

**MULTILINGUALISM, INNOVATION AND PRODUCTIVITY: AN EXAMINATION OF
THE IMPACT OF MULTILINGUALISM IN THE WORKPLACE, WITH REFERENCE
TO THE BRICS COUNTRIES**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not, in its entirety or part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

SIGNED 

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Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Acronyms	iii
Chapter 1	1
Introducing the Study	1
1.1 Introduction	1
Objectives of the research	1
1.2 The BRICS countries as a framework for comparison	2
1.3 Methods, procedures and techniques	5
1.4 Conclusion	7
Chapter 2	9
The rise of English as a dominant global language	9
4.5 Introduction	9
4.5 The rise and spread of English for good or for bad	10
4.5 World Englishes and English as a lingua franca	13
Mandarin as the stalking horse	17
4.5 Conclusion	20
Chapter 3	22
Language usage and planning in the BRICS nations with special reference to the position of English	22
3.1 Introduction	22
3.2 Some definitions	22
3.3 Language status and language planning in the BRICS	24
3.4 Conclusion	43
Chapter 4	46
Language acquisition and multilingualism	46

4.1	Introduction	46
4.2	Some definitions	47
4.3	Theories of second language acquisition.....	49
4.4	Factors which affect second language learning and competence.....	53
4.5	Psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics and ‘competent bilingual performance’ 55	
4.6	The benefits of being bilingual	58
4.7	Language and Thought.....	61
4.8.	Conclusion	64
Chapter 5	.....	67
	The impact of Language on Global Business	67
5.1.	Introduction	67
5.2.	Language as an Economic Factor	68
5.3.	Globalisation and Language	70
5.4.	Language economics.....	72
5.5.	Language and multinational business.....	74
5.6.	An increasingly global market.....	75
5.7.	The ‘problem’ of multilingualism for business	76
5.8.	A cultural impact on communication	86
5.8	Economic returns for individuals	89
5.9.	Conclusion	90
Chapter 6	.....	93
	The experience of language use within BRICS countries (primary research).....	93
6.1	Introduction	93
6.1	Research process	93
6.2	The status of language usage workforce in the BRICS countries.	95
6.2	The impact of multilingualism for individuals.....	105

6.2	Language and thought process	105
6.2	Language, creativity and innovation.....	108
6.2	Second language confidence.....	110
6.2	Multilingualism as career advantage.....	113
6.2	Conclusion	114
Chapter 7	.....	116
Conclusion	.....	116
7.1	Introduction	116
7.2	Overview of literature review and research findings.....	116
7.3	Language Planning in the workplace	119
7.4	Language Planning and Implications for Globalisation	120
7.5	Final Thoughts	124
Bibliography	.....	126
Appendices	.....	151
Appendix 1	.....
Appendix 2	.....
Appendix 3	.....
Appendix 4	.....

Abstract

This study examined whether the choice of language in the workplace affects personal and workplace productivity. The study has focussed on those working in countries which come under the BRICS grouping, Brazil, Russia, India and China and South Africa, as this provided a rich comparison of historical, economic and linguistic contexts. The research undertaken sought to explore the impact of prevailing language usage amongst employees of multi-national companies operating within the BRICS countries. With the assumption that these workforces will include multilingual individuals, the study set out to ascertain whether multilingualism has been recognised as a factor that might impact upon personal productivity or progress, either in a positive or negative fashion. The study set out to consider how language use may affect economic behaviour, firstly on a personal level and then to extrapolate this more widely into organisational productivity and innovation. This was set against background research into; theoretical perspectives on the acquisition of additional language, perceived benefits of bilingualism for individuals, studies of the management of language use with multinational corporations and relationships between language and economics. The conclusion reached is that multilingualism could have a beneficial impact on wider workforce productivity, and that it is not just a 'language problem' as it often seems to be treated. The final conclusion is that this may be something that should be more carefully considered by organisations in an increasingly global workplace. The researcher considers that multilingualism could be better employed as a workplace productivity metric, in a way that arguably it is not at present.

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Acronyms

AoA: Age of Acquisition

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

CNL: Common Native Language

COL: Common Official Language

CPH: Critical Period Hypothesis

CSL: Common Spoken Language

E7: China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Indonesia and Turkey

EF SET Standard English Test

EF: Education First

EFL: English as a foreign language

EFs: Executive Functions

EGIDS: Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

ELF: English a lingua franca

ELT: English Language Teaching

ELT: English Language Teaching

EPO: European Patent Organization

ERP: Event-Related brain Potential

ESL: English as a Second Language

EU: European Union

FAL: First Additional Language

FMRI: Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HQ: Headquarters

HR: Human Resources

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

LAD: Language Acquisition Device

LD: Linguistic Distances

LIEP: Language-in-Education Policy

LoLT: Language of Learning and Teaching

MINT: Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey

MNC: Multi-National Companies

NNL: Non Native Language

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PanSALB: The Pan South African Language Board

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

TESOL: Teaching English as a Second Operating Language

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

UG: Universal Grammar

UK: United Kingdom

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

US: United States

VOA: Voice of America

WTO: World Trade Organization

Chapter 1

Introducing the Study

1.1 Introduction

This study seeks to examine whether the choice of language in the workplace affects personal and workplace productivity. The research undertaken sought to explore the impact of prevailing language usage amongst employees of multi-national companies operating within the BRICS countries, with a view to ascertaining whether this has been recognised as a factor, that impacts upon personal productivity or progress. The study set out to consider how language may affect economic behaviour, firstly on a personal level and then to extrapolate this more widely into workplace productivity and innovation. The inference is that multilingualism has an impact on wider workforce productivity and that this may be something that could be overtly considered by organisations in an increasingly global workplace. The researcher considers that multilingualism could be better employed as a workplace productivity metric, in a way that arguably it is not at present.

Objectives of the research

The study offers a better understanding of the value of being a multilingual individual in the workplace within the BRICS countries. In essence, the research:

1. Explored the status of language usage in the workplace across BRICS nations, with a particular focus on whether English is a dominant language;
2. Considered whether and how language and culture might impact productivity and workforce effectiveness for the individual;
3. Explores how operating in a second language might impact on creativity and innovation;
4. Explores the potential wider impact on workforce productivity, of bilingualism and multilingualism;

5. Considers whether the inclusion of language policy in multi-national workplaces might enhance labour productivity and workforce employability.

1.2 The BRICS countries as a framework for comparison

The selection of the BRICS countries as a framework for comparison is underpinned by several factors. At the turn of this century, the BRICS countries were predicted to be key economic drivers of the next phase of global economic development; with the presumption that what occurs economically within these economies could have an impact more widely. The original categorisation of the BRIC countries (by Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs in an article in 2001) referred to Brazil, Russia, India and China. O'Neill described the countries with the most economic potential for growth in the first half of the 21st century, based on features like size of population and therefore potential market; demography (predominantly young populations with likely falling dependency ratios); recent growth rates; and a conscientious embrace of globalisation. (O'Neill 2001 p 3) So, China was to become the most important global exporter of manufactured goods (which indeed has already occurred); India the most significant exporter of services (which has not occurred as expected, although it remains important); and Russia and Brazil would dominate as exporters of raw materials. The group had its first summit meeting in June 2009 in Yekaterinburg, Russia. In 2011 South Africa was included in the third summit meeting (at the instigation of China who extended the invitation in late 2010) with the hope that South Africa brought into BRICS 'not only South Africa but a larger African market of a billion people,' as hailed by International Relations and Cooperation Minister Maite Nkoane-Mashabane on Brand South Africa, South Africa's semi-governmental news site. (Brand South Africa 2011).

The BRICS now cover 3 billion people, with a total estimated GDP of nearly \$14 trillion and around \$4 trillion of foreign exchange reserves. Each country is effectively a sub-regional leader. (Ghosh 2017) Today new acronyms abound, like the Next 11 (Lawson et al. 2007, p. 161), MINT 11 (Durotoye 2014, p. 99), etc. Showing the impact of O'Neill's insight into grouping countries for economic analysis, the scope of these groupings for other socio-economic analysis has opened many other research

avenues, applied linguistics included. This study has found the BRICS organising structure a useful comparative group to gain insight into language dynamics within the workplace, across a diverse selection of nations.

The grouping was brought together by a shared economic forecast of growth, but that has been sorely tested in some of the nations, due to worldwide economic pressures and internal political changes. South Africa was, in some ways, a contentious recruit in 2011 as arguably Nigeria could lay as good, if not a better claim, to leading the economic way in Africa. Indeed, 'For South Africa to be treated as part of Bric doesn't make any sense to me,' commented Jim O'Neill (who originally coined the acronym BRIC) at the time in a Guardian newspaper article. He added, 'But South Africa as a representative of the African continent is a different story' (Hervieu 2011). But the BRICS grouping has become more than a convenient acronym from an economic perspective and recognising some potential in working together; the group has become a real political institution, holding annual summits and establishing a joint investment bank. Of the five, India and China still hold sway in economic terms, although even China has experienced some contraction in overall economic activity (Goldman Sachs 2018).

Although, as stated above, there are other acronyms the BRIC grouping has now been somewhat replaced by the E7 grouping (the 'Emerging 7') of China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Indonesia and Turkey, who are now classed as the major emerging economies. This term was introduced in 2006 by two economists, John Hawksworth and Gordon Cookson at PricewaterhouseCoopers and is now used as a comparison to the more well-known G7. South Africa still sits outside the top 10 world biggest economies according to a 2017 analysis by John Hawksworth and his colleagues at PricewaterhouseCoopers who consider what the predictions for 2050 will be. Nigeria is indicated to rise ahead of South Africa in the global rankings by 2050, with China as number one, and India and Brazil gaining higher positions in the top ten ranking. Russia remains at its 2016 position of 6th. (Hawksworth et al 2017)

The economic relationships in and between the BRICS nations has undoubtedly had an impact on what may drive any demand for the acquisition of a second language or perhaps even a third language. A commentator on the 2017 BRICS summit in China,

Kenneth Rapoza (2017), explored the relationship held by China with the other four nations. Whilst acknowledging Russia's lingering status as a world superpower, world oil power and world nuclear power, Rapoza observes that China continues to be the leader of the grouping. Rapoza also reflects that Russia needs to enjoy cordial relationships with China with its ongoing feuds with the West and the United States (US) in particular. According to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in its Trade Profiles 2018, China is the biggest export market for South Africa, ahead of the US at No. 2 (WTO). Brazil with its need for economic recovery cannot ignore China as a destination for soybeans and iron ore. As Rapoza says 'Brazil is selling; China is buying' (ibid) and Guy Burton in November 2018 writing about the new president Jair Bolsonaro, who took office in January 2019 repeats the statement in his election campaign in 2018 that 'China isn't buying in Brazil. It's buying Brazil'. Burton (2018) observes that Bolsonaro seems to have tempered criticisms of China, recognising Brazil's increasing economic dependency on China, as China has been Brazil's main trading partner since 2009. In terms of India and China they remain BRICS economic partners, but there have been growing political tensions fuelled by a border dispute in the eastern Himalayas, where they share a border with Bhutan; these tensions have resulted in a protracted standoff between opposing military personnel since 2017. India's main trading partners are the U.S. and United Arab Emirates, but China is No. 3 and India imports heavily from the Chinese (WTO 2018, pp.170-171), so whilst the specific area remains tense diplomatically, both sides have made diplomatic efforts to negotiate a compromise.

The five BRICS nations give us a rich tapestry to explore the variety of languages spoken in the five country workplaces and what might be the second language demands for workers in these workplaces? As a grouping they are sufficiently international to provide a pool of both workers and Human Resources (HR) professionals who are working in a multi-national, and potentially multilingual workplace, with a comparative diversity of mother tongues, dialects and educational drivers. This diversity will have a myriad of impacts on relationships between colleagues, communication within the company, interfaces with customers and suppliers, productivity, innovation and development and company performance. Gaining insight into the impact of language on productivity is a key economic and

socio-linguistic consideration, not least due to the central role that productivity plays in economic development and wellbeing. As the leading economist Paul Krugman observed 'Productivity isn't everything, but in the long run it is almost everything. A country's ability to improve its standard of living over time depends almost entirely on its ability to raise its output per worker' (Krugman 1994, p.11).

The BRICS grouping represents largely non-English speaking populations who may be expected to be using English as a language of business communication through the process of globalisation. This study assesses the potential dominance of English in the BRICS countries; they have diverse cultural mixes, different cultural norms and different economic contexts despite their common status in the economic grouping. The growing global importance of the BRICS countries is significant in terms of the relevance of exploring what may be a disregarded factor in considering economic growth factors as 'little is known about the impact of diversity at a crucial level for economists' (Trax et al 2013, p.4). The intention is to signal where further work could be directed within the field of language planning, policy, and the workplace. Spolsky (2004, p.52) points out that '[l]anguage policy in the workplace may be locally determined. However, maybe it should also be determined by considerations of efficiency and effectiveness'. Gaining insights into these efficiency and effectiveness considerations was one of the key objectives of this study.

1.3 Methods, procedures and techniques

Any effective study calls for a mix of primary and secondary research to ensure that the data gathering activities are focused on the research question at hand and ensures appropriate activities are undertaken as part of the research exercise. Driscoll observes that '[s]ociologists conduct research using surveys, interviews, observations, and statistical analysis to better understand people, societies, and cultures' (Driscoll, 2011, p.153). Any research exercise is built around a standard methodological approach planning, collecting, analysing, and writing. This holds true for both primary and secondary activities, with the former involving direct activities associated with observation, surveys and interviews (Driscoll 2011, p.154). This study has been built around a survey methodological framework to allow for the testing of a priori

perceptions and support conclusions that are drawn through the investigation of the data and literature review.

Before assessing the potential impact of bilingualism or multilingualism on workplace productivity and capacity for innovation, it is necessary to set the scene by reviewing some of the body of relevant literature. This establishes the background and status quo of language usage in each of the BRICS countries and explores the heritage of language development. Desktop or secondary research considers the literature pertaining to language and workforce productivity and incorporates a review of the contemporary debates regarding bilingualism and multilingualism. This literature review acts as a key element of the thesis as it locates the focus on the relationship between language and innovation or creativity. Through this secondary research the study attempts to analyse the contemporary status of knowledge in this area and to assist in framing the analysis of the primary data collected.

The primary research aimed to first assess whether English or any other second language is a dominant language in the BRICS workplace, and second, whether this is linked to any overt policies, then to explore the impact of a multilingual capability for the individuals entering the world of work in 2016 and beyond. The key question investigated what challenges exist and are faced by a second language speaker and are any challenges outweighed by advantages of being bilingual or multilingual? The position of English as the language of commerce is also further considered in each national policy context.

In order to address the research goals and gather a suitable mix of data across the BRICS nations, the research methodology applied a dual research strategy, using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, which to some extent overlap as in the 'Mixed methods' application (Allwood 2012, p.1427). Quantitative research on languages used within BRICS workplaces was undertaken through targeted online surveying of HR managers in the different countries. This updated the more general findings of desktop research concerning language prevalence. Potential survey targets were selected through LinkedIn requests and via other networks, for example, through other projects across the BRICS nations and through the BRICS Chamber of Commerce and Industry LinkedIn network. The aim was to secure at least 20 respondents in each

of the BRICS countries, but this did not prove to be that easy despite the use of in-country contacts, and the response rate in the countries was variable (between 7 and 26). The individual employees were asked short questions on the variance of language used in their workplaces and whether workplaces have language policies. These can be found in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

The qualitative research was applied after the quantitative exercise had been completed. The online questionnaire included a question of the willingness of the original respondents to participate in a more focussed qualitative interview via Skype, with the aim to secure 5-10 interviews in each country. Again, the intention did not follow through as the researcher was only able to secure interviews within 3 countries, China and Brazil proving too difficult, despite use of in-country contacts. The target was met for India, Russia and South Africa, giving more depth to the material. Once the research sample was consolidated the researcher set out to develop an understanding of the range of contemporary language usage in selected BRICS workplaces, and some understanding of the multi-lingual individual's experiences in performing in the work environment. In doing so the researcher drew upon assistance from interviewers who are based in those locations, although most of the interviews were conducted through Skype or an alternative virtual medium. This applied Hesse-Biber and Leavey's (2006, p.49) strategy where the research aims 'to discover, explain, and generate ideas/theories about the phenomenon under investigation; [and] to understand and explain social patterns (the 'How' questions)'. The investigation in this case was focussed on language and productivity in the BRICS workplace, investigating the role of language in innovation and creativity in emerging economies that are characterised by multilingualism. Using the data gathered together with a comprehensive literature review on language practices in multinationals, the research has attempted to extrapolate how language policy and planning might contribute to economic development, labour productivity and improved global competitiveness.

1.4 Conclusion

The literature reviewed within the study sets the scene for an examination of language usage in the target countries from both linguistic and economic perspectives. The premise is that whilst commentators writing from either of these perspectives have

already focussed on the impact of multilingualism on some global business, much less attention seems to have been paid to the individual's perspective. I have long been fascinated by the question as to whether individuals who speak a second or even multiple languages think in their mother tongue or operate more and more in the additional language. Does this impact on their ability and confidence to be productive and innovative in the workplace? The research exercise in this study has therefore provided some qualitative data which tells us something of what the impact of multilingualism is for the individuals within the workforce. This will be explored further, but the study also sets out to then examine what the results might infer for global business. A multilingual workforce is clearly seen as a positive in the HR perspective, but are companies harnessing the potential that multilingualism might offer or is this largely ignored or misunderstood? Assuming (as suggested by the literature review) that multilingualism has by and large been treated as a 'problem' rather than an asset and that this has a negative impact on productivity and innovation informs an argument for encouraging positive language policies within the BRICS nations and elsewhere in the global market. Could companies seeking to be more innovative and productive promote a better environment for multilingualism within the workplace? This study seeks to explore that question through a greater understanding of the dynamics of multi-cultural communication. This chapter has sought to introduce the topic. In the chapter that follows the growth of English as a global language is outlined, thereby further contributing to the literature review.

Chapter 2

The rise of English as a dominant global language

4.5 Introduction

English is not the most widely spoken language in the world when analysed according to native speakers (L1 first language). Chinese (Mandarin) easily outweighs English by 1.3 billion to 378 million and Spanish is the second at 442 million speakers according to the Statista website in 2019. Roux (2014, p.45) observes ‘that speakers of English as a second language likely outnumber those speaking it as a first language, that over two-thirds of the world’s scientists read in English, that more than 700,000 people go to learn English in the UK each year’. It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of how many non-native speakers of English there are, but the Ethnologue is generally respected as a fairly accurate source of data based on widespread use of field research, although that is also somewhat controversial as the publishing company has associations with a Christian organisation with a mission to spread the Bible. The 2018 version has estimated 743.5 million speakers of English as L2 second language. It is hard therefore to challenge the following observation that ‘English, the first language of about 400 million people in Britain, the United States and the Commonwealth, has become the dominant global language of communication, business, aviation, entertainment, diplomacy, and the Internet.’ (Guo and Beckett 2008, p.57).

The challenge comes in the way that the spread of English is seen by some commentators as a deliberate drive by English-speaking countries for often unstated political reasons. For Mark Robson, speaking on behalf of the British Council in their *The English Effect* report: ‘English is increasingly the lingua franca that holds together the international conversation and debate in areas such as climate change, terrorism and human rights. It is the UK’s greatest gift to the world and the world’s common language.’ (British Council 2013 p.2).

For Tietze and Dick (2013) this is not so much a gift but an exercise in ‘linguistic imperialism’, a term which they credit to Phillipson (1992) and which they describe as driven by; ‘[d]omination...exercised invisibly...[which] privileges the worldviews,

social, cultural, and political interests of the English-speaking center, core or inner countries (initially the United Kingdom; more recently, the United States).’ (Tietze and Dick, 2013 p.123). However, it is important to note that Phillipson (1992) himself acknowledges an earlier and probably the first use of the term ‘linguistic imperialism’ to a Ghanaian sociolinguist Gilbert Ansre (Phillipson 1992 p.56).

Despite the possibilities of inaccurate data collections, political motives and other drivers, there is little doubt that English is a global language and this dominance is supported by its role in scientific investigation and the language of the internet (Pimienta 2005, p.31). Against this dominance it is not surprising that outside of educational contexts the debates associated with the merits and demerits of mother tongue activities can receive scant attention. After all, as the cliché runs, ‘the business of business is business’ (often cited to Calvin Coolidge, 1925) The impact of multilingualism within the workplace has been considered by studies in management and more recently economics, but often through the lens of the wider organisational or global trading perspective. This modest research exercise attempts to gather further understanding as to how multilingual workers can be enabled to feel more confident in being productive and innovative within the workplace, where almost inevitably they may be required to speak English.

4.6 The rise and spread of English for good or for bad

Guo and Beckett (2008) write from a position of concern about the linguistic implications of the spread of English. The answer to the question ‘How did it happen? In their analysis of English hegemony, they offer the following rationale for the rise and spread of English with reference to Canagarajah (2005):

‘Globalization is by no means a new phenomenon, nor is the spread of English language (Canagarajah 2005). The history of both may be traced back to hundreds of years ago to when various countries began to see the arrival of foreign visitors (e.g., the arrival of the British and the English language in North America and elsewhere) who started to colonize local peoples by imposing their language, culture, and religion upon them. Of course, the more recent spread of English is also linked to capitalism.’ Guo and Beckett (2008, p.59).

When referring to capitalism the authors are particularly looking at English as a Second Language (ESL) and the way that has evolved as a commercial field. They cite the commercial operation of the British Council as a purveyor of English language education and the spread of British cultural influences, and quote from the Council's Annual Report for 1983-84 where the Chairman refers to 'Our language is our greatest asset, greater than North Sea Oil, and the supply is inexhaustible.' (cited in Guo and Beckett (2008, p.58). A later publication by the British Council (2013) quantifies the economic benefit for the United Kingdom (UK) of the status and demand for English as a language. This is both through the growth of the UK's English Language Teaching (ELT) industry and what they term 'The Brand Value of English', which the Council estimates as being £405 billion and they even identify an Intellectual Property asset value of £101 billion, based on 'what a (theoretical) licensor would charge the UK for continued use of the English language in international trade with English-speaking countries and within the domestic economy' (2013, p.15).

Guo and Beckett (2008) are assessing what they view as the consequences and potential negative impact of the operation of the ESL industry which has thrived on the back of that increasing status accorded to English. They believe the ESL industry is furthering the gap between rich and poor in destination countries where only the well-off can afford importing native-speaking teachers in the hope of increasing their own personal political and financial power by access to English. Their paper focusses particularly on a critique of current ESL practices but there are other commentators who express reservations about the consequences of English spreading further and gaining more international prestige as a language, notably Tsuda (2014) who believes that:

‘... the dominance of English functions to perpetuate the neocolonialist structure and has three serious consequences: (1) linguistic and communicative inequality to the great disadvantage of the speakers of languages other than English; (2) linguistic discrimination and social inequality; and (3) colonization of the consciousness.’ (Tsuda 2014, p.445).

The elevated status of English has been seen by many commentators as a threat to local languages and the preservation of instruction in mother tongue. In what is termed

a case of 'academic capitalism' Po King Choi (2010) writes about the enforcement of English as a medium of instruction by the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2005. The justification given was that English served the purposes of internationalisation and the need to stay competitive in an academic market where 'higher education is bought and sold as a commodity'. (Choi 2010, p.245). There was an assumption by the administration that 'the use of English served as a useful label, a sign indicating that this was a first-class university. There was no need to demonstrate or to explain how the use of English would give rise to a cosmopolitan mind-set or 'international vision.' (Choi 2010 *ibid*). This has been a much-debated issue in recent years as academic and technical journals frequently use English to the disadvantage non-English-speaking academic or technical specialists. Dearden (2015) notes there is still a trend for English to be used globally as medium of instruction for academic subjects such as the sciences, mathematics, geography and medicine. Jorge Balan (Balan 2011 cited in McGregor 2011), a senior researcher on migration, commented on the use of 'English a lingua franca' (ELF) for higher education as opposed to the 'normal' English used by the media and scientific literature. Balan further observes that:

'There are huge variations between countries where English is not the native language. Even in those where English has become the preferred second language for academic and everyday communication, academics usually navigate through severe linguistic dilemmas not to be found in the Anglophone countries.' (Balan cited by MacGregor 2011).

Tietze and Dick (2013) discuss the effect of English hegemony in academic publishing as making it 'almost impossible to participate in the knowledge production process if one has not access to, and mastery of, the English language' (Tietze and Dick 2013 p124). This creates frustration amongst the academics concerned at being forced to gain mastery in English but there are often changes in meaning and intent through translation processes Wierzbicka (2014) also challenges the hegemony of English in academic conventions and, in doing so, notes that a reliance solely on English loses on perspectives and meaning afforded through other language domains as 'every language equips its speakers with a particular set of cognitive tools for seeing and interpreting the world' (Wierzbicka 2014, p.3).

The British Council (2013) identify 'Two qualities [that] have been pivotal in the evolutionary rise of English: momentum and adaptability' (British Council 2013, p.5). By momentum they talk about colonisation and trade, echoing Guo and Beckett (2008) but they see the adaptability of English a language as accountable for the reason that this has taken precedence over Spanish and Arabic which spread similarly 'through conquest and conversion', but did not adapt and adopt with the pace and flexibility of English.' (British Council 2013, *ibid*). The British Council report recognises the expansion of English by its absorption of vocabulary from elsewhere. Leading inevitably perhaps to 'a diverse range of 'Englishes', subtly different not just from a 'standard' English, but from each other'. (British Council 2013, *ibid*). These hybrid forms of English have become known as 'World Englishes' a term coined by ESL specialists in the 1970s.

4.7 World Englishes and English as a lingua franca

Braj Kachru writing in 1985 offered what is still considered an influential model for understanding the spread of English as World Englishes, known as the 'three circles' model (Kachru 1985, p.12). In this model the spread of English is captured in terms of three concentric circles: The Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The inner circle countries were those in which English was the first language of the majority of the speakers. These countries included Great Britain, the United States and Australia. The outer circle countries were those in which English has played an official or institutional role and were, typically, postcolonial nations such as India and South Africa. The expanding circle countries were those in which English was generally used only as a foreign language which played no institutional or official role within the country; Brazil, Russia and China and Japan are examples of expanding circle countries. Eventually World Englishes emerged as a field of linguistic discipline.

The inner circle is the English of native speakers and whilst it is acknowledged that within this itself there are variations (dialects, differences between English UK and English US). Quirk (2003) had put forward a model where British English or General American should be taught as 'Standard English' whereas Kachru felt that there were many more varieties which have validity for their own contexts. Kachru was reacting to Quirk's attempt to standardise English as he saw the process of the language

adapting to context as a natural consequence of spread and of equal validity in that context. Kirkpatrick (2014) describes how Kachru himself identified three phases through which 'non-native institutionalised varieties of English seem to pass' (Kirkpatrick 2014 cites Kachru 1992, p.56).

'The first phase is where the local variety of English is not recognized by the local community, who prefer an imported, native inner circle variety. The second phase occurs when both the imported inner circle variety and the local variety exist side by side, but the inner circle variety remains the preferred model, especially for formal occasions. The third phase is when the local variety becomes recognized as the standard and is socially accepted.' (Kirkpatrick 2014, p.34).

While the three circles model offers much in terms of an intuitive assessment of the spread of English, it has not been universally adopted. Schmitz (2014, p.1) argues that researchers have placed too much store on the model and expecting it to deliver results such as: (i) the proficiency level of the speakers, (ii) the variation that exists in the different dialects of the language, and (iii) how the many users appropriate the language to perform their daily routine. Schmitz goes further and quotes Park and Wee (2009, p.402) who observe that models have no 'magical efficacy in challenging dominant ideologies of English' and that language development and 'change in the world is not brought about by models but by people' (Schmitz *ibid*).

Schmitz's observation may be correct but in terms of this research exercise, the value of the model for a conceptual framework in terms of the spread of English it offers an ideal tool. The BRICS countries present a suitable mix of second and third circle countries which opens a suitable comparative structure to support an assessment of the data gathered and generating insights into the relative status of English and its interface with second languages in the work place. In the words of Schmitz above, changes in language are not brought about by models, language is a dynamic (Schmitz *op cit*).

There have been other models suggested; Gollach, Stevens and McArthur are referenced in Kirkpatrick (2014, p.2) and Schmitz (2014) reviews Kachru's model (with a comparative reference to Pung's Conical Model of English from 2009). Schmitz

(2014, p.403) notes that not only is the inner circle itself not all that standardised the movement between circles is two-way and 'that the inner circle nations are becoming more and more similar to both the outer circle and expanding circles. All the circles have immigrants due to diasporas and movement of peoples from one place to another' Kirkpatrick (2014, p.37) goes further to show that English has taken on more prominent functions in the 'expanding circle' citing the role of English as 'the sole official working language of the ten nations of Southeast Asia which make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Some of these are postcolonial 'outer circle' countries (Singapore and Malaysia, for example) and others are 'expanding circle' countries (Indonesia and Cambodia, for example), Kirkpatrick (ibid).

A similar parallel could be drawn with the position of English as one of the only three European Union (EU) working languages: English, French, and German. And it is with such irony that whilst the United Kingdom is posed to leave the EU, English remains. Ginsburg and Weber (2018, p.40) comment on responses to a survey commissioned by the European Commission in 2006, that showed 83 % of EU citizens accepted the idea of a common language. 'Their most cited choices are English (67 percent; note that the survey predates the Brexit decision), French (25 percent) and German (22 percent).' The authors (Ginsburg and Weber 2018) who were advocates of such a common language identity as a positive economic force go on to comment that '..this, however, would by no means imply that countries lose their identity and home language' (Ginsburg and Weber Ibid). The emphasis is rather on everyone in the EU being encouraged to be able to speak one language in addition to their mother tongue. Once Britain leaves the EU in 2019, there will only be two member-states (Ireland and Malta) where English is the official language. Of course, what is left behind is not 'native English' it is indeed one form of the World Englishes. The European Court of Auditors, Translation Directorate has recognised that, over the years, 'European institutions have developed a vocabulary that differs from that of any recognised form of English. It includes words that do not exist or are relatively unknown to native English speakers outside the EU institutions. (European Court of Auditors Publication 2013).

English has evolved so far that the adaptive English, 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF) is almost seen as a separate language in its own right. ELF is discussed by Seidlhofer

in 2005 as being “when English is chosen as the means of communication among people from different first language backgrounds, across linguacultural boundaries’ (Seidlhoffer 2005, p.339) while Jenkins views ELF as English ‘learned for intercultural communication’ (2009, p.202-203) essentially a tool for getting a message across no matter what the speakers mother tongue is. Jenkins differentiates ELF from English as a foreign language (EFL), which she defines as ‘English learnt specifically for communication with English native speakers’ (Jenkins ibid).

Whether the ESL industry is a cause or effect of the hegemony of English if we return to Guo and Becketts’s statement (2008 op cit.) the word capitalism can be viewed from another perspective. The adoption of English by nations with no historical linguistic connection to the language is driven by a view that English is the language of business, and knowledge and that competence in English is necessary for economic growth. Further in this study we will see how that has played out in the language policies of superpower nations like China and Russia. We will also see how much English might have been adopted as the lingua franca for multi-national corporations and what the consequences of that might be for the companies and their employees. As Lee Kuan Yew, the founding father of modern Singapore, explains in his 2004 speech reflecting on his government’s language policy for Singapore (reproduced in 2015 by the Straits Times entitled ‘*In his own words: English for trade; mother tongue to preserve identity*’); ‘Could we make a living with Chinese as our language of government and our national language? Who is going to trade with us? What do we do? How do we get access to knowledge? There was no choice.’ (Lee K Y (2004).

As Guo and Beckett (2008, op cit.) observed, English is now the dominant language of the Internet and that for those who wish to limit the influences of English over local languages may be the Pandora’s box that once opened cannot be contained. According to the website Internet World Stats (2017) the most used language in the web is English with an estimated billion Internet users making up 25,3 per cent of total Internet users. Chinese is second at 19,4 per cent of total users. Portuguese is fifth at 4,1 per cent of total users (Internet World Stats 2017). When examining in which language the website content is presented, English dominates with 54 per cent content presented in English language. Interestingly that is followed by Russian (6 per cent) and German (5.9 per cent) and Russian 6,2 per cent (W3Techs 2018). Internet usage

is not a specific business indicator as some of this will be accounted by social media access, but it does give a flavour of the hegemony of English.

Mandarin as the stalking horse

With the initial optimistic forecasts around the BRICS grouping there was a question posed as to whether the dominance of English might be reversed with the rise of the BRICS economies? In an online article in the website of the recruitment specialist Talent, Nick Deligiannis, Hays Recruitment's Managing Director in Australia and New Zealand is quoted as saying in 2014 that the position of English as 'the language of international business' was under threat. He observed that Mandarin and Portuguese are two languages that were becoming increasingly valuable, particularly as China and Brazil begin to have more influence on the global stage. His advice to prospective young recruits to the global world stage of business was that 'Job seekers should look at what languages can give them a vital edge and what will be useful in the future.' (Talent 2014)

An argument that is often advanced to explain the current prevalence of English draws attention to its 'functional' characteristics, or what is also referred to as the 'neutrality' of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2001, p.202). This contrasts to Lee Kuan Yew's concerns about the difficulty for children from English-speaking homes in studying Mandarin (quoted by Jeremy Au Yong in *The Straits Times*, 2009). China's Confucius Institutes have been set up in more than 140 countries and, whilst their stated objective is akin to the UK's British Council's mission to 'create friendly knowledge and understanding between the people of the UK and other countries', (British Council 2018) they also seek to promote Mandarin as a language in the way the British Council promotes English. Their spread has drawn some criticism, not only because of the spread. Diego Torres, writing online in *Politico*, reports that the Confucius network provides Chinese language and culture lessons to far more students than the combined attendance at the Alliance Francaise (500,000), the British Council (370,000) and the Instituto Cervantes (115,000). (Torres 2017). Confucius Institutes have been the subject of controversy where they have been set up within respected academic institutions which then find themselves accused of encouraging

propaganda, repressing unpopular subjects like religious oppression in China, or even promoting intelligence gathering (Redden 2018).

