

Metrolingualism in Prague: The Adaptation and Management of Multilingualism in a Multiethnic Bakery Shop



Minyoung Park

ABSTRACT:

The aim of this paper is to shed light on how ordinary language users in a globalized city adapt to and manage their multilingual situations in which diverse communicative problems occur. The subject of this study is a multiethnic bakery shop in Prague. Various languages, such as English, Czech, Korean and Chinese are used as a means of everyday interaction between the owners and customers in the shop. Language Management Theory (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003) will be employed as a theoretical framework in order to understand and analyze the following research questions: 1) how do the owners of a multiethnic bakery shop adapt to their multilingual situation?, 2) how do the owners of a multiethnic bakery shop manage their language use during the work? Simple management (on the micro-level) and organized management (on the macro-level) will be analyzed based on the data gathered from observations, recordings, language biography interviews, and follow-up interviews by the author. This paper will illuminate how socio-economic, communicative and linguistic management are intertwined and what consequences may follow after implementing the adjustment plan.

KEY WORDS:

metrolingualism, multilingualism, Language Management Theory, everyday life, simple management, organized management

1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a term with which we are familiar. As a consequence of technological advancement, the mobility of people, goods, foods, information, and culture has been dramatically facilitated. According to the World Trade Organization, the size of world trade in goods and services has amounted to 22 trillion US dollars in 2020, and 281 million of the world population reside in a country other than their country of birth (i.e., 3.6% of the world's total population) according to the International Organization for Migration (2022, pp. 3-4). These globalization trends have initiated numerous changes (e.g., migration, education, language policy, cultural exchange, ethnic identity issues) in our society (Studer & Werlen, 2012). These changes have become a crucial feature of everyday life in cosmopolitan cities in Europe such as Amsterdam, Brussels or Prague, in which English as a foreign language is used as a lingua franca enabling communication with foreign people.¹ These global trends have commenced

1 The number of foreigners in Prague is 236,229 in 2021 (i.e., 17.9% of the whole population of Prague) and the number of foreign visitors in the first quarter of 2022 is approximately 1.85 million according to the Czech Statistical Office.



new multilingual language situations, and these have been a decisive subject of various linguistic researchers (e.g., Saint-Georges & Weber, 2013; Horner et al., 2014).

This paper aims to explore the everyday language practices in a bakery shop in which a metrolingual context is present by asking the following research questions: 1) how do the owners of a multiethnic bakery shop adapt to their multilingual situation, 2) how do the owners of a multiethnic bakery shop manage their language use during work. These two questions will be answered within the framework of Language Management Theory on the micro and macro levels. Language Management Theory is a theoretical framework that delineates the correction process of communicative problems not only in terms of linguistic but also in terms of socio-cultural and socio-economic perspectives. This theory makes it possible to understand how the process of adaptation to multilingual situations establishes communicative norms in the workplace from various perspectives, how the dynamic use of various languages in the workplace proceeds in the ongoing interaction (i.e., micro-level) and how these accumulated experiences with communicative problems bring about the establishment of language policy in a multiethnic bakery shop in Prague (i.e., macro-level).

2 MULTILINGUALISM

As described above, multilingualism is one of the crucial terms related to the topic of this paper. Before analyzing the adaptation and management of multilingualism in a multiethnic bakery in Prague, it is necessary to look into the concept at least briefly. Aronin and Singleton (2008, pp. 1-2) depict features of current multilingualism as follows:

- (1) Multilingualism is ubiquitous, on the rise worldwide, and increasingly deep and broad in its effects.
- (2) Multilingualism is developing within the context of the new reality of globalization.
- (3) Multilingualism is now such an inherent element of human society that it is necessary to the functioning of major components of the social structure (in the broad sense, encompassing, *inter alia*, technology, finance, politics, and culture).

As the authors suggest, current multilingualism is not limited to geographically close languages or nations. We can see and visit numerous Asian, African, and American shops or restaurants in various European cities. It is undeniable that European countries do not solely get influenced by other closely located European countries but also by various countries from different continents. Additionally, multilingualism is no longer associated with specific social strata, cultures, and nations, but as an inherent element of our society, it influences people, culture, language, economics, and politics within the context of globalization.

With respect to specific research subjects within this context, social aspects of current multilingualism and multilingualism and social inclusion are significant topics closely related to the current paper. These topics will be introduced in the following subsections.



2.1 SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CURRENT MULTILINGUALISM

Various problematic features and practices derived from multilingualism in society have been the leading research target in research on multilingualism. This topic focuses on how society and multilingualism are intertwined. A typical topic can be, for instance, minority language use within the host community. Singleton et al. (2013) inquired about the language practices of minority language users in Ireland within the framework of multilingualism and individual speakers' social and physical time. The authors revealed that minority language speakers manage their languages according to a very specific pattern of daily time allocation and places, and they usually remain in one language mode for the majority of time. These findings shed light on the fact that multilingualism is significantly diverse and complex and cannot be properly investigated by employing a simple concept of globalization.

2.2 MULTILINGUALISM AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Multilingualism and social inclusion have become one of the most significant research topics due to the rapid process of globalization and the diversity of languages and cultures in a society. It brings attention to how ordinary language users with various linguistic and cultural capitals (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) integrate into a society. This social phenomenon is elucidated in numerous settings. Pennycook and Otsuji (2011), for instance, demonstrate the complexity of multilingualism in urban spaces in which fixity and fluidity of language ideologies and practices prevail. In that paper, they argue that simple terminology such as pluralism does not properly indicate how dynamic, hybrid, and complicated our everyday life in multilingual settings is, and that it is required to investigate such a topic within the concept of multilingualism focusing on daily linguistic practices of ordinary language users in multilingual cities. Marácz and Adamo (2017), on the other hand, take multilingualism and social inclusion at the national level into account. They claimed that the "one nation — one people — one language" doctrine lost its meaning, and in the present age of globalization, linguistic diversity has been recognized as an unavoidable phenomenon. At the national level, multilingual states in society have been developing, but this does not guarantee full equality of languages. Annamalai (2003), for instance, demonstrates the importance of power relations between the majority and minority and how they are intertwined in our society by employing Skutnabb-Kangas' (1989) categorization of multilingual language policies. This categorization, in opposition to traditional language policy (e.g., orthography reforms and standardization of terms), is associated with three kinds of policy goals: 1) policy of elimination of multilingualism, 2) tolerance of multilingualism, 3) maintenance of multilingualism. Elimination of multilingualism primarily deals with the preservation of monolingualism



achieved by prohibiting and penalizing the use of minority languages in public and private domains. Tolerance of multilingualism does not regulate the use of minority languages in private domains but excludes them in public domains. Maintenance of multilingualism supports the rights of minority language speakers and the ecology of minority languages (Annamalai, 2003, pp. 119–122).

