The study shows that the warehouse workers use a wide range of strategies to communicate with the truck drivers, and often use several strategies simultaneously. The participants may choose to speak in Danish, English or less often German while at the same time using gestures to communicate their intent. This is often supported by written communication such as order numbers written on consignment notes or the driver's tablet or phone. When these strategies are not sufficient, the warehouse workers use mediators to get the message across. One way of doing this is by asking an English- or German-speaking truck driver to pass on the message to the other driver, but of course this only works in cases where the two drivers share another language, and the warehouse workers have no way of ascertaining this. If the interaction cannot be resolved in the warehouse itself, the workers ask the administration offices to intervene, e.g. by calling the forwarding agent to get the required information. Most interactions proceed smoothly, however, because they rely to a large extent on shared professional knowledge. Only when unexpected events, such as delays

or missing paperwork, happen do breakdowns occur, and this is typically when the administration and/or agent is called. In a study of how Hungarian truck drivers manage multilingual encounters, Juhász (2013) finds that despite their limited foreign language competences (mostly in German), the truck drivers themselves find their language competences adequate to do their jobs. Juhász' informants report a variety of strategies used for communicating across linguistic borders, however, including simplifying messages (such as "Schuldi'bitt" for the German "Entschuldigung, bitte"/"Excuse me, please"), repetition, rephrasing, gesturing, miming and drawing. Juhász also points out that because the truck drivers encounter the same situations regularly, e.g. loading goods, and only rarely face linguistically new situations, their linguistic competence is sufficient to their needs.

Studies of multilingual workplaces in Europe often focus on the use of English as a lingua franca, simply because it does play a large role in many international workplaces. These results from blue-collar contexts show that while English is used to some extent, it does not stand alone. The blue-collar workers in this case use a complex interplay between multilingual resources and other semiotic resources to communicate. Despite these diverse practices, however, English stills hold a privileged position among the Danish warehouse workers. Several of them use the expression "they cannot communicate" about the Eastern European truck drivers to describe their lack of English competence. This and other examples contribute to positioning English as the legitimate, or even required, lingua franca for transnational communication, also in blue-collar settings. This language ideology neatly places the burden of making themselves understood on the Eastern European truck drivers and position them as 'the ones with the problem'.

Some kind of conclusion..

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