It is foreseeable that Standard Chinese (which is commonly referred to as Mandarin outside of China) will continue to dominate mainland China, and it can be seen in time becoming a language also used outside China, especially under the advancement of language technology and its potentials for translation and interpreting. In discussing what may be the most influential languages David Pegg (2014) said

‘There are more than 6,000 languages spoken in the world today, and 30% of them are used by no more than a thousand people. To identify the 25 most significant languages of our time, one must factor in not only the number of native speakers of each language, but also how many people speak it as a second language. One should also take into account its influence on global commerce and trade, as well as whether it enjoys the status of a lingua franca.’ (Pegg 2014).

Using this definition, he ranked English as first, but Mandarin came fifth despite the number of Chinese speakers (almost three times as many as any other language). Standard Chinese is spoken elsewhere in Southeast Asia (including in Taiwan) and in Chinese communities in other parts of the world but as yet it is not very influential as a global language. Interestingly, Russian was sixth and Portuguese seventh in this same ranking. Arguably, due to China’s position in the world economy, it may very well begin to move up in that list in the near future. In an interesting article in the BBC News web magazine in 2012, the author Jennifer Pak asks, ‘Is English or Mandarin the language of the future?’ She cites Manoj Vohra, Asia director at the Economist Intelligence Unit who states that:

‘More and more...., places like Brazil and China are doing business in the renminbi, not the US dollar, so there is less of a need to use English. Even companies in China, who prefer to operate in Chinese, are looking for managers who speak both Mandarin and English if they want to expand abroad.... So the future of English is not a question of whether it will be overtaken by Mandarin, but whether it will co-exist with Chinese....’ (Pak 2012).

One of the problems with Mandarin for second language speakers is its complexity in learning. Jennifer Pak was talking about South East Asia and comparing Singapore, Malaysia and Vietnam. Lee Kuan Yew in 2014, also commented that; 'A small bicultural elite has formed in China and Singapore made up of people who are fluent in their mother tongue and have acquired, to varying degrees, fluency in English. This has happened in large part to facilitate trade and business. However, it's difficult to find people who are equally competent in both languages' (Lee 2014). He goes on to comment on the difficulty of Mandarin acquisition: 'I don't see the Chinese discarding their Mandarin characters and converting entirely to pinyin, as they are proud of their language, which has survived more than 5,000 years' (Lee 2014 *ibid*).

Chinese totally differs from most other languages in use today, as it consists of pictographs and ideographs, without any spelling or symbols to indicate which of the four tones for each character is intended. There isn't much bilingualism among people from different regions in China because the dialects are so different. Bilingualism among Europeans is much more common because so many of Europe's languages have Latin roots.' (Lee 2014).

The Chinese government is keen to aid the promotion and awareness of the Chinese language and culture abroad, opening a global network in 2004 of non-profit public Confucius Institutes, in many countries, including South Africa and India, its BRICs counterparts. Sara Custer (2012) quotes Xu Lin, director general of the National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language, which also runs the Confucius Institute, at a Confucius Institute opening at Manipal University in India:

'This agreement is a great event in Chinese education,' he said. 'It may take more than 20 years to promote the Chinese language in India. We will work with patience, confidence and perseverance in the next 20 years.' [and] 'We will do our best to cooperate with the Indian Embassy to send as many teachers as we can,' said Xu. 'If other Indian universities want to host Confucius Institutes, we will do our best [to help] because we see BRICS countries as a priority.' (Xu Lin 2012 quoted in Custer, 2012)

The Economist Intelligence Unit in 2012 produced a report entitled *Competing across borders: how cultural and communication barriers affect business*, sponsored by EF

Education First (a corporate language solutions provider). Whilst the findings may well benefit the business of the sponsor the researchers are at pains to insist that 'The findings do not necessarily reflect those of the sponsor' (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012, p.2) and do provide some rich material for consideration. They surveyed 572 executives in international companies with an existing international portfolio or planned global expansion plans. I will return to this study in a later chapter but one of the findings casts light on the relationship between English and Mandarin as competing global lingua franca:

'Not surprisingly, a majority of executives surveyed believe that their workforce will need to know English if the company is to succeed in its international expansion plans. Mandarin is considered the second-most important foreign language, but just 8% say their workers will need to be fluent in it.' (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012, p.4).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of English hegemony from its rise to potentially its demise in favour of Mandarin. The rise and fall of English are both clearly linked to the phenomena of globalisation and trade. England as a coloniser brought its language to colonised areas like India and South Africa and embedded it there where it became a naturalised citizen in its own right. I recently part listened to a BBC radio piece recorded in Delhi. The interviewer was reviewing some of the remnants of the colonial past with an historian. He asked about the attitude that modern day Indians might have for the British considering that history. The response was to the effect that awful things were done by British ancestors, but modern Indians were living in the present not the past. And, they are not giving back the language...

The research material revealed the prevalence of second language speaking and to some extent supports the view that dominance of English as a universal language of business still holds true and is not yet on the wane. The analysis might indicate that this might in many ways depend on where and with whom the company does business, the parameters of this research leave this as an area for further exploration. From the research findings in this study it was clear that in modern India, English is a popular second language, often learned early on in life so creating a comfortable application in the workplace. In South Africa, with a similar British colonial history, the use of

English as a business language for many of the subjects of the research is unsurprising, given its position as an official language. In Russia there is evidence interest in English as a second language where multi-national business may be dictating terms, but in the research findings of this study there were also some indications of Chinese appearing in the workplace. In China, the desktop research suggests that English is somewhat on the rise, but there is also the argument that some multi-nationals seeking to do business with China may instead be seeking that employees learn Mandarin. And when we look at the rise of Confucius Institutes across the world and the increase in Mandarin as a curriculum subject in schools in South Africa (see Chapter 3), in the US and UK, we can see that there is more potential for the take-up of Mandarin, although it would take many years to enjoy a similar position as English. For Brazil there is no clear indication as to what may emerge in the future with China as a significant trading partner, but English is still reported as a popular second language and as a language for some multi-nationals. It is almost certain in my view that English will continue to remain prominent as a primary global lingua franca in the workplace, at least for the foreseeable future. This position is further explored through empirical data presented later in this thesis. In the chapter that follows language planning is explored more specifically in relation to the BRICS nations.

Chapter 3

Language usage and planning in the BRICS nations with special reference to the position of English

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a brief overview of language planning to set the scene before examining the status of languages in the respective BRICS countries and how these have been affected by language planning. This sets a context against which the research examines which languages predominate in the BRICS workplace and attempts to identify what the impacts are for individuals who might by necessity be required to be multi-lingual employees.

This chapter initially investigates what we might understand by some of the terms used in describing language and in particular, what we understand by language planning and policy and how this has evolved over time. Further in this chapter I briefly examine the economic data available on each of the BRICS countries and then consider the status of language in each of the countries and how that has been affected by national language planning. As outlined above, English is currently understood by many as the primary international language in a multilingual workplace. While it is apparent that English enjoys a hegemonic position in many spheres across the world, in business, science and technology, the study also set out to explore whether that was necessarily true for all our five BRICS nations.

3.2 Some definitions

a. Language Planning and policy

The term 'language planning' was introduced by Einar Haugen in the late 1950s and has subsequently been defined as 'all conscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community (Mesthrie et al 2009, p.371). It can include anything 'from proposing a new word to a new language' (Haugen 1987, p.627). Cooper (1989) reflects that Haugen later came to view the change activities included in his definition 'as *outcomes* of language planning, a part of the implementation of

decisions made by language planners, rather than language planning as a whole' (Cooper 1989, p.29). 'Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes' (Cooper 1989, p.45). The word 'deliberate' and 'planning' infer the operation of bodies or agents with some degree of power and purpose although Cooper was at pains to refute that his definition 'restricts the planners to authoritative agencies.' However, this definition does reflect the manner in which national or governmental level decisions around language policy and planning are made all around the globe, based on very different historical, political and philosophical rationale. These decisions influence the right of citizens to use and maintain languages which, in turn, affects the diversity and plurality of languages and the status of minority languages, which languages are promoted, and which may become diminished or extinguished. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) saw language planning as a process which seeks to influence the function, structure, or acquisition of languages or language variety within a speech community, which maybe a national group, a regional group or as we explore, maybe, even a community which for our discussion could be a workplace grouping. In this respect they recognise language planning can be at a macro or micro level (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, xii).

In considering the forms of language planning that are commonly described Cooper (ibid) cites Kloss (1969) with the origins of two recognised elements of language planning, namely *corpus planning* and *status planning*. Put simply, corpus planning refers to intervention in the forms or structure of a language, for example creating rules defining preferred or correct use of language. Status planning is intervention on the functions or use of language, for example as an 'official language'. Cooper himself proposes a third namely *acquisition planning*, directed toward increasing the number of users. Antia (2017) proposes the addition of a fourth element namely, 'opportunity planning' (Antia 2017, p.242). This will be discussed further later in this study (Chapter7).

Language planning and Language policy may sometimes be used interchangeably. Labrie (2000) offers the following definition for language policy, 'the exercise of social control over linguistic pluralism and variation, using political methods, including both the expression of the balance of power in society and the codification of language

practices by the agents invested with power' (Labrie 2000, p2) Language policy therefore may be seen as the next step whereby whatever has been planned, is formalised by means of documentation, legislation or indeed policy implementation. Carroll (2001) offers a broad definition of language planning and policy as an 'umbrella term for the broad range of activities seeking to change language and its use' (Carroll 2001, p.13).

b. Language Status

Language status is a distinct concept related to language function. Strictly speaking, language status is the position or standing of a language in respect of other languages. For example, the Ethnologue is an online publication identifying the status of 7,097 living languages (as cited in the 2018 version). They list every recognised language to which they ascribe a 3-letter code aligned with the ISO 639-3 inventory of languages. Their definition of the status element of a language consists of reporting two types of information; an estimate of the overall development versus endangerment of the language using the EGIDS scale (Simons and Fennig 2018). The second is the official status given to a language within the country, what they term the 'Official Recognition'. This is defined as where 'language has an official function within a country or is specifically recognized in legislation'. For the remainder of this chapter I will explore the status of languages in each of the BRICS countries to set the background picture for the research findings on how language is used within the workplaces within those countries and how each country has applied language planning.

3.3 Language status and language planning in the BRICS

a. Brazil

Brazil is the seventh largest economy in the world and the largest in Latin America according to PricewaterhouseCoopers in a 2017 review of current and future global economic relationships (Hawksworth et al 2017). Brazil is, however, less open compared to other large economies, what the World Bank terms 'a market that is relatively closed to foreign trade and little domestic competition' (World Bank 2018). Brazil is an outlier in the original BRIC grouping as in recent years the positive economic forecasts which led to its membership have not been realised and the country has been experiencing its strongest recession on record post 2010. Jim

O'Neill's forecast of growth in 2001 was not unrealistic as the World Bank on its website illustrates the rise and fall in economic activity over subsequent years. 'Brazil's economic and social progress between 2003 and 2014 lifted 29 million people out of poverty and inequality dropped significantly. The income level of the poorest 40% of the population rose, on average, 7.1%'. (World Bank 2018). However, 2015 saw Brazil enter a deep recession which started to recover in 2017 but with political unrest, labour disputes and a general level of instability, growth was very slow.

The World Bank also notes that Brazil lacks the business infrastructure of many of its BRICS partners. An article by researchers from the Brazil Institute observes that as of 2017 trade penetration is extremely low, with trade at 24.1 % of GDP. The authors observe that the number of exporters '...is roughly the same as that of Norway, a country with approximately 5 million people compared to Brazil's 200 million' (Picanço, Prado and Allen 2018). Brazil's main trading destination is China, with the European Union second and perhaps surprisingly, the US third (WTO 2018, pp.54-55). Brazil has some competitive advantages, such as in natural resource-based industries but an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) economic survey of Brazil published in February 2018 found that integration into global trade is still weak. However, there are some positive economic indicators, and a new President, Jair Bolsonaro, taking control in January 2019.

Brazil is also a linguistically diverse country with around 200 languages spoken, with close to 170 being indigenous languages. However, the majority of the population are monolingual Portuguese speakers and the vast majority of them will never learn a second language (Massini-Cagliari 2003, p.3). The official language in Brazil is Brazilian Portuguese. These other languages are spoken by marginalised minorities without a significant economic power, indigenous groups and immigrants (for example a large German heritage community exists in Brazil, some of whose descendants maintained the language and culture of their forefathers and 460,000 Spanish speakers (Simons and Fennig 2018). Moreover, politically they have never been acknowledged as legitimate or even as existing. Massini-Cagliari, talking about the 'invisibility' of language status in Brazil, cites the explanation of Oliviera (2002) '...a political policy that intentionally projects a convenient idea of a monolingual country, or simply pure linguistic prejudice' (Oliveira 2002, p.83 in Massini-Cagliari 2003, p.4).

Interestingly Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS) is the second national official language, recognised as such in 2002 (Dias and Pinto 2017, p.5) Dias and Pinto describe Brazilian policies as: 'official discourses tend to incorporate some vague and contradictory language ideologies. On one hand, they follow the human rights' debates about multilingualism (right to access official documents in one's own language, for example). On the other, they promote hegemonic consensus about national monolingualism (obligation to learn Portuguese as a contact language in Brazilian territory, for example)' (Dias and Pinto 2017, p.4-5).

The Ethnologue status section advises that Brazilian Portuguese is known to have six dialects, which are delineated by the regions of Brazil such as the south, east, southeast, center-west, northeast, and Brasilia dialect Portuguese is accepted as homogeneous partly as there are no apparent problems of mutual intelligibility in everyday communication between speakers of different dialects of Brazilian Portuguese, when compared with what happens to different varieties of other languages such as Chinese. (Ethnologue 2018) Portuguese like English in South Africa is a language of colonisation, but the Brazilians seem to be more defensive of their Portuguese language heritage which marks them out from almost the entire South American continent where Spanish is the official language except for; Guyana, Suriname and French Guinea which are, respectively, English, Dutch and French speaking. The Portuguese language is the third most spoken western language (after English and Spanish). There are about 240 million native speakers and it is the most popular language in the Southern Hemisphere. Along with English, French, and Spanish, it is considered a 'world language' due to its global reach, in Africa and in Asia. (Simons and Fennig 2018).

According to a British Council report (2015), foreign languages are described within the National Education Guidelines of Brazil (set in 1996) 'as part of the wealth of knowledge that is essential to allow students to draw closer to different cultures and, as a result, allow their fully-fledged inclusion in a globalised world' (British Council 2015, p.11) According to these guidelines, at least one foreign language is compulsory at the secondary school level. There is no governmental preference for English, although a 'Languages without Borders' programme was instituted to enable students to access a more global education and included English to access both US and UK

(ibid). Catho, a Brazilian job site, explored the use of English by job seekers, and found a high level of demand for the language skill. However, a different British Council report in 2014 found that English proficiency levels in Brazil are low, with only around 5% of Brazilians stating they have some knowledge of English (British Council 2014, p.5)

In the early part of the 21st century, some Brazilians were viewing English as an apparent threat to the country's national language of Portuguese. English was overtaking French as the country's preferred foreign language with many students seeing English as route to global opportunities. A threat to national language is generally seen as a threat to the nation's integrity. Canagarajah explores how a number of movements emerged in Brazil at that time intent on preserving Portuguese language and culture, such as 'Movement for the Valorisation of the Culture, Language and Riches of Brazil'. (Canagarajah 2005, p.105-10) Canarajah also observed a negative backlash by the public towards newspapers using 'foreignisms' ('*estrangeirismos*' in Portuguese) English words implanted into the Portuguese language when there were already available Portuguese equivalents. (Canagarajah 2005, p.106.)

b. Russia

Russia is officially known as the Russian Federation; Russia is the largest country in the world by area, situated within in Eastern Europe outside of the European Union. It is the ninth most populous -with about 146.9 million people as of 2018 (UNESCO 2018), excluding Crimea (a disputed area previously part of the republic of Ukraine which was annexed by the Russian Federation in 2014). Russia shares land borders with Scandinavian and Baltic countries, with Poland and Lithuania and with the South Caucasus countries and has an extensive northern and eastern maritime coastline. Approximately 77% of the population live in the western part of the country. Russia's capital, Moscow, according to the World Atlas (2018) is the second most populated city of continental Europe and is described as 'a bridge of sorts between Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Asia' (World Atlas 2018) Russia possesses the world's largest reserves of mineral and energy resources, with its woodlands and lakes containing about one fourth of world's reserves of unfrozen fresh water (UNESCO 2018). According to the World Bank (2018), Russia's economy has grown since 2017

following a prolonged recession, 'supported by stronger global growth, higher oil prices, and solid macro fundamentals' (World Bank 2018).

According to the BBC over 81% of Russia's population is thought to speak Russian as their first and only language. There are over 100 minority languages spoken in Russia today, the most popular of which is Tatar (Tartar), spoken by more than 3% of the country's population. Most speakers of a minority language are also bilingual speakers of Russian. (BBC 2014) In 2010, the population census showed that in the Russian Federation the number of different ethnic groups amounted to 185 (World Population Review 2019). Although few of these populations make up even 1% of the Russian population, these minority languages are prominent in key regional areas. (Badmatsyrenova and Elivanova (2008, p.1) point out that '[t]he multi-ethnic composition of the Russian Federation presupposes state support for the development of all the ethnos, of their culture and languages. in the Republics of the Russian Federation (Mikhalchenko and Trushkova (2003, p.262).

The Russian economy therefore largely operates in a language other than English, most likely being Russian, though English is considered important. Mikhalchenko and Trushkova (2003, p.285) state that private firms in Russia generally require a working knowledge of English but equally so, '...for foreign business people working with Russian partners, knowledge of Russian is desirable.' According to 2015 research conducted by Romir a Russian market research company about a third of Russians (30%) speak English to one degree or another: 20% can read and translate using a dictionary, 7% are familiar with colloquial language, and 3 % are fluent speakers. This was compared to 16% of respondents in 2003 (Rossiyskaya Gazeta 2015). The second best-known foreign language in Russia is German. According to the same research 6% of present-day respondents say they speak German (7% in 2003), and about 1 % are fluent. Ivanova and Tivyaeva (2015, p.311) cite the results of a survey from 2012 where 67% % of Eastern companies and 52% of Western companies operating in the Russian labour market were requiring that their potential employees be fluent in a foreign language.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, foreign languages were studied by the elite of Russian society: nobles and representatives of the intelligentsia who hired private tutors.

(Ivanova and Tivyaeva 2015, p.307). Priority was given to German and French. French, as pointed out by Hoffman (Hoffman quoted by Ivanova and Tivyaeva 2015, p.307), was once 'spoken by all members of the European aristocracy as the use of this language signalled membership of the élite' 'There is no greater school than a revolution.' Behrent (2017) summarises the impact of the Russia Revolution of 1917 which destroyed, not only the old system of social relations, but also the existing Russian education system. The People's Commissariat of Education were tasked with the creation of a single educational standard, but it was a huge endeavour with such a wide difference in the levels of initial and general educational training with an estimated 60 % of the population considered illiterate. 'The Bolsheviks understood that the guarantee of free, public education was essential both to the education of a new generation of workers [as] Lenin argued: 'As long as there is such a thing in the country as illiteracy it is hard to talk about political education' (Behrent 2017).

Bowring and Borhoyakova (2016, p.3) argue that Russia was the first country in the world in which minority rights to language were guaranteed. Ayse Dietrich describes the state role pursued through the People's Commissariat for Nationalities which: 'was established in 1917' to 'address such problems as standardizing each local language, spreading it as the common language of communication within the population, changing the lexicon to meet the needs of a modern industrial society, increasing literacy and creating new alphabets' Dietrich (2005, p.1)

Industrialization in the 1930s created a different imperative. As industry grew, reliance on the import of machinery, tractors, machines, equipment, etc. foreign engineers and specialists came too. To work with this flow of imported goods at the grassroots level, required people who knew foreign languages workers with basic knowledge of foreign languages; 'so Communist leaders made an appeal to the Soviet youth to start learning languages. As a result, a new multi-stage system of teaching foreign languages was set up. Foreign languages became a compulsory subject both on high school and university curricula' (Ivanova and Tivyaeva 2015, p.308).

Russian did not become a predominant language until the mid-1930s, when the Latin alphabet was eliminated in favour of the Cyrillic script throughout Central Asia. At the same time, Russian was made compulsory in every Russian and non-Russian school

across the Soviet Union (Dietrich 2005, p.2). Language policy in the Soviet Union is considered by Ginsburg and Weber (2018). They describe Soviet society as being 'viewed as a new type of a super-ethnic unity' after World War 2, with a deliberate policy to converge and fuse 'as a step in building the communist society ... adopted in 1962' (Kadochnikov, 2016 quoted in Ginsburg and Weber 2018, p.48). Leprêtre (2002) described the policies implemented by the Soviet regime as 'based on the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the dialectical relations established between the different nationalities' (Leprêtre 2002, p.2). He observes that this required a significant shift in the levels of 'literacy, culture and social and political consciousness' amongst the general population ... language policy was, from the very beginning, one of the main cruxes of the Soviet policy towards nationalities' (Leprêtre 2002 *ibid*). It was therefore necessary to set up a new educational system and new cultural, ideological and communicative domains in different languages. This also was seen to serve the economic needs of the Soviet society (industrialization, technologic challenges, building of socialism)'... [requiring]. 'an adequate critical mass of individuals able to deal with new technical and intellectual tools in order to implement and make real the projects designed by the State'. (Leprêtre 2002 *ibid*). The resulting programme which guaranteed a plurality of nationalities and languages within the Soviet Union and its states encouraged the study of Russian and other native languages which, according to Ginsburg and Weber, acted as 'a variant of the three-language formula: Russian, a regional language, and English for international communication '(Ginsburg and Weber 2018, p.48).

Leprêtre views Soviet language policy as designed 'to promote the Russian language as the 'lingua franca' used for All-Union and inter-republican communications [which] also improved and strengthened the position of the titular nations of the republics as well as that of their respective languages (Leprêtre 2002 *ibid*). Schiffman (2000) comments on the eventual failure of the policy as the Russian Union crumbled. He views the early Soviet Policy as 'tolerant and promotive of linguistic differences' although 'Later, however, the old (pre-revolutionary, and post-revolutionary covert) [R]ussifying tendency reasserted itself' and that all the old hostilities and tensions between various national groups re-emerged' (Schiffman, 2000). In 1991, Russian officially became the national language of the Russian Federation, with the acceptance

of official status for national languages of other ethnic groups through the Federal Law on the National-Cultural Autonomy which allowed the autonomous member republics within the Russian Federation 'the necessary conditions for the preservation and promotion of their own languages'(Leprêtre 2002, p.7). However, Bowring and Borgoyakova (2016) conducted some analysis of population censuses of the Russian Federation finding 'the number of persons who do not have the native (ethnic) language shows that for the most part they use the Russian language, and that the non-Russian population of the country demonstrates a continuing growth of Russian' (Bowring and Borgoyakova 2016, p.14).

In terms of education policy, which also drives language planning, the 1993 Russian Constitution allowed for mother tongue instruction at the discretion of the autonomous members. The same authors reviewed official statistics for 2006/2007 to examine how this has manifested. They found that although in the Russian Federation nine languages were used as languages of instruction almost 90% of pupils were taught only in Russian. When considering foreign languages studied in schools, English language is a clear winner at 79% with German, second at 16.6%, and French third at 4%, (Bowring and Borgoyakova 2016, p.16). This complements the additional language status findings of the 2015 research conducted by Romir (Rossiyskaya Gazeta 2015).

However, things are changing and Bowring and Borgoyakova (2016, p.9) cite a 2012 law '*On education in the Russian Federation*', this somewhat reversed the latitude extended to the members by asserting a preference for Russian as the language of instruction in schools, although there are some concession to schools in the (ethnic) republics qualified by the inclusion of a clause that it 'should not be to the detriment of the teaching and learning of the state language of the Russian Federation' (Prina 2015: 128 quoted in Bowring and Borgoyakova, p.18). In March 2015, under the presidency of Vladimir Putin, a new state agency was instituted, the Federal Agency for Affairs of Nationalities, which has once again led an emphasis on the promotion of the Russian language, which is seen to be under some threat (Bowring and Borgoyakova 2016, p.19). The authors also found that following the 2012 legislation there was a marked decrease in the number of children taught at school in their mother tongues, compared with 2007.

c. India

According to the World Atlas (2017) India, as a country is the largest region of the Indian Subcontinent, extending from the Himalayan Mountains in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south. The World Atlas estimates a population of 1,220,800,359 (2013 est) which makes India one of 'the most populous countries in the world' (World Atlas 2018), second only to China. According to PricewaterhouseCoopers (2017) India was at 3rd position in the world economies in 2016 and is expected to grow to a share of 15% world Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2050 (Hawksworth et al 2017).

According to a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) analysis in 2018 India has a diverse economy 'which encompasses traditional village farming, modern agriculture, handicrafts, a wide range of modern industries, and a multitude of services' (CIA 2018) The analysis goes on to say that services can be attributed 'as the major source of economic growth at as much as 'two-thirds of India's output' although not as the major employment sector, which is agriculture. The World Bank describes India as 'an agricultural powerhouse that is now a net exporter of food' (World Bank 2018). There is a huge disparity between Indian states and the population in terms of prosperity, life expectancy, living conditions, levels of education and access to resources, although India's rising economic growth has driven up employment rates and reduced poverty levels. The CIA analysis also reflects that 'India has capitalized on its large educated English-speaking population to become a major exporter of information technology services, business outsourcing services, and software workers' (CIA 2018).

If we consider India and pose the question 'does English retain hegemony as a language in business?' the answer must be undoubtedly yes. The New World Encyclopedia section on languages of India tells us that languages in India primarily belong to two major linguistic families, Indo-European / Indo-Aryan (spoken by about 75 % of the population) and Dravidian, (spoken by about 25 %). Individual mother tongues in India number several hundred, and there are more than a thousand major dialects. Of 415 languages spoken in India; 24 of these languages are spoken by more than a million native speakers, and 114 by more than 10,000. The Constitution of India recognizes 23 languages, spoken in different parts the country. These consist of English plus 22 Indian languages (New World Encyclopedia 2018).

English is the co-official language of the Indian Union, but the individual states may also have another co-official language. While Hindi is the official language of the central government in India, English is an official sub-language and is widely spoken in commerce and educational settings. However as individual state legislatures can adopt any regional language as the official language of that state there is in effect no one 'national language. (New World Encyclopedia 2018). The Indian constitution had originally declared Hindi to be the official language of the union, initiating the 'three-language policy' whereby Hindi would be the language of central government, English was an official second language and a local language could be employed for local official purposes. Ratified by the Official Languages Act, 1963, it was intended that the use of English for official purposes was officially to cease in 1965. This was met with protests from across the country so the Act itself was amended in 1967 to provide that the use of English would not be ended until a resolution to that effect was passed.

Ginsberg and Weber (2018) have analysed the rolling out of the three-language policy. The authors found the first iteration to have been extremely unpopular amongst certain of the Indian states, particularly Tamil Nadu and other Southern states. These states were concerned that, for their citizens, the use of Hindi in government services imposed barriers since they were not Hindi speakers. This meant they would in effect be learning two additional languages, English and Hindi, whereas speakers of Hindi had to learn English only. A subsequent amendment allowed for application of local languages in non-Hindi speaking states. As Ginsburg and Weber note this translated into education policy requiring 'children in Hindi-speaking states to study Hindi, English and one of the Southern languages, whereas children in non-Hindi speaking states were supposed to learn their own regional language, Hindi and English' (Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.48). Both Schiffman (2000) and Ginsburg and Weber (2018) have cited the policy as a failure. Schiffman (2000) notes that in Hindi areas there is little attention paid to English 'and even less to a third language; in non-Hindi areas, such as Tamil Nadu, Hindi is only taught *sub rosa* if at all, while great support can be found for English (as well as Tamil, of course)' (Schiffman 2000) For Schiffman the inevitable result is that 'the tendency then is for English to take over as the instrumental language, to the detriment of all others' (Schiffman 2000).

Schiffman has also drawn a comparison between Soviet language planning (discussed earlier) and Indian language planning. The Soviet model is rooted in the historical circumstances emerging from monolingual Czarist Russia, and the desire to remedy the linguistic oppression inherent in that mode. He views the Indian 'error' to be an assumption that Hindi could function in the same way as Russian in Soviet policy. He believes that Hindi did not have the same pre-existing status as Russian and became less accessible to non-mother tongue speakers through what he describes as it becoming 'Sanskritized', he quotes Das Gupta criticising a 'logic of language development [which] seems to go contrary to the logic of mass literacy, effective access of new groups to the educated communication arena, and to social mobilization of maximum human resources in general' (Das Gupta 1969, p.590 cited in Schiffman 2000). Ginsberg and Weber echo this by reflecting that '[t]he lack of public commitment and of resources needed to implement the recommendation caused its failure' (Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.48.) In essence, the three-language policy has contributed to the proliferation of English at the expense of Hindi. This might be seen in the results of the research conducted in India for the purposes of this study, and the range of workplace languages which emerged reflecting India's linguistic diversity; with an overwhelming preference for English as a language of business and lingua franca (see Chapter 6).

In India the teaching of English can trace its roots back to its colonial past. The contemporary status quo that sees learners studying and striving for proficiency in English is almost accepted without question officially despite the availability of a plethora of other regional languages and dialects used in daily life. The most spoken languages in India, according to India's census data, are Hindi (422m), Bengali (83m), Telugu (75m), Marathi (71m), Tamil (60m), Urdu (51m), Gujarati (46m), and Punjabi (29m (Aula 2014). An unattributed quotation from The British Library states that; '[a]ccording to recent surveys, approximately 4% of the Indian population use English. That figure might seem insignificant, but out of the total population this represents 35 million speakers — the largest English-speaking community outside the USA and the UK.' (British Library 2018). So, the use of English remains at the heart of Indian society, although arguably within the middle and upper status of society. Education First, a prominent global supplier of EFL ranks India at number 28 it is worldwide

ranking of English proficiency (halfway between South Africa at number 6, Russia at 42, China at 47 and Brazil at 53). The EF EPI is based on test data from test takers around the world who took the EF Standard English Test (EF SET) in 2017, a sample that is consciously biased toward respondents who are interested in pursuing language study and younger adults. (English First). The British Library source continues; '[i]t is widely used in the media, in Higher Education and government and therefore remains a common means of communication, both among the ruling classes, and between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages' However for other commentators this means that English far from promoting communication creates a stratification where only ruling elites are able to access instruction in English medium schools. (British Library 2018).

India's pragmatic position on the use of language is summed up in this statement on the web page of the government's own Ministry of Human Resource Development which sees English and Foreign Languages as worthy of a dedicated institution:

'The Language Policy of India relating to the use of languages in administration, education, judiciary, legislature, mass communication, etc., is pluralistic in its scope. It is both language-development oriented and language-survival oriented. The policy is intended to encourage the citizens to use their mother tongue in certain delineated levels and domains through some gradual processes, but the stated goal of the policy is to help all languages to develop into fit vehicles of communication at their designated areas of use, irrespective of their nature or status like major, minor, or tribal languages. The policy can accommodate and ever-evolving, through mutual adjustment, consensus, and judicial processes. Evolving and monitoring implementation of language policy is a major endeavour of the Language Bureau of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. This is done by the Bureau through language institutions setup for the purpose under its aegis: Central Hindi Directorate, Centre for Scientific and Technical Terminology, Central Hindi Institute, Central Institute of Indian Languages, National Council for Promotion of Sindhi Language, National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan (RSKS), Maharishi Sandipani

Rashtriya Vedavidya Pratishthan (MSRVVP), Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages.' (Ministry of Human Resource Development India 2018).

This is not without challenge (Mohanty and Panda 2017) have written about language in education reflecting the 'linguistic double divide' (Mohanty and Panda 2017, p.507) between English and indigenous languages and the impact on MT instruction. This reflects both the recognition of the role of MT instruction and need for a coherent language development policy. India's growing role on the global platform is likely to see growing international activities with associated language polices for promoting these activities and to improve India's ability to engage with international partners and organisations. Aula (2014):

'It seems evident that in the case of India and elsewhere, multiple languages ought to be taught and be taught well to allow individuals not only to operate in a globalized world but to also bring together local communities that have been fractured and segregated by the economics of language' (Aula, 2014).

The facts according to India's 2001 census are that some 125,344,736 people spoke English (12.18% of population), compared to 551,416,518 who spoke Hindi (53.60%). Of these 0.02 % were first language speakers of English whilst 41.03 % were first language speakers of Hindi. The other 60% were speakers of more than 11 different languages, also subdivided into dialects. Zareer Masani writing for the BBC in 2012 questions the reality of the statistics; '...teachers whose own English is poor, ... churn out people whose English may be barely comprehensible' (Masani 2012) He goes on to quote a teacher from a Marathi-medium school telling that they were getting better results than at many schools with the more aspirational English-medium label. "The profile of the first-generation English learner is a bit schizophrenic, because they think and feel in their maternal language but need to use English in their professional world," she said'. (Masani 2012)

So, English remains largely the premise of the elite but, as it is also one of Kachru's outer circle countries, so the version of English spoken by many Indians has been termed 'Hinglish' As Masani (2012 *ibid*) says 'Hinglish, for all its occasional breakdowns of communication, is an authentically Indian hybrid'

d. China

China, or the People's Republic of China, is the world's most populous country, with a population of around 1.404 billion and is also one of the largest. Centrally administered by the Communist government, there are over 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, four direct-controlled municipalities (including Beijing and Shanghai), and the 'special' municipalities of Hong Kong and Macau. The World Bank reports that '...since initiating market reforms in 1978, China has shifted from a centrally-planned to a more market-based economy and has experienced rapid economic and social development. GDP growth has averaged nearly 10 percent a year—the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history—and has lifted more than 800 million people out of poverty' (World Bank 2018). Hawksworth et al (2017), analysts for PricewaterhouseCoopers claimed China to be the world's leading economy by GDP, although other forecasters place the US first (Focus Economics 2018). Like India, China is still considered a developing country (based on per capita income), The World Bank (2018) notes that there were still 55 million rural poor in in 2015. China accounts for 12.77 of the share of world exports, with 93.75 of that coming from manufacturing. A significant amount of that goes to the US (18.4%) or the European Union (16.2%). An equally significant amount of imports come from the European Union (13.1%) (World Bank 2018).