3 METROLINGUALISM

Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) explore everyday multilingual practices in an urban area such as Sydney and Tokyo within the framework of “multilingualism from below” and “metrolingualism”. Multilingualism from below is derived from the concept of multiculturalism from below, which is understood as “a grounded approach to looking at the everyday practice and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter” (Wise & Velayutham, 2009, p. 3). This concept, therefore, generally does not deal with top-down language policy or language norms as a societal system that influences the language use of lay people. Rather, multilingualism from below explores how people interact in everyday communication and how their language practices operate on the micro-level to shed light on the everyday practice and lived experience of linguistic diversity. Metrolingualism refers to the practice of creative language use in everyday interaction and the mixing of different linguistic codes in urban contexts. This dynamic and hybrid use of language transcends established social, cultural, political, and historical boundaries (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2010, pp. 243–248). Moreover, in their previous paper (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2011), the authors explain the potential aims of metrolingualism: it describes how people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with, and negotiate identities through language. Metrolingualism does not assume a connection between language, culture, nationality, or geography but rather seeks to explore how such relations are produced, resisted, defied, or rearranged (*ibid.*, p. 419). Within this theoretical framework, Pennycook and Otsuji explored how everyday multilingual practices take place in terms of mobility, spatial repertoires,² conviviality, and metrolingua francas. Moreover, in their later paper (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2017), the authors further develop the theory and introduce the notion of globalization from below. It refers to transnational flows of people and goods as part of informal and small-scale economic exchange (*ibid.*, pp. 434–435). This new concept does not confine its theoretical boundary to one urban area but broadens its scope to numerous urban areas interconnected with other cities and nations and properly elucidates how these transnational exchanges initiate new cultural and linguistic phenomena in urban contexts. For instance, Pennycook and Otsuji explored how some labels or signs written on the

2 This term is crucial to understanding Pennycook and Otsuji’s papers. It is a set of repertoires of linguistic resources established by accumulated linguistic experiences in particular spaces. This notion links the repertoires formed through individual life trajectories to the particular places in which these linguistic resources are deployed (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 83).



products inaugurate a broad set of interactions. According to them, foreign products (e.g., spice, foreign fish species) and their labels or signs (i.e., material artefacts) establish the spatial layout in a particular space and generate a spatial repertoire in which interactions regarding products, buying, selling, and negotiations take place. As a consequence, the interconnectedness of local and global objects, people, and linguistic resources reconfigures the scope of the interaction from local to wider connections across the suburb, the city and the process of globalization (*ibid.*, p. 438).

As far as spatial repertoire in an urban context is concerned, it is one of the most crucial notions that aptly explain everyday language practices in a cosmopolitan city. Sen (2016), in his paper, accounts for the notion of spatial repertoire in relation to the habitual language use of immigrants in a shopping center. According to him, “the repeated experiences of shopping in such stores create spatial memories and habitual practices that produce new forms of communal experiences for immigrants. In the course of repeated experience, not only spatial memories but also spatial repertoires, which include both linguistic and other resources, are created” (*ibid.*, p. 71). In other words, repeated experiences with everyday life practices routinize a particular way of language use in a certain place. This concept of routinized language use allows us to describe our everyday language practices in various places in which foreigners or immigrants communicate with host community groups.

Pennycook and Otsuji (2019) augment the range of metrolingualism to include digital technology areas. Due to the recent proliferation of digital technologies such as smartphones and social network services, a different type of spatiotemporal entanglement has become part of our everyday lives (see Pink & Mackley, 2013). Additionally, Thurlow and Mroczek (2011) suggest that “technologies are indeed embedded in complex ways into the banal practices of everyday life” (*ibid.*, pp. xxiv–xxv). For instance, advertisements of restaurants and their reviews on the internet or social network services such as Facebook and Instagram have become mundane multilingual practices in our society. In this paper, Pennycook and Otsuji argue that “the mobile phone [...] is not simply a medium of entertainment, but part of the process by which people entangle the lines between work and pleasure and make everyday environments in ongoing ways at the interface between work and home” (*ibid.*, p. 182). This argument points to the fact that technological advance is not solely a passive and subservient implication to our society but an active and dynamic tool that enables us to create a new place in which multilingual practices take place every day.

4 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT THEORY

As an analytical framework, Language Management Theory (hereafter LMT) will be employed for analyzing the data. This theory plays a crucial role in this paper, therefore, in this section, the theoretical concept of LMT will be briefly elucidated.

LMT was created by B. H. Jernudd and J. V. Neustupný (1987), who followed up on language planning theories elaborated in the 1960s and 1970s. Initially, LMT delineated the correction process of various problems occurring in interaction. The term “language management” is understood as attention to language as a system as well as



language use (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015). The theory deals with managing communicative problems not only in terms of linguistic but also socio-cultural and socio-economic perspectives. In order to properly investigate the language correction process in interaction within the framework of LMT, it is necessary to differentiate between two processes in language use. According to Nekvapil (2009, p. 1), those are divided into two groups: “(1) the process which enables the generation of utterances or communicative acts, and (2) the process whose object is the utterances or communicative acts themselves, whether they have already been generated, are currently generated or are anticipated”. In other words, the first process deals with how a speaker generates utterances in interaction, and the second process devotes attention to the meta-linguistic behavior of a speaker (i.e., “behavior toward language” in Fishman’s terminology). It is the second process that is deemed the primary target of the theory. According to Neustupný (1978), metalinguistic behaviors in interaction are directed both to one particular discourse and the language system as a whole, so, as we have mentioned above, the theoretical demarcation between simple (on the micro-level) and organized (on the macro-level) management is established. On the micro-level, LM is active and dynamic. For instance, during a conversation, one of the participants notes a deviation from the norm or expectation (e.g., a pronunciation problem or a problem with selecting the degree of politeness), and s/he may evaluate it negatively and design and implement an adjustment in order to remedy the communicative problem. This process can be conducted during the interaction or after the interaction (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015, pp. 6–7). On the macro-level, language problems are analyzed in detail by an institution (e.g., a group of linguistic experts note some deviations from the norm or expectation and evaluate them negatively, and thus design an adjustment), and the institution gives ordinary language users an instruction on how to solve the problems (i.e., implement an adjustment design). This process may take a relatively long time due to the fact that the data for the noting stage should be gathered in an accumulated linguistic database gained from laypeople. A detailed account of the LM process covering its main stages can be presented as follows:

Figure 1 demonstrates how language management processes work. There may be six stages involved:

- 1) a deviation from the norm occurs
- 2) a participant of communication (or an institution) notices it
- 3) a participant of communication (or an institution) evaluates it as positive or negative
- 4) a participant of communication (or an institution) plans an adjustment for the deviation
- 5) a participant of communication (or an institution) implements the adjustment

The prerequisite of the language management process is obviously producing an utterance or a communicative act (i.e., parole, performance). If there is no utterance or communicative act (verbal or nonverbal) at all, it is likely that an interaction or communication problem will not occur. The first stage is related to a deviation from the

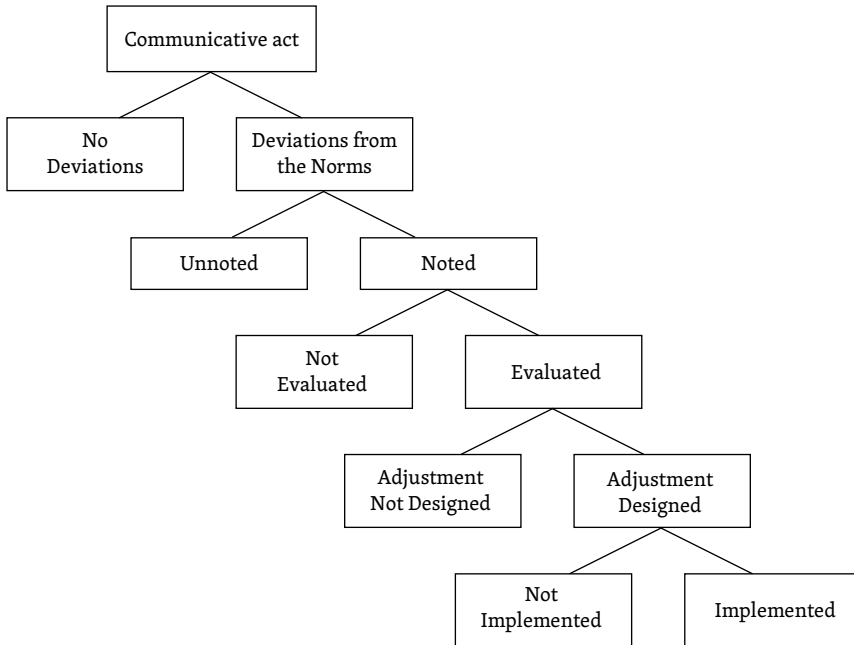


FIGURE 1: The language management process (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 3).

norm (i.e., a source of the communicative problem) occurring in interaction. Communicative problems can emerge during an interaction.

Mispronunciation, orthographic mistakes, and improper language use in terms of socio-cultural specificity are the criteria for a deviation from norms or expectations (e.g., linguistic, socio-cultural, and socio-economic) of participants in the interaction. The second stage refers to the noting of a deviation. Some communicative problems can occur during the conversation (i.e., the first stage), and one of the participants can note the deviation that initiates those problems. The third stage concerns the evaluation of the noted deviation. After the noting stage, the agent who noted a deviation can evaluate it. A deviation can be evaluated either positively or negatively. If the noted deviation is evaluated positively, it is not considered a problem. For instance, during a conversation with a foreigner, a native speaker can note some mispronunciations. However, if the native speaker can comprehend their speech and understand that the given language used in the conversation is a second language for a conversation partner, it might happen that the native speaker does not care about that problem. On the other hand, if the noted deviation is evaluated negatively, it might be deemed an inadequacy or a problem, and the agent might continue the management process. The fourth stage is related to a plan for the noted deviation. If the agent who noted the deviation evaluated it negatively, s/he could plan an adjustment design in order to remedy the problem. For instance, a plan for a direct or indirect correction of the mispronunciation of the conversation partner is a typical example of planning an adjustment design. The last stage deals with the actual



implementation of the adjustment design in interaction. After planning an adjustment design, the agent can implement his/her adjustment in ongoing interaction or after the interaction.

It is noteworthy that all of these stages need not be carried out. In other words, the language management process can cease at any stage. The rationale can be various: a linguistic reason (e.g., insufficient competence in a given language used in the interaction), a socio-cultural reason (e.g., inability to remedy the noted problem due to politeness in a hierarchical society), or a socio-economic reason (e.g., inability to remedy the noted problem due to an unbalanced relation between manufacturer and customer).

5 METHODOLOGY

The data employed in this research were gathered from observations and recordings by the author (about 30 hours) and interviews (follow-up interview and language biography interview) with the participants. Observations were conducted 12 times by the author as a customer in the bakery shop. Being a customer was a crucial part of this data gathering process since it enabled the author to observe and record how the owners of the bakery shop interact with customers of various nationalities (e.g., Czech, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Canadian, Russian, Slovakian) *de facto* in a natural setting and how they manage their language use in various working contexts. Under the owners' and customers' consent,³ some of the conversations were recorded and used as materials for a follow-up interview in order to analyze and interpret significant phenomena that occurred during the conversation with customers. The follow-up interview refers to a methodological approach developed from the stimulated recall interview that focuses on self-revelation. According to Gass and Mackey (2000), it alludes to what is often described as think-aloud. The crucial aspect of the stimulated recall interview is elucidated as follows: "A participant provides an ongoing report of his or her thought processes while performing the same task [...] [it] involves a prompted interview, for example, watching a video of an event, listening to an audio recording of an event, or even seeing a piece of writing just completed" (*ibid.*, p. 10). In accordance with the stimulated recall interview, the follow-up interview employs a video or an audio recording of a particular linguistic behavior of a participant as a checking device in order to reveal the purpose and mental process of language use to the researcher and validate their hypothesis regarding a given phenomenon.

Language biography is a research methodology based on narratives of an informant regarding his or her language use. According to Nekvapil (2004), features and aims of this methodology can be described as follows: "a language biography is

3 As far as the consent from customers is concerned, announcements with a brief explanation of the research topic and a request for permission to record were placed on the entrance and cash desk. In addition, the bakery shop owners asked customers if they already had read the announcement and consent to it.

a biographical account in which the narrator makes the language, or rather languages, the topic of his or her narrative — in particular, the issue of how the language was acquired and how it was used” (*ibid.*, p. 9). One of the significant features of a language biography is that it enables a researcher to capture everyday language use of the informant in a more practical way. Due to the time and financial factors, it is strenuous for a researcher to investigate every aspect of everyday language use of the informant in a natural setting. However, employing a language biography methodology makes it possible to explore the informant’s mundane language use in detail. In addition, 30 hours of observations and recordings are insufficient to deeply understand how speakers of various languages communicate, manage their language use, remedy problems, and achieve communicative goals. Therefore, a language biography methodology becomes a satisfactory solution to remedy these methodological problems.