The World Atlas again tells us that China is home to 56 ethnic groups, and all have played a critical role in the development of the various languages spoken in China (World Atlas 2018). Linguists believe that there are 297 living languages in China. These languages are geographically defined, and are found in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Tibet. Mandarin Chinese is the most popular language in China, with over 955 million speakers out of China's total population of 1.21 billion people.

There is no single official language of governance (not surprising given the size of China) Standard Chinese, also known as Standard Mandarin or Modern Standard Mandarin, is the official language in mainland China. The language is a standardized dialect of Mandarin language, also known as Putonghua ('common speech', using the Beijing dialect in pronunciation but featuring aspects of other dialects in its usage. (World Atlas 2018). DeFrancis (1984) states that the Chinese language comprises

eight main dialects or regional variants which he refers to as 'regionalects', p. Mandarin (Putonghua), Wu, Cantonese, Xiang, Hakka, Southern Min, Northern Min, and Gan. (DeFrancis 1984, p.58).

The response of the government to this complex situation, where an abstraction of different forms of speech is applied in language, was the adoption of the common mutually intelligible official written language Putonghua. The use of Standard Chinese in mainland China is regulated by the National Language Regulating Committee. The law therefore provides Standard Chinese as the lingua franca in China. (World Atlas 2018). Participants at an UNESCO regional workshop prepared country reports describing the process of implementing the minority language programme in China and found that the Chinese Government was generally supportive towards the use and development of ethnic minority languages with laws and policies supporting the use of ethnic minority languages as the media of instruction for the 55 designated national minorities (UNESCO 2005). Razumovskaya and Sokolovsky (2012) have written a comparative study about language planning in Russia and China, which they believe share a common trait in that 'language planning is mostly based on ideological roots and economic consequences' (Razumovskaya and Sokolovsky 2012, p. 927). Hu (2005) reports that English language education has been positively viewed by the Chinese leadership '[a]lthough the rationales articulated in a series of policy statements for expanding and strengthening English language teaching (ELT) in the education system have varied over the years with perceived priorities of national development, the significance and advantages of national proficiency in the language have never been called into question' (Hu 2005, p.2). The author notes several policy swings have determined 'a shift from an emphasis on the political and ideological functions of foreign language education to a focus on its role in facilitating economic development and national modernization (Hu 2005, p.2-3).

The Cultural Revolution period had demonised English as a language of the enemy but the emergence of Deng Xiaoping as a leader brought sweeping changes. Deng understood that China needed to access technical and scientific knowledge with English being understood as the international medium of scientific and technological information. Policy resurrecting and strengthening English language education in all schools was abandoned in favour of an approach placing 'educational efficiency above

educational equity' (Hu 2005, p.5) favouring only certain 'key' schools and foreign languages disappeared from the primary syllabus. However, further policy changes resulted in compulsory education for all children and again a resurgence of English in the curriculum in the late 1990s.'English proficiency was seen as an integral part of quality education' (Hu 2005, p.7). The early part of this century saw English return to the primary curriculum, although Hu notes that this policy implementation is frustrated by a shortage of teachers and resources, especially in rural areas, 'where schools are struggling to meet the government's mandate about basic literacy in the mother tongue' This is an issue for additional language teaching in other countries like South Africa.

e. South Africa

South Africa joined the ranks of the BRIC grouping in 2010 at the behest of China, and this membership has not been echoed by perspectives on South Africa's trading trajectory. Nigeria is indicated to rise far ahead of South Africa in the global rankings by 2050, according to PricewaterhouseCoopers (Hawksworth et al 2017). South Africa has not managed to join the top ten global trading economies alongside its BRICS partners.

The OECD Economic Survey of South Africa 2017 acknowledges that the South African economy has made significant progress over the past two decades, since the lifting of apartheid. Living standards for the majority have been raised and millions of citizens lifted out of poverty, but economic growth has stagnated, and reforms are needed to revive growth to the benefit of all South Africans (OECD 2017). The OCED South Africa Economic forecast in 2018 predicts that economic growth is projected to pick up slowly in 2019-20, driven by exports (OECD 2018). South Africa exports primarily to the European Union (21.7%) which is not surprising given historical trading and colonial relationships with both Britain and Holland (OECD 2018). China features at number 2 with the US at 3 and Japan and fellow BRICS member India joint 4th. China is more significant as an import partner although still behind the European Union. Commercial services are a significant source of revenue as are natural resources and tourism (OECD 2018).

South Africa, like India, has a documented colonial past, which has influenced language status and language planning. From 1996 (Section 6 of the Constitution Act 1996) post-Apartheid South Africa recognised eleven different official languages, and according to the Ethnologue the number of individual languages listed for South Africa is 34. Of these, 30 are living and 4 are extinct. Of the living languages, 20 are indigenous and 10 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 12 are institutional, 7 are developing, 4 are vigorous, and 7 are dying (Ethnologue 2018). Alongside the Afrikaans language, which also reflects European descent, English is the medium of instruction of many citizens of South Africa. English is generally understood across the country to be the language of business, politics and the media, and it can still be argued as the country's lingua franca but, according to the 2011 South African Census, it only ranks fourth out of 11 as a home language. IsiZulu is the most frequently spoken language in South Africa's households (22.7%), followed by IsiXhosa (16%), Afrikaans (13.5) and English (9.6%). There are widespread regional variations so for example: more than half of the population of Northern Cape use Afrikaans as a first language, just under half of the population of the Western Cape speak Afrikaans as their first language and almost a quarter speak IsiXhosa and IsiXhosa is spoken as a first language by more than three quarters of the population in the Eastern Cape (South African Census 2011).

Language rights are enshrined in the Constitution of 1996. With 11 official languages South Africa has one of the most diverse language policies in the world (Kaschula and Ralarala 2004, pp.254-257). At the time the Constitution was being negotiated, a central driver was that of securing equality on the basis of race, gender, and languages as well as political and economic freedom. Language had played a substantial role in South Africa's history of discrimination so recognition of the equality of South Africa's African languages with the languages of the oppressors (English and Afrikaans) was paramount. The government sought to elevate the status of languages other than those associated with apartheid and political and racial domination, whilst grappling with the pragmatism of a need for a lingua franca in which to govern. The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was created to bring a solution to the perceived language issues and enshrine this in the South African Constitution. Its current remit stands as in order to:

‘(a) promote, and create conditions for the development and use of official languages v the khoi and San languages v sign language

(b) promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, and Urdu and; Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa’ (South African Department of Arts and Culture 2018).

There is an ongoing debate within South Africa about the domination of English in governance and whether the perception that as in India, English as a mother tongue, or language of instruction, brings about some socio-economic advantage. This is countered by arguments in favour of raising the profile of other majority-spoken languages such as isiZulu or isiXhosa, especially in educational terms (Barkhuizen, and Gough 1996; Alexander 2011).

South Africa has a post-apartheid Language-in-Education Policy (LIEP) although, as Wright (2012) describes it this is: ‘...one of additive multilingualism, and it is designed to produce citizens who are trilingual. When they finish school, learners should be proficient in their home language and in a second language, as well as having a sound knowledge of an additional language’ (Wright 2012 p.213.). Wright describes the official policy for teaching in South African schools. Children usually learn in their mother tongue for the first three years (Grades 1-3) then switch to either English or Afrikaans in Grade 4 and continue with that language for the rest of their schooling career. From 2012 English as First Additional Language (FAL) was introduced from Grade 1, instead of from Grade 3 as formerly, because for most learners the reality was that it will become the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) in later school years, and that learners needed additional support before the transition. English is by no means mandatory, for instance in the Western Cape Afrikaans as LoLT will be chosen. In 2014 the South African Ministry for Basic Education announced a further policy change whereby African languages like Xhosa, Zulu, Sesotho and Tswana are taught to all children from Grade 1 at the level of a First Additional Language. Although this is what government recommends, parents can still opt for single medium

instruction in the private schools' system, usually English or Afrikaans. (Wright 2012 p.213.).

Much debate continues regarding the appropriate medium of instruction for learners and concerns over the application of the language policies in education (Alexander 2011; Heugh 2013). The argument for mother tongue education is that students should be able to understand what they are learning and that teaching in a second language (usually English) tends to lead to them 'rote learning content through the medium of English' (Kaschula et al 2015) before they are ready to grasp constructs. There are strong feelings on both sides of the argument, pro-mother tongue and pro-English or indeed Afrikaans instruction. There are practical considerations, for example, there are clearly differences between schools in rural areas, which have relatively homogenous mother tongue language contexts, and urban schools with their diverse and very fluid populations with multiple language origins. And in practical terms the quality of teaching in rural schools may have an impact on parental preferences as well as having consequences for the language ecology. (Wright 2012, p.217).

In the case of India and South Africa, English as one of the official languages still has prominence as an operating language in the workplace, as borne out by the research in this study, although the languages spoken by employees when communicating with each other reflect a much richer diversity of language and dialect. For most South Africans they will be taught in their mother tongue at an early age, they may switch later so the second language taught in schools will be English, the third additional language might be Afrikaans, or another official South African language. Afrikaans still competes against English in the workplace and in most of the higher domains of language use (Kamwangamalu, 2004, p.207) As Wright puts it this is an instance of the 'existing language ecology of South Africa' (Wright, 2012, p.217). He also goes on to comment that '[t]he 'colonial' language ecology has been indigenised and will probably remain so (Wright, 2012, p.217). The preference for English survives its potential negative associations with colonial history for pragmatic reasons: 'Across the full rural-urban continuum, people know, with a surety that is unshakeable, that the upper reaches of South Africa's central economy, from the Western Cape to Limpopo, operate in English, and that high-paying careers and jobs therefore require a knowledge of English' (Wright, 2012 113).

Interestingly the South African Government has also welcomed the introduction of a Mandarin language roll-out in schools. A Ministry of Basic Education Spokeswoman in 2014, Troy Martens was quoted by Anita Powell in the online news agency Voice of America (VOA) 'China is South Africa's biggest trading partner...[s]o it is extremely beneficial to learners in South Africa to be exposed to the Mandarin language as well as Chinese culture.' (Powell 2014) This has not been welcomed in all quarters. Kaschula et al commented on the pressure an additional language would create in a further Voice of America article in 2015:

'It would be far better to concentrate on teaching content subjects in African languages properly alongside the expert teaching of English as a subject. English should also be used jointly with African languages in the classroom to aid cognition and improve learners' ability to transfer concepts from their own languages into English'. (Kaschula et al 2015).

3.4 Conclusion

What might the BRICS countries tell us about the impact of globalised economy on language usage in globalised economies? From what we have seen of the status of language in the five countries some differences would be expected, especially where the history of language planning is considered. For some a specific language has been favoured and to a greater or lesser extent standardised to provide a national or official means for communication. Our BRICS countries are all large territories with sub regions and populations which have multiple ethnic backgrounds. There are differences as to whether and how ethnic or regional languages and dialects have been nurtured and encouraged. There are different historical and political contexts surrounding language status. And there are trading relationships which have both in the past and potentially in the future exert influences on language planning and language status, especially in a global and fast-moving world with mass communication.

For Brazil there is a stridently monolingual national language policy and the Brazilian model represents a contrast to the 'unity in diversity' approach within others in the BRICS set, since it largely excludes its minority languages. Foreign language is compulsory in schools, with no state preference for English or any other language as

an additional. Global trading is not as strong as it's BRICS membership would have suggested. China is Brazil's most significant trading partner both inward and outward so Mandarin may well become more in demand in the future, but English is still reported as a popular second language and as a language for some multi-nationals.

In both Russia and China language policy has been at the mercy of different ideological periods. A standardised form of a national language is promoted as official by each country, respectively Russian and Standard Chinese, which we may understand as Mandarin. In both countries there has been evident political interest in English as a second language, above other foreign languages and above any notions of preserving linguistic diversity. Whilst seeking multi-national business may be a driving force, Russia and China are strong political players and have also got political ties which ensure that bi-lateral trading relationships are also pragmatic.

In India the history of language planning shows that in a vast territory with an abundance of linguistic diversity and a huge disparity in wealth national policy intentions to acknowledge regional autonomy whilst promoting a national language identity and promote mass communication has caused conflicts. The preference for Hindi is more controversial than the promotion of English which is very much embraced politically and culturally as an official second language to be taught in schools. Our survey group who have a professional background and may have migrated to urban centres like Delhi, Gurgaon and Mumbai, expect that they must converse in Hindi and English, whatever their mother tongue.

South Africa, with a similar colonial history to India probably embraces more of a concept of 'unity in diversity' with its array of official languages. The use of English for conversation and business by many of the research participants is unsurprising, given its position as an official language. Equally we see some speakers of Afrikaans as a mother tongue who either are bilingual or work in localised companies where it is natural to do business in Afrikaans. South Africa has, alongside Brazil, some of the greatest challenges to growth, although forecasts are much less favourable than for Brazil. The rise of China as a trading partner, an official embrace for Mandarin in schools and the spread of Confucius centres may have some interesting implications for the spread of second languages in the future, but this has been seen as a

distraction from the goal of raising basic school attainment through mother tongue instruction. The chapter that follows explores the relationship between economics and language more fully.

Chapter 4

Language acquisition and multilingualism

4.1 Introduction

In this study I have been investigating language status and policy from a national perspective to set the scene for examining the impact of multilingualism for the research participants. The research focus however examines the impact from the individual perspective. So, this chapter aims to set the scene from the other lens; to examine what linguistics studies have discovered about the acquisition of language and, in particular the acquisition of a second or further language.

In the research study I have asked participants about when and how they acquired additional languages and have also examined their comfort in operating in languages other than mother tongue when they are operating in the workplace. This chapter illustrates that the means and age of language acquisition may affect that comfort factor. The process of second language acquisition is one which is subject to many different schools of thought. Behavioural psychology studies on the effectiveness of language teaching and, more recently, psycholinguistics, have provided much research into the conditions that are required for learning first and later languages as shown in the reviews of Spada and Lightbown (2010) and De Bot and Kroll (2010) which are referenced further in this chapter. Language is created within the human mind and with advances in neuroscience researchers can study how the brain processes language tracking brain activity while individuals are reading, listening, and speaking as discussed by Antoniou (2017). Other research uses evidence from the observation of language users and interpretations made from that observation. It goes without saying that this inevitably leads to differing interpretations and differing implications. This chapter includes a very broad summary of some of the more prominent theories in order to identify how this might be pertinent to the findings of the research in Chapter 6.

4.2 Some definitions

This study uses the term multilingualism to describe individuals who have acquired the ability to speak in two or more languages. However, this is not quite accurate in linguistic terms, i.e. the term 'multilingual' is defined as '(of people or groups) able to use more than two languages for communication, or (of a thing) written or spoken in more than two different languages have acquired at least one further language' (This definition of 'multilingual' is taken from the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus). The Council of Europe's CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), distinguishes between 'An individual's capacity to communicate, at whatever level of proficiency, in two or more languages' as plurilingualism and 'The presence in a society or community of two or more languages' as multilingualism (Council of Europe 2019). Some of the literature reviewed does use the term plurilingualism in this way, this is particularly in reference to European educational activities. This study will use the Cambridge dictionary approach and use multilingualism to encompass both the people and/or the organisation/community. Strictly speaking the title of this study should refer to both bilingualism and multilingualism as for some of our research study there was one further language and for others their acquisition of languages was three or more. For the purposes of this study however the term will be applied to those who have acquired at least one additional language. I will refer to them having a second or further language when it seems appropriate.

Defining both terms, bilingualism and multilingualism has further complexity as, depending on different viewpoints, there should be a minimum level of language acquisition to ascribe the terms to individuals who speak more than one language, depending on the level of competence that they achieve. Valdés (2012) writing a resource for the Linguistic Society of America comments that '[s]ome researchers have favored a narrow definition of bilingualism and argued that only those individuals who are very close to two monolinguals in one should be considered bilingual' (Valdés 2012). Valdés continues to say that '... researchers who study bilingual and multilingual communities around the world have argued for a broad definition that

views bilingualism as a common human condition that makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level, in more than one language' (Valdés 2012).

Further in the literature review there may be other definitions brought to bear in the way that Valdés continues to discuss the difference between 'different kinds of bilinguals and multilinguals' dependent upon 'researchers' interests in focusing on specific aspects of bilingual ability or experience' (Valdés 2012). So, researchers may therefore classify bilingual individuals as:

'early or late bilinguals' and further subdivide early bilinguals into simultaneous bilinguals (those who acquired two languages simultaneously as a first language) or sequential bilinguals (those who acquired the second language (L2) after the first language (L1) was acquired). Researchers, on the other hand, concerned about the differences between persons who choose to study a second language and those who grow up in communities where several languages are spoken have used the terms elite, academic, and elective bilinguals for the former and natural, folk, and circumstantial bilinguals for the latter' (Valdés 2012).

For the purposes of using a descriptor for the research group in the title, I have used the term multilingual in the way that Valdes and other commentators use the term bilingualism i.e. that a 'very broad and inclusive definition of bilingualism is 'more than one' (Valdés 2012). The study of language acquisition beyond mother tongue tends to refer to bilingualism or second language acquisition and to use the terms first language and second language, abbreviated to L1 and L2, respectively. These terms are also used within this study to describe the languages themselves. I have also used the term mother tongue to describe the language that is learned from earliest childhood but in the research surveys I chose to use the term home language as I was unsure that the multinational survey group would necessarily be familiar with the term mother tongue.

It is important to also note that in using the term 'language', I have not made a clear differentiation in considering different levels of skill between speech (spoken language) and writing (written language). This may have significance for studies of language acquisition, learning to write typically builds on learning to speak and Matsuda and Silva (2010) have observed that 'as Leki (1992, p.10) suggests 'no one

is a 'native speaker' of writing" [and] 'writing in a second language is 'distinct from and simpler and less effective (in the eyes of L1 readers) than L1 writing' (Leki 2010 quoted in Matsuda and Silva 2010, p.237) Also spoken language may be adapted through dialect, use of shorthand or slang, varying across social groups, communities or geographical areas. In the societies that the individuals in this study are living there tends to be some standardisation of language which will be reflected in the way that the language is used for written communication. This may be codified by governmental, educational, and even company policies.

4.3 Theories of second language acquisition

Second language acquisition research, which has been a field in its own right, distinguished from early language acquisition studies, examines how adults and children who already have one language (their mother tongue) develop the knowledge and use of another language. It has often been driven by those interested in teaching second languages as it guides them in ways in which they may structure and adapt their pedagogy For the purposes of this study it may also provide an insight into how the way language is acquired and mastered affects the way in which an individual will use or has the confidence to use a second or further language in the workplace.

There have been numerous theories of how the process of second language acquisition takes place. Early 20th Century behaviourist approaches based on L1 acquisition saw language as habit formation subject to environmental influences (Skinner 1957 is referenced in Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.111). Spada and Lightbown (2010) providing an overview of subsequent cognitive approaches, categorise theories as either linguistic or psychological, drawing upon differing methods of research upon which to draw conclusions. According to Spada and Lightbown the former often focus on a specialised module of the human mind, whereas the latter 'have argued that language is processed by general and cognitive mechanisms that are responsible for a wide range of human learning and information processing' (Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.108). Both seek to provide some insight into how language is represented in the mind and the ways in which language acquired and processed as a capability in comparison with ways that other information is acquired and applied by individuals as human beings.

Foremost amongst those linguistic theory perspectives is the work of Chomsky in 1968 and his theory of Universal Grammar (UG). Chomsky was addressing the acquisition of language, i.e. L1 or mother tongue. Chomsky's theories were based on the observation of young children who appeared to have a relatively greater grasp of language above other forms of knowledge at a fairly early developmental stage. Chomsky concluded that children had an innate language faculty, a set of language learning tools, provided at birth, referred to as the Language Acquisition Device (LAD). Even with different environmental conditions children appeared to master the technicalities of language and acquire a broad vocabulary. Chomsky defined UG as 'the system of principles, conditions, and rules that are elements or properties of all human languages' (Chomsky 1976, p. 29). Barman (2012) is a clear supporter of the Chomsky theory and describes the philosophical underpinnings '[h]is theory is a continuation of analytic philosophy, which puts language in the centre of philosophical investigation' (Barman 2012, p.103). Spada and Lightbown (ibid) acknowledge that there have been critics although the theory of UG 'is widely accepted as at least a plausible explanation for L1 acquisition. The question of whether UG can also explain L2 learning is controversial' Spada and Lightbown (2010, p.108).

UG hinges on a critical period in early development and Barman cites Lenneberg (1967) as a supporter to Chomsky's view. Lenneberg goes so far as to place a time banding on the success of that innate facility, 'the critical period hypothesis' (CPH) (Barman 2012, p.118). The explanation for the critical period hypothesis is the association with neurophysiological mechanisms in the Broca's area of the brain which are only active until puberty (around the age of 12). This would imply that adults or older adolescents would therefore face more difficulties learning a second language. Karavasili (2017) suggests that in early bilinguals (pre-12) activation in Broca's area is simultaneous but in late bilinguals 'the early and the late acquired languages are represented in spatially separated parts of the brain' and the 'loss of the brain's plasticity explains why adults may need more time and effort compared to children in second language learning'. Karavasili also notes that there are socialisation differences between children and adults '... factors that we should take into consideration are children's flexibility, spontaneity and tolerance to new experiences (Karavasili 2017).

Spada and Lightbown review some of the explanations for how this apparent disadvantage is overcome by those who do master a second language after puberty. Many of these explanations hinge on a distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance. Competence was what was taking place internally, and performance was what could be observed outside the mind. As Barman explains, for Chomsky:

‘Competence is the knowledge of language – a tacit grasp of the structural properties of all the sentences of a language. Performance involves actual real-time use and may diverge radically from the underlying competence due to environmental disturbances and memory limitations’ (Barman 2012, p.115).

Spada and Lightbown explain ‘learners are often able to understand language that is, in the purely linguistic sense, well beyond their current competence.’ Spada and Lightbown (2010, p.110) that usually occurs when there is some additional ‘illustrative context’ such as a picture. This could perhaps extend to tone of voice, or gesture suggesting a learner could be more competent in conversation than facing text alone in a written context. Other commentators such as Lecumberri and Gallardo note that adult learners of a second language often retain their mother tongue accent whilst children learn with better pronunciation, ‘native or near native competence’ (Lecumberri and Gallardo 2003, p.116). Linguistic competence is described by Richards, Platt and Weber (1985, p.49) as being more than being able to form ‘grammatically correct sentences but also to know when and where to use these sentences and to whom’.

Spada and Lightbown (2010, p.110-114) summarise some of the subsequent psychological perspectives on second language learning and teaching. Cognitive psychology theories of language acquisition do not hinge on brain structures like UG. Instead they consider the efforts of the learner and the impact of external factors like environment and teaching/learning inputs. There are different models, but as we see below, they share a linear view that second language is acquired in predictable developmental stages. An influential theory cited by Spada and Lightbown (2010, p.110) is ‘Monitor theory’ (Krashen 1982) which focuses attention on the external influences on second language learning and differentiates between language

acquisition and *learning* This distinction is explained as occurring through a set of predictable stages, with acquisition 'being focus on communication and messaging and learning being a conscious effort to master the rules and forms (Spada and Lightbown 2013, p.110).

Krashen's theory (op cit) is that the process of acquisition was mostly unconscious being stimulated by exposure to language without instruction or feedback whereas 'learning' is a conscious process stimulated by 'comprehensible input' (Krashen 1982, quoted in Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.110). A second language could then be acquired spontaneously in the same way as the mother tongue but, to become competent, the learner required linguistic input to become more accurate in using grammar and forms. This theory has therefore been influential in second language teaching. Krashen also concluded that learners have to be motivated and receptive to the input to become competent (Spada and Lightbown 2010 *ibid*).

It is recognised that, in children, linguistic competence combines practice with 'metalinguistic awareness'. (Gombert 1997, p.43). For both children and adult L2 earners this means becoming conscious of the nature and the functions of the language and developing fluency through practised conversation. As del Pilar and Mayo note learning a language in a school context where 'there is no communicative need to use the foreign language outside the classroom' is unlikely to achieve 'native-like competence' when compared to 'learners immersed in second language context from a very early age' (del Pilar and Mayo 2003, p.78).

A further example of a linear model for second language acquisition is what De Keyser (2003) describes as an 'information processing model' where second language acquisition requires the learners 'attention and effort' producing what is termed 'declarative knowledge'; the process is sequential, declarative knowledge becomes 'proceduralized' and eventually 'automatic' (De Keyser 2003 cited in Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.112) Other models use 'connectionist' explanations' where the 'brain creates networks which connect words or phrases to other words or phrases' so that 'language is represented in the mind as a very large number of linguistic units'. (Spada and Lightbown *ibid*) Assessing these models and theories it is necessary to recognise the differences. However, there is a common thread that runs through them

in that they acknowledge that the human mind can process a new language in the same way as it processes other new information and that this is influenced by their L1.

Spada and Lightbown comment that 'most teachers and researchers have remained convinced that learners draw on their knowledge of other languages as they try to learn a new one' (Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.116). This can affect their L2 competence as they slip into constructions that belong to the former not the latter. Interactions with 'native' speakers will either confirm those errors by not correcting them or will serve to correct any errors, as would formal instruction. Other studies (Spada and Lightbown 2010, p.116) have found a link between the L1 and the impact on the development sequences of learning the L2. Research which examines the relationship between native (or Kachru first circle) speakers interacting with non-native or L2 speakers has added further insight into what helps or hinders L2 learners to move to higher levels of competence in that language.

4.4 Factors which affect second language learning and competence

Other studies have examined the different effects of learning language at an earlier or younger age on bilingual competence and how that might be explained. Singleton (2003, p.5) provides an overview of the arguments for and against and consider that a number of variables are in place amongst learners and amongst learning situations. Johnstone (2002) also reviews the 'age factor' and concludes that 'given suitable teaching, motivation and support, it is possible to make a success of language learning at any age and stage, though older learners are less likely to approximate to the levels of a native speaker' (Johnstone 2002, p.20).

Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow (2000) accept that results of studies have supported findings that adults achieve lower levels of proficiency than younger learners, but they question the factors that would account for this. Their explanation favours contextual rather than to biological factors and they believe that those who support critical period hypothesis have made conclusions about language proficiency based on unsupported connections between brain functioning and language behaviour.

'Most adult second language learners do, in fact, end up with lower-than-native-like levels of proficiency. But most adult learners fail to engage in the task with sufficient motivation, commitment of time or energy, and support from the environments in which they find themselves to expect high levels of success...this misemphasis has distracted researchers from focusing on the truly informative cases: (that) successful adults who invest sufficient time and attention in second language acquisition and who benefit from high motivation and from supportive, informative second language environments ' (Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow 2000, p.29), this success manifests in suitable proficiency in L2. So as Krashen (1982) postulated, motivation is a critical factor in L2 learners achieving linguistic competence (Spada and Lightbown 2013, p.110). A study by Nikolov (2000) of adult language learners found that about half of the sample were mistaken for native speakers:

'these successful language learners want to sound like natives, they share intrinsic motivation in the target language which is often part of their profession, or they are integratively motivated. ... They work on the development of their language proficiency consciously and actively through finding chances for communicating with speakers of the target language, reading and listening extensively ...'(Nikolov 2000, p.122).

Critical period theory (ibid) is well established and suggests neurolinguistic advantages in earlier learners but Karavasili (2017) believes that more mature learners have compensatory advantages:

'adults (meaning people after puberty) have an important advantage: cognitive maturity and their experience of the general language system. Through their knowledge of their mother tongues as well as other foreign languages, not only can they achieve more advantageous learning conditions than children, but they can also more easily acquire grammatical rules and syntactic phenomena' (Karavasili 2017).

Kroll et al set out to examine cross-language activation and in doing so examine the age of acquisition as one particular feature of many. In doing so, they consider that there are effects attributed to age of acquisition, but this has to be seen according to different perspectives:

'While there is agreement that there are effects of age of acquisition (AoA), with better performance for younger than for older L2 learners, there is little agreement about its basis. Some have proposed that there are cognitive factors that account for diminished L2 performance (e.g. McDonald, 2006), others that it depends on the maintenance of the L1, with high L1 maintenance inversely related to L2 performance (e.g. Jia & Aaronson, 2003), and others that it is a matter of proficiency rather than age (e.g. Steinhauer, White, & Drury, 2009, cited in Kroll et al 2012, p.9).

Khasinah (2014) provides a review of studies on factors that affect second language acquisition and concludes that 'motivation, attitude, age, intelligence, aptitude, learning style, and personality influence the way learners encounter language learning and may hinder or support them in their efforts to master L2.' Khasinah (2014, p.256). These factors do not all carry equal weight. Luk, et al (2011) found that the length of time spent being actively bilingual produced advantages in cognitive control and higher language proficiency. (Luk, DeSa and Bialystok 2011, p.588).

The complexities associated with L2 acquisition are myriad and indicate that, where there are economic benefits to be gained, the hurdles faced by adult learners may be compensated by the motivation for effective acquisition to a level that supports effectiveness in the modern workplace.

4.5 Psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics and 'competent bilingual performance'

The field of psycholinguistics discussed by De Bot and Kroll (2010) provides an overview of research on 'competent bilingual performance'. They talk about models that describe language processing in the brain, and which consider how people who speaking more than one language perform that task. This is an area where developments in neuroscience are adding to understanding.

Speakers of two different languages may not have balanced competence. In other words, they may speak one language more proficiently than the other. Behavioural language theorists have defined bilinguals and the way in which they might learn further languages into three types of bilingualism, namely, compound, coordinate, and sub-coordinate. Weinreich (1968, p.9–11). This terminology originated in the 1950s by

Weinreich (1953) and adapted by Ervin and Osgood (1954) (cited in Faltis 2008, p. 161-163) and as with other theories it has itself been criticised. Put simply by Diller (1970, p.254) this distinction was 'based on the belief that different manners of learning second languages will result in radically different grammars in the brain'.

A compound bilingual is an individual who learns two languages in the same environment so that the same concept has two verbal expressions. Compound bilinguals will attribute the same degree of meaning to the different words for the same concept, i.e. *dog* in English *hund* in German. They will generally be more likely to become fluent, or competent in both languages. A coordinate bilingual acquires the two languages in different contexts (e.g., home and school), so the words of the two languages belong to separate and independent systems Ervin and Osgood (1954) (cited in Faltis 2008, p.162). In a sub-coordinate bilingual, one language dominates and is used to filter meaning. Diller wrote a rebuttal on the definitions and their explanation in 1970:

'All bilinguals can translate, and the manner in which a bilingual has learned his second language does not seem to inhibit his ability to translate...compound and coordinate systems do not exist in identifiable form in bilinguals who are proficient in their second language'. (Diller 1970, p.261)

(De Bot and Kroll 2010, p.124-142) discuss the various psycholinguistic theoretical models which generally propose that human languages consist of two parts: a mental lexicon, a dictionary of a language's words and a grammar, a set of internalized rules to apply in using that language. Language production models for bilinguals use interpretations from L1 learning models on the structuring of the mind and the storage of linguistic knowledge. The development of a second mental lexicon in bilingual implies that a process of actively choosing is required in each linguistic situation. Two types of explanation have been offered for this in which a bilingual selects from the correct lexicon (De Bot and Kroll *ibid*).

Language-selective access is the exclusive activation of information in the contextually appropriate language and Language-nonselective access is the automatic co-activation of information in both linguistic 'filing cabinets' and a sub-conscious selection process. The former proposes a 'mental firewall of sorts' which targets the

language cued for selection. (De Bot and Kroll 2010, p.132). The latter explanation built upon Green's 'inhibitory control model', in which he described where 'a language task schema... 'reactively' inhibits potential competitors for production ... by virtue of their language tags' (Green 1998 p.67). What these models share is a recognition that in certain tests even skilled bilinguals activate information in the unintended language with which, however, fleetingly acts to slow their proficiency (De Bot and Kroll 2010, p.133-4). Neuroimaging studies by Thierry and Wu (2007) confirmed that native-language activation operates in everyday second-language use, in the absence of awareness on the part of the bilingual speaker but further neuroscience evidence has provided mixed support for both models.

As Marian and Shook describe this '...the constant juggling of two languages creates a need to control how much a person accesses a language at any given time.....From a communicative standpoint, this is an important skill—understanding a message in one language can be difficult if your other language always interferes' (Marian and Shook 2012). To acquire balance between two languages, the bilingual brain relies on executive functions, what Marian and Shook describe as 'a regulatory system of general cognitive abilities that includes processes such as attention and inhibition' (Marian and Shook 2012). Bialystock et al (2012) confirm that:

'a large body of evidence now demonstrates that the verbal skills of bilinguals in each language are generally weaker than are those for monolingual speakers of each language... bilingual children and adults control a smaller vocabulary in the language of the community than do their monolingual counterparts. On picture-naming tasks, bilingual participants are slower and less accurate than monolinguals. Slower responses for bilinguals are also found for both comprehending and producing words, even when bilinguals respond in their first and dominant language. Finally, verbal fluency tasks reveal[s] systematic deficits for bilingual participants.... Thus, the simple act of retrieving a common word is more effortful for bilinguals' (Bialystock et al 2012).

This analysis leads inevitably to the concept of code switching; code switching is the term applied when a speaker alternates between two or more languages or dialects in the context of a single conversation or context. It is accepted that switching from one

language to another yields longer reaction times (i.e. the switch cost and that there is a greater cost found when switching into the first than the second language (asymmetrical switch costs) and variation depending on the proficiency of the bilingual and more recently variations in the individual's capacity of cognitive control (Liu et al 2018, p.11).

On the other hand, Marian and Shook also observe that studies have found that '[b]ilingual people often perform better than monolingual people at tasks that tap into inhibitory control ability. Bilingual people are also better than monolingual people at switching between two tasks' (Marian and Shook 2012) Kroll et al (2012) examined several features associated with cross-language competition and concluded that while there is the inhibitory effect of activating both languages there are some positive effects. 'We hypothesize that the open nature of the bilingual's language system may create optimal conditions for new language learning and also for enhanced cognitive control that enables effective selection of the language to be spoken'. (Kroll et al 2012, p.1).

Although the survey group in this research were not asked about code switching in conversation, they were asked about whether they switched languages consciously when thinking and the results showed a high incidence of this, suggesting some degree of bilingual cost might be at play. Bilingual costs and suggested bilingual benefits (which I will discuss later in this chapter) are a field of research making much use of new technologies such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) and event-related brain potential (ERP) data. This technology tracks brain activity while people are reading, listening, and speaking. Computer modelling has also been used to simulate brain activity during speaking or reading (Bialystok et al 2012).

4.6 The benefits of being bilingual

The impact of bilingualism on other functions has been studied since 1962 when Peal and Lambert found that the bilinguals appeared to have significant advantages to that of their monolingual peers outperforming in both verbal and non-verbal tests, more specifically in the non-verbal tests. Antoniou (2017) provides an overview of this and subsequent research and theories on this aspect of bilingualism. In 2012 De Bruin et al had also conducted a review based on a premise that while 'the argument of

bilingualism enhancing cognitive control ...is consolidated and accepted as common wisdom' there may have been some publication bias neglecting some of the research questioning that premise (De Bruin, Treccani, & Della Sala, 2015, p.3). Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) strongly argued the advantages of being bilingual in children and considered that the benefits of being bilingual were greater than being able to speak two languages. Their hypothesis was that in being able to master two languages children inevitably gain metalinguistic awareness and apply more complex thought processes which can improve executive functions other than in language control. Executive functions are described by Diamond (2013):

'Executive functions (EFs) make possible mentally playing with ideas; taking the time to think before acting; meeting novel, unanticipated challenges; resisting temptations; and staying focused'. This includes 'cognitive flexibility (including creatively thinking 'outside the box,' seeing anything from different perspectives, and quickly and flexibly adapting to changed circumstances.'
Diamond 2013 (Abstract).

Bialystock (2009) had found that [m]emory tasks based primarily on verbal recall are performed more poorly by bilinguals but memory tasks based primarily on executive control are performed better by bilinguals. (Bialystock 2009, p.3) Antoniou (2017) observes that 'it seems logical that bilingualism would affect executive functioning in some way. Constant monitoring, inhibition, selection, and planning are essential components of everyday bilingual language use' (Antoniou 2017, p.1.3). He is however cautious in his review of studies on bilingual advantage in executive functioning which he finds. '...has produced conflicting findings, and it seems clear that the presence of such effects varies across the life span. ... more reliably detected in childhood or in later life, but to be elusive in younger adults.... and beyond the age of ~25 years begin to decline with age' (Antoniou 2017, p.1.7). For a dissenting view Paap et al (2014) tested a group of 168 bilinguals and 216 monolinguals to check for bilingual advantage in executive processing. They found that '[t]here was no consistent evidence supporting the hypotheses that either early bilingualism, highly fluent balanced bilingualism, or trilingualism enhances inhibitory control, monitoring or switching' (Paap et al 2014, p.615). Marian and Shook (2012) however, fall into the category of supporters of bilingual advantage which they explain as arising when;

'... improvements in cognitive and sensory processing driven by bilingual experience may help a bilingual person to better process information in the environment, leading to a clearer signal for learning ... bilingual adults learn a third language better than monolingual adults learn a second language...who aren't as skilled at inhibiting competing information.' Marian and Shook (2012).

Bialystock et al 2012 expanded past work on bilingual impacts in children into reviewing neurological studies which show a relationship between bilingualism and cognition in adulthood and 'a larger role in older age, protecting against cognitive decline, a concept known as 'cognitive reserve' and' delay in the onset of symptoms of dementia' (Bialystock et al 2012, p.240). Antoniou observes that 'The case for a protective effect of bilingualism on the incidence of dementia is seductive' but it is also 'plausible that any true underlying effect here may be modulated by other competing variables; age of acquisition, education, and socioeconomic status are likely candidates' (Antoniou 2017, p.1.10).

Other studies have examined changes in organic brain tissue, Mechelli et al (2004) identified an increase in the density of left sided grey matter in bilinguals which increased with second-language proficiency. Mårtensson et al (2012) studied Swedish Armed Forces recruits and used brain scans to test the recruits before and after an intensive foreign language learning course. The study found that areas of their brains responsible for language had grown during the course of the study. This growth varied between those who found the course easier and those who had to put in more effort. A control group studied medicine and science in the same period and did not elicit the same effects (Mårtensson et al 2012, p.240).

Building further on the 'inhibitory control model' (ibid) Green and Abutalebi (2013) proposed what was called the 'adaptive control hypothesis' in which they model different cognitive processes to illustrate that [bilingual speakers] 'adapt their cognitive control processes and to tune the networks of control'. They were cautious about the relationship with non-verbal tasks i.e. in making [p]redictions about the performance on tasks that are not directly tied to language control' which they believed were possible but might be tempered by the circumstances of language use. Those immersed in working between two languages (Catalan/Spanish subjects) fared better

than those who are subject to frequent code-switching. They were also clear that these were 'illustrative predictions' and therefore needed much further testing. Green and Abutalebi 2013, p.528).

Antoniou (2017, p.1.2) noted that 'the neuroscientific evidence that bilingualism alters the structure and function of the brain' was generally better accepted than behavioural studies or cognitive modelling. He concludes:

'Cognitively stimulating activities, both long and short term, lead to cognitive benefits, brain changes, and improved cognitive aging outcomes. Bilingualism (use of two or more languages) is one such cognitive stimulation, and possibly engages a significantly larger brain network than others (such as completing crossword or Sudoku puzzles or learning how to juggle), making it a likely candidate to improve domain-general cognitive function.' Antoniou (2017, p.1.13).

4.7 Language and Thought

Much of the psycholinguistic research referenced earlier in this chapter has, in terms of bilingual proficiency, focused on lexical processing, and external uses of language (speaking, writing, reading). Pavlenko (2005) introduced a focus on the relationship between bilingualism and thought. This is very pertinent to this study where I have been examining individuals' choice of language applied in the workplace for cognitive processes like thinking or planning. Grosjean (2011) questions 'why do we believe we think in specific language?' He considers that 'thinking can be independent of language' and cites the work of Pinker and Fodor, who have suggested the hypothesis that thinking is 'prelinguistic' (Grosjean 2011) He references some studies he made with bilinguals and trilinguals who mainly reported thinking in both languages when asked the question. Pavlenko in later work defines a phase of 'sub-vocal or silent self-talk' as a mental activity which takes place when an individual plans to speak and which is conscious to the individual in a linguistic code (Pavlenko 2014, p.208). Dewaele (2015, 1-17) examined language preferences of 1454 adult multilinguals for inner speech and for emotional inner speech. Although L1 was statistically dominant in the results, self-perceived proficiency, general use and socialization were linked to more frequent reported use of languages learned in later life. (Dewaele 2015, *ibid*). A

further study by Resnik (2018) investigated the frequency of L1 or L2 in multilinguals' self-reported language use for inner speech:

'Quantitative analysis showed that the L1 is generally used more frequently than the L2 in inner speech. Furthermore, high frequency of using the L2, naturalistic exposure to it and high self-reported proficiency in the L2 as well as a high bilingualism index boost its use for inner speech, as does the overall number of languages known. The qualitative analysis furthermore supports the crucial role of these variables in the internalisation of L2 inner speech and shows that they can even shift language use for inner speech entirely from the L1 to English (L2) in case it is frequently and proficiently used and in case a bi-/multilingual experiences naturalistic exposure to English in the L2 environment.' (Resnik 2018).

So, there is some recent research on whether language influences choice in inner speech or thought processes. Benjamin Whorf, in 1956, (cited in Pavlenko 2005, p. 434) created the theory of linguistic determinism, which can be construed stating that the language you speak influences the way that you think. Pavlenko believes that the debate about the validity of linguistic determinism versus linguistic relativity, '[t]he Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis', have been put aside by what she calls 'neo-Whorfians [who] forge new, complex, and nuanced approaches to the study of ways in which different aspects of language may influence distinct modes of thought' (Pavlenko 2005, p.434):

'Whorf's writings clearly show his belief that additional language learning has the power of transforming or enhancing the speaker's worldview. It is, therefore, ironic, that later on his work was misinterpreted as an argument for linguistic determinism, a view according to which the language one speaks determines one's view of the world once and forever.' (Pavlenko 2005, p.436).

Citing research into linguistic relativity Pavlenko examines cross-linguistic differences in a range of concepts, which are related to experience and conception. She concludes that:

'Current empirical and phenomenological studies with bilingual subjects strongly suggest that languages may indeed create different worlds for their speakers, and that participation in discursive practices of a new target language

community may transform these worlds. Together, these studies convincingly demonstrate that bilingualism could be extremely beneficial for enriching the speakers' linguistic repertoires and offering them alternative conceptualizations crucial for flexible and critical thinking.' (Pavlenko 2005, p.447).

Other very recent research by Hayakawa et al (2016) found some interesting effects of bilingualism on decision-making. Two specific aspects were studied, risk-perception and moral judgment. Findings suggested '...that risks appear smaller in a foreign language' and '...striking effects of language have been found in the moral domain. There is robust evidence demonstrating that individuals are more likely to endorse utilitarian behaviours when using a foreign language' (Hayakawa et al 2016, p.792). The researchers believe that second language provides some degree of cognitive distance promoting analytical thought and reducing a more emotional reaction, '.... a foreign language might not engage the emotional system as readily as decisions made in a native tongue' (Hayakawa et al *ibid*). Further research by Costa et al (2017) suggests what is a shift from intuitive to rational or deliberate thinking when people use their second language. The link is made between the inhibitory controls made in activating a second language over L1 and the inhibitory controls required to exercise rational thought over intuition. (Costa et al 2017, p.146-151). Costa's research is cited in an article by David Ludden in *Psychology Today*. His simple interpretation is that:

'When we speak a second language, we need to inhibit our native language. And when we think rationally, we need to inhibit our natural intuitions.... the same areas of the brain... are activated both in second-language use and in rational thought. Apparently, once second-language speakers activate their brain's inhibition center, it inhibits their intuitions and emotions, too. As a result, they make more rational decisions when they're using their second language.' (Ludden 2017).

Costa et al (2018) recognise that business could well harness the benefit of their bilinguals when considering important strategic or financial decisions or when engaged in international negotiations:

'Regardless of whether using a foreign language in a negotiation context is useful or not, it is important to understand how such use may affect the way people weigh the different options afforded by the negotiation. As we do not make decisions in a vacuum but rather in contextualised situations, the language we use in that context is playing an important role. Better start assessing whether and how it actually affects our negotiation strategies and outcome.' (Costa et al 2018, p.2).

In multilingual Switzerland and other countries in the European Union, higher education practice has involved the development of 'plurilingual education', in non-local national languages (German, French and particularly English, in order to respond to career mobility and job market requirements. This movement has itself prompted studies of 'how knowledge is constructed and transmitted by means of different languages in different educational settings' (Gajo et al 2013). This clearly involves a degree of code-switching, students do not only face whole curriculum in an L2 but switches between modules or elements of study. And there is no 'all-embracing educational concept integrating language and content' but teachers can make use of 'bi-plurilingual resource' to overcome problems with L2 fluency and comprehension. Teachers can make use of 'bi-plurilingual resources to overcome problems with L2 fluency and comprehension. (Gajo et al 2013, p.292). The benefit is seen in the example that 'the use of two languages gave access to transversal knowledge and to the related systems of culture' (Gajo et al 2013, p.293) as language meanings do not always translate neatly. There are also shortcomings in the risk of 'over saturation' and inefficiency in the instruction process, through diversion. The authors believe that these can be overcome in training teachers in techniques. (Gajo et al 2013, p.295).

4.8. Conclusion

From the literature review it can therefore be concluded that there is some credence to theories of critical age hypothesis in that those who learn at an earlier stage may well achieve linguistic competence more readily, which for the purposes of this study might be presented in their self-report of confidence in using a second language in the workplace. However, this does not imply that older learners are not able to achieve advanced levels of proficiency in their L2. Other variables such as the exposure to

corrective feedback, the quality of teaching input, the length of time that the individual has been bilingual, will affect competence and by assumption confidence in using that second language.

Many researchers have identified that older L2 learners can overcome any potential neurological disadvantage by motivation for learning. The Swedish study teaching Army interpreters also found that motivation to learn was a factor in the changes to organic brain matter. This is another factor which may need to be borne in mind in language planning for business, if learners are forced to acquire a further language, they may lack the motivation to become fully competent.

Advances in neurolinguistics are shedding light on what occurs in the brain during cognitive processing of language and the relationship between bilingualism and executive functions. Diamond (2013) discusses the potential for training executive functions although much of the work reviewed appeared to have been with children. The existence of a bilingual advantage in applying other executive functions like creativity and cognitive flexibility could also have some implications for the global workspace if those advantages are to be somehow harnessed. The Swiss model for plurilingual teaching at Higher Education obviously faces challenges for both students and teachers alike but there is an assumption that the students can acquire enhanced levels of knowledge in other realms whilst working in both L1 and L2 through careful management.

The research group in this current study are comprised of representatives from many different backgrounds, not only nationally but linguistically. There may be some coming from families where two languages are spoken by parents with different mother tongues from each other, or who hold a different mother tongue from that which is used in the school and outside world. Others have studied at school as an academic subject and started learning in primary education or secondary education levels, others have acquired languages by self-study as adults, by attending formal second language teaching or by absorption from interaction with peers and even by social media. Critically this research study has not delved too deeply into that detail of their language acquisition but from further analysis of the literature it may be that needs to be further examined in order to develop more effective language policies that support

individuals using their additional language skills in the workplace. The chapter that follows turns to language and its relationship with culture in the workplace.

Chapter 5

The impact of Language on Global Business

5.1. Introduction

There are over 7000 languages spoken in the world as Smith (2016) comments that ‘[l]anguage is probably the key defining characteristic of humanity, an immensely powerful tool which provides its users with an infinitely expressive means of representing their complex thoughts and reflections’ (Smith 2016, p.61) These complex thoughts and reflections are intrinsic to the engagement of individuals in the mechanisms of productivity and innovation which drive business and wealth creation. The study of the influence of language on economics and economic outcomes has become a discipline in its own right which Ginsburgh and Weber (2018) credit to Marschak (1965), who explicitly introduced economic concepts such as costs and benefits into linguistic analysis’ (Ginsburgh and Weber 2018, p. 2). Grin observes in 1994 that ‘[t]o many, the very notion of an economic approach to language sounds somewhat mysterious’ (Grin 1994, p. 25).

Language issues have often been somewhat taken for granted in the world of work and business and from the academic perspective disciplines such as socio linguistics and business management and other fields have only fairly recently considered issues concerning the implications of multiple languages in the workplace. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1997, p.597) were amongst the first to address language as a business construct. For them language was the forgotten factor of management (Feely and Harzing 2002) entitled their paper; ‘*Forgotten and Neglected: Language the Orphan of International Business*’. This has to some extent changed so Ladegaard & Jenks, (2015, p.2) in the introduction to their collection from a special issue of *Language and Intercultural Communication* can comment: ‘[i]n recent years, the workplace has attracted increasing attention from language and communication scholars’

In this chapter the disciplines of economics and business management throw their own perspectives on how language can have an impact on global business. Economic

perspectives tend to look at the economies of countries and their trading relationships, and how language impacts on, and is itself impacted by globalisation. Management studies look at the business structures involved in those trading relationships and how requiring a shared understanding between trading partners has often led to the imposition of a corporate language, often English.

5.2. Language as an Economic Factor

This study will conclude that language fluency and effective communication between multilinguals in the workplace are key economic resources. Language is the essence of any effective trade process, from simple barter to multi-billion global trade negotiations. Grin (1994) recognised this and observed that ‘...the issues studied are the effects of language on income (possibly revealing the presence of language-based discrimination), language learning by immigrants, patterns of language maintenance and spread in multilingual politics or between trading partners, minority language protection and promotion, the selection and design of language policies, language use in the workplace, and market equilibrium for language-specific goods and services’ (Grin 1994, p. 26). Without an effective shared language, the efficiency of trade is greatly undermined (Mélitz 2002), as the theory of the mind is essential to a shared communicative structure, a common communication reference framework is a requirement for effective trade.

Ginsburgh and Weber (2018) continue to discuss how the discipline of the economics of language evolved with the analysis of the role of language on a wide focus on areas such as ‘trade, migration, consumer choice, earnings, language acquisition, challenges of multinational corporations in the face of linguistic diversity, and most importantly, its effects on growth, institutional quality, redistribution, regional and national development’ (Ginsburgh and Weber 2018 p2). Marschak talks about ‘... the survival of a given set of traits of a language, possibly depending on the survival of a given social form, or its physical carrier, a society’ (Marschak 1965, p. 135). In this case the physical carrier is the workplace within a given society. In order for trade to continue between different cultures and/or people a common communicative system must be in place, not necessarily a common language base *per se* but a common understanding and reference framework is key.

The focus of this research exercise is language in the workplace in the BRICS, and it is relevant here to explore the interrelationship between economics, language and language planning as the goal is to consider whether more effective language planning would benefit in an economic perspective. Rubinstein (1998) asks a simple question: as to why would economic theory be relevant to linguistic issues? He uses this to discuss why as an economist he would be interested in exploring aspects of language use. Although he is exploring debate in his article, the point he makes is that the disciplines do not have to be counter to each other as they can work together.

According to Rubinstein '...economic theory is an attempt to explain regularities in human interaction and the most fundamental non-physical regularity in human interaction is natural language' (Rubinstein 1998, p.3). Applying both economic theory and language planning could inform the allocation of public finances, for example, increasing the adult workforces' skills in the trading lingua franca may intuitively seem a valuable socio-economic investment for countries seeking to widen their global trading opportunities. Building on Rubinstein's view that '...economic theory carefully analyses the design of social systems' Language is seen as essential to the congruency of social systems so 'the relevance of economic thought to the study of language' is established (Rubinstein 1998, p4) That would suggest that economic theory can be embraced to support effective language planning activities in the global workplace. The nature and interplay between economics, language and language planning is complex, but for the purpose of this study some of this was neatly captured by Ginsburgh and Weber's observation that at the baseline that '[l]earning (or not learning) foreign languages results from several economic incentives. The main is obviously trade but that is followed by migration and war' (Ginsburgh and Weber 2018, p.6). As we proceed to the research findings, we see the impetus for learning foreign languages differs for many of the respondents, some are self-driven and access self-study identifying a career and economic benefit for themselves, others are taught in school as part of a wider education planning policy, others find themselves compelled to do so by the nature of the workplace they occupy.

5.3. Globalisation and Language

The nature and implications of globalisation have far reaching effects on languages and by extension on language planning in the workplace. The trade imperative for language acquisition certainly offers significant insight into the nature and impact of global trade on the development and dissemination of languages and language skills and Ginsburgh and Weber (2018) explore this from many perspectives and applying different econometrics. 'Language represents a singularly important facet of cultural diversity given its ubiquity and centrality to human experience. Its impact on economic outcomes and public policies in the contemporary era has been noticed and examined by economists and other social scientists. (Ginsburgh and Weber 2018, p.2) As well as looking at trade this has to also be seen in the context of other factors such as migration, war and, maybe in the present day, the ease of mass communication through media and social media

All societies immaterial of their language base and socio-economic realities are impacted by globalisation and global movement of people. One of the key aspects associated with language expansion in a historical context, has been driven and influence by patterns of trade. In this study I have sought to look at the trade relationships that are currently seen as important for each of the BRICS countries, both those they trade with externally and how these are impacting as a result of their co-operation. I have looked to see if that has given some context to the languages favoured in the modern BRICS workplace and this may also illustrate the changing influences of trade on language. De Grauwe (2006) suggests a simple model for the relationship between language and trade. De Grauwe contends that '[e]conomic development is based on specialization and trade...[t]hus as countries move on the ladder of economic development and increase the network of trade both within and outside the country, a common language will impose itself and will be used by an increasing number of individuals. This then puts pressure on the local languages, and in the long run will push many of these into extinction. Thus, in the long run economic development will lead to a decline in the number of languages and in language diversity' (De Grauwe 2006, p.2).

Although many commentators have found some exceptions to this as being the natural conclusion, the spread of English or '*Global Englishes*,' due to globalisation, which has resulted in increased usage of English as a lingua franca, is seen as a threat to many indigenous languages by others. Wright (2016, p. pp.464-485) offers examples of both, first describing how the Catalans in North Western Spain have resisted the use of the majority Spanish language, Castilian, in favour of promoting and embedding Catalan at regional level. Then offering a clear example of where this has been the case, in the Republic of Ireland. Following the acquisition of independence from the United Kingdom in 1922 there would have many compelling reasons to move back to Irish Gaelic, but this did not happen. The movement of people between the UK and Ireland and the unique status of Irish citizens living and working in the UK were factors as well as the trading relationships with the UK and Europe. 'English maintained its status in an independent Ireland. Its economic utility remains clear' (Wright 2016 p.484).

De Grauwe highlights the value placed on a common language shared between different groups in terms of 'network externalities' explaining that by 'network externality' he means 'the communication value (utility) of a language increases with the number of individuals who use that language' (De Grauwe 2006, p.2). Therefore, as the size of a language increases, i.e. the more people that speak it, the greater its value and the incentives to switch to using it are increased, for those who have not yet acquired the language (op cit, p.3). John (2016) finds that there is an economic capital for the language itself; [i]f a common language facilitates trade, it may therefore lead to an increased prosperity amongst speakers of that language, thus strengthening the language itself' (John 2016, p104)

This can be extended to the language planning model for an economy, promotion of certain languages for economic development purposes may/would increase opportunities and effectiveness of trade activities. Thus '[t]he use of a common language intensifies trade because it facilitates communication' (ibid). De Grauwe concludes that '[t]he results confirm the existence of a causal link from common language to trade, i.e. countries that speak the same language tend to trade more with each other than countries without a common language' (op cit, p.3). We see that, to some extent, with the example of the Republic of Ireland where they took the pragmatic

decision to use English following independence (Wright 2016 *ibid*) and also with two of our BRICS countries, India and South Africa, who attained independence from the United Kingdom in the twentieth century and retained English as one of their official languages. The European Union and The United States still feature as primary export destinations for both countries, although for India imports from China have changed the trading dynamic and as we have seen are beginning to influence language paradigms with the growth of Confucius Institutes and appetite for Mandarin. It would be simplistic to say that in both cases the choice of English was a deliberate choice based on current and future trading partners, but it is a realistic assumption to identify that as one factor taken into consideration.

5.4. Language economics

It would be easy to conclude that the matter of language and trade is simply a case of the most widely used language for trade is the best outcome in terms of language planning and development, i.e. all a country needs to do is develop language planning frameworks to adopt the dominate global language, which is presently English. Ginsburgh and Weber (2018) review historical research which addresses specific characteristics of linguistic diversity and its consequences using economic tools in a more comprehensive way. They set out to understand what that review might tell us about 'the impact of language on economic outcomes and public policies' ((Ginsburgh and Weber 2018, p.2). Their very detailed study is in most part concerned with the methodologies and how successful these were in application but there are some insights gleaned on the results of some of these studies.

Language economists have explored the relationship between language and trade in some depth. Melitz and Toubal (2014) developed a bilateral trade model with the objective of exploring the many effects that languages could be seen to exercise on trade. In doing so they use the concept of linguistic distances (LD), with the objective of disentangling the many effects that languages can exercise on trade. They distinguished four types of language paradigms that might exist between the trading countries: common official language (COL), common native language (CNL), common spoken language (CSL) and linguistic distances (LD). Linguistic Distance (LD) is explained by Schroedler (2018 p21) as a derivative from the psychic distance

paradigm, where psychic or cultural distance between markets includes differences in education, language, political systems and general market economics. In simple terms differences in language can have negative impacts on international trade. Melitz and Toubal concluded that each of the language paradigms has a specific role in helping citizens from both countries to communicate, with the implication of a benefit to trade and more pertinently 'if LD is significant in the presence of the three other measures, translations and interpreters can be used when native languages differ.' (Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.34) This does not examine how successful these mechanisms are, which will be addressed later in this chapter. Melitz and Toubal (2014) also studied whether particular languages such as English or other international languages (French, Spanish, German and Portuguese), could make a difference. They found that, finally, 'all that really matters is a common language, whatever the language may be' Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.34),

Ginsberg and Weber also examined research by Ku and Zussman (2010) who use proficiency of English as measured through a data set based on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) results taken by all foreigners who wish to study in an English-speaking country. They then estimated trade equations between two. They found that the effect of English proficiency in the country largely overshadowed the effect of a common language. Which led them to conclude that their results "demonstrate that acquired proficiency in English can assist countries in overcoming historically determined language barriers." (cited in Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.34) This was borne out by Fidrmuc and Fidrmuc (2016) who suggested that English plays an especially important role in facilitating foreign trade as there is a strong positive relationship between bilateral trade and the probability that two randomly chosen individuals from two countries will be able to communicate in English.

Ginsberg and Weber then turn their attention to linguistic fragmentation. (the spread of languages and dialects within a nation) "[m]ost papers (essentially written by economists) support the conclusion that linguistic fragmentation has a negative impact on economic development and growth. They cite Easterly and Levine (1997), who coined the 'Africa's growth tragedy' expression, highlight the negative impact of diversity on economic growth." (Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.38). This study and others are critiqued in Labart (2010) in reviewing what she referred to as ethno-

linguistic fragmentation and she demonstrates that linguistic measures are often coupled with ethnicity and that increases the variables that might impact on findings. Labart (2010, p.15). Labart cautions that 'the use of other measures or concepts to delineate ethnic groups or characterize ethnic fragmentation has put this negative relationship into question' (ibid). Labart advises that 'more caution must be taken when asserting that such a complex concept as ethnic fragmentation can negatively influence economic performance in a causal manner' (Labart 2010 16). A study by Duffy (1989) concludes that although linguistic fragmentation does not affect the competitiveness of exporting nations it does have a negative impact on import levels of target countries is negatively affected. Duffy says that '[s]ince import levels and the wealth of nations have been previously found to be positively related, this implies that nations may need to minimise linguistic fragmentation in order to improve their economies' (Duffy 1989, p.27).

All of the metrics discussed carried caveats as language alone could not be seen to be a factor simply in its own right but had to be seen as one of myriad factors which would both influence economics and indeed be influenced by economics. For this study the implication was that less of the research focussed on the individual rather than on impacts on companies or on countries and that seems to leave open some areas which will probably be further explored as the discipline matures. For this study however, the real implication is captured by Grin (1994, p.1) who observes, 'economics has an essential role to play, particularly in selecting and designing language policy'

5.5. Language and multinational business

A literature review looking at the disciplines of business management or socio-linguistics finds recent commentators such as Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011), De Groot (2012), Angouri (2014) examining the topic of languages in the workplace from the position of the challenges facing multi-nationals, workplace communication dynamics and the interrelationships between corporate sub-units in different countries and the stratification of language acquisition between blue-collar and white-collar workers. The overall picture that is being built is how to address ways in which language use can facilitate enhance cooperation among co-workers or can impact on

the performance and organisational culture of the company as a whole. Language is viewed as a pragmatic issue. The *organisational problem* is 'how the presence of or demand for multiple languages in the company is managed and the *individual problem* is the experience for the individual in working within a context of multiple languages in the workplace (Sherman and Strubell 2013, p.511). There are various solutions in terms of language management and language planning which are considered from the organisation's perspective. Diversity and language may also be addressed but language tends to be subsumed into one of the many factors, which constitute diversity in a workspace. Yanaprasart (2016) seeks to consider multilingualism in a more positive perspective, which is where this current study seeks to operate.

5.6. An increasingly global market

If we take a deeper dive into the reasons why language has received increasing attention from those studying either linguistics or business two issues dominate; the necessity of clear communication and the power relationships between different language users. These can be considered from two perspectives; firstly, the impact on internal communications, and consequential impacts on productivity, efficiency and operational effectiveness and secondly, the impact on external relationships with customers and suppliers.

As referenced earlier in this study, in 2012, the Economist Intelligence Unit explored the challenges companies face when they have to operate or compete in increasingly international markets. The researchers conducted an analysis of the role that cross-border communication and collaboration play in the success or failure of companies with existing international business or ambitions to move into wider markets. Two methodologies were applied: a global survey of 572 executives and in-depth interviews with 8 senior executives representing global brands. The survey revealed the multilingual nature of the modern business world (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012, p.5).

According to almost one-half of the companies surveyed, at least one in five of their workers need to speak another language in their job, and one-quarter say that a majority of their workforce require some foreign language skills. English was cited most, and Mandarin was considered the second-most important foreign language, but

just 8% say their workers will need to be fluent in it (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012, p.6):

‘The importance of language skills in a globalised world is reflected in changes to companies’ hiring strategies. Many more companies now consider multilingual skills to be essential in job seekers and may expect them to be fluent in at least one non-native language. Linguistic diversity – or the lack of it – is considered by some margin to be a greater business challenge in Latin America and southern Europe than elsewhere. For example, 38% of those surveyed in Brazil and 40% in Spain believe the difficulty in communicating in non-native languages to be a significant hindrance to effective cross-border relations’ (Economist Intelligence Unit 2012, p.6).

In 2001 a survey conducted by Forbes Insights, in conjunction with Rosetta Stone (a language learning company), contacted more than 100 executives at large U.S. businesses (reported in 2011 as *‘Reducing the Impact of Language Barriers’* in an online publication). The opening statement speaks to the crux of the matter, ‘[i]n global, multicultural organizations, simply expecting all employees to speak one common language, such as English, marginalizes the potential impact of international talent and leaves monolingual staff ill-equipped to help the organization compete effectively in a globalized environment’ (Forbes Insights, 2011, p.1). Two in three executives surveyed (65%) said that in managing diverse workforces, language barriers existed between their companies’ managers/executives and other workers. More than 20% of respondents felt that language barriers made it difficult for managers to get the necessary respect from their workers. More than 80% of respondents agreed that workers were more productive when their managers communicated with them in their native language. The thrust of the article was that imposing a company language alone would not utilise local talent effectively and many of the managers interviewed had used opportunities to learn other languages.

5.7. The ‘problem’ of multilingualism for business

Marschan-Piekkari et al (1999) were amongst the earliest to study language within multi-national companies (MNC) where language policies might emerge, taking into account human resources (HR) considerations and the desirability of having in place

language-competent staff. They studied a Finnish multi-national company (Kone), which had 150 foreign subsidiaries in forty countries, with about 22,500 employees worldwide, of whom 92% worked outside Finland, and 65% were non-native speakers of English. (Marschan-Piekkari et al 1999, p.379) They found that companies were applying:

'short-term and long-term HR responses to deal with the language issue' (ibid 377) which they defined as; '[t]he challenges posed by cross-language ... for example, negotiating and selling in foreign markets. There are not only the obvious marketing issues connected with cross-language foreign operations, but also the internal communication and reporting requirements of a company that includes a language diverse workforce ... [a] key aspect of the role of people in achieving local responsiveness yet effective co-ordination in a multinational environment is the language/s in which they operate and which they use to communicate internally in the internationalizing company' (Marschan-Piekkari et al 1999, p.377-8).

Kone's response to the challenge 'was to adopt English as a company language. This had both positive and negative aspects: the importance of company language skills (that is, English) emerged as an influential theme, initially as a barrier to inter-unit communication flows. It became clear that language skills also functioned as a facilitator and a source of power in information exchanges within the case company' (ibid, p.379). There was an implicit message for employees that emerged; 'if you are interested in career progression in this company, it is essential that you learn the common language.' (ibid, p.381).

Some attention is then placed on the organisations response to what has been seen as the multilingual 'problem' either in creating a language policy or more comprehensive language planning strategies that consider HR aspects. Adopting a common company language was often the solution found to emerge amongst MNCs who found themselves operating across a multilingual plane. Feely and Harzing (2002) and Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) investigated the extent to which a common company language forms a barrier between headquarters (HQs) in MNC and their subsidiaries (Feely and Harzing 2002) were looking at eight MNC corporate HQs

in Germany and Japan and their subsidiaries in Japan and Germany, looking at 'the language barrier' which is explained as a barrier which 'concentrates on inter-group encounters where there is a capability to communicate, but imperfectly: (Feely and Harzing 2002, p.9) The barrier is broken down into ten separate phenomena; those which affect first language users (miscommunication, attribution, and code-switching), those which affect second language speakers (loss of rhetorical skills, face, power/authority distortion,) and those which affect the relationship (Psychic distance, parallel information networks, group identity and cognitive schema.) (Feely and Harzing 2002, p.10-13). The language barrier with its components is most likely to impact on 'the relationship between a multinational parent company and its network of international subsidiaries' with a dual 'vicious circle model'. (Feely and Harzing 2002, p.14). Applying sociolinguistic theory, the authors proposed the model as a construct rather than a solution. (Feely and Harzing 2002, p.23).

Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) surveyed 61 foreign-owned companies operating within Finland, which amongst them had 11 different headquarter countries (mostly US and Sweden) 91% used English (the remaining 9% didn't have a company language). There was an implicit message for employees that emerged; career progression was linked to fluency in the common language. In terms of the relationships between the headquarters (usually English-speaking) and the subsidiary there was a reliance on the subsidiary to service the 'local-language market interface' (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011, p.294). An individual's ability to perform or progress may be restricted by limited company language competence, they may not fully understand issued instructions or related information from headquarters, they may have to attend training or discuss their performance appraisal interview in the company language. 'Overall language fluency varies significantly across functions and organizational levels' [with] 'implications for communication, knowledge -sharing and the viability of formal language strategies. (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011, p.288).

The use of English as a company language emerges time and time again in the literature review. Even with the interrelationship between two companies where neither nationality are native speakers of English or known to have a relatively high level of English speakers, the chosen lingua franca was, almost without fail, English. For Feely

and Harzing this is one of the factors identified to minimise the language barrier. (Feely and Harzing 2002, p.20). Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio found that '[i]nstitutional pressures in favour of English are nowadays so strong that a firm must have an extremely good reason to choose any other corporate language' (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011, p.294).