8 interviews were conducted (4 follow-up interviews for each participant and 4 language biography interviews with all participants). The reason for the different number of participants in the follow-up interviews and the language biography interviews is that in a follow-up interview, the participant was required to demonstrate why he or she generated specific language uses that became subjects of this research. In contrast, in a language biography interview, it was more efficient to let the participants discuss some episodes regarding their language use at the workplace since the topic is broader during the discussion, and it elicits more dynamic episodes related to the research topic. Further, those episodes are mostly repetitive events that all participants have experienced or extraordinary events that they cannot forget. In many cases, the participants remember those events in detail and narrate problem-solving processes at the workplace in a concrete way. Thus, a language biography interview enriches the data with valuable information that 30 hours of observations and recordings cannot provide.

6 DATA

6.1 BAKERY SHOP AS A RESEARCH SITE

This particular bakery shop was chosen as a research site for several reasons:

1. Metrolingualism is well reflected in this workplace. The bakery shop is located in a cosmopolitan city, Prague, and various languages are used in everyday interactions in order to achieve communicative goals.
2. The bakery shop has a relatively small space and quiet atmosphere. These environmental factors enabled me to focus on observation and recording.
3. Language data from naturally occurring interactions can be gathered. As an ordinary customer, I have witnessed numerous communicative, socio-cultural, and socio-economic problems in naturally occurring situations. Since the participants are my acquaintances, I have frequently visited the bakery shop and could observe the linguistic behaviors of the participants and customers for a whole day without interruption.





4. Valuable data can be gained from the interview. Since the bakery shop owners are my acquaintances, in-depth interviews are possible, and a comfortable atmosphere during the interviews makes it possible to gain more valuable data.

6.2 PARTICIPANTS

Four owners of the bakery shop participated in this research. Three of them are Korean, and one of them is ethnically half Korean and half Chinese and she lived in China from an early age. Detailed information about the participants is given in Table 1.

Participant	Gender	Time spent learning English	Length of Czech learning	Length of stay in the Czech Republic	Language used in everyday life	Language used at work	Language used in social network
1	M	8 years	1.5 years	5 years	English, Korean	Czech, Korean	Korean
2	M	9 years	1.5 years	5 years	English, Korean	Czech, Korean	Korean
3	F	11 years	0.5 years	3 years	English, Korean	Czech, English, Korean	Korean
4	F	9 years	0.5 years	3 years	English, Korean	Czech, English, Korean, Chinese	Korean, Chinese

TABLE 1: Detailed information regarding participants.⁴

As we can see in Table 1, four languages are used in their everyday life in Prague. The average length of their stay in the Czech Republic is four years, which means that the participants have acclimated to multilingual communicative situations (e.g., Korean and English). Furthermore, they learned English (the time spent learning English is between 8 and 11 years), and in order to run their business, at least to some degree, they also studied the Czech language (the time spent learning Czech is between half a year and one and a half years). These factors enable us to investigate how immigrants who have skills in various languages and are acclimated to the cosmopolitan city adapt to multilingualism and manage their language use in their work lives.

7 DATA ANALYSIS

Our research subject has particular aspects in terms of the diversity of semiotic assemblages (Adkins, 2015; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2019). Assemblage as concrete collections of

⁴ Language used in social network refers to the language that the participants use when they interact with their friends and acquaintances.



heterogeneous materials that display tendencies toward both stability and change (Adkins, 2015, p. 14) induces an exotic atmosphere in the bakery shop. A menu in Korean, Czech, and English, posts in Korean and English on Instagram, the smells and the appearance of Korean bread exoticize the place. However, as time passes, those sedimented experiences with diverse assemblages and repeated language practices related to the particular place form a spatial repertoire (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) of the bakery shop. In the process of forming a spatial repertoire, the owners have tried to manage the language practices and problems in order to communicate effectively and render a mundane metrolingual interaction. From this perspective, in this chapter I will elucidate the management process on the micro-level and macro-level within the framework of LMT.

7.1 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT ON THE MICRO-LEVEL

This section looks at how the participants adapt and manage their language use on the micro-level. Within the framework of LMT, LM on the micro-level refers to simple management, that is, management conducted in ongoing interaction. Our first example will illustrate how this simple management emerges.

Example 1:⁵ A conversation between a participant and Czech customer (from observation, translated by the author).

- 1 P4: dobrý den.
Hello.
- 2 CC: dobrý den. kde máte chléb?⁶
Hello. Where do you have chléb?
- 3 P4: nemám. Nemám.
I do not have. I do not have.
- 4 CC: tak co to je? Je to slaný? nebo sladký?
Then what is it? Is it salty? or sweet?
- 5 P4: (...) prosím? Pomalu prosím.
Excuse me? Slowly, please.
- 6 CC: sla:ný? Slad:ký?
Salty? Sweet?

⁵ The original language is Czech (the upper row) and the translated language is English (the lower row). P4 refers to participant 4 and CC refers to Czech customer. Detailed information regarding transcription conventions is on the last page of this paper.

⁶ It is a staple bread for Czech people.



- 7 P4: uh: nerozumím, promiňte.
Uh, I do not understand, sorry.
- 8 CC: salt(y)? Sweet?
- 9 P4: oh, sweet sweet sweet.

In Example 1, the LM process is aptly illustrated. Participant 4 welcomes a Czech customer with a greeting (in line 1). The Czech customer greets her and asks where *chléb* (a typical Czech bread) is. Then participant 4 answers that they do not have it (in line 3). Then the customer asks whether the other bread on display is salty or sweet since these kinds of bread are baked in a Korean style. Therefore, they are not familiar to Czech customers. However, due to insufficient competence in Czech, participant 4 does not understand the words *slaný* ‘salty’ and *sladký* ‘sweet’. Therefore, participant 4 asks what the customer said by attempting to manage the speaking speed of the customer (in line 5), and the customer repeats the words with a slower tempo (in line 6). Although the customer repeats the words slowly, the participant does not understand them; therefore, the customer notes the communicative problem that her interlocutor does not understand *slaný* and *sladký* and uses equivalent words in English (in line 8). Then participant 4 understands what the customer is asking and answers it (in line 9).