Neeley (2012) is a business advocate of corporate language implementation and especially English, she refers to 'unrestricted multilingualism' as '..inefficient and gets in the way of accomplishing business goals.' Whilst acknowledging her own earlier studies where '...one-language policies can have repercussions that decrease efficiency' (Neeley 2012) she argues that, with the right implementation programme, an MNC can produce sufficient individuals with functional English skills. From 2010 she followed the organisation Rakuten, a Japanese MNC, whose chief executive mandated that all of the company's 10,000 employees, most of whom were Japanese, start using English as the corporate language. She reports on the progress at Rakuten in 2017 finding that 90% of their employees obtained 'a working level of English proficiency' within two years. 'For most people, 3,000 to 5,000 words will do it' (Neeley 2012 *ibid*) Neeley acknowledges that implementation of a lingua franca and notably English can cause problems. In a 2014 paper Hinds and Neeley reflect that the use of such a lingua franca can add layers of complication and delay in management functions. And instead of fostering collaboration, it can create cultural fissures between employees. (Hinds et al 2014, p.537). Neeley still believes in the requirement for a corporate language and identifies the responsibility for corporations in: 'building an environment in which employees can embrace a global English policy with relative ease. In this way, companies can improve communication and collaboration' (Neeley 2012).

The potential impact for a multi-national from this language 'problem' is encapsulated in the following anecdote from the BBC Capital website. In an article entitled '*Native English Speakers are the world's worst communicators*' the writer Lennox Morrison (Morrison 2016) explains that '...it was just one word in one email, but it triggered huge financial losses for a multinational company'. That one word is not disclosed as it was so industry specific it might have identified the errant employee. The message, written in English, was sent to a colleague for whom English was a second language. The

recipient checked the critical word in a dictionary and found two contradictory meanings. Unfortunately, he acted on the wrong one. 'Things spiralled out of control because both parties were thinking the opposite' (BBC 2016). One of the key messages of that article was that, rather than the second language speaker, sometimes it is the native speaker at fault for being complacent in the lingua franca being so widely understood. Tietze and Dick (2013) write about the change of meaning in the context of and they cite this as a problem for business too:

'Whenever English is used, meaning is shaped in such a way that it privileges the worldview and the economic-political interests of (United States) English-speaking groups by 'glossing over' alternate meaning systems... [t]rade and commercial relationships, for instance, maybe fixed in ways that privilege English speakers (cf. Bargiela-Chiappini's [2001] study of a British-Italian joint venture, where English words relating to organizational roles 'replaced' Italian words and resulted in a loss of 'Italian' meanings and practices).' (Tietze and Dick 2013, p.123).

Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) explored perceived language proficiencies and the extent to which, in Finland, these can be ascribed to different functions and different strata within the MNC. In most (90%) of the companies under study there was a designated corporate language and that was English. They found that, regionally, staff often reverted to an alternative *lingua franca*, Swedish, to communicate amongst themselves. Angouri (2014, p.1) correctly observes that the nature of the modern globalised workplace, 'results in a number of languages forming the ecosystem of public and private workplace settings' ('[t]he major faultline does not seem to be between HQs and subunits, but between higher management positions and 'blue collar' jobs' (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011, p.293) managers who were making the high level strategic language-related decisions were perceived as insensitive to the realities of language users further down in the organisation' (reference). Instead money and cost saving may be greater imperatives. (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio, 2011, p.293) Interestingly Kim and Angouri (2017) explore a paradigm where the language of the global headquarters (HQ) was Korean, and the interaction between HQ and an English subsidiary. They find that 'the institutional order can be (re)constructed through the [language] practices'. (Kim and Angouri 2017, p.15). The

balance of power on site could sway to the native English speakers as opposed to their Korean managers, although the Korean managers are the ones who can report directly to HQ.

Fredriksson et al (2006, p.418) suggest that it is not just a blind naiveté in the face of unknown sensitivities but that some managers conscientiously pursue ambiguous language policies to avoid any confrontations. Feely and Harzing noted that 'it is sometimes effectively impossible to adopt a single language for all circumstances' Nestle (a French company) had designated both French and English as the official languages and allowed some inter-subsidiary communication in a wider range of languages. (Feely and Harzing citing Lester 1994, 2002, p.20) Frederickson also observed that, while there may be a corporate company language chosen for verbal and written use by the headquarters, subsidiaries operating in another location will have a localised language convention Frederickson 2006, p.417). Miller et al (2013) examined 12 Danish companies as part of the European Union DYLAN Project, which was intended to identify the conditions under which Europe's linguistic diversity could become an economic asset. (DYLAN Project (2011). Miller et al found that whilst the companies officially had English as a corporate language this was not well formulated or understood by employees and at employee level it was said by one manager to be operated 'in theory only'. (Miller et al 2013, p111).

Several solutions to the 'problem' of multi-lingual organisations have been applied; Harzing et al (2011, p.11) categorised these into 'three categories... informal day-to-day changes in communication patterns, structural solutions at organizational level and bridge individuals. Amongst the former they discussed how amongst themselves those involved in communication adapted strategies such as repetition, summarising, providing illustrative examples. This was not without complexity, for example, some, although not all, Japanese managers found this culturally less acceptable. Some of them may 'fear to lose face' in asking colleagues to repeat themselves (ibid). They also found that for the Japanese managers oral communication presents an additional challenge over written communication which they could manage at their own pace and obtain translation assistance Harzing et al (2011, p.12). Code-switching was present when second language users revert to talking between themselves in their native language, for example to explain a matter expressed in company language to other

attendees who may not have fully grasped. While this might be helpful there is a potential for error in the informal translation and overall could be viewed negatively especially amongst those who felt excluded. Engineers could informally overcome the language barrier by using engineering-related means of communication such as drawings and numbers Harzing et al (2011, p.12). Harzing described this as a 'functional culture' which helps to overcome the language barrier Harzing et al (2011, p.22). Markaki et al (2013) explored the informal 'multilingual solutions' that professionals employed in in multilingual interactions. Overall, they found practices like sequencing communications, i.e. taking turns and giving people time, code-switching, using agreed lingua franca, informal translation as 'highly flexible and adaptable' although all of these solutions '...can potentially solve problems but can also generate them; they contribute to both speeding up and slowing down progressivity'. Markaki et al 2013, p.21). The conclusion was that;

'Multilingual interaction is made up of constant adjustments between the use of multimodal and multilingual resources, the let it pass and the repair machinery, which can be managed in some cases by favouring progressivity – at the risk of having to take a step backward for the restoration of intersubjectivity – or by favouring intersubjectivity, at the risk of sacrificing progressivity.' Markaki et al 2013, pp.26-7).

From an organisational perspective in Harzing et al (2011) the adoption of the common corporate language was at that point seen as the easy option. Other solutions encountered were: Machine translation, use of translators/interpreters, and use of language training for employees. Machine translation seemed to be limited to written materials (although even then portable translation machines did exist, and app technology is fast moving on this for face-to-face interaction Harzing et al (2011, p.15) A study by Harhoff et al. (2016 quoted in Ginsberg and Weber 2018, p.37) examined the effect of translations on patenting applications in Europe. Once a patent is granted by the European Patent Organization (EPO), the applicant has to validate his patent in each country where he wants protection. This needs translations and the results showed that a 1% increase in the linguistic distance between the source language and the one in which it has to be translated reduces the probability of validation by almost 16%. Millar et al (2013, p.117) found that 'in-service language training similarly rests

on need, typically as perceived by the individual employee... and is rarely an issue of corporate strategy'. Individuals therefore identified their own competence which, as competence often lent to status, implied a degree of under-reporting. Sanden (2016) suggests that companies should invest in a thorough language needs analysis and cites Feely and Harzing (2003). Once conducted, audits can take stock of the range of foreign language skills in the company, map the frequency of use in different divisions, and match foreign language capabilities with the company's strategic aspirations (Sanden 2016, p.279). Sanden then warns against a 'one size fits all' solution such as simply imposing a global corporate language. (Sanden 2016 p.281) but instead to employ a strategy with a range of the tools as earlier discussed by Harzing et al 2011 (ibid).

Harzing et al (2011, p.16) also identified another solution, 'Bridge individuals', the introduction to the workplace of technical experts of managers from the parent company country to act as interlocutor with locals, possibly making use of translators on site. This could be a short-term solution as they observed: 'If the technical person concentrates too much on the project itself, stays for a fairly short time and does not interact enough with local staff, the competence level of local personnel does not increase. Another feature that several commentators observed was the adaptation of power relationships Harzing et al (2011, p.22).

For the individual becoming truly competent in a language can be multi-layered. In 2003 a European Union commissioned project examined the language needs of migrant workers, an increasing phenomenon for the union. The authors describe language in the workplace as 'a three-dimensional phenomenon'. The first dimension is 'operational/functional' requiring accuracy and mutual understanding for technical or practical purposes. Secondly, there is cultural, using the 'appropriate register, body language, proxemics, intonation' and finally the 'critical dimension involves understanding one's relationship to others in a specific community of practice' a more nuanced and confident use of language. (Grünhage-Monetti et al, 2003, p.13) Certain members of staff with language proficiencies may sometimes become so important that they develop into what Harzing et al (2011, p.17) call '*language nodes*' They note that such communication flows are less likely to be long term effective strategies for the organisation:

'Whilst this may appear an efficient and cost-effective solution to the language barrier, it creates a heavy reliance on specific individuals. Hence, we doubt it would be the best solution for companies in the longer term. It also reduces motivation for all other employees to engage in multilingual interactions and make an effort to learn another language' (Harzing et al 2011, p.21).

Griffith (2002) saw one of the solutions was to improve the language competencies of managers in such a way that they do not just embrace the three dimensions described by, Grünhage-Monetti et al (2003, p.13) but apply them effectively in the workplace. Griffiths envisages a model where managers can acquire more nuanced competencies, with behavioural and culturally sensitivities, (Griffith 2002 p.256-265). Dhir and Gòkè-Paríolá (2002) compare the necessity of language planning for a large MNC with language planning in many nation states, including those emerging from colonialism. Selecting a language of common parlance might be pragmatic but it can also create other tensions. They cite the example of Nigeria with three official languages; they could easily have looked at South Africa where eleven languages have equal weighting in an official sense. They argue that modern corporations will have to have a 'more pluralistic linguistic ideology' (Dhir and Gòkè-Paríolá 2002, p.11). Recognising that for the corporation there is an organisational diversity that is seen as a commercial asset means that companies have to work in a different way with the 'linguistic complexities of local and regional economies' (Dhir and Gòkè-Paríolá 2002, p.11).

Yanaprasart (2016, p.92) explored 'how organizations can best manage and balance the need for divergence (complexity, diversity, differences) and convergence (cohesion, uniformity, standardization)'. In the author's view monolingual language policies are not conducive to innovation: 'one language fits all' could impoverish innovation and creativity, leading to business monoculture and standardized patterns of thinking.' and the solution is 'a multilingual model in action because this 'affords a plurality of perspectives and ensures that objects and phenomena are seen through different prisms'. Yanaprasart (2016, p.92). Yanaprasart acknowledges that there is a tension between global communication demands and local communication but sees that can be accommodated through 'the principle of pragmatic language functionality'

which ensures that objects and phenomena are seen through different lenses Yanaprasart (2016, p.102). For Marschan-Piekkari et al (1999), this plurality emerged as a reality on the ground even where there was corporate language policy. Embracing the reality of language diversity rather than enforcing English spoken with what Yanaprasart (2016, p.97) refers to as a 'multinational dressing' may be more likely to facilitate innovation. Indeed, as experts in Teaching English as a Second Operating Language (TESOL), such as Jenkins (2009, p. 200-207), acknowledge there is more than one version of English. 'Englishes' encompass more than even UK vs US variation there are Englishes in many different localised variations. So even where a MNC imposes English as a corporate language the chances are that in different outposts of that organisation there is variation in what is spoken and understood as English.

Bothorel-Witz and Tsamadou-Jacobberger (2013) conducted interviews with twenty executives working in five multinational companies located in the French region of Alsace. This allowed a fairly broad survey of the variety of language policies and practices in place and also insights into the individual's perceptions of their own multilingual skills and the interactions between different individuals navigating global business. One finding was the almost unquestioning degree of status accorded to English, which was accepted as 'the common language' for international business, although French was accorded some residual status within Europe. However, the use of English within the organisations was not seamless;

'Thus, the status of English, which is enhanced because of the distinction and benefits that may accrue to people with a good command of it, is at the same time reduced because it operates as a power instrument, a tool for discrimination between younger and older managers, between the top and the bottom of the hierarchy. Ultimately, English is a source of linguistic security or insecurity' (Bothorel-Witz and Tsamadou-Jacobberger 2013 p.89).

Hua (2014, p.234) describes the 'jigsaw puzzle' that is 'workplace multilingualism' varying '...across space, jobs, roles, sites, interactional activities and languages.' (Hua 2014, p.240) He also considers 'multilingual users should not be considered as speakers of multiple, discrete languages' and describes instead a process of:

'...translanguaging where the dynamic and flexible multilingual practices amongst multilinguals who are capable of going between and beyond linguistic systems and structures and bringing together different dimensions of linguistic, cognitive and social skills, knowledge and experience of their different social worlds.' (Hua 2014, p.240).

Essentially though he sums up why language planning for a large organisation is most complex. Multilingualism in the workplace is both a policy issue for managers and those in positions of power to control the workplace, and an interactional issue for the individuals working in the specific context. Much of the linguistic study seems to focus on the former rather than the latter.

5.8. A cultural impact on communication

In terms of the literature review there are perspectives on culture within organisations which may overlap with the discussion on language. Where employees speak another language from the majority of colleagues or from the corporation parent company there are often concomitant cultural nuances or differences. Crick (1999) quotes Steiner (1977) that language is 'only one among a multitude of graphic, acoustic, olfactory, tactile, symbolic mechanisms of communication' (Crick 1999, p.17). He was cautioning about studies on communication issues might need to be careful not to focus down on language alone and ignore the wider elements of communication. So, although this study is itself looking at language, we have to be mindful of the context of the dimension of a cultural context to the areas of communication management being explored in the literature. This is largely because the literature on cultural diversity gives us some of the rationale as to why bilingual and multilingualism in the workforce maybe should not be treated as a problem to be overcome but an untapped asset. If cultural diversity is an asset, the imposition of a corporate language is not necessarily going to foster better employee interaction if the nuance of language also conveys cultural and social meanings. The Economist 2012 survey also considered workplace culture and how that might be impacted by a multilingual multicultural workforce. Respondents regard 'differences in cultural traditions' (51%) and 'different workplace norms' (49%) as the greatest threats to the smooth functioning of cross-border

relationships. The report cites Nandita Gurjar, global head of human resources at Infosys, one of the world's largest information technology services companies based in India, 'We are a global company. We simply cannot progress without the knowhow and experience to deal with other cultures.' (Economist 2012).

Some level of diversity amongst team members seems now to be well recognised in current thinking as one of the pre-conditions to an innovative working environment. As Hong and Page (2004, p.16385) note 'In the past, much of the public interest in diversity has focused on issues of fairness and representation. More recently, however, there has been a rising interest in the benefits of diversity'. They took a mathematical approach to analysing the benefits of diversity amongst groups of problem solvers – the conclusion is that identity diverse groups do outperform homogenous groups. Identity diverse being diversity in a group of people refers to differences in their demographic characteristics, cultural identities and ethnicity. Diversity within a group of employees might be said to increase the probability of innovative thinking, because diversity suggests different perspectives which, in turn, might suggest different solutions to identical problems Hong and Page (2004, p. 16385. Luring (2007) studies Danish companies from the perspective managing cultural diversity and notes that; 'cultural diversity has often been described as an organizational asset, to be utilized in the facilitation of innovation and creativity.' The 'problem' then arises – '... if organizational members do not communicate well, the innovative potential will be unlikely to blossom'. This throws up the weakness in an organisational strategy where enforcing an overall company language might not allow the members to fully express that 'innovative potential'. (Luring 2007, p.5).

Luring cites Beamer – '...communication across cultural boundaries does not function when signs are unrecognizable, because they differ from the known frame of reference of the receiver' (Luring 2007, p.5). Language alone cannot be taken out of the context of cultural norms when considering whether language differences might impact upon innovation and productivity. Luring gives the example of 'brainstorming' a frequently used tool in creative environments where ideas are to be shared; 'This creates a more explicit need for people to be able communicate without lo[o]sing too many details and nuances. Therefore, it is clear that language skills have become more important than formerly expected' (Luring 2007, *ibid*) Luring also points out

that the converse is also true and references Henderson (2005) who comments that some issues that are interpreted as arising from cultural differences; 'are often related to language issues, such as misunderstandings, uncertainty, or whether or not individuals have made themselves clear to others' (Henderson 2005 cited in Luring 2007, *ibid*).

Luring (*ibid*) highlights other 'structural constraints.... which may influence communication in intercultural settings'. He cites 'power relations' which brings back the focus on language differences within the MNCs, where we had the managers often possessing higher language skills and accessing language training and the recognised power vested in the 'language nodes' (Luring 2007, *ibid*), possibly to the inclusion and exclusion of other individuals. Luring tells us 'In culturally diverse organizational settings, it is highly problematic to view communication as a linear transmission of information and reproduction of intended meaning, because of the complexity of the context' (Luring 2007, *ibid*). He talks about communication as 'acting, organizing, and relating', and therefore not passive but active', something that takes place across cultures, but also something that creates culture' (Luring 2007, *ibid*). Neeley (2012) however argues that although language reflects culture it does not determine culture. Indeed, she reports that one consequence of the universal use of English at Rakuten was the reinforcement of traditional Japanese customs throughout the firm (Neeley 2012).

Luring's respondents acknowledged that changes in the manner of communication could impact on nuances that convey additional levels of meaning, for example in a more formal approach with less humour the recipients perceive things said in a different way as to when the message is conveyed with some humour. 'It became gradually clear through the interviews that language, in one way or another, is linked to all other intercultural issues put forward by the informants...it is not only the purely linguistic differences that create the obstacles, but also the social organization of those differences in communication' (Luring 2007, p.5). The importance of Luring's study is his conclusion that language skills may have a much stronger impact on innovative interaction than perhaps described in previous diversity management studies. It was not simply any functional difficulties arising from the relative language skills of the native and non-native employees being studied but their perception of social

fragmentation, as much as any limitations in the understanding of other messages communicated by employees coming from differing nationalities. He goes on to say; 'Cultural diversity has often been described as yielding competitive advantages like, for example, innovation resulting from the combination of different cultural perspectives. However, there are also substantial organizational problems related to managing cultural diversity, which need to be overcome in order for diversity to be a useful asset' (Lauring 2007, p.5).

As Ladegaard and Jenks summarize (2015, p.2): 'Every day, people around the world have to engage in unfamiliar cultural and linguistic practices in the workplace in order to solve problems, sell products or concepts, negotiate terms and prices, or simply to get the job done. More often than not, workplace practices are carried out in a second or third language and with people who not only have different cultural values and norms but also little knowledge of, and specific training to deal with, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity.'

5.8 Economic returns for individuals

Economic studies have sought to establish the economic returns to language learning and usage for individuals. Theories based on human capital have attempted to put a value on education and learning '...knowledge and skills acquired through educational investments increase human productivity' (Brewer et al. 2010 cited in Schroedler, 2018 p. 10) Schroedler goes on to say that 'skills constitute a component of human capital is however commonly agreed upon and quotes Chiswick and Miller (1995):

'Language skills are an important form of human capital. They satisfy the three basic requirements for human capital: they are embodied in the person; they are productive in the labor market and/or in consumption; and they are created at a sacrifice of time and out-of-pocket resources' (Chiswick and Miller 1995 cited in Schroedler 2018 p10).

Schroedler also cites Grin who separates market and 'non' market value argues that a precise value of a language cannot be measured, although market value can be attributed to the relationship between language skills and rates of return. Bourdieu had postulated a 'linguistic capital' for individuals that they can exploit both financially and

culturally, but that does sit within the economics of language as a measurable metric. (Schroedler 2018 p18)

Other academic papers on returns to language learning are concerned with immigrants seeking to assimilate on migration, although Ginsburg and Weber find that there are also a couple of studies that look at the issue of nationals whose objective may be to acquire foreign languages that they use at their workplace. Open source studies often link back to organisations with a financial or non-objective interest in the outcome of the findings, institutes like the British Council (whose 2013 economic return analysis has been referenced in Chapter 2) or data sets like the EF English Proficiency Index produced by Education First an international language learning supplier. Ginsburg and Weber also identify the problem that also affects comparisons with academic attainment on earnings 'both education and earnings may depend on unobservable individual skills and talent and indeed other factors. Hence, as Levinsohn (2006) found in South Africa, '...returns to speaking English increased between 1993 and 2000, for Whites but not for Blacks' (Levinsohn cited in Ginsburg and Weber 2018, p.43)

5.9. Conclusion

Francois Grin writes about how 'linguistic and economic processes influence one another' (Grin 2003, p.1). This chapter has served to provide a very brief overview of that relationship. Ginsburg and Webber explored the many sub-relationships between language and economics: 'trade, migration, consumer choice, earnings, language acquisition, challenges of multinational corporations in the face of linguistic diversity, and most importantly, its effects on growth, institutional quality, redistribution, regional and national development' (Ginsburgh and Weber 2018, p.2). Rubenstein illustrated that the common feature was the interaction of humans in economic processes and language as a means of communication is almost too essential not be considered as part of economic considerations. Globalisation has driven trade in ways that involve ever increasing demands on communication, and one of the consequences as we have seen earlier in the study has been the imposition of a common language, which

we have recognised is and will remain for some time yet to come, English hegemony and trade have had a cause and effect relationship.

From the literature view above it is clear that 'the problem of language' has long been recognised by companies and, in particular, multinational corporations. This has been much studied especially in relation to multi-national corporations (MNCs) Feely and Harzing (2002), Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011), Harzing et al (2010). The response to an increasingly multi-lingual workforce, spread across one organisation or across a group of subsidiaries based in multiple locations is often to mandate a corporate language. The reality is often that this intention is not realised in practice, subsidiaries continue to use local languages, especially if they serve local markets. The use of a corporate language can assist in global trading relationships as companies need to communicate with each other to trade effectively but there is often an internal cost. Lack of language proficiency, lack of confidence in second language users and inconsistencies in enforcement can cause disruption to communication within companies and between headquarters and subsidiaries. As the Forbes article states:

'In global, multicultural organizations, simply expecting all employees to speak one common language, such as English, marginalizes the potential impact of international talent and leaves monolingual staff ill-equipped to help the organization compete effectively in a globalized environment' (Forbes Insights, 2011, p.1).

Companies wishing to exploit multilingualism and cultural diversity, must clearly consider what is happening between individuals and promote communication not simply by language training but by using more thoughtful approaches to the interaction between cultures. This is what is termed the 'paradox of diversity' by Bassett-Jones (2005, p.169). 'Firms seeking competitive advantage therefore face a paradoxical situation. If they embrace diversity, they risk workplace conflict, and if they avoid diversity, they risk loss of competitiveness'. His answer lies in 'effective leadership, which can only be provided by suitably trained managers' fostering a culture of openness and trust within their organisations (Bassett-Jones 2005, p.173). The real answer, in the view of Harzing et al (2010) on language policy, is that it will require a

multi-faceted human resource management approach. And that needs to be one that embraces multilingualism as a business asset, rather than treating it as an organisational problem.

It is probably of no surprise that the more standardisation inherent in a country's linguistic profile the more they are seen to benefit from trading relationships, as their trading partners will have better chances of forging communication channels. For individuals in the workplace there are perceived to be measurable economic benefits (wage premiums) in acquiring the language of business, which as we have seen is often English but there is less clarity from an economic perspective on the returns to such factors as wider cultural parameters or wider networks and influences.

This chapter has explored the relationship between language and economics, the relationships between language and organisational function in the workplace and the impact that cultural dynamics can have on workplace communication. In the chapter that follows the data that has been researched from the BRICS nations is presented to give a sense of how use of language has impacted the individuals within the workplace.

Chapter 6

The experience of language use within BRICS countries (primary research)

6.1 Introduction

This research study was designed to investigate the value of being a multilingual individual in the workplace within the BRICS countries. The primary research, carried out by surveys and interviews has:

1. Explored the status of language usage in the workplace across BRICS nations and tested whether English emerges as a dominant language by identifying the languages used for work and conversation in workplaces within the BRICS locations.
2. Explored how operating in a second language might impact on creativity and innovation by seeking the views of those contacted.

This chapter describes the findings from the research data gathered and seeks to draw together some conclusions on the key questions (identified above), having been considered against the background information gathered through the literature review.

6.2 Research process

The primary research was directed at two subject groups, firstly Human Resources (HR) personnel in each of the 5 BRICS countries and then individuals working in each country. The intention was to examine the status of language usage in the workplace. Were different languages used, how prevalent was English as a language of business?

This information was gathered from both HR professionals and from individual employees. One method used to contact HR professionals in multi-national organisations was LinkedIn where, by randomly sending out the request, we got a reasonable response. The other was to exploit networks with international connections. This worked especially well in Russia, Brazil and China where without

some personal links it would have been extremely difficult. The survey was translated for all these countries in order to make it more accessible. The survey questions (Appendix 2) deliberately did not ask about the use of English as the intention was to establish which the reported dominant language in the BRICS workplace would be, without steering the respondent towards English. By asking about language policies I was also able to test whether this is linked to any overt policies.

The second piece of primary research also used both a survey and some interviews to explore the impact of a multilingual capability for individuals in the world of work in 2017/18, the period of survey. The key question being investigated here was whether the challenges posed for the second language speaker are outweighed by advantages of being bilingual or multilingual? Individual workers were asked to reflect on their own language capabilities, experiences and perspectives on impact in the workplace. The same dual approach of using LinkedIn and personal networks was also applied.

Although the intention was to use individuals from the same company as the HR surveys this did not happen as HR people did not circulate the survey to their own workers and the request had to be broadcast through LinkedIn, resulting in responses from different workplace contexts. I had hoped to secure at least 20 respondents in each of the BRICS countries but in the end, even after pushing networks for co-operation, the sample sizes varied from 7 in Brazil to 26 in Russia which skews the statistical value of the data as a comparison set but gives some limited insight which could be followed up by further research in the future. The completed surveys in translated and original form can be found in Appendix 3.

The interviews were conducted after the surveys had been completed. This was to enable some more nuanced replies to identify in more detail how comfortable respondents were in using a second or multiple languages in the workplace. The English version of the interview questions is attached in Appendix 3. This was a less successful process and resulted in many lessons for an inexperienced researcher.

Given the language differences, the interview process was sub-contracted to colleagues who could conduct the interview in the majority language of the country, and this resulted in a loss of direct control over the research. The online questionnaire included a question of the willingness of the original respondents to participate in a

more focussed qualitative interview via Skype, with the aim to secure 5-10 interviews in each country. This secured a varying response. Only 3 persons in China responded to say yes to being interviewed and then, when they were contacted by the Chinese interviewer, did not respond. This was explained by the interviewer as likely to have been as a result of a natural reticence in China to give personal information.

The Brazilian surveys likewise resulted in 5 positive responses, but the Brazilian interviewer became too busy with her own studies to follow these up and I could not secure the contact details to follow up with an alternative Portuguese speaker. This meant that for two countries there were no follow up interviews. In Russia there were 34 people interviewed, more than those who completed the online survey. The Russian interviewer did not return the individual responses but submitted a composite of the findings, which lost some of the hoped-for detail and it was not quite clear what was the language of the workplace in that sample, with indications that it might have been predominately Russian. This left South Africa and India, where interviews were conducted directly by Skype and which resulted in 6 and 5 responses respectively.

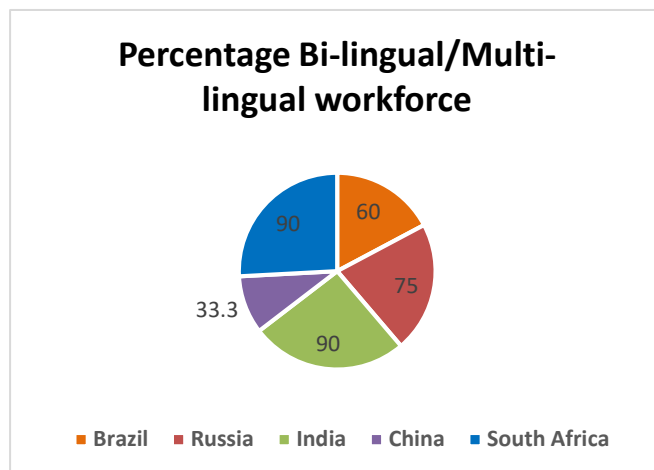
I have been able to supplement my data by similar research carried out in December 2014 which has not been previously published. The authors of the paper; Kaschula, Wolff, Isle and Mostert, had set out to explore language policies in the workplace in the BRICS countries and to identify the implications or otherwise of English hegemony across the different global contexts. I have had access to both the raw data and the findings of that research team. A survey was conducted in each of the target BRICS countries through an e-mail request sent by in-country researchers to between 80 and 150 human resources and/or company managers. The response rates varied considerably, with the largest response from Russian companies (80 responses), followed by China (37), Brazil (35), South Africa (19) and India (12). The results of the survey questions used in this research, which are not identical to the present research exercise but have some overlaps, are attached as Appendix 2. I will use this research to add some additional context to my own findings.

6.3 The status of language usage workforce in the BRICS countries.

The survey sent to HR personnel attracted 52 responses across the five countries. This was not quite evenly spread. The best response was from Russia (15 responses)

where a Russian language speaking researcher had been asked to assist with the process. The least was in China (again assisted by a Mandarin speaker) where there were 6 responses. The full results are attached as Appendix 4. In the following sections the data is presented in chart form and the source identified as either; **'HR Personnel'** [survey], **'Individuals'** [survey] or **Interviews** [of individuals].

The survey request for HR personnel was targeted at those working in multinationals, but it was difficult to confirm indirectly whether that is where they operated, and so the question was included in the survey. In fact, the majority of the HR personnel were working in multi-national companies, except in Russia. This mixed composition may have impacted on the outcome in Russia to some extent. Perhaps it not so surprisingly that the percentage of employees then reported as bilingual or multilingual was fairly high across the board with the lowest level being Brazil at 80%. So even in countries like Brazil where there is a clear majority language a multilingual workforce reflects the context of modern global business.

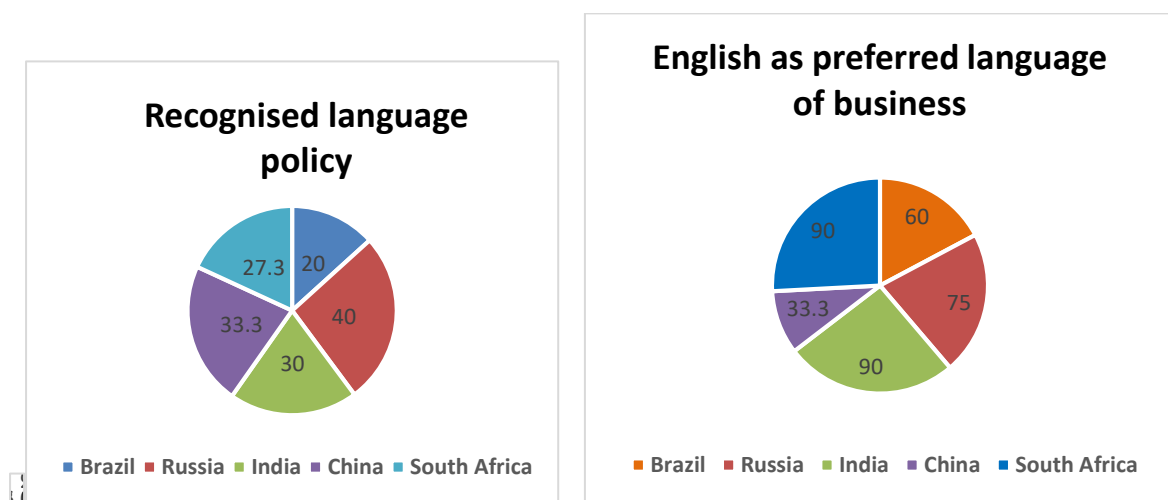


HR Personnel

Only a small number of companies reported to have a conscious language policy as shown below. The December 2014 research also reported only 15.44% of the companies had a language policy. The majority were either not sure or were clear there was no language policy. Interestingly in our own research where there were positive responses to that question the requirement for English scores significantly as a policy for all countries other than China (0%) and South Africa which scores only 9.1% which might reflect more that it is not required as a policy because it emerges naturally as the language of business through the historical dominance of English. When the

question is phrased as ‘What is the preferred language for conducting business?’ English features strongly in most of the BRICS countries, and even in Russia and China where the national languages are still prevalent there is a significant amount of English.

The importance of English as a language of business was also borne out by the December 2014 research which found that there was a wide spread from 10% feeling that it was not important at all to 18.6% allocated a score of 10 on importance (based on a Likert scale of 1-10). The bias in the results fell towards 10 with 70.7% of the respondents scoring the importance of English as being 5 or greater.



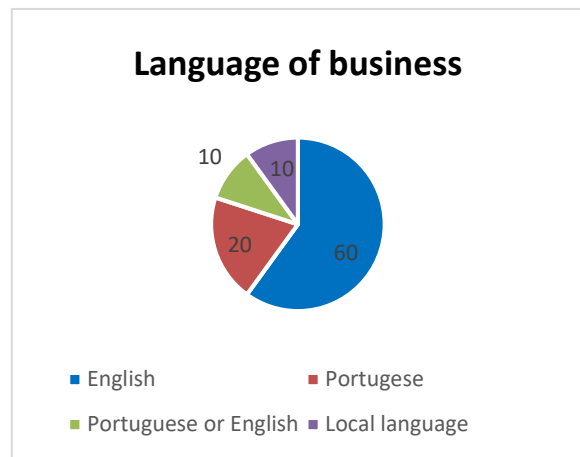
HR Personnel

This does not, however, mean that English is favoured to the exclusion of the mother tongues, or other languages, in all of the BRICS countries. When we look at the country results there is a more complex picture and we gain more context when looking at the reported languages spoken in the workplace. This was explored within the surveys of both the HR personnel and the employees.

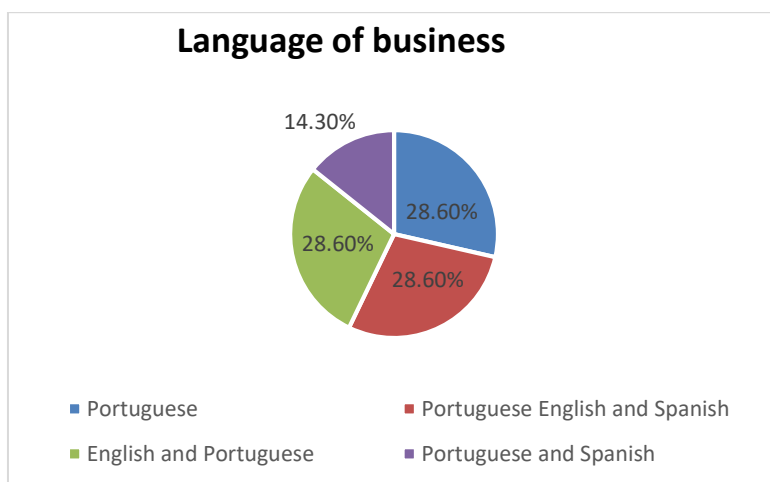
a. Brazil

From our desktop research we know that the majority of the Brazilian population are monolingual Brazilian Portuguese speakers who will never learn a second language (Massini-Cagliari 2003, p.3) but those who answered a request to participate came from multinational companies. Both our HR and individual surveys confirmed Brazilian Portuguese as the recognised mother tongue. Our HR survey showed only 20% used

Portuguese as the language of business. The predominant language for business in Brazilian multi-nationals was reported as English (a reported 60% preferential use of English in the sample of 10 multi-national organisations). As only 10% reported a clear language policy this would seem to be a pragmatic choice. The results in the survey of individuals would appear to produce a more mixed result but Portuguese featured as a similar 28% and a combination of English and Portuguese or English and Spanish produced a majority result of 57.2% which in reality mirrors the HR respondents in terms of the significance of English as a non-local language. The use of Spanish, as a second language as all the individual respondents had Portuguese as mother tongue, most likely reflects the other main trading partner for Brazil, Argentina



HR Personnel



Individuals

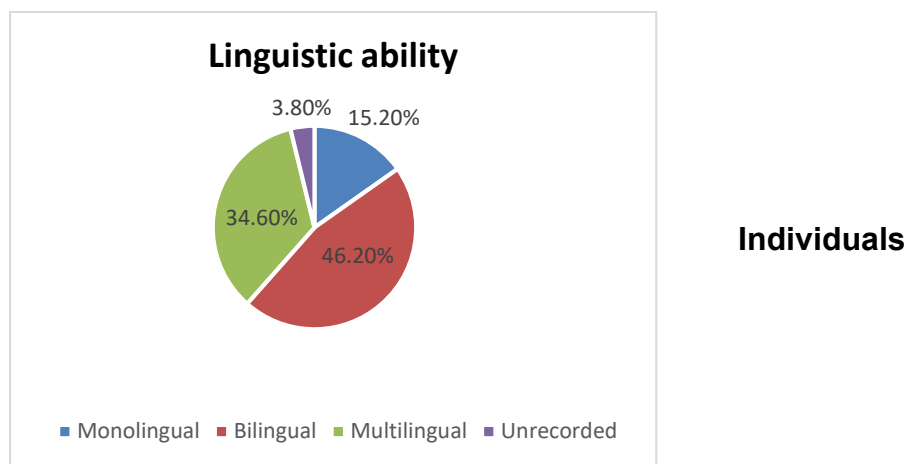
As already discussed above, Brazil is the eighth largest economy in the world and the largest in Latin America but has been subject to quite strong financial fluctuations since Jim Goldman positioned them within the BRIC in 2001. In 2007, Brazil discovered significant amounts of oil off of her coast that indicated good prospects as a distributor and exporter of oil worldwide through Petrobras, Brazil's state-owned energy corporation. According to a Columbia University report on The Top 20 Brazilian Multinationals: in 2017 the top foreign investment destinations of the ranked Brazilian MNEs were first United States second Argentina and thirdly China. Mining, Oil and Gas Extraction, the Primary Metal Manufacturing, Food Manufacturing, and the Paper and Allied products industries comprised more than 84% of the foreign assets. For the 20 ranked firms, foreign employees represented an overall average of 18% of the total number of employees and six of the top 20 Brazilian multinational enterprises had foreign nationals on their board of directors. The head office (the place where strategic decisions affecting the enterprise group as a whole are taken) of each of the top 20 Brazilian MNEs was located in the South or in the Southeast of Brazil. (Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment, 2017, p.2-4). Our research group of individuals was also based in Sao Paulo and we can see a high level of bilingualism/multilingualism, not representative of the wider population, with 85.8% speaking more than one language. Whilst we see a strong trading relationship with China there was little evidence of Mandarin being a usable language. The implication is that English represents an acceptable *lingua franca*. The HR sample also probably included a Japanese company as Japanese was an interesting outlier which featured in the workplace but was not reported as a language of business. This may be accounted for by the phenomenon of the Japanese community in Sao Paulo, home to the largest Japanese population outside of Japan. (Marshall 2017).

b. Russia

Like Brazil, Russia has a predominant language with 81% of Russia's estimated 150m population using Russian as their first and only language. The remaining 19% then speak an array of minority languages. This was mirrored in our research findings with the most common language reported by the HR personnel as Russian at 83.3% and 90.5% of survey respondents reporting Russian as mother tongue (2 speaking English and Ukrainian). However, our respondents represented a much more multilingual

cohort. The HR responses suggested 91.7% of the workforce were considered multi-lingual and the clear majority of individual respondents were bilingual or multi-lingual at 80.8%. Of the latter 80% could speak English, and 36% spoke several languages.

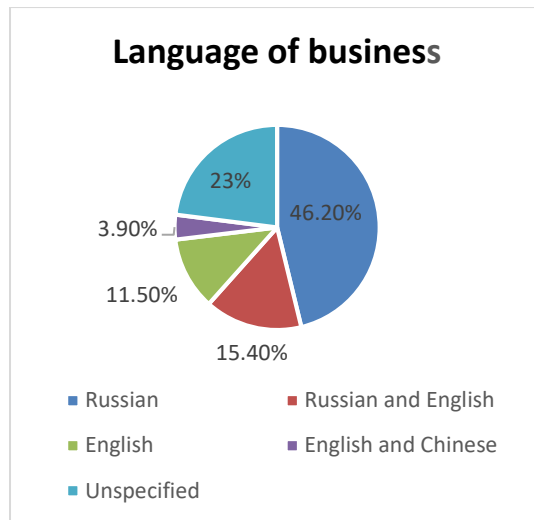
Our Russian companies were mainly multinationals (66.6%) with 26.7% of the HR respondents reporting English as a language of business within their companies (either alone or in combination). When asked about language policies, 20% reported a language policy which determined English for at least documentation and a further 13.3% were offering English language training to employees. Amongst the individuals, about 30.8% reported English as a language of business but 76% reported themselves as English speaking (to the level of 'good mastery'). This seemed to indicate a greater willingness to learn English by personal choice. Quite a few had studied other languages post school, and some had studied language at school.



When we look at the language of business, we get an equally more nuanced response. Overall, English either alone or combined features in both samples. Considering the analysis of trading according to the World Trade Organisation in 2018 shows that the Russian Federation mainly trades both inwardly and outwardly with the European Union this would be expected. (World Bank, 2018). Chinese featured as an outlier with Ukraine. As Ukraine is a former member of the Soviet Union some interplay might be expected. China is the second main trading partner for Russia so was not a surprising inclusion, and 8% of the individuals reported speaking Chinese.



HR Personnel

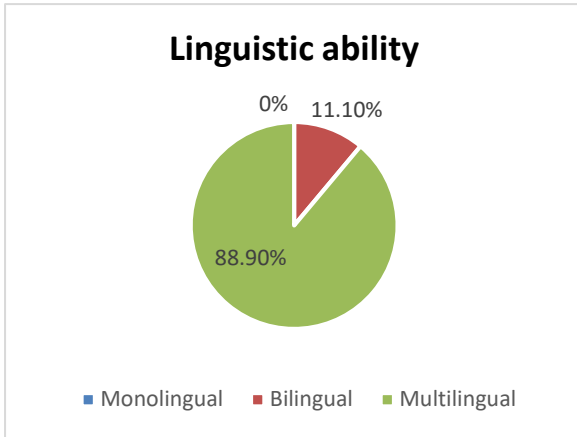


Individuals

c. India

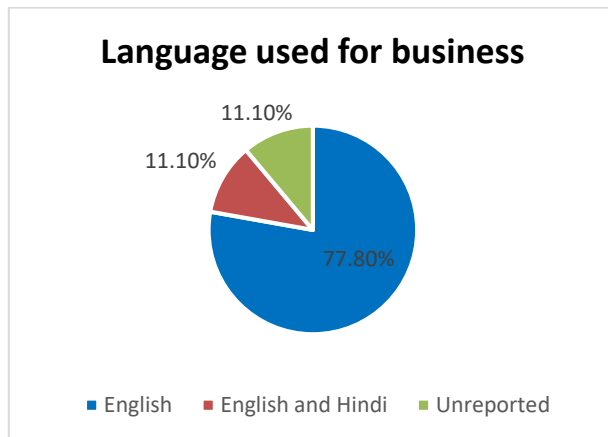
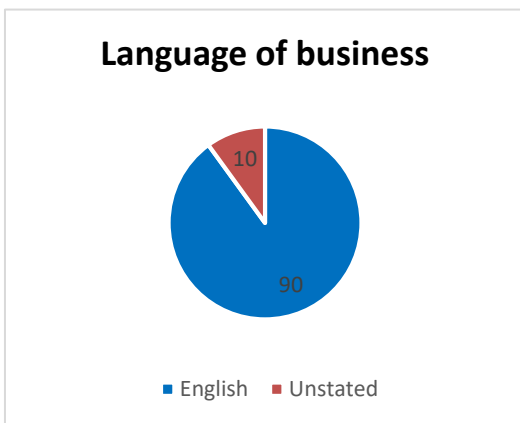
Our Indian HR professionals reported a resounding 100% multi-lingual workforce with 80% working in Multinational companies. India is very different to Brazil and Russia and may have more in common linguistically with South Africa. One difference is that while there are multiple mother tongues (literally hundreds) Hindi is the official language of central government but English is an official sub-language and is widely spoken in commerce and educational settings (New World Encyclopedia 2018). There are different regional languages and dialects, but English is widely used in the media, although only 4% of the population speak it.

In terms of multilingualism the individual respondents spoke several languages and reported multiple languages being spoken in their workplaces. The range reflected some of India’s linguistic diversity; English, French, Tamil, Hindi, Telugu, Malayalam, Bengali, Marathi, Oriya, Kannada, Gujarati and Marathi. As the sample came from LinkedIn it would be difficult to pinpoint anyone location.



Individuals

Only 30% of the HR respondents declared a recognised language policy, and this was the use of English but 90% indicated that English was the preferred language for conducting business, a prevalence which was mirrored by the individual responses.



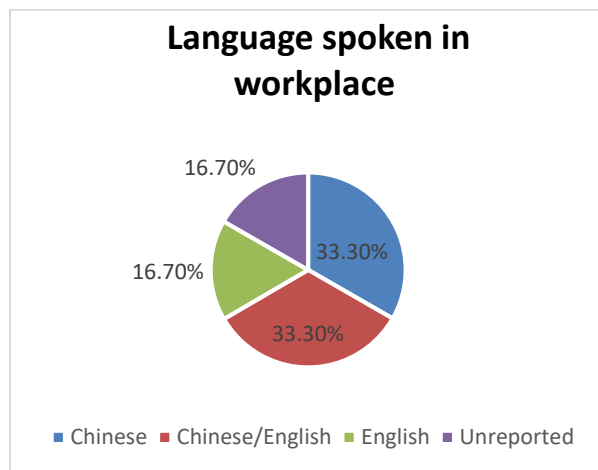
HR Personnel

Individuals

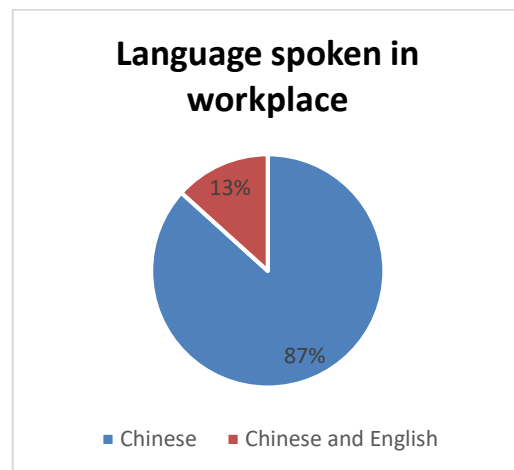
d. China

In China we have a mixed picture of the profile of multilingualism with the workforce. Standard Chinese, also known as Standard Mandarin or Modern Standard Mandarin, is the official language in mainland China. Our surveyed HR personnel were all from multinational companies but, at 6 responses, this was the smallest sample which skews the proportionality. 100% reported the workforce as bi-lingual or multi-lingual. English featured quite significantly, with 66.6% either English or English combined with Chinese. This was not replicated in our survey of Individuals, which was somewhat

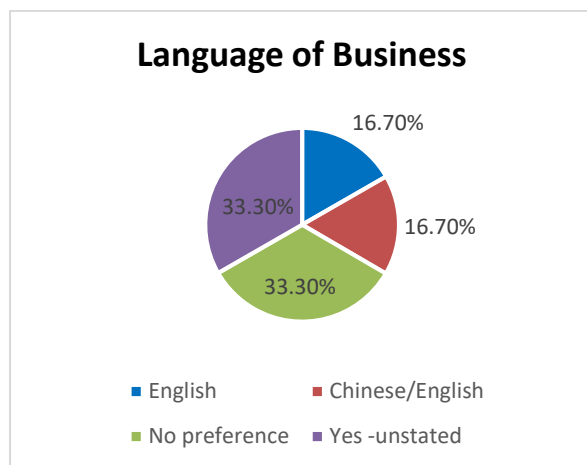
larger (15). By contrast, only 20% reported themselves as multilingual and, of those, English was the additional language. They reported Chinese as being the predominate language spoken. When it comes to the language of business, our small sample of HR personnel gave a mixed picture but perhaps surprisingly English did feature significantly, not echoed by the individuals where Chinese was a resounding majority.



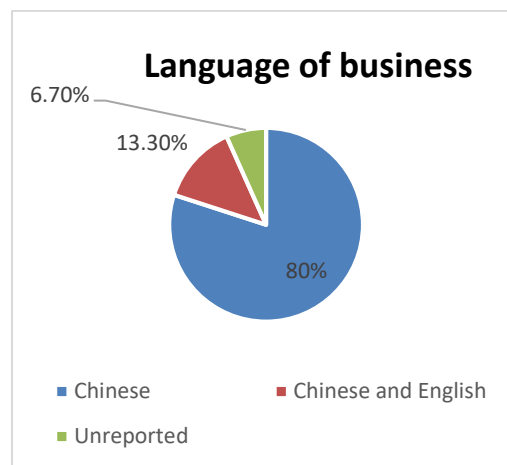
HR Personnel



Individuals



HR Personnel

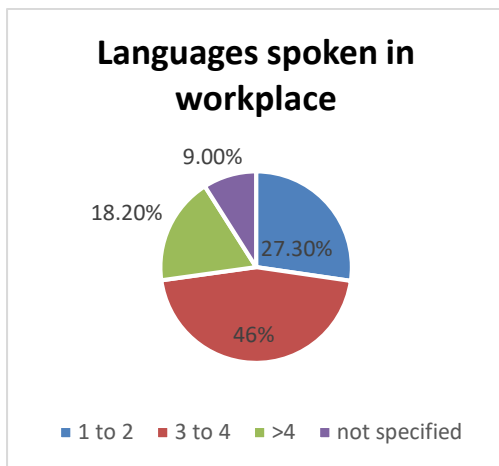


Individuals

e. South Africa

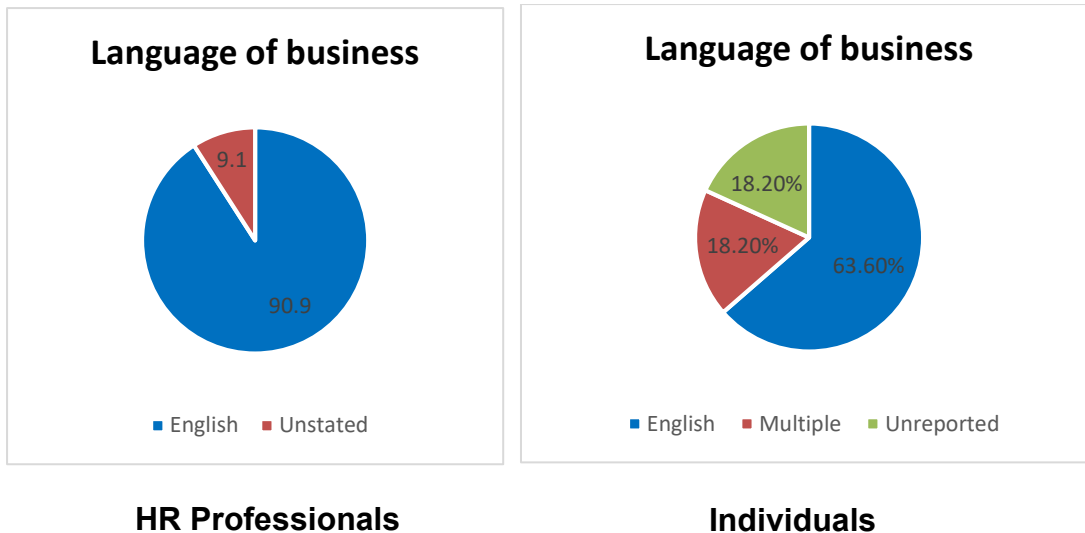
The HR professionals in South Africa were largely from multinational companies (90.9%) which made it less surprising that they reported a universally bi-lingual/multi-

lingual workforce. This was close to the individual responses of 91.9% bi-lingual/multi-lingual. The range of languages reported in the workplace differed considerably. Our HR professionals only cited Zulu as an alternative to English as the language used within the workplace, whereas a much richer variety emerged in the individuals reporting; Tshivenda, Zulu, Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Tswana, Xhosa, Portuguese, Shona, Tsonga, Sotho, and Swati.



Individuals

The HR professionals did not generally recognise any language policies, one stated that ‘Yes, most of the official business will be conducted in English, local languages reserved for personal interactions’. They reported English was the predominate language at 90% and, interestingly, when examining the results for individuals, this changes as English features at 63.6 % which might be affected by the location of those reporting or the nature of their workplace. The small sample sizes are balanced but still relatively small (11) which also exacerbate percentage differences. There is some difference between the two groups, but this still leaves English as a majority language of business. Where there were alternative languages it was not stated which they might be.



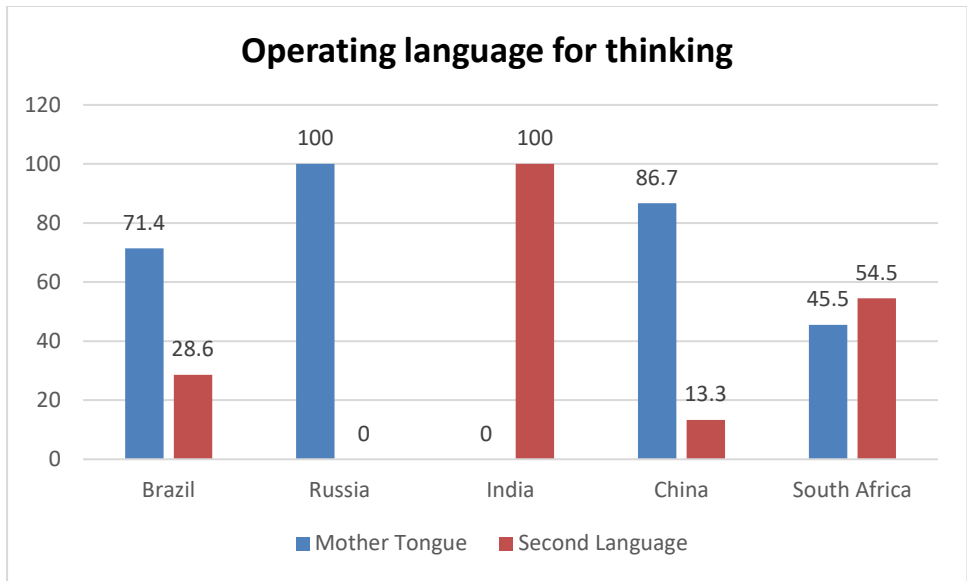
6.4 The impact of multilingualism for individuals

Having set the scene in determining what the context of language use might be for the research group, further enquiry was conducted amongst the surveyed individuals about how they themselves used their language skills and how they perceived this might have an impact. This was then taken further by using interviews with a small selection of people in each country. Both sets were asked some identical questions, which allowed some comparison of results, but the sample size for interview was generally smaller which skews the proportionality and there are no interviews for China or Brazil.

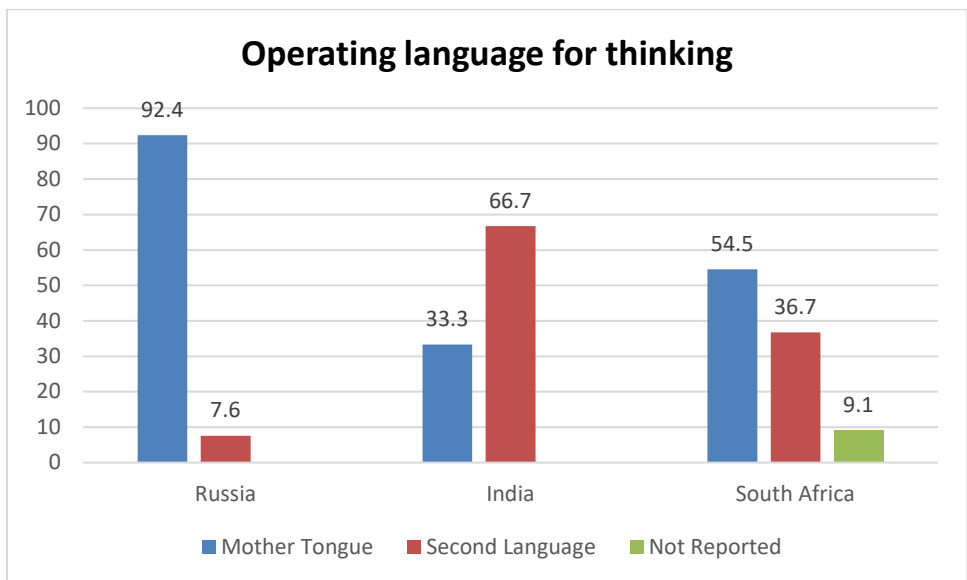
6.5 Language and thought process

Both groups were asked 'When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?' On reflection this was not the best way to frame the question as it was too close to what language is spoken and the intention was to elicit what language they might use when they need to reflect or consider when in conversation. The responses for the different groups are shown here. Those interviewed got to think about their answer and in all cases some people chose to say they would think in both languages which was not suggested by any of the surveyed

individuals across the five countries. Both the written question and the interview question were identical but in writing that may have posed more directly as a choice between two home language or second language whereas in interview there was scope for the respondent to discuss the question and so the variation of sometimes it's one and sometimes the other did arise. They were also asked about their comfort in using second languages. The results are therefore affected by the methodology and are presented separately, not amalgamated, but viewed together do present some useful information.



Individuals



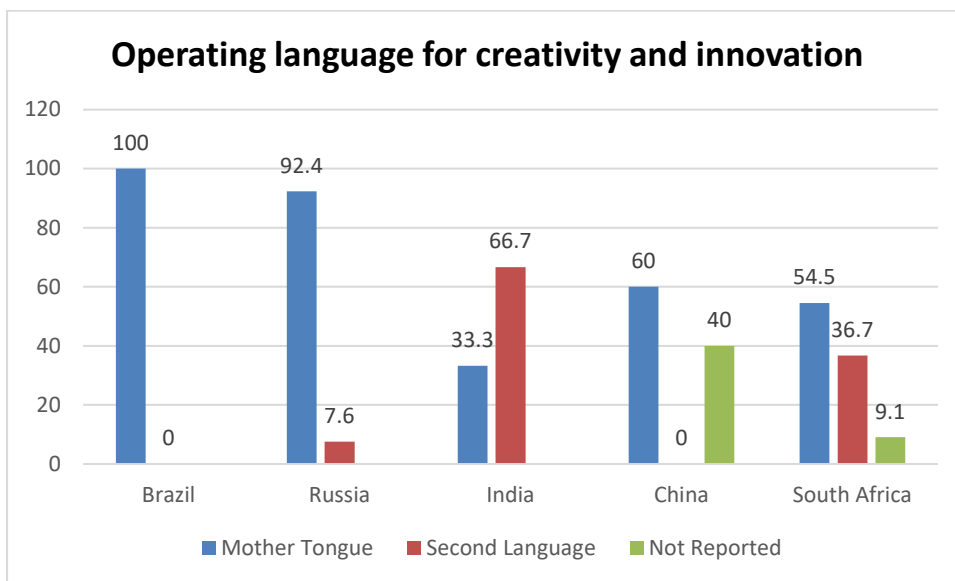
Interviews

There are definite differences depending on the country. The Brazilian, Russians and Chinese were clearly more comfortable thinking in mother tongue. The South Africans showed different responses between the sample groups. The larger survey group were quite balanced with second language having the edge, but the interview group reported themselves as more comfortable in the mother tongue. The Indians report themselves as thinking in their second language and when asked in interview about which is the most comfortable the results supported that they had learned at least one alternative language quite young and were quite comfortable operating in those

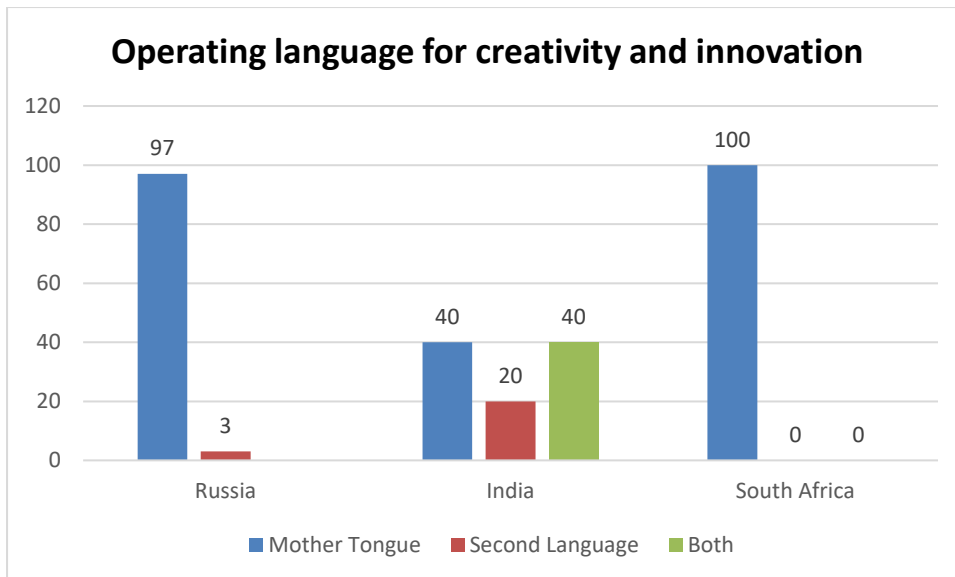
alternative languages, although 2 of the 5 did acknowledge feeling more comfortable when using their home language.

6.6 Language, creativity and innovation

To take this aspect further both groups were also asked the question ‘When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creative projects do you think in your home language or in a second language?’ Here our results for Russia were quite consistent and if you add the responses ‘both’ [languages] and ‘second language’ together the India result does look more similar but, for South Africa, we get a very different response between the two sample groups. The interview group had slightly more diversity in their home languages and proportionately less using a second language in the workplace. The survey group had 54.5% with Afrikaans as mother tongue operating in predominately English -speaking workplaces

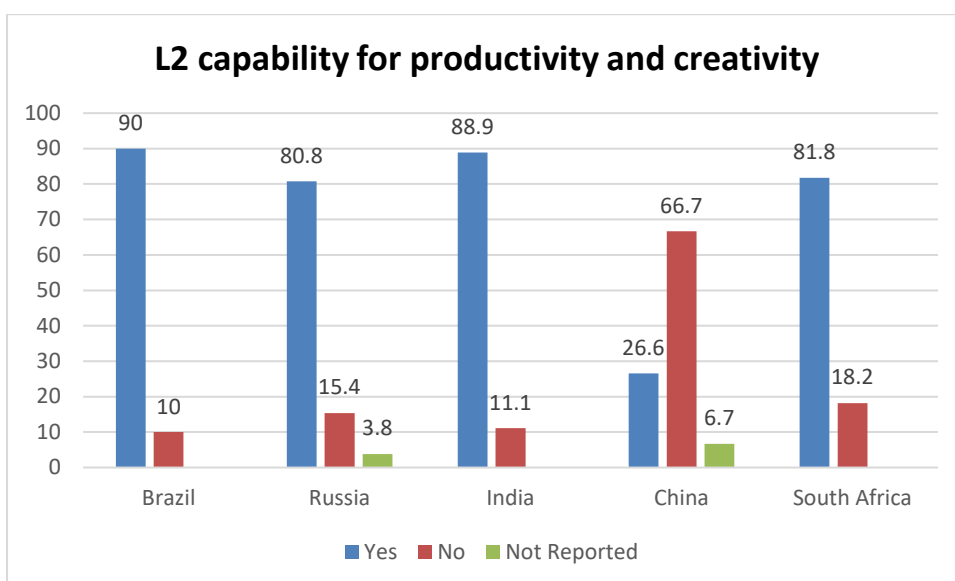


Surveys

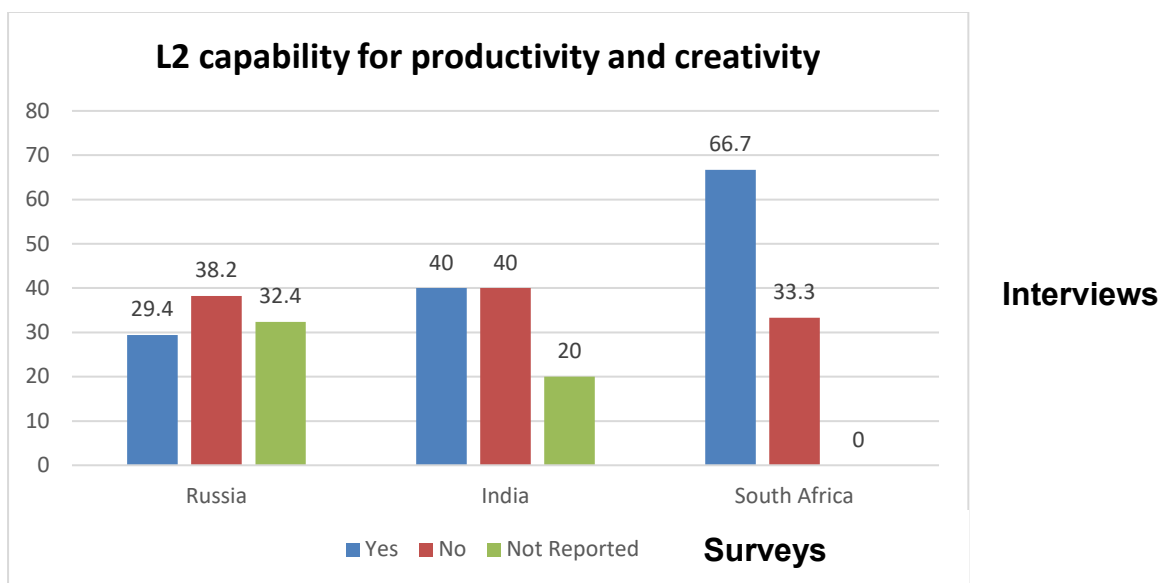


Interviews

The groups were also asked ‘Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?’ The Chinese answer seems less of an aberration given that they were clearly so much more comfortable thinking in their mother tongue. However, for the other four countries, the responses are very similar in the range of 80.8-90% perceiving no impact on their productivity, creativity and innovation. In the interviews the respondents were less emphatic in their comments, one respondent thought they would be still be productive, creative and innovative but there would be some impact, ‘partly’, one of the Russian interviews acknowledged it was not something they had tried and one of the South Africans was a little hesitant and said ‘maybe?’.