From the perspective of Conversation Analysis, these correction processes are defined as self-initiated other-repair (Sacks, 1995). Participant 4 opens the conversation in Czech (in line 1) and responds in Czech (in line 3), which provides a basis for the customer to continue using Czech (in lines 2 and 4). However, participant 4 notes that she does not understand what the customer said and, as an adjustment, initiates a self-repair of the customer (in line 5). Then the Czech customer tries to speak the words with a slow tempo and clearer pronunciation. However, participant 4 still does not understand the words and initiates a self-repair of the customer again (in line 7). Then the customer repairs her previous utterance (in line 8). In this extract, we can observe the process of noting (i.e., hesitation markers in lines 5 and 7) and implementation of adjustments (i.e., repairment initiations in lines 5 and 7, repairments in lines 6 and 8).

One of the most intriguing questions of LM is how and why a language user designs an adjustment in a particular way (e.g., using equivalent words in English). Three possible rationales might be the reason for initiating the adjustment design in our example. The first rationale is the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca (Firth, 1996; Seidlhofer, 2005). The term refers to English as a contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture (Firth, 1996, p. 240). In our example, participant 4 and the Czech customer do not share a common native language, and they recognize this fact due to their different races and the participant’s competence in Czech. However, they still need to communicate somehow in order to achieve their communicative goal. English thus becomes an adjustment plan (i.e., using equivalent words in English). The second rationale is the ideology of the given district. Bakeries sell products that do not remain



fresh for a long time. Therefore, it can be assumed that customers usually come from the surrounding areas. The bakery shop is located in the Prague 6 district in which 45 foreign embassies and their residences have their seat. This particular district is highly valued as a prestigious area in which expatriates (i.e., elite immigrants) and their families live. Additionally, respected primary schools, secondary schools, and campuses of significant universities (e.g., Czech Technical University in Prague, Institute of Chemical Technology in Prague, and Catholic Theological Faculty of Charles University) are located in the district. Thus, it may be assumed that many people inhabiting Prague 6 are highly educated and can speak English to some degree. Following this line of reasoning, the Czech customer might expect that participant 4 is likely to understand English words and plan an adjustment design from that perspective. The third rationale is the phenomenon of spatial repertoire. As described above, the term refers to a routinized language practice established by repeated experiences with linguistic and other resources in a particular space. In the bakery shop, diverse foreign artefacts (e.g., traditional Korean teas, smell of Korean style bread, Korean music), signs and menu cards in Korean, Czech, and English are present. These resources generate an exotic atmosphere with which Czech customers are not familiar. Further, the Czech customer saw and heard that other customers had asked and ordered bread in English. She might understand that English is used as a means of communication in that particular space. Interviews with regular Czech customers⁷ revealed that after their first visit, the customers already realize that the owners try to speak Czech, but their linguistic competence is not quite sufficient. Nevertheless, regular Czech customers positively evaluate the fact that they are at least trying. Thus, a language rule has been implicitly established between the owners and regular customers that Czech customers first speak in Czech, and when the owners do not understand what they are saying, they switch to English. Customers repeatedly experience this negotiated language practice, various foreign artefacts and signs in the shop, and these establish the spatial repertoire of the bakery shop.

During the follow-up interview, participant 4 demonstrated that she also remembers this communicative event. She follows the norm that as an owner of a bakery shop in the Czech Republic, she needs to communicate with local people in Czech. However, she notes as a deviation from the norm that she does not understand the words *slaný* and *sladký*, and she evaluates it negatively by mentioning that it was colossal humiliation. As an adjustment design and its implementation, she wrote down some practical words related to bread (e.g., ingredients and flavors) and memorized them. Example 1 regarding one specific conversation related to a communicative problem reveals that LM process is a mundane way of solving a communicative problem we have already faced.

However, it is crucial that designing an adjustment plan is not a simple process influenced solely by linguistic perspective but a dynamic process which is impacted by the socio-cultural perspective, atmosphere, and repeatedly negotiated language practices in a particular space.

⁷ Interviews with regular Czech customers were conducted five times in Czech by the researcher. The length of interviews ranges from 5 minutes to 10 minutes.



Example 2:⁸ A language problem often occurred due to the improper name of the bakery shop (from a language biography interview, translated by the author).

- 10 A: gaggum munje itsoyo?
Do you have any problems that often occur?
- 11 P4: ah: irum temuneyo.
Ah, due to the name.
- 12 A: irum?
The name?
- 13 P4: ne. uri irumi pekařství rago ganpane ssoitnunde gugo temune sonnimduli rohlík irang. chléb oditnyago mulobayo.
Yes. We put our name as pekařství on the signboard. Due to the name, many customers come and ask where we have rohlík and chléb.
- 14 A: ah: cukrárna inde pekařství ragohe-soyo? gunde oe anbagoyo?
Ah, because you put pekařství instead of cukrárna? Then why didn't you correct it?
- 15 P4: himduroyo. gunde bakuryomeon da doninika.
It sucks. However, if we want to correct it, we have to pay for that. It is all about the money issue.

In Example 2, another LM process is represented. In this case, participant 4 talks about a language problem occurring in everyday work life. In line 11, she describes the shop name on the signboard that initiates the language problem. Participant 4 translated the English term *bakery* into Czech as *pekařství*, which actually means a bread shop. However, they produce and sell desserts, such as cakes, sweet cookies, and sweet bread. In Czech, the place where desserts are sold is called *cukrárna* (sweetshop). When she decided to put the name on the signboard, she did not expect that there might be a problem because Koreans do not differentiate between a bread shop and a dessert bread shop (or sweetshop). Bread and desserts are sold in one place, and it is called a *bakery*⁹ in Korea. However, after participant 4 and her colleagues opened the shop, they noticed that numerous Czech customers come and ask for bread typical in the Czech Republic (i.e., *chléb* and *rohlík*). Participant 4 realized that *pekařství* refers to a place where only bread is sold. After noticing the semantic deviation, she evaluated it negatively (in line 15) and she planned to replace the shop signboard, but the cost of the replacement was considerably high. Therefore,

8 The original language is Korean (the upper row) and the translated language is English (the lower row). P4 refers to participant 4 and A refers to the researcher.

9 The original term in Korean is *bbang zip*, which means bread house. However, there is also the loanword *bakery* borrowed from English. This loanword is also widely used.



FIGURE 2: The signboard of the bakery shop.

she could not implement her plan (in line 15). In this case, it is noteworthy that the implementation process could not be executed not due to insufficient language competence but also due to socio-economic reasons.

7.2 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT ON THE MACRO-LEVEL

This section deals with how the participants adapt and manage their language use on the macro-level. In opposition to LM on the micro-level, LM on the macro-level is organized management that gathers accumulated data regarding language problems from the micro-level, evaluates them, plans an adjustment, and implements it in most cases using the authority of an institution or state. In our examples, although our research subject is not an institution or a government in which a group of linguistic experts works, the bakery shop as a small company in which interactions between customers and our participants occur establishes language policies according to their accumulated experiences with language problems in order for the owners to run their business sleekly. Therefore, this type of LM has similar features to Language planning and policy theory which focuses on the top-down management process.



Example 3:¹⁰ Instructions in Japanese (from an unstructured interview, translated by the author).

16 A: igonmoeyo?
What are these?

17 P1: ah: ilbonsonnimdul omeon junun anneguliya.
Ah, those are instructions for Japanese customers.

18 A: oe eronge itsoyo?
Why do you have those things?

19 P1: ilbonsonnimduli onunde gusaramduri eongorul zal mothe gureso keikdo myutbon munapeso dduloturigo gureso senggakhetzi. ilbonoro igol iyagi-hezuza.
Many Japanese come here and shop, but they do not speak English well. They sometimes drop a cake right in front of our shop. So, we thought that it is necessary to make instructions in Japanese in order for them to understand what they should do with our cake.

20 A: oh: banungun otesoyo?
Oh, what were the reactions?

21 P1: umchung joahadora.
They love it so much.

In Example 3, the LM process of language policy is represented. As described above, one of the bakery owners is ethnically Chinese. In order to broaden their target market, the owners employed the Chinese language (e.g., advertising in Chinese on Instagram and making a reservation in Chinese). As a consequence, it brought about a massive influx of Chinese customers. Over time, their target customers were broadened to include Japanese customers. Some minor accidents (e.g., dropping the cake) sometimes occur, and the owners wanted to avoid them by displaying specific instructions. However, they noticed that some Japanese customers who regularly buy their cake and desserts do not have sufficient competence in English. Since the owners do not speak Japanese, translation was the sole option. Therefore, one of the owners contacted her Japanese friend who speaks English, and she requested a translation of some of the instructions.

The owners started to put these instructions in Japanese on their cake boxes and wrapping papers on freshly baked bread when Japanese customers come to shop. This effort was evaluated positively by numerous Japanese customers (e.g., they said "thank you" with a smile and made positive comments about the instructions in Japanese in their internet review of the bakery). Therefore, it became a fixed rule (their

¹⁰ the original language is Korean (the upper row) and the translated language is English (the lower row). P1 refers to participant 1 and A refers to the researcher.

company policy), and the owners also decided to translate these instructions into Chinese for their regular Chinese customers.



FIGURE 3: Translation of instructions into Japanese.¹¹ The contents of the instructions in Japanese are: “Since the cake is quite tall, the upper side of the cake may touch the paper box. Please be careful.”; “The wrapping paper is open because the bread is still hot. Please close it after the bread cools down.”



FIGURE 4: Translation of instructions into Chinese.¹² The contents of the instructions in Chinese are: “Since the cake is quite tall, the upper side of the cake may touch the paper box. Please be careful.”; “The wrapping paper is open because the bread is still hot. Please close it after the bread cools down.”

As a consequence of LM on the macro-level (i.e., the company language policy), there has been an influx of Chinese customers, and Chinese customers even made posts on Instagram and in their community in order to recommend this bakery shop.

11 In the pictures, the red labels on the plastic bag are in Korean and they mean: 1) Japanese: cake, 2) Japanese: hot bread. It is written in Korean since all the owners do not have linguistic competence in Japanese. They, however, have to identify what the instructions are for.

12 In the pictures, the blue labels on the plastic bag are in Korean and they mean: 1) Chinese: cake, 2) Chinese: hot bread. It is written in Korean since the other three owners do not have linguistic competence in Chinese. They, however, have to identify what the instructions are for when the Chinese-speaking owner is not present in the shop.



It is also of interest that the bakery's new language policy has unexpected consequences: massive numbers of regular Chinese customers started to visit their shop on a specific day. In interviews with the owners, it was revealed that Chinese customers regularly come and buy sweet bread and desserts especially on Saturday morning. It is probable that most Chinese customers live in various districts, and the shop closes at 4 pm. Due to their work or their studies, it is not easy for them to visit the bakery shop on working days. Therefore, they come and buy bread especially on Saturday morning.¹³ During that time, Chinese becomes the dominant language in the bakery shop. It is not a fixed rule established by the owners. However, through the patterning of their customer visits (in order to avoid unnecessary over-produce, the owners analyze the consumption of each product for each day of the week according to customers' nationality), the owners realized that approximately 95 percent of customers who visit their shop on Saturday morning are Chinese. The owners thus bake more sweet bread and desserts specifically for them, and participant 4, who is half Chinese, concentrates solely on communication and negotiation with customers on Saturday morning. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a spatiotemporally-specific repertoire. It can be defined as a negotiated language practice that repeatedly emerges in a specific time and space. This phenomenon can be differentiated from other spatial repertoires by the fact that this negotiated language practice repeatedly occurs only at a particular time, even though the space is identical.

In our example, the negotiated language practices in the bakery shop are: use Czech for Czech customers, English for foreign customers, Chinese for Chinese customers, and Korean for Korean customers. These four languages are usually intertwined in the shop, but English and Czech are used dominantly. However, every Saturday morning, the language practice in the shop changes. A large number of Chinese customers communicate via WeChat and Instagram on working days, and they pick up the bread and pay for it on Saturday morning. This routinized consumption pattern establishes the tacit business and language norms that Chinese becomes a dominant language in the shop and participant 4 takes responsibility.

It is of particular importance to focus on the consequence of implementing an adjustment design that can generate a new type of communicative situation in which new norms and language management processes are present. After establishing the language policy, the owners note a deviation from the norm (i.e., dominant usage of Chinese that only participant 4 can manage) and evaluate it negatively (from the socio-economic perspective, an influx of Chinese customers is crucial, but only the participant 4 can explain the instructions in Chinese). They design the adjustment that participant 4 will manage communication with customers on Saturday morning and implement it as a new language policy. This is an example of an extended language management cycle (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009; Kimura, 2014) in which one organized management generates another organized management (i.e., simple management > organized management > simple management > organized management > simple management).

¹³ The bakery shop is closed on Sunday.



Example 4:¹⁴ Two accounts on Instagram (from an unstructured interview, translated by the author).