Surveys

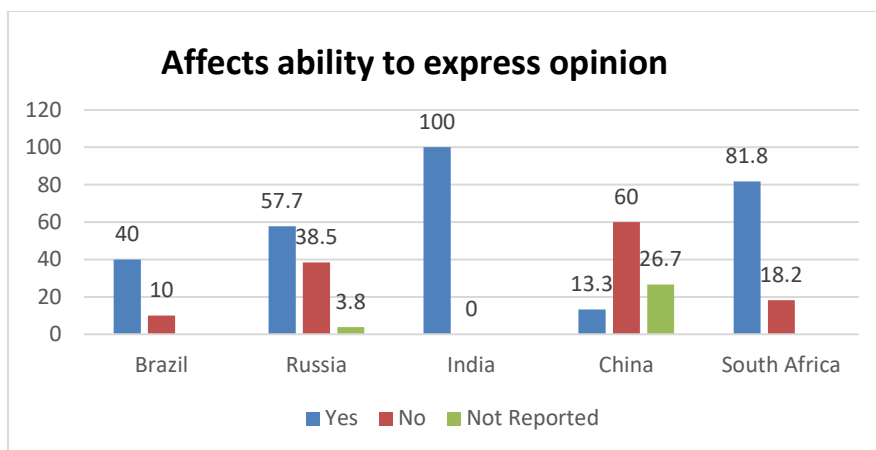


6.7 Second language confidence

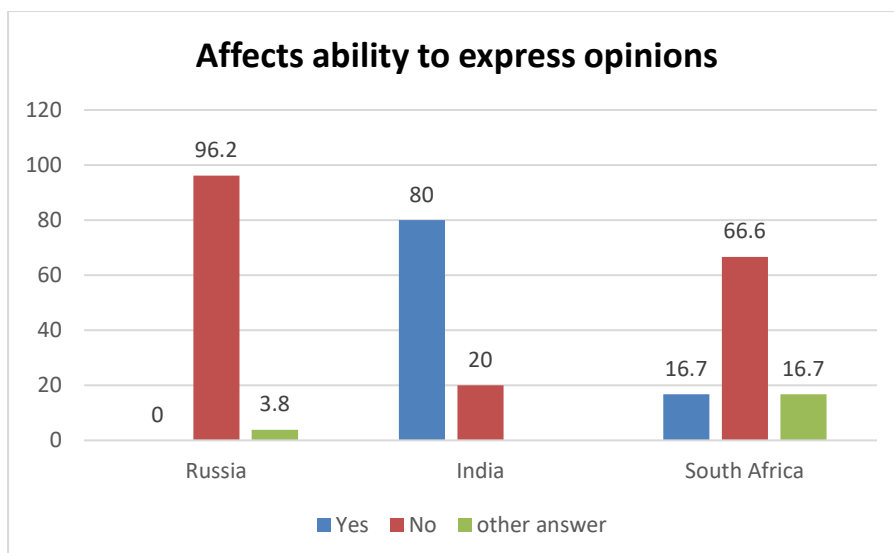
The interview group were asked more questions about how comfortable they were in using a second language. The Russians were emphatic in their response of feeling more confident in mother tongue but in South Africa and India there was a mixed response, with several of the interviewees stating they felt equally comfortable. In a similar question they were asked if they would prefer to be able to work in their home language. The majority answered in the affirmative, which was summed up by one interviewee 'Well who wouldn't prefer that?' The responses in India and South Africa were more mixed with the Indians slightly less uncomfortable about working in a different language. They were also asked if they ever felt anxious about using a different language to their home language and the same kind of picture emerged. The Russians overall were the least comfortable working in a second language, the South Africans were mixed, and the Indians just tipped the scales with answers which reflected a greater degree of comfort and much less anxiety.

A further question that both sets were asked was 'Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?' The Chinese response to the survey suggesting minimal impact seems at odds with

the Chinese answers to earlier questions on comfort with mother tongue? It is possible that their answers reflect some issues with their understanding of the question in translation. The other nationalities answered a perceived negative impact of between 40-100%. And in this instance the high score for India seems at odds with their apparent comfort in switching between languages for conversation and working. There are some differences between the interview group and the surveys. There could be some cultural nuances in either of these responses or it could be a flaw in the interview process. The Russian language interviewer had summed up the responses to this question as 'Usually not. It only happens when both sides of the conversation do not know the language very well'. But in the survey sample there had been a reverse result with more Russians answering that this had an impact on ability to express opinions. When we return to look at the language of business in the Russian survey group although a significant percentage 46.2% were operating with Russian language, we had over 30% using English to some extent and some Chinese language. However, the interview group appeared to speak home language at work.

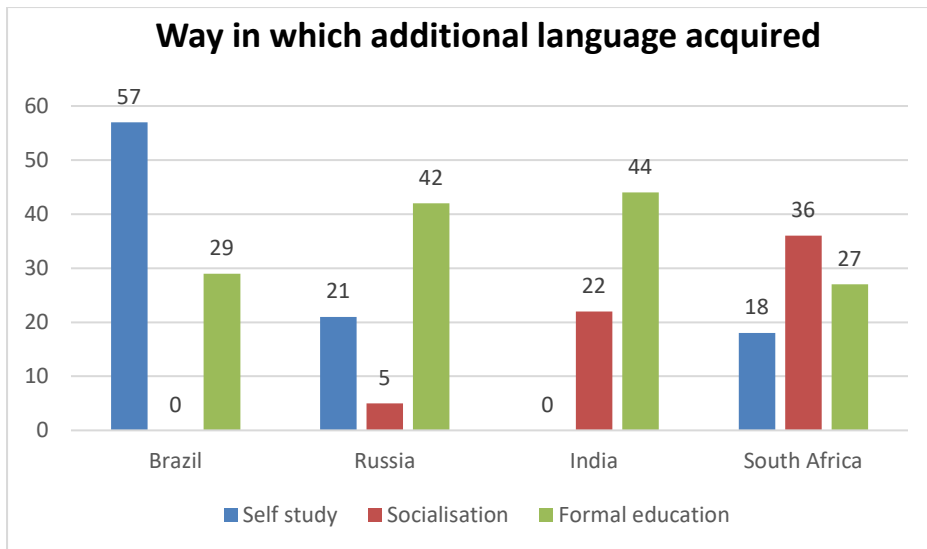


Surveys

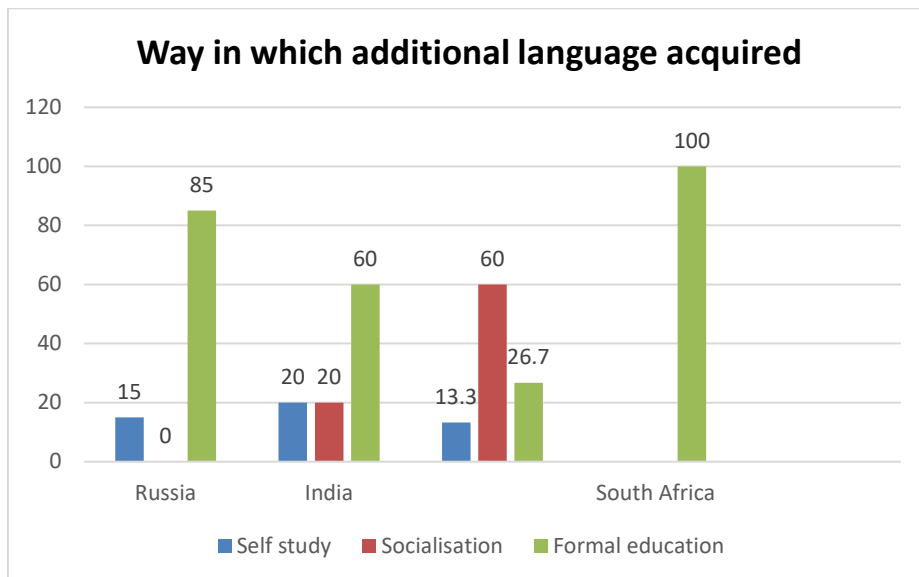


Interviews

These results were then explored against the way in which a further language had been acquired and the age of second language acquisition. I wanted to see if there was any correlation between confidence in use of a second language in the workplace and the age and means by which a second language was developed. The relationship between age and second language acquisition (SLA) is controversial. Noam Chomsky's theory that children possess an innate linguistic capacity is much debated to this day and there is a plethora of literature on what might be an optimal age for language acquisition as explored earlier in Chapter 5. In the interview sample both the Indian and South African subjects had learned languages at an early age, and mainly through formal education. Their reported levels of comfort in operating in second language could bear some relationship with the age at which they learned, neither did the means of acquisition as the Indians were proportionally more likely use a second language for thinking or being creative, with the South Africans second.



Surveys



Interviews

6.8 Multilingualism as career advantage

The interviewees were asked about their perceptions of the career advantage or disadvantage of speaking more than one language. 'Do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?' The South Africans were split 50:50 in whether there was an advantage, or if it made no difference to their career. The Indians were unanimous that being multi-lingual had helped them personally; A sample of comments are reproduced here; 'It has always been an advantage and it will help me in future as well when I will work in any corporate' and 'It has always been a great advantage in learning and speaking more than one language in my career'. The group

were largely aged in their 20's working in international companies in Delhi. They could identify the ways that this had helped; 'I can converse with different people of different cultures' and 'This has helped me a lot as I could take part in an international conference '. The Russians also agreed but the interviewer who had done some analysis also said that four people commented that this depended on the language, some have a better command of English but use German and vice versa.

In the 2014 data set the subjects were asked 'Is it possible to get a higher wage or a better position if you can speak several languages? They were quite confident that multilingualism was an income enhancement, with 69.13% answering in the affirmative. When asked about their perspectives on emerging dominance of English in the workplace and whether it was/is a positive or negative factor, the large majority (72.8%) felt that there was a tendency to demand English language skills in their workplace but that it was a positive factor. Only a mere 2.7% felt that there is a tendency but that this was negative, while the balance felt that there was no push for English in their place of work. The majority (75%) indicated that with multilingual skills their professional prospects would be advanced.

6.9 Conclusion

Whilst the literature review supports the contention that a multilingual workforce might be seen as a positive for business, the impact of English as the language of commerce has to be considered in each national context. The context of working in a multinational company could still be seen to vary depending on where that country was in economic terms and with whom they did business. The research findings did complement the literature review in demonstrating the strength of English as a global language. English featured quite strongly in all of the BRICS workplaces, with some presence even in China and Russia, where trading relationships may not have necessarily been with organisations expected to speak predominately native English. The prevalence of English might have been less surprising in India and South Africa, given their colonial history and for Brazil, with the US as the primary trading destination this was also more predictable. Even where no overt language policy featured, English seemed to be a *defacto* business language. As the research group were largely

gathered from multinational companies the high level of multilingualism was no surprise.

For those individuals there was a mixed picture in terms of what that meant in personal impact. There were mixed results across the countries in terms of confidence in using additional language and in the impact that might have on their productivity or creativity. The results were analysed by country and overall, Indians perceived themselves with much more confidence in thinking in additional language and minimal impact on their operating processes and creativity. South Africans were also more confident but perhaps not quite so markedly. The exception came in dealing with managers, which is perhaps a matter that would warrant further investigation. Power imbalances might play a part as revealed by the studies of Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011, and Markaki et al 2013).

In summing up, the outcome of the research from both sets of data (2018 and 2014) could be said to demonstrate that for the individuals concerned the challenges posed in being a second language speaker were compensated by the career advantages of being bilingual or multilingual. There were clear national differences in the results as to ease in operating in a second language but as we have seen from the literature review, age, type of learning exposure, support in the workplace and opportunity to practice could all impact on levels of proficiency and self-confidence. The chapter that follows presents an overall conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to pull together the preceding six chapters and identify how the research findings can be interpreted in light of the earlier studies identified in the literature review and what this may have added to an understanding of the multilingual workplace in a global world. This has been a fascinating journey for me, weaving together information from across a plethora of fields; economics, econometrics, language economics, management studies, educational research, applied linguistics, cognitive psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics and psychology. The research exercise was in itself challenging. It was ambitious to work across such a spread of countries and, ironically, the results were probably impacted by changes in meaning through translation and cultural inference. The starting point had been my fascination as a relative monolingual with the expertise and fluency of those I have encountered whilst on business in such diverse locations as Germany, India, Macedonia, Saudi Arabia and South Africa. I had asked people whether they now thought in their second language and was often told yes. So I expected some different outcomes from the research sample than, ultimately, I discovered.

7.2 Overview of literature review and research findings

This study has brought together perspectives from two primary disciplines economics and linguistics, as a study into the impact of multilingualism and the experience of language difference in the workplace for the individuals who work there, necessarily traverses the borders between these disciplines. In some ways examining the linguistic literature was to consider the causes and examining the economics was to consider the effect. However, as the examination of language planning and its relationship with globalisation demonstrates that relationship of cause and effect can operate in the other direction.

The literature review set the scene as to the economic trends in each of the countries under consideration and the language planning policies which often determined which languages people were educated in and which languages they would be expected to communicate in at their place of work. Before considering the experiences of the research group individuals it was important to understand what was known before and what conclusions had been drawn upon the relationships between language, communication and global trading patterns and between language communication and business management practices. It was also important to understand how people learned a second language and what was known about the impact of multilingualism for such individuals.

Reviewing the literature on second language acquisition and the impacts of bilingualism or multilingualism for the functioning of individuals also creates some implications for considerations of the individual in the workplace. There are many different models for language acquisition and theories as to how a learner of an additional language may subconsciously process information from their first language or L1. The impacts of being bilingual may therefore move beyond the economic and social advantages of being able to communicate with a wider range of language communities. Tests of bilingual speakers have explored potential advantages in application of other executive functions, as if the brain had trained itself to work differently by the demands of acquiring further language capabilities. This is a contentious area, the literature posing arguments for and against such effects. More recent studies have also suggested differences in reasoning and application of moral judgment which have thrown open some implications in business terms. If bilinguals are identified as better negotiators that will increase the career premium.

One of the objectives of the research exercise was to gather insight into the interplay between L1 and L2 language use in the workplace and investigate the possible impacts on innovation and productivity for multinational companies and indeed the economies of the countries in which they operate. Whilst there is some discussion on bilingual advantage there is also exploration of whether the age of second language acquisition is a factor in achieving proficiency, and whether diminishing brain plasticity in fact makes learning a language in later life much more difficult. Only the individual interviewed in this study were asked about the age of language acquisition. It is

possible that there is a correlation in that both the Indians and South Africans were somewhat more at ease in operating in the second language having typically learned earlier (around the age of 5) If the converse is true that many of the other respondents learned as adults it is possible that much more help and support is required for language learning in the workplace. This may come at a cost for companies in investing in training and mentoring but that could result in improved productivity and innovation. While this echoes Neeley (2012), it may suggest an area for further research.

The conclusion of the findings from the literature review of management studies is that smooth and effective communication is paramount to business efficiency. Large studies like Marschan-Piekkari et al (1997) and Harzing et al (2010) showed how multinational companies could recognise impacts from what was initially to be viewed as a 'language problem'. The studies show that corporate language policies are often blunt tools, demanding the use of a corporate lingua franca, often English, for corporate communications coupled with some incentives for language training. Examining what this meant for individuals showed disparities between levels of language confidence between different operational structures, from low to high in a blue-collar to management trend, with resulting power imbalances, as we have seen from Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) and Bothorel-Witz and Tsamadou-Jacobberger (2013). From the primary research conducted in this study we can see that even the most proficient additional language users (the Indians in our sample) still showed a lack of confidence in dealing with more senior staff when using a second language.

Economics and management researchers do link language proficiency to global trading parameters, although one has to look carefully to see who has commissioned the study. There are clear economic benefits from companies in being able to work across borders with ease and it can be seen from a review of trading data that trading relationships could be seen to have some influence on language usage in the workplace. Almost all of the BRICS countries traded with the European Union (which for now includes the UK) or with the USA. Companies do not however appear to have embraced active language policies geared to exploit the benefits of multilingualism and support individuals in managing any disadvantages for individuals, teams or

departments. Studies like those conducted by Marsh et al for the European Union (see below) suggest that there is untapped potential to be explored in multilingual workforces, and that different language systems also bring different cultural nuances and ways of thinking which would promote, not hinder, innovation.

This limited study indicates that there is potential for more research that could inform some real changes in language policy and planning at both a national level and indeed down within the workplaces of multi-national companies. Perhaps, following the advice of Sanden (2016) advantages may be gained by; examining the language use at every level, auditing language skills, cross referencing with proficiencies in desirable languages and better supporting employees to develop fluency and confidence.

7.3 Language Planning in the workplace

This final chapter now concludes with some considerations as to how language policy and language planning might further evolve in an economic and business context. One of the ambitions of the study was to consider whether the application of carefully considered language policies in countries with global trading relationships might enhance labour productivity and workforce employability. There is also scope to consider how multi-national companies may even need to revise language planning based on perhaps simplistic drivers such as a need for a common communication language in favour of more nuanced policies which can make best use of their multilingual employees in terms of harnessing their creative and productive capacities.

Joshua Fishman defined language planning as ‘the authoritative allocation of resources to the attainment of language status and corpus goals, whether in connection with new functions that are aspired to or in connection with old functions that need to be discharged more adequately.’ He was writing from a sociological perspective and could visualise how language planning could be used for social change. (Fishman 1987 p.409). In Chapter 2 I briefly introduced the three recognised elements of language planning, namely; corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning, which might be recognised within the discussions of language planning for the nations in the BRICS. Antia (2017) had added a fourth element namely, ‘opportunity planning’ (Antia 2017, p.242). Antia can see the link with language planning and corporate management. This additional element of language

planning therefore 'opens up language policy planning to possibly beneficial intervention from the management sciences'(ibid). Antia talks about the underlying benefits of drawing on the management sciences and recognising 'the indispensable socioeconomic foundations of all language planning' (Antia op cit) which, for our purposes, embraces language planning within a workplace or business dimension. Antia identifies the challenges facing language planning and language planners: 'Current language planning would have to define its mission as the deregulation of access to specialised knowledge, and correspondingly be founded on substantially different methods and theoretical bases' (Antia 2000, p.274). So, in conclusion, I will focus on how language planning could be applied to promote creativity and innovation within the context of economics or business. Acquisition and opportunity planning might be seen to be key in terms of an economic strategy for language planning and development.

7.4 Language Planning and Implications for Globalisation

As we have seen in the examination of the trading patterns of the BRICS economies and their language status and language planning histories, globalisation has had far reaching effects on languages and on national language planning. China and Russia (or more properly in its day as the Soviet Union) were subject to governments which consciously considered external trading relationships in their national language planning. India chose to include English as an official language, recognising that as a relic of the colonial history it provided a potential vehicle for inter-regional communication as well as for international relationships. Arguably all societies are impacted by globalisation and global movement of people as they develop and grow so it is not surprising that language expansion, and particularly the spread of English, has been driven and influenced by patterns of trade. As we have seen, English is not looking likely to lose its crown as the international language of business and global *lingua franca*. In terms of acquisition planning there may be an argument that early tuition in English will serve individuals well in future career prospects, a reality well known to parents around the world who can afford to finance this privately. That may not be popular in all quarters if seen to risk the value of local languages and has to be balanced against what is known about the benefits of mother tongue education.

De Grauwe (2006) offers a simple model for the relationship between language and trade which is, by extension, fundamental to globalisation. De Grauwe contends that '[e]conomic development is based on specialization and trade...[t]hus as countries move on the ladder of economic development and increase the network of trade both within and outside the country, a common language will impose itself and will be used by an increasing number of individuals'. (De Grauwe 2006, p.2). This can be seen in the way that countries like Russia and China have applied a standard language and exhorted the use of English as a shared medium for communication, with the implications for trade and economic considerations firmly in mind.

De Grauwe (2006) highlights the value placed on a common language shared between different groups in terms of network externalities. This we have seen in the research group who have clearly set a premium on being able to speak more than one language and which, in many cases, is English. In the business press, it is almost accepted without question that a high value should be placed on the use of English by multinationals such as Rakusen (Neeley 2012) and this view is shared by those on the ground (Millar et al 2013). This, we saw, could be can be extended to the language planning model for an economy, promotion of certain languages for economic development purposes may/would increase opportunities and effectiveness of trade activities.

So, in terms of opportunity planning, it might seem easy to follow the lead of those who study global business management like Neeley (2012) or De Grauwe (2006) to conclude that the matter of language and trade is simply a case of the most widely used language for trade is the best outcome in terms of language planning and development, i.e. all a country needs to do is develop language planning frameworks that promote English, and that companies need to adopt English as the corporate language, which is presently English. But this may be an over simplification of a much more complex relationship between language and innovation or productivity.

The consequence of a high value placed on a shared business language for communication, primarily English, is the potential that local or L1 languages are not valued in the trade paradigm and will be undermined, through the trade dynamics and potentially by language policy actions. For the individuals this comes at some cost,

they have to acquire a second language to pursue career goals and if they have not been taught that language in early education this may be a more difficult process. Also, as we have seen both in the literature review and in the self-reporting of the research group, there may be some extra effort required in maintaining two languages, in translating, switching and in the effort required to be creative and innovative. What if, as has been seen in other domains, such as creative writing, local languages embed knowledge that has wider appeal when accessed effectively. Wierzbicka (2014) also highlights the different cognitive perspectives offered by different language and culture groups, which in business terms could expand problems solving. This study has shown (in a limited way) that there is some potential that might be enhanced in encouraging, rather than discouraging individuals to be able to think and work in their own language as well as a corporate language for interpersonal communication. That might be the focus of further research activities: how local language processes could be harnessed to serve innovation and productivity capabilities of a global business organisation. Could companies use shared language focus groups rather than individual language nodes? Pairing linguistic expertise with technical expertise not simply as translators but as ideas collaborators? Multimedia resources, use of technology? These are key questions and to some extent has been neglected in the face of research which highlights only the benefits of interpersonal communication within complex business environments.

One approach advocated by Guo and Beckett in 2008 and Kraidy in 2003 is promoting 'glocalization'. For Kraidy (2003) glocalization in communication terms emphasises the interaction of both global and local forces in specific contexts where local actors can claim their ownership of language and culture and act as active agents to engage in different creative practices. This is not necessarily acting in opposition but rather 'they are engaged in a relational and reciprocal process whose dynamics are mutually formative' (Kraidy 2003, p.38). Kraidy also quotes Rosenau (2003) 'The global is best seen in contrast to the local. Just as there can be no 'them' without 'us' or no 'other' without, so there can be no global without the local" self' (Kraidy, p.29) Kraidy goes on to consider Rosenau's taxonomy for 'local worlds' Looking at the studies of multinational business, the four paradigms he considers for international communication purposes could almost be contextualised as follows; (1) '*insular*

locals' - the company outposts far distant and operating almost independently in local markets, (2) '*resistant locals*' – the managers who defy corporate language policy and engage in local practice, (3) '*exclusionary locals*' who isolate themselves off, like the blue collar workers who do not access training and find themselves at a distance from headquarters, and (4) '*affirmative locals*' those who integrate globalising processes or a lingua franca without giving up essential attributes, like local languages.(Kraidy 2003 p.36).

According to Robertson (2012, p.191) glocalization is a concept that originated in Japanese agricultural and business practices which means global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions. Robertson sees it as mainstream in current marketing perspectives;

'the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets...for increasingly global markets the adaptation to local and other particular conditions is not simply a case of business responses to pre-existing global variety...glocalisation—involves *the construction of* increasingly differentiated consumers, the 'invention' of 'consumer To put it very simply, diversity sells.'
(Robertson 2012, p.196).

Glocalisation has now become embedded in business parlance Tibor Bodor, of ING Banking describes a process where 'businesses recognise that they can better control the quality of the product and the supply chain if they are closer to the end market' (ING Insights 2018) This could mean a stronger demand for local language and cultural practices in those markets.

7.5 Final Thoughts

The threats that globalisation pose to linguistic diversity and to cultural identity are significant and can lead to, perhaps an erroneous assumption, that the local and indigenous languages, associated with more traditional societies have limited benefits to offer to current economic activities. This study suggests that there may still remain strong contributions for bilingual speakers to retain use of mother tongue language in terms of innovation and productivity. And even in multinational corporations there are outposts where the reality of day-to-day external business transactions is local, operating in a non-native language would be a cost without direct benefit.

The European Commission commissioned a survey in 2008 which was reported upon in 2009 entitled *Study on the Contribution of Multilingualism to Creativity* (2009). The authors, Marsh et al, conducted a scan of research reporting which directly or indirectly has bearing on links between 'multilingualism and creativity (Marsh et al 2009, p.2)

'People 'think differently', we were often told, as a result of their bilingualism or multilingualism. A respondent from a consulting firm noted that when he is faced with difficult problems to solve, he intentionally forms strategy groups with multilingual staff. He observed that being multilingual means you understand the world from different perspectives and are more likely to devise creative and innovative solutions: it's 'good for the brain to have to learn how to work and think in [multiple languages]'. (Stolarick & Florida, 2006, quoted in Marsh et al 2009 p 18).

They concluded:

'Knowledge of more than one language points to the expansion of certain types of human potential, including the potential for creativity. In addition, thinking, learning, problem-solving, and communicating – all of which are transversal, knowledge-steeped skills used in our daily lives – show signs of being enhanced through multilingualism...The evidence clusters described here suggest that multilingualism is a resource which has the potential to play a key role in responding to the challenges of the present and future. It is one existing resource which is likely to nourish emergent processes of creativity that will help

expand individual and societal opportunities (Stolarick & Florida, 2006, quoted in Marsh et al 2009 p 18).

The world is a fast-moving one and businesses have to be nimble as trends move and shift. Trendsetters may be some of the first to radically reconsider how they employ and exploit the potential of a creative multilingual workforce, rather than waste that potential in miscommunication and lack of confidence.

The implications of globalisation and technological development for Labrie (2000), ‘...have contributed to the emergence of new communication communities, new communication practices and new types of discourse in terms of both content and the formal aspect of establishing them as discourse’ (Labrie 2000, p3). These new communication practices call for more dynamic research and understanding of existing and new communication channels and processes in the workplace, and consideration as to how these impact on productivity, innovation and by extension economic development. Better insights into these aspects of language and language in the workplace will allow for more informed and effective language planning activities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Survey Questions for Individuals

1. *Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)*
2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*
3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*
4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*
5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*
6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*
7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*
8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*
9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*
10. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?
If so do you have access to Skype?*
11. *Which would be your preferred language for interview?*

Survey Questions for HR Practitioners

1. *What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?*
2. *Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?*
3. *Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?*
4. *Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?*

5. *Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)*
6. *Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?*

Interview questions for individuals:

Thank you for taking part in this interview. This is confidential as part of a research project and we will not identify you by name, address or employer in the final paper.

1. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages?*
2. *How old were you when you learned a second language?*
3. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*
4. *Which is the most comfortable for you?*
5. *Are you one of the majority or in minority when speaking a different language at work?*
6. *Do you communicate with your family or friends in only your home language or do you use the same language that you working with?*
7. *Do you sometimes switch between languages in the same conversation?*
8. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively do you think in your home language or in a second language?*
9. *Do you ever feel anxious about using a different language to the one that you grew up with?*
10. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*
11. *How do you think this has helped or hindered?*
12. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*
13. *Would you prefer to be able to work in the language that you grew up with?*
14. *Are there times when you don't feel as able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*
15. *Any observations that you would like to make?*

Appendix 2

HR Survey Results

Brazil

7. *What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?*

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	English, Portuguese and Spanish
2.	Português (Brasil)	Portuguese - Brazil)
3.	Japones ingles	Japanese English
4.	Português	Portuguese
5.	Português	Portuguese
6.	Portugues	Portuguese
7.	Portugues	Portuguese
8.	Português	Portuguese
9.	Português	Portuguese
10.	Ingles	English

2. *Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?*

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	English
2.	Português ou Inglês	Portuguese or English
3.	Língua local de cada subsidiária	Local language of each subsidiary
4.	Inglês	English
5.	Português	Portuguese
6.	Ingles	English
7.	Ingles	English
8.	Inglês	English
9.	Português	Portuguese
10.	Ingles	English

3. *Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?*

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
2.	Sim	Yes
3.	Não	No
4.	Sim	Yes
5.	Sim	Yes
6.	Sim	Yes
7.	Sim	Yes
8.	Sim	Yes
9.	Não	No
10.	Sim	Yes

4. *Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?*

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
2.	Sim	Yes
3.	Não	No
4.	Sim	Yes
5.	Sim	Yes
6.	Sim	Yes
7.	Sim	Yes
8.	Não	No
9.	Sim	Yes
10.	Sim	Yes

5. *Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)*

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	No Reply
2.		No Reply
3.	Nao	No
4.	Nao	No
5.	A língua a ser usada é o português. Entretanto há estrangeiros que só falam inglês.	The language to be used is Portuguese. However there are foreigners who only speak English.
6.	Nao	No
7.	Sim. Ingles e fundamental	Yes. English and fundamental.
8.	Português e nas reuniões internacionais inglês	Portuguese and international meetings
9.	Não	No
10.	Não	No

6. Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?

	Original Response	Translation
1.	Completed English version of Survey	No
2.	Não	
3.	Não	
4.	Não	
5.	Não	No
6.	Não	No
7.	Não	No
8.	Não	No
9.	Não	No
10.	Não	No

China

1. What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?

1.		Chinese, English
2.		Chinese, English
3.		Chinese
4.		English
5.		Chinese
6.		

2. Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?

1.		Yes
2.		Chinese, English
3.		Yes
4.		No
5.		No
6.		English

3. Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?

1.		Yes
11.		Yes
12.		Yes
13.		Yes
14.		Yes
15.		Yes

4. Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?

1.		Yes
11.		Yes
12.		Yes
13.		Yes
14.		Yes
15.		Yes

5. Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)

1.		No
11.		Yes, more languages, More Money.
12.		No
13.		No
14.		No
15.		Yes. More promotion opportunities

6. Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?

1.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

India

1. What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?

1.	English
7.	English
8.	English
9.	Hindi, English
10.	English
11.	English
12.	English
13.	English
14.	English
15.	English
16.	

2. Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?

1.	English
7.	English
8.	English
9.	English
10.	English
11.	English

12.	Yes
13.	English
14.	English
15.	English
16.	

3. *Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?*

1.	No
16.	Yes
17.	Yes
18.	Yes
19.	Yes
20.	Yes
21.	No
22.	Yes
23.	Yes
24.	Yes
25.	

4. *Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?*

1.	Yes
16.	Yes
17.	Yes
18.	Yes
19.	Yes
20.	Yes
21.	Yes
22.	Yes
23.	Yes
24.	Yes
25.	

5. *Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)*

1.	Yes, anything official should be mostly in English
16.	We don't have a language policy.
17.	Yes, English is the preferred language
18.	No
19.	No
20.	No

21.	No
22.	No we dont have any
23.	English
24.	No policy
25.	

6. *Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?*

1.	No
2.	No
3.	No
4.	No
5.	No
6.	No
7.	No
8.	No
9.	No
10.	No

Russia

1. What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?

1.	Completed English version of Survey	Russian Federation
17.	Completed English version of Survey	Russian Federation
18.	Completed English version of Survey	Russian Federation
19.	Русский	Russian
20.	русский	Russian
21.	русский	Russian
22.	русский	Russian
23.	Русский	Russian
24.	английский	English
25.	русский	Russian
26.	Русский	Russian
27.	Русский	Russian
28.	русский	Russian
29.	Русский	Russian
30.	Японский	Japanese

2. Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?

1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes, English in Office functions
17.	Completed English version of Survey	English and Russian
18.	Completed English version of Survey	russian
19.	Русский	Russian
20.	русский	Russian
21.	русский	Russian
22.	английский	English
23.	Русский	Russian
24.	английский	English
25.	русский	Russian
26.	Русский	Russian
27.	Русский	Russian
28.	русский	Russian
29.	Русский	Russian
30.	Украинский	Ukrainian

3. Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?

1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
2.	Completed English version of Survey	No

3.	Completed English version of Survey	No
4.	Нет	No
5.	Нет	No
6.	Нет	No
7.	Да	Yes
8.	Да	Yes
9.	Да	Yes
10.	Нет	No
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Нет	No
13.	Да	Yes
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes

4. *Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?*

1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
2.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
3.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
4.	Да	Yes
5.	Да	Yes
6.	Да	Yes
7.	Да	Yes
8.	Да	Yes
9.	Да	Yes
10.	Нет	No
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Да	Yes
13.	Да	Yes
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes

5. *Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)*

1.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes, local language knowledge in any country of presence
2.	Completed English version of Survey	No Answer
3.	Completed English version of Survey	free english lessons for the employees
4.	Нет	No
5.	нет	no
6.	бесплатное обучение английскому языку	free English language training

7.	компания глобальная, поэтому вся документация ведется на английском языке	The company is global, so all documentation is in English
8.	Да, вся официальная переписка должна быть на английском языке	Yes, all official correspondence should be in English
9.	всё общение и переписка только на английском	all communication and correspondence only in English
10.	No Answer	No Answer
11.	Нет	No
12.	Нет	No
13.	языковая политика в любой компании это говно. т.к. это увеличивает сроки и стоимость сотрудника и выполненной задачи. пример - ебаная додо пицца.	language policy in any company is shit. since this increases the time and cost of the employee and the task completed. example - fucking dodo pizza.
14.	Преимущественно на родном языке.	Mainly in the native language.
15.	нет	no

6. *Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?*

1.	Completed English version of Survey	No
2.	Completed English version of Survey	No
3.	Completed English version of Survey	Yes
4.	Нет	No
5.	Нет	No
6.	Да	Yes
7.	Нет	No
8.	Да	Yes
9.	Да	Yes
10.	Да	Yes
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Нет	No
13.	Нет	No
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes

South Africa

1. *What language is the most commonly spoken in your organisation?*

1.	English
----	---------

2.	English
3.	zulu
4.	English
5.	English
6.	English
7.	English
8.	English
9.	English
10.	English
11.	English

2. Does the organisation have a preferred language for conducting business?

1.	English
2.	English
3.	yes, english
4.	English
5.	English
6.	English
7.	English
8.	English is the business language
9.	Yes, English
10.	English
11.	Yes

3. *Do you consider your organisation to be a multinational in terms of its operations?*

1.	Yes
2.	Yes
3.	Yes
4.	Yes
5.	Yes
6.	Yes
7.	Yes
8.	No
9.	Yes
10.	Yes
11.	Yes

4. *Do you have a bi-lingual/multi-lingual workforce?*

1.	Yes
2.	Yes
3.	Yes
4.	Yes
5.	Yes
6.	Yes
7.	Yes
8.	Yes
9.	Yes
10.	Yes
11.	Yes

5. *Does the company have a language policy (if so please describe it in one or two sentences below)*

1.	Yes, most of the official business will be conducted in English, local languages reserved for personal interactions
2.	No
3.	none
4.	Yes
5.	No
6.	Yes
7.	No
8.	No
9.	No
10.	No
11.	No

6. *Would you be willing circulate a questionnaire for members of staff within the organisation in follow up to this survey?*

1.	Yes
2.	Yes
3.	Yes
4.	No
5.	No
6.	No
7.	No
8.	No
9.	No
10.	No
11.	No

Individual Survey Results

Brazil

1. *Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)*

	Original	Translation
1.	Portugues e ingles	Portuguese and English
2.	Multilíngue . Português, inglês, francês	Multilingual. Portuguese, English, French
3.	Espanhol	Spanish
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Multilingual, Portuguese, English
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, in english
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Multilingual, I speak English and Spanish too.
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Multilingual. I can speak Portuguese, English and Spanish.