- 22 A: hongbonun otokehetsoyo?
How do you promote your products?
- 23 P3: Instagram uro heyo. wonrenun gezungi dugeyotnunde hanaro zuryotsoyo.
We do it on Instagram. Actually, we had two accounts, but we deleted one of them.
- 24 A: oeyo?
Why?
- 25 P3: wonre zungguko gyezungirang eongo gyezung dureyotnunde (.) follower suga zundagoheo upsetsoyo.
We had an account in Chinese and an account in English, but we realized that if we have two accounts, the total number of followers on Instagram could be smaller. That is why we deleted the account for Chinese.

Particularly when a new shop is opened, information regarding new products, opening events, and reservations on social network services are significant for business owners. As we can see in Figure 5, the bakery shop owners made two accounts on Instagram in Chinese and Korean + English since their shop was new and was not widely known.

However, the owners noted a deviation from the norm (a higher number of followers means more efficient promotion): the fact that their followers are divided into two groups (Chinese and Korean + English versions). Since the total number of followers is crucial in order to advertise their shop aptly, they negatively evaluated this phenomenon. The owners, therefore, decided to delete the Chinese account and write a post in Korean and English. The interview with the owners revealed that the reason for this was the number of Chinese customers which had accumulated over the past two months after opening the bakery shop. In the first month, their primary target were Korean customers. However, over time, there has been an influx of other ethnic groups, such as Czech, Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese. They anticipated that all Czech, Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese customers could speak English to a certain degree, and therefore a post only in Korean and English would be sufficient. However, since one of the owners is ethnically Chinese, they could utilize her linguistic competence as an advantage for their business in order to initiate intimate rapport with Chinese customers. In the second month, the total number of Chinese customers was becoming larger and larger, but the percentage of Chinese customers out of the total number of customers, including other ethnicities, stopped growing and the Chinese account on Instagram lost its significance. Moreover, compared to other popular bakery shops or cafés, the owners had a relatively small number of followers on Instagram.

¹⁴ The original language is Korean (the upper row) and the translated language is English (the lower row). P3 refers to participant 3 and A refers to the researcher.



FIGURE 5: Posts on Instagram — Chinese and English version.¹⁵

Hence, this socio-economic reason initiated their decision to delete the Chinese account on Instagram. From this example, it is noteworthy that LM is not a one-way and straightforward, but dynamic process in which various factors can simultaneously stop or influence the further process. Notably, numerous norms based on socio-cultural and socio-economic perspectives vastly affect the noting stage and the adjustment planning stage. Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) demonstrate that the correct sequence of language management may be socio-economic management > communicative management > linguistic management (*ibid.*, p. 186). In other words, socio-economic management or its motivation, which is deeply connected to financial profit, may precede and initiate communicative and linguistic management. In the adjustment planning stage, particularly, diverse socio-economic or socio-cultural factors have a massive impact on the adjustment planning choice of a language user. As we can see in Example 4, the main reasons for deleting the Chinese account were the effectiveness of promotion (i.e., the number of followers) and the small percentage of Chinese customers among customers. It was not a communicative or linguistic

15 The content of the post: Christmas cake (18cm); Strawberry cake; Bakery 60 baked Christmas cakes: Christmas cake 18cm (with strawberry) 850 Czech crowns, mini-Christmas cake 12 cm 350 Czech crowns. 1) Christmas wreath shape (with blueberry), 2) Santa Claus shape (with raspberry), 3) Rudolph shape (with Oreo cream).

problem, but a socio-economic problem which influenced the language practice in social network services.

However, it is likely that the language ideology connected with the use of English also plays a crucial role in the decision-making process. In particular, the belief in English as a lingua franca becomes a driving force for choosing the adjustment design. It triggers a particular language practice (i.e., posting in English for foreign customers) in a specific space (i.e., online space). Therefore, it can be argued that LM is a dynamic process in which numerous norms (e.g., ideologies, socio-cultural, and socio-economic factors) simultaneously influence the noting and adjustment planning stage.

8 CONCLUSION

Within the framework of metrolingualism and LMT, I have analyzed how the owners of the multiethnic bakery shop adapt and manage their language use in a multilingual setting.

Through the lens of metrolingualism, I have explored the owners' creative language practices and mixed use of different language codes in everyday interactions in an urban context. A multilingual signboard, a menu, pictures of products, and interactions in the bakery shop illuminate how the owners and customers use, play with, and negotiate identities through languages (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2011).

From the perspective of LMT, I have investigated how the owners adapt to their linguistic environment and how they manage their language use to remedy language problems at the workplace.

On the micro-level, it was revealed that a mundane way of solving communicative problems in interactions can be described as a management process. Additionally, it is certainly of importance that various factors strongly influence the adjustment planning process. The phenomenon of English as a lingua franca, the ideology of the given district, and the spatial repertoire may influence the language users' adjustment planning process. In our example, the owner and the client might expect that their interlocutor can speak English at least to some degree because English is usually considered a global means of inter-community communication (Seidlhofer, 2016, p. 20). This norm can become a criterium for designing an adjustment. The ideology of the given district may also play a crucial role. The owner and the client might expect that English can be used as a means of communication since Prague 6, in which the bakery shop is located, is a highly prestigious district in terms of education. This district feature may become a criterium for designing an adjustment. Lastly, the spatial repertoire may also become the norm that influences an adjustment design process. In our example, foreign products (desserts in Korean style, the smell of Korean bread) and material artefacts (labels and trilingual signs) may establish the spatial layout and form a particular language practice that even first-time visitors can recognize. This language practice is negotiated and repeated by the owners and customers, and it generates spatial repertoire norms in the given space. Furthermore, we learn that various factors may end the LM process, especially in the implementation stage.





Although the owners realize that the shop's name does not correspond to their intention, they cannot change the signboard due to economic issues. It demonstrates that sometimes the implementation process cannot be executed not only due to insufficient language competence but also socio-economic reasons.

On the macro-level, it was revealed that the participants use an organized management strategy as a crucial means of solving language problems. The owners noted Japanese customers' repeated problems (e.g., accidentally dropping the cake), and to remedy the problems, they started putting instructions in Japanese on the cake box. In this example, it is also of importance that language management on the macro-level can have unexpected consequences. Due to positive reactions and a massive influx of Japanese customers, the owners established a new language policy to make instructions in Chinese too. This new policy had unexpected consequences — large numbers of Chinese customers started to visit the shop on Saturday mornings. This phenomenon generates a spatiotemporally-specific repertoire in the shop. On Saturday morning, Chinese becomes a dominant language in the shop, and only participant 4, who is half Chinese, handles communication and negotiation with the customers. This language practice repeatedly occurs only at this particular time, and has become a new language policy in the bakery shop. Additionally, we learned that language policy may generate economic profits for the policymakers. The participants noticed that their followers on Instagram were divided into two groups (Chinese and English), which hindered effective promotion. Therefore, the owners removed the Chinese account, and it became their business policy. This online promotion policy resulted in the unification of the total number of followers, and it allowed the owners to promote their shop more efficiently. From those two examples on the macro-level, it is revealed that LM is not a one-way and straightforward, but dynamic process in which various factors can simultaneously influence the following processes. Notably, norms based on socio-cultural and socio-economic perspectives are significant for the noting and planning an adjustment stage, and unexpected consequences from language management on the macro-level can initiate a new chain of organized language management processes.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund project “Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World” (reg. no.: CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/0000743).

REFERENCES

- Adkins, B. (2015). *Deleuze and Guattari's A Thousand Plateaus: A Critical Introduction and Guide*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Annamalai, E. (2003). Reflections on a language policy for multilingualism. *Language Policy*, 2, 113–132.
- Aronin, D. L., & Singleton, D. (2008). Multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(1), 1–16.
- Bourdieu, F., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Sage.

- Czech Statistical Office (2022). Foreigners in the Czech Republic by cohesion region, Region and District in the years 1996–2021. Czech Statistical Office. Available at <https://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci/number-of-foreigners-data>.
- Czech Statistical Office (2022). Tourism — 1. Quarter of 2022: Promising start of the year in accommodation services. Czech Statistical Office. Available at <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/ari/tourism-1-quarter-of-2022>.
- Firth, A. (1996). The discursive accomplishment of normality. On “lingua franca” English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 237–259.
- Fishman, J. A. (1965). Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When? *La Linguistique*, 1(2), 67–88.
- Gass, S. M., & Mackey, A. (2000). *Stimulated Recall Methodology in Second Language Research*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Horner, K., Saint-Georges, I., & Weber, J. (Eds.) (2014). *Multilingualism and Mobility in Europe: Policies and Practices*. Peter Lang.
- Kimura, G. C. (2014). Language management as a cyclical process: A case study on prohibiting Sorbian in the workplace. *Slovo a slovesnost*, 75, 255–270.
- Jernudd, B., & Neustupný, J. V. (1987). Language planning: For whom? In L. Laforge (Ed.), *Actes du Colloque interne sur l'aménagement linguistique / Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning* (pp. 69–84). Les Presses de L'Université Laval.
- Marácz, L., & Adamo, S. (2017). Multilingualism and social inclusion. *Social Inclusion*, 5 (4), 1–4.
- McAuliffe, M., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2022). Report overview: Technological, geopolitical and environmental transformations shaping our migration and mobility futures. In M. McAuliffe & A. Triandafyllidou (Eds.), *World Migration Report 2022* (pp. 1–17). International Organization for Migration.
- Nekvapil, J. (2004). Language biographies and management summaries. In J. Nekvapil & T. Sherman (Eds.), *Language Management in Contact Situations, Vol. III, Report on the Research Projects*, 104 (pp. 9–33). Chiba University, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences.
- Nekvapil, J. (2009). The integrative potential of Language Management Theory. In J. Nekvapil & T. Sherman (Eds.), *Language Management in Contact Situations: Perspectives from Three Continents* (pp. 1–11). Peter Lang.
- Nekvapil, J., & Sherman, T. (2009). Pre-interaction management in multinational companies in Central Europe. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 10(2), 181–198.
- Nekvapil, J., & Sherman, T. (2015). An introduction: Language Management Theory in language policy and planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 232, 1–12.
- Neustupný, J. V. (1978). Outline of a theory of language problems. In J. V. Neustupný, *Post-Structural Approaches to Language: Language Theory in a Japanese Context* (pp. 243–257). University of Tokyo Press.
- Neustupný, J. V., & Nekvapil, J. (2003). Language management in the Czech Republic. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 4(3&4), 181–366.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7(3), 240–254.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2011). Social inclusion and metrolingual practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14(4), 413–426.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2014). Metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires: ‘Pizza mo two minutes coming’. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18(2), 255–270.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2015). *Metrolingualism: Language in the City*. Routledge.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2017). Fish, phone cards and semiotic assemblages in two Bangladeshi shops in Sydney and Tokyo. *Social Semiotics*, 27(4), 434–450.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2019). Mundane metrolingualism. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 16(2), 175–186.
- Pink, S., & Mackley, K. L. (2013). Saturated and situated: Expanding the meaning of media in



- the routines of everyday life. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(6), 677–691.
- Sacks, H. (1995). *Lectures on Conversation*. Vol. 1. Blackwell Publishing.
- Saint-Georges, I., & Weber, J. (Eds.) (2013). *Multilingualism and Multimodality: Current Challenges for Educational Studies*. Sense Publishers.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2005). English as a lingua franca. *ELT Journal*, 59(4), 339–341.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2016). ELF: English in a global context. In K. Murata (Ed.), *Exploring ELF in Japanese Academic and Business Contexts: Conceptualization, Research and Pedagogic Implications* (pp. 17–28). Routledge.
- Sen, A. (2016). Food, place, and memory: Bangladeshi stores on Devon Avenue, Chicago. *Food and Foodways*, 24(1–2), 67–88.
- Singleton, D., Aronin, L., & Carson, L. (2013). Minority language use in Ireland: The time dimension. In D. Singleton, J. A. Fishman, L. Aronin, L. & M. Ó Laoire (Eds.), *Current Multilingualism: A New Linguistic Dispensation* (pp. 121–138). Walter de Gruyter.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1989). Multilingualism and the education of minority children. *Estudios Fronterizos*, 18–19, 36–67.
- Studer, P., & Werlen, I. (Eds.) (2012). *Linguistic Diversity in Europe: Current Trends and Discourses*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Thurlow, C., & Mroczek, K. (Eds.) (2011). *Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media*. Oxford University Press.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2009). Introduction: Multiculturalism and everyday life. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday Multiculturalism* (pp. 1–17). Palgrave Macmillan.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[]	the onset and ending of simultaneous talk of two speakers (overlap)
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
:	lengthening of the preceding syllable
=	sudden insertion of the following expression or turn, without pause (latching on)
(.)	short pause
(..)	longer pause
(...)	long pause
()	unintelligible point
	presumed, but not completely intelligible expression
((laughs))	commented by the transcriber
-	sudden interruption of the word or construction
<u>Never</u>	strong emphasis on a syllable or word
...	omitted portion of the transcript