2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*

1.	Nao. Somente portugues na minha area. Mas existe a area de negocios internacionais que usam outras linguas	Do not. Only portuguese in my area. But there is an international business area that uses other languages
2.	Nao	No
3.	Espanhol	Spanish
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, Portuguese, Spanish, English, German, Chinese, French
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, english and spanish

6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, Sometimes I need to talk with IBM Company in USA.
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, there is. In addition to Portuguese, I need to speak English and Spanish.
8.	Completed English Version of Survey	

3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*

1.	Temos a area de negocios internacionais, que utilizam portugues, ingles e espanhol em sua maioria	We have the international business area, which use Portuguese, English and Spanish mostly
2.	Nao	No
3.	Português e espanhol	Portuguese and Spanish
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Mainly Portuguese and English
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Many of the negotiations are in english
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Depends on the area, sales people probably don't need to speak English much because they act mostly in Brazil. But in the area that I work, which is Global Mobility, we often need to speak English and Spanish.

4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*

1.	Portugues é minha lingua de origem. Considero que tenho nivel intermediario de ingles, adquirido atraves de curso de linguas e praticado em viagens de turismo/lazer	Portugues is my native language. I believe that I have intermediate level of English, acquired through a language course and practiced in tourism / leisure travel
2.	Origem: português. Demais aprendi na escola e curaoa de língua.	Source: Portuguese. I also learned in school and language course.

3.	Português	Portuguese
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese native speaker, had private classes for other languages
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese, i acquired by studying many years in a English language school and because of an exchange experience that I had a few years ago.
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	My home language is Portuguese. I acquire additional languages doing English classes here in Brazil and doing internship to Chile, Cambridge and Ireland.
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese. I started to study English as a child at a private English school. As for Spanish, I learnt it when I was a teenager because I thought it would be useful one day. I also studied some Japanese and Russian, but I'm really poor in both... I basically know just their letters and some words.

5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*

1.	na sua lingua de origem	in your native language
2.	na sua lingua de origem	in your native language
3.	na lingua que usa diariamente	in the language you use daily
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Second Language
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Second Language
8.	Completed English Version of Survey	

6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*

1.	na sua lingua de origem	in your native language
2.	na sua lingua de origem	in your native language
3.	na lingua que usa diariamente	in the language you use daily
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Home Language

7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*

1.	Vantagens	Benefits
2.	Vantagens	Benefits
3.	Vantagens	Benefits
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Advantage
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	Advantage
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Advantage
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Advantage

8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*

1.	Não	No
2.	Sim	Yes
3.	Sim	Yes

4.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
5.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
6.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
7.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes

9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*

1.	Não				No
2.	Não				No
3.	Sim				Yes
4.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
5.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
6.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	No
7.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes

10. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?*

1.	Não				No
2.	Sim				Yes
3.	Sim				Yes
4.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
5.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	No
6.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes
7.	Completed Survey	English	Version	of	Yes

11. *If so do you have access to Skype?*

1.		No answer
2.	Sim	Yes
3.	Sim	Yes
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	No
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, Bianca Irie
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	Yes, I do.

12. *Which would be your preferred language for interview?*

1.	Portugues	Portuguese
2.	Português	Portuguese
3.	Porrugues	Portuguese
4.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese
5.	Completed English Version of Survey	
6.	Completed English Version of Survey	Portuguese
7.	Completed English Version of Survey	English

Chinese

1. *Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)*

1.	Original	Translation
2.		Chinese
3.		Chinese

4.		Chinese
5.		Chinese, English, Japanese
6.		Chinese
7.		Chinese
8.		Chinese
9.		Chinese
10.		Chinese
11.		Chinese
12.		Chinese
13.		Chinese
14.		Chinese
15.		Chinese, English
16.		2

2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*

	Chinese
	No
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	Chinese
	No
	Chinese
	No

		Chinese, English
		Chinese, English

3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*

1.		Chinese
2.		Chinese
3.		Chinese
4.		Chinese, English
5.		Chinese
6.		Chinese
7.		Chinese
8.		Chinese
9.		Chinese
10.		Chinese
11.		Chinese
12.		Chinese
13.		Chinese
14.		Chinese, English
15.		

4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*

1.		Chinese
2.		Chinese
3.		English
4.		Chinese
5.		Chinese
6.		Chinese

7.		Chinese
8.		Chinese
9.		Chinese
10.		Chinese
11.		Chinese
12.		No
13.		Chinese, English-university learned
14.		Chinese, English (Self-taught)
15.		

5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*

1.		Chinese
2.		Chinese
3.		Chinese
4.		Chinese
5.		Yes
6.		Chinese
7.		Chinese
8.		Chinese
9.		Chinese
10.		Chinese
11.		Chinese
12.		No
13.		No
14.		Chinese, English
15.		Chinese, English

6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*

1.		Chinese
2.		Chinese
3.		Chinese
4.		Chinese
5.		Chinese
6.		Chinese
7.		Chinese
8.		No
9.		Chinese
10.		No
11.		No
12.		No
13.		Chinese
14.		
15.		

7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*

1.		advantage
2.		advantage
3.		Adv.
4.		advantage
5.		advantage
6.		Advantage
7.		Advantage
8.		Advantage
9.		Yes
10.		Advantage

11.		disadvantage
12.		Advantage
13.		advantage
14.		
15.		

8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*

1.		No
2.		No
3.		No
4.		Yes
5.		No
6.		No
7.		No
8.		No
9.		No
10.		No
11.		Yes
12.		Yes
13.		Yes
14.		No
15.		

9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*

1.		No
2.		No

3.		No
4.		Yes
5.		No
6.		No
7.		No
8.		No
9.		No
10.		No
11.		OK
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

10. Does your organisation have a policy on which languages should or can be used in your workplace? If so briefly outline, if not please comment on what you might see as the benefit or other of having a language policy?

1.		No
2.		No
3.		No
4.		No
5.		No
6.		No
7.		No
8.		2 Languages, more promotion
9.		
10.		
11.		

12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

11. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?*

1.		No
2.		No
3.		Yes
4.		No
5.		No
6.		Yes
7.		No
8.		No
9.		No
10.		No
11.		Yes
12.		No
13.		
14.		
15.		

12. *If so do you have access to Skype?*

1.		Yes
2.		No
3.		Yes

4.		Yes
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

13. *Which would be your preferred language for interview?*

1.		Chinese
2.		Chinese
3.		Chinese
4.		Chinese
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		

14.		
15.		

Indian

1. *Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)*

	Multilingual Hindi Gujarati and English
	English, Tamil, Hindi and Kannada
	yes
	Yes. English and Hindi
	Multilingual
	Multilingual - Hindi and English. Can also understand Kannada, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Punjabi to some extend.
	multilingual - Hindi, English, Bundelkhandi
	Multilingual
	Yes, English, Gujarati and Hindi

2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*

	Hindi Gujarati English
	English, French, Tamil, Hindi, Telugu, Malayalam, Bengali, Marathi, Oriya and Kannada
	yes
	English and Hindi
	English gujarati hindi
	Yes. We communicate in English, Hindi, Kannada, Telugu, Bengali etc.

	Yes, Hindi , English, Kannada
	English, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Hindi
	Yes, Hindi, English, Gujarati and Marathi

3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*

16.	English
17.	English
18.	no
19.	English
20.	English and Hindi
21.	Yes. English.
22.	Yes, English
23.	English
24.	Yes, English

4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*

16.	My home Language is Gujarati. I studied Hindi and Gujarati in the school from basics to advance
17.	Tamil
18.	Home language is gujarati, other are acquired via education (subjects in school)
19.	Hindi
20.	Home language is gujarati. I have studied in English medium. Hindi is national language
21.	Home language- Hindi. I have stayed in other parts of the nation. And that helped me pick up other languages.
22.	Bundelkhandi
23.	Tulu, other languages by people I meet.

24.	Gujarati is my home language. Other Languages were acquired since we are taught these languages through out our school years
-----	--

5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*

16.	Second Language
17.	Second Language
18.	Second Language
19.	Second Language
20.	Second Language
21.	Second Language
22.	Second Language
23.	Second Language
24.	Second Language

6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*

16.	Home Language
17.	Second Language
18.	Second Language
19.	Second Language
20.	Home Language
21.	Second Language
22.	Second Language
23.	Second Language
24.	Home Language

7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*

16.	Advantage
17.	Advantage
18.	Advantage
19.	Advantage
20.	Advantage
21.	Advantage
22.	Advantage
23.	Advantage
24.	Advantage

8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*

16.	Yes
17.	Yes
18.	Yes
19.	Yes
20.	Yes
21.	Yes
22.	No
23.	Yes
24.	Yes

9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*

16.	Yes
17.	Yes

18.	Yes
19.	Yes
20.	Yes
21.	Yes
22.	Yes
23.	Yes
24.	Yes

10. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?*

16.	No
17.	Yes
18.	Yes
19.	Yes
20.	Yes
21.	No
22.	No
23.	Yes
24.	Yes

11. *If so do you have access to Skype?*

16.	surendar_selvaraj
17.	yes
18.	Yes
19.	sshitall
20.	NIL
21.	suganyabhat

22.	no
-----	----

12. *Which would be your preferred language for interview?*

16.	English
17.	English
18.	English
19.	English
20.	English
21.	English
22.	English

Russian

1. Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)

Original	Translation
Нет (владею - русский, английский; учу - испанский, хочу выучить - итальянский, французский, немецкий)	No (I speak Russian, English, I study Spanish, I want to learn Italian, French, German)
нет не считаю, владею английским	no I do not believe, I speak English
Русский, Українська, English	Russian, Ukraïnska, English
English	English
Владею русским и английским	I speak Russian and English
Русский, Английский, Арабский (базовый)	Russian, English, Arabic (basic)
мультилингвом. русский, английский, французский, украинский	multilingual. Russian, English, French, Ukrainian
Я считаю себя способной к владению несколькими языками. Но на данный момент владею родным языком (русским) и английским на уровне Intermediate.	I consider myself capable of mastering several languages. But at the moment I speak my native language (Russian) and English at Intermediate level.
Английский язык	English
мультилингвом. Знаю русский, английский, китайский	multilingual. I know Russian, English, Chinese
Мультилингвом. Турецкий, английский, китайский, русский	Multilingual. Turkish, English, Chinese, Russian
Русский, немножко английским	Russian, a little English
Русский, Английский, Немецкий, Французский	Russian, English, German, French

англ, фр и русский (мультилингв)	English, French and Russian (multilingual)
русский и английский	Russian and English
Нет, я знаю только родной язык	No, I only know my native language
Русский-родной язык, английский - средний уровень знаний	Russian-native language, English - intermediate level of knowledge
да (английский - upper, немецкий - low, латинский - basic)	yes (English - upper, German - low, Latin - basic)
да, английский	yes, English
нет. английский	no. English
монолингвом русский	monolingual Russian
English, Russian-native, French - basic	English, Russian-native, French - basic
Русский	Russian
монолинв, русский	monoliner, russian
Русский, Украинский	Russian Ukrainian

2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*

Да. Русский и английский.	Yes. Russian and English.
да, английский	yes, English
Русский и английский	Russian and English
Russian, English	Russian, English
Нет	No
Русский, реже английский	Russian, less often English
да. английский и русский	Yes. English and Russian
Да, русский и английский.	Yes, Russian and English.
Использую. Английский язык.	I use. English.
да. Русский, английский и китайский	Yes. Russian, English and Chinese

да. Турецкий, английский, китайский	Yes. Turkish, English, Chinese
Английский	English
да, английский	yes, English
англ и русский, в основном	English and Russian, mostly
русский, редко английский	Russian, rarely English
Нет, использую только русский	No, I'm only using Russian
Да, русский и английский языки	Yes, Russian and English
английский	English
да, английский	yes, English
да, русский, английский	yes, russian, english
русский английский	Russian English
Да, английский каждый день	Yes, English every day
Нет	No
нет	no
Русский, Украинский, Английский, Итальянский	Russian, Ukrainian, English, Italian

3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*

1.	2 языка. Русский и английский.	2 languages. Russian and English.
2.	да, английский	yes, English
3.	Russian	Russian
4.	Русский	Russian
5.	Русский	Russian
6.	нет. использую два	no. I use two
7.	Во время рабочего процесса использую русский и английский.	During the working process I use Russian and English.

8.	Использую несколько. Русский и английский языки.	I use several. Russian and English.
9.	да. Английский и китайский	Yes. English and Chinese
10	русский	Russian
11	Русский	Russian
12	да, русский	yes, Russian
13	нет, два языке	no, two languages
14	если один, то русский	if one, then Russian
15	Русский	Russian
16	Два языка используется: русский и английский	Two languages are used: Russian and English
17	английский	English
18	да, английский	yes, English
19	нет	no
20	русский	Russian
21	Русский	Russian
22	русский	Russian
23	Русский	Russian

4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*

1.	родной язык- русский ,английским овладела самостоятельно с помощью практики и самоучителя.	native language-Russian, English mastered independently with the help of practice and self-instruction.
2.	Учил в школе, универе, разговаривал с носителями	He studied at school, university, talked with carriers
3.	Russian	Russian

4.	Русский, изучал английский в школе и институте	Russian, studied English at school and institute
5.	Русский	Russian
6.	русский и украинский родной. другие языки учила в школе и институте (английский и французский)	Russian and Ukrainian native. other languages taught at school and institute (English and French)
7.	Мой родной язык английский.	My native language is English.
8.	Родной - русский язык. Выучила английский язык в школе\институте\доп.курсах.	The native language is Russian. I learned English at school / institute / additional courses.
9.	русский язык родной. Остальным обучался в ВУЗе	Russian native speaker. The rest studied at the university
10.	Родной язык - русский	Mother tongue - Russian
11.	Русский	Russian
12.	Русский	Russian
13.	русский, фр учила в школе, англ и фр далее в институте	Russian, French taught at school, English and French later in the institute
14.	русский родной, английский в США	Russian native, English in the USA
15.	Знаю только один язык	I only know one language
16.	русский, институт факультет лингвистики	Russian, Institute of the Faculty of Linguistics
17.	русский, овладел другим языком тяжким трудом	Russian, mastered another language with hard work
18.	русский	Russian
19.	Русский-родной, английский -учила со школы, потом с репетитором, потом сама была репетитором по данному языку	Russian-native, English-taught from school, then with a tutor, then she was a tutor for this language
20.	Русский	Russian

21.	Русский. Устроился в ЕКАМ	Russian. I settled down in the ECAM
-----	---------------------------	-------------------------------------

5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*

1.	родной	native
2.	родной	native
3.	родной	native
4.	родной	native
5.	родной	native
6.	родной	native
7.	родной	native
8.	родной	native
9.	родной	native
10.	родной	native
11.	родной	native
12.	родной	native
13.	родной	native
14.	второй	second
15.	родной	native
16.	родной	native
17.	родной	native
18.	родной	native
19.	родной	native
20.	родной	native
21.	родной	native
22.	родной	native
23.	родной	native

24.	родной	native
25.	родной	native
26.	родной	native

6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*

1.	родной	native
2.	родной	native
3.	второй	second
4.	родной	native
5.	родной	native
6.	родной	native
7.	родной	native
8.	родной	native
9.	родной	native
10.	родной	native
11.	родной	native
12.	родной	native
13.	родной	native
14.	родной	native
15.	родной	native
16.	родной	native
17.	родной	native
18.	родной	native
19.	родной	native
20.	родной	native
21.	родной	native

22.	родной	native
23.	родной	native
24.	родной	native
25.	родной	native
26.	второй	second

7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*

1.	способствовало	contributed to
2.	способствовало	contributed to
3.	способствовало	contributed to
4.	способствовало	contributed to
5.	способствовало	contributed to
6.	способствовало	contributed to
7.	способствовало	contributed to
8.	способствовало	contributed to
9.	способствовало	contributed to
10.	способствовало	contributed to
11.	способствовало	contributed to
12.	способствовало	contributed to
13.	способствовало	contributed to
14.	способствовало	contributed to
15.	способствовало	contributed to
16.	способствовало	contributed to
17.	способствовало	contributed to
18.	способствовало	contributed to
19.	способствовало	contributed to

20.	способствовало	contributed to
21.	способствовало	contributed to
22.	способствовало	contributed to
23.	способствовало	contributed to
24.	способствовало	contributed to
25.	способствовало	contributed to
26.		

8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*

1.	Да	Yes
2.	Да	Yes
3.	Да	Yes
4.	Да	Yes
5.	Да	Yes
6.	Да	Yes
7.	Да	Yes
8.	Да	Yes
9.	Да	Yes
10.	Да	Yes
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Нет	No
13.	Да	Yes
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes
16.	Да	Yes
17.	Да	Yes

18.	Да	Yes
19.	Нет	No
20.	Нет	No
21.	Да	Yes
22.	Да	Yes
23.	Нет	No
24.	Да	Yes
25.	Да	Yes

9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*

1.	Да	Yes
2.	Да	Yes
3.	Да	Yes
4.	Нет	No
5.	Нет	No
6.	Нет	No
7.	Да	Yes
8.	Нет	No
9.	Да	Yes
10.	Да	Yes
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Нет	No
13.	Да	Yes
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes
16.	Нет	No

17.	Да	Yes
18.	Да	Yes
19.	Нет	No
20.	Нет	No
21.	Да	Yes
22.	Нет	No
23.	Нет	No
24.	Да	Yes
25.	Да	Yes

10. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?*

1.	Да	Yes
2.	Да	Yes
3.	Да	Yes
4.	Нет	No
5.	Да	Yes
6.	Нет	No
7.	Да	Yes
8.	Да	Yes
9.	Нет	No
10.	Да	Yes
11.	Да	Yes
12.	Нет	No
13.	Да	Yes
14.	Да	Yes
15.	Да	Yes

16.	Да	Yes
17.	Нет	No
18.	Нет	No
19.	Нет	No
20.	Нет	No
21.	Нет	No
22.	Нет	No
23.	Нет	No
24.	Нет	No
25.	Да	Yes

11. *If so do you have access to Skype?*

1.	lattario	
2.	anutochka1621	
3.	bogdan.bagno	
4.	Yes	
5.	Да	
6.	Да	
7.	да	
8.	да	
9.	да	
10.	да	
11.	да	
12.	да	
13.	да	
14.	да ? Skype Soshka13	
15.	есть	

16.	есть	
17.	нет	
18.	нет	
19.	нет	
20.	нет	
21.	нет	

12. Which would be your preferred language for interview?

23.	русский	Russian
24.	английский	English
25.	Русский	Russian
26.	n/a	n / a
27.	Русский	Russian
28.	Русский	Russian
29.	русский	Russian
30.	русский	Russian
31.	не важно	it does not matter
32.	английский	English
33.	английский	English
34.	Русский	Russian
35.	русский, английский	Russian English
36.	Русск или англ	Russian or English
37.	русский или английский	Russian or English
38.	язык тела	language of the body
39.	Русский :) можно попробовать на английском .	Russian :) you can try it in English.
40.	русский	Russian

41.	русский	Russian
42.	русский	Russian
43.	русский	Russian

South Africa

1. *Do you consider yourself monolingual or multilingual (i.e. have good mastery of more than one language)? (please detail which languages)*

	English, Afrikaans and home language IsiXhosa
	No
	Multilingual
	Afrikaans, English, Tswana, Mandarin
	Multilingual afrikaans
	Multilingual
	Afrikaans and English and a little Portugese
	Afrikaans and English
	Multi _ Afrikaans and English
	multilingual - afrikaans, english
	Multilingual

2. *In your workplace s there more than one language spoken? (If so detail the languages below)*

	Xhosa , English Afrikaans, Sotho and IsiZulu
	Yes (3/4)
	Yes. Tshivenda, Zulu, Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Tswana, Xhosa, Portuguese, Shona, Tsonga.

	English
	Yes. Afrikaans . Seswati. Zulu
	Yes -two
	Afrikaans and English.... a little Portugese
	English and Afrikaans
	Afrikaans, English and Xhosa
	yes - afrikaans, english
	English,Afrikaan & Zulu

3. *Is business in your workplace carried out in one language? (If so which is it?)*

1.	English
2.	English
3.	English
4.	English
5.	No . Multiple languages as above.
6.	No, in two
7.	No
8.	English
9.	English
10	yes - english

4. *If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages? (detail all that apply)*

1.	Xhosa(Home Language) English and Afrikaans through interactions and reading
2.	English home language, Afrikaans second language (my moms family)

3.	Tshivenda. I have learnt all other languages through interacting with people from my university days and working with them, and also through my current residence.
4.	Afrikaans
5.	English. Learnt from school friends etc.
6.	Afrikaans home language. English & German at school and university, French at university
7.	Afrikaans Home Language. Studying them
8.	Afrikaans
9.	Afrikaans - via school and talking to other people
10.	afrikaans - acquired English in school
11.	English. Had to speak Afrikaans due to sales occupation

5. *When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?*

1.	Second Language
2.	Home Language
3.	Second Language
4.	Second Language
5.	Home Language
6.	Home Language
7.	Home Language
8.	Second Language
9.	Second Language
10.	Second Language
11.	Home Language

6. *When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively, do you think in your home language or in a second language?*

1.	Second Language
2.	Home Language
3.	Second Language
4.	Home Language
5.	Home Language
6.	Home Language
7.	Home Language
8.	Second Language
9.	Home Language
10.	Second Language

7. *If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?*

1.	Advantage
2.	Advantage
3.	Advantage
4.	Advantage
5.	Advantage
6.	Advantage
7.	Advantage
8.	Advantage
9.	Advantage
10.	Advantage
11.	Advantage

8. *Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?*

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Yes
4.	No
5.	Yes
6.	Yes
7.	Yes
8.	Yes
9.	Yes
10.	Yes
11.	Yes

9. *Are you able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?*

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Yes
4.	Yes
5.	Yes
6.	No
7.	Yes
8.	Yes
9.	Yes
10.	Yes

11.	Yes
-----	-----

10. *Would you be willing to be interviewed for 15 minutes by a researcher in follow up to this questionnaire?*

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Yes
4.	Yes
5.	No
6.	Yes
7.	Yes
8.	No
9.	No
10.	Yes

11. *If so do you have access to Skype?*

1.	Please send questions, rather than skype as it affects work productivity
2.	Yes
3.	Yes
4.	Yes
5.	yes
6.	No
7.	No
8.	Yes

12. *Which would be your preferred language for interview?*

1.	English
2.	English
3.	English
4.	English
5.	English
6.	English
7.	English
8.	English
9.	English

Appendix 3

One on One Interviews

India Interviews

16. If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages?

Hindi is my home language. I acquired other languages from my parents and school
Hindi through an online course
My home language is Malayalam. I acquired fluency in Hindi and English from my residential and school environments
Yes I am multilingual . Santhali is my home language. I acquire additional languages by coming in contact with my colleagues
Bengali is my home language, I have acquired additional languages such as English and Hindi during my schooling.

17. How old were you when you learned a second language?

I was 5 years old
14 years old
4-5 years old
I was 6 years old when I learned Hindi
I was 4-5 years old.

18. When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?

Home language
Depends on the language used in the workplace
I sometimes think in Hindi whilst conversing in English though it isnt my home language
At workplace I use Hindi my second language
Conversation in a workplace is always convenient using English language

19. Which is the most comfortable for you?

Home language
Both

Hindi and Malayalam are both comfortable to me
I'm most comfortable in Hindi
Home language is comfortable in comparison to other

20. Are you one of the majority or in minority when speaking a different language at work?

Majority
Majority
Minority
I'm in a Majority
One of the majority

21. Do you communicate with your family or friends in only your home language or do you use the same language that you working with?

I only use home language.
More use of home language
Home language
I communicate with my family and friends in same language
I usually converse in home language but also in other language which is comfortable at times

22. Do you sometimes switch between languages in the same conversation?

Yes I do
Yes
Yes many times
Yes I do
Yes, sometimes, as conversations get pretty good sometimes

23. When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively do you think in your home language or in a second language?

I use both the languages
Home language
Both home language and second languages
Second language
Home language plays a great role here

24. Do you ever feel anxious about using a different language to the one that you grew up with?

No
No
No it is part of my nature now

No
Yes, anxiety remains

25. If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?

It has always been an advantage and it will help me in future as well when i will work in any corporate
Advantage
Advantage of course yet I have friends who haven't been able to converse in the second language because of their reluctance to change from home language
Yes it is an advantage (emphasised)
It has always been a great advantage in learning and speaking more than one language in career.

26. How do you think this has helped or hindered?

This has helped me a lot as i could take part in international conference
Helps in getting more involved in conversation and socializing more
I can converse with different people of different cultures
t has helped as I can easily communicate with people of different culture and linguistics
This has greatly helped me in my internship days and while i was the part of international conf in university.

27. Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?

Yes I do feel the same
Yes
No
No
Partly productive, creative and innovative

28. Would you prefer to be able to work in the language that you grew up with?

Yes
Not necessary
No problem.
Yes
Yes who wouldn't prefer that?

29. Are there times when you don't feel as able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?

No
Yes
Yes
Yes there are times
Yes quite at times I feel that I am unable to express easily when using an alternate language.

30. Any observations that you would like to make?

No
Learning other language helps in knowing about other cultures and about the livelihood of those places
No
No thanks
No thank you

Russia – Interviews

34 total interviewees

31. If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages?

Home language – Russian
Learned additional language in school – 20 ppl
University – 9 ppl
Learned by own efforts/other methods – 5 ppl

32. How old were you when you learned a second language?

Despite the data from previous answer, all interviewees started learning foreign language in school being 6-10 years old and finished in university – 17-20 years old

33. When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?

Mostly home language – 21 ppl
Home+sometimes second language – 8 ppl
Second language – 5 ppl

34. Which is the most comfortable for you?

Home language - 32 ppl
Second language - 2 ppl

35. Are you one of the majority or in minority when speaking a different language at work?

Minority - 2 ppl
I speak home language at work - 32 ppl

36. Do you communicate with your family or friends in only your home language or do you use the same language that you working with?

In home language

37. Do you sometimes switch between languages in the same conversation?

No – 32 ppl
Rarely/some words – 2 ppl
Yes - 0

38. When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively do you think in your home language or in a second language?

Home language – 33 ppl
Second language – 1 person

39. Do you ever feel anxious about using a different language to the one that you grew up with?

Yes – 19 ppl
Sometimes – 5 ppl
No – 10 ppl

40. If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?

Certainly an advantage – 30 ppl
Depends on the language used – 4 ppl

41. How do you think this has helped or hindered?

Everyone agreed that knowing the foreign language definitely help them on the workplace, yet some noticed that certainly depends on the language known (some know English, but use German and vice versa).
--

42. Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?

Yes – 10 ppl
No – 13 ppl
Haven't tried – 11 ppl

43. Would you prefer to be able to work in the language that you grew up with?

Yes - 30 ppl
No - 2 ppl
Doesn't matter - 2 ppl

44. Are there times when you don't feel as able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?

Usually not. It only happens when both sides of the conversation do not know the language very well. – the main point during all interviews. None had such problems as suggested in the question.

Any observations that you would like to make?

South Africa – Interviews

1. If you are multilingual, which language is your home language? How did you acquire additional languages?

Dutch, at school and with friends at school.
SiSwati, learned English at school and at work
I learnt English from a very young age, from my family, radio, television school – all over.
English, Picked some up Afrikaans from school and friends.
Sesotho, learnt English since I was young at school.
English, learnt Afrikaans at school

2. How old were you when you learned a second language?

When we moved to South Africa – I was 4
6 years old
Cannot remember, I just grew up with it – but spoke Afrikaans at home.
I would say around 6, going to school
When I went to school.
5 or 6

3. When conversing in the workplace do you think using your home language or a second language?

Second language
Home language
Both
Home Language
Home Language

4. Which is the most comfortable for you?

Am comfortable with both
Home language
Either
Home Language
Home Language
Home Language

5. Are you one of the majority or in minority when speaking a different language at work?

Minority, but I do not have an opportunity to speak Dutch at work.
No, I work with other Swati people
We all speak Afrikaans at work
Majority, but English is not a different language and everyone speaks English
Majority, but at work we all speak English
Majority, most can speak 2 languages or more

6. Do you communicate with your family or friends in only your home language or do you use the same language that you working with?

Family in Dutch and friends language I am working with.
Home language
Home language, but English to English friends
Home language
Home language, English at work but Sesotho if no English people need to understand
Home language

7. Do you sometimes switch between languages in the same conversation?

Not generally, No
Yes, sometimes
All the time
No, sometimes some local slang that you pick up from other people at work.
Yes
Yes

8. When tackling complex tasks or engaging in innovation and creatively do you think in your home language or in a second language?

Mostly home language
Home language
Home language
Home language
Home language
Home language

9. Do you ever feel anxious about using a different language to the one that you grew up with?

No
Yes
No
Sometimes

Yes, sometimes
No

10. If you speak more than one language do you believe that this has been an advantage or disadvantage in your career?

In my case an advantage
No difference
No difference
No difference
Helped me to get the job.
Advantage

11. How do you think this has helped or hindered?

I have been able to work on international contracts, which improved my position at work.
Not helped me
Not helped or hindered
Not helped or hindered
If I did not speak English, I would not have this job, so helped
Most people would expect it from people who are educated- creates an impression that you are well educated

12. Do you think you are able to be as productive, creative or innovative when using an alternative language for your work environment?

Yes
No, nobody will understand
Yes
No
Yes, maybe
Yes

13. Would you prefer to be able to work in the language that you grew up with?

No
Sometimes but you have to know the English words at work
We mostly do – We are all Afrikaans people at my work.
Yes
Yes

Yes

14. Are there times when you don't feel as able to express your opinions or ideas to peers or managers as easily when using an alternative language?

No
Sometimes
No
No
Yes
No







15. Any observations that you would like to make?

No
No
No
No
No
No




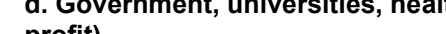
Appendix 4

BRICS Dec

1. Which country does your business predominately operate in?

	Responses	Percentage
Brazil 	3	2.01%
China 	37	24.83%
India 	6	4.03%
Russia 	80	53.69%
South Africa 	15	10.07%
Other 	8	5.37%

2. Which of the follow best describes your business's operational sector?

	Responses	Percentage
a. Primary (Extraction of natural resources; does not include processing) 	13	8.72%
b. Secondary (Processing resources, i.e.: manufacturing) 	38	25.5%
c. Tertiary (Service providers) 	65	43.62%
d. Government, universities, healthcare, culture, media, non-profit) 	33	22.15%

3. What size is the company? Based on revenue

	Responses	Percentage
a. Micro (under \$5 million) 	28	18.79%
b. Small (\$5-20 million) 	38	25.5%
c. Mid-size (\$20-500 million)	45	30.2%



38 25.5%

d. Large (\$500+ million)



4. On a scale of 1-10, 1 being the least important and 10 being the most, how important is the use of English in your workplace for business purposes?

	Responses	Percentage
1 	15	10.27%
2 	3	2.05%
3 	9	6.16%
4 	10	6.85%
5 	16	10.96%
6 	10	6.85%
7 	12	8.22%
8 	22	15.07%
9 	20	13.7%
10 	29	19.86%

5. Is English your primary language?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes 	20	13.51%
No 	128	86.49%

6. Is English required in your workplace?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes 	104	71.23%

No	42	28.77%
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7. Are English courses provided, for example, as a training programme for employees?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	35	23.49%
	83	20.81%
No		
	31	4.03%
Unsure		



8. Do you make use of languages, other than English, in your workplace?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	116	77.85 %
	33	22.15%
No		



9. Do you believe there is a push for English in the workplace for the future? If so, do you believe it will be a positive thing or a negative thing?

	Responses	Percentage
a. Yes, I believe there is a push for English speaking for the future and I believe it is a positive thing.	101	67.79%
	4	2.68%
b. Yes, I believe there is a push for English for the future and I believe it is a negative thing		
	44	29.53%
c. No, I do not believe there is a push for English speaking in the workplace in the future		






10. Is it possible to get a higher wage or a better position if you can speak several languages?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	103	69.13%
	12	8.05%
No		
	34	22.82%
Unsure		



11. Do you have, or know of a language policy for your workplace?

	Responses	Percentage
a. Yes, we have a language policy 	23	15.44%
b. No, we do not have a language policy (proceed to Q14) 	86	57.72%
c. I don't know if we have a language policy 	40	26.85%

12. Is the language policy enforced?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes 	17	27.42%
No 	27	43.55%
Unsure 	18	29.03%

13. Do you believe the language policy promotes fairness and equality in the workplace?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes 	23	37.7%
No 	10	16.39%
Unsure 	28	45.9%

14. Are regional languages permitted in the workplace?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes 	79	53.74%
No 	68	46.26%

15. Are the different cultures and languages of the employees at your workplace embraced or discouraged?

	Responses	Percentage
Embraced 	86	57.72%
Discouraged 	63	42.28%

16. Are translators used in your workplace/business?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	51	34.23%
No	98	65.77%

17. How often do problems arise due to errors in translation?

	Responses	Percentage
Frequently	4	2.72%
Sometimes	44	29.93%
Rarely	77	52.38%
Never	22	14.97%

18. Are you able to communicate effectively in your home language with your colleagues?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	141	94.63%
No	8	5.37%

19. Do you follow specific guidelines when doing business with someone from another country in terms of language?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	87	60.42%
No	57	39.58%

20. Do you follow specific guidelines when doing business with someone from another country in terms of etiquette?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	104	70.27%
No	44	29.73%

21. Does your company's work environment align with its intended values and objectives?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	119	79.87%
No	30	20.13%

22. Would you say your company fosters a healthy work/life balance?

	Responses	Percentage
Yes	107	72.79%
No	40	27.21%

23. Does your company allow time-off for different cultural or religious holidays?











	Responses	Percentage
Yes	121	82.88%
No	25	17.12%

24. On a scale of 1-10, 1 being the least and 10 being the most, how much improvement could be made to facilitate communication internally?

	Responses	Percentage
1	6	4.03%
2	13	8.72%
3	17	11.41%
4	16	10.74%
5	37	24.83%
6	18	12.08%
7	23	15.44%
	13	8.72%

8		3	2.01%
9		3	2.01%
10			

25. On a scale of 1-10, 1 being the least and 10 being the most, how much improvement could be made to facilitate communication externally?

		Responses	Percentage
1		6	4.03%
2		8	5.37%
3		24	16.11%
4		15	10.07%
5		27	18.12%
6		13	8.27%
7		24	16.11%
8		18	12.08%
9		10	6.71%
10		4	2.68%