Fifteen Theses About Business Language Choices
Plurilingual Strategies of Companies and of Individuals Within Companies
Eva Lavric

I. Plurilingual Strategies of Companies and of Individuals Within Companies – A Research Program

How do companies and their employees deal with language issues in external and internal communication? Everybody seems to have their idea about this question. What comes to mind spontaneously might be for instance:

- "Nowadays everybody in international business speaks English, therefore language doesn’t constitute a real problem anymore." This could be called the "English-only thesis" or "Standardization thesis", which might be a simplification of real facts, but it seems worthwhile verifying to which extent and under which circumstances it is effectively true. (And, if English is the key to everything, how do companies provide for sufficient competences in this language?)

- Another very common theory is this: “In business you always have to speak the language of your client, otherwise you can’t sell anything.” Let us call this the "Language-of-the-client thesis" or "Adaptation thesis", which, clearly, is exactly the opposite of the above mentioned one and also needs empirical verification and explanation on how companies provide for the necessary competences. Note that this theory is only about selling, but it implies that when buying you simply use your mother tongue (“Non-adaptation thesis”).

It seems undeniable that real business life takes place somewhere between these two extremes, but this is not a very vague assertion. A scientific investigation should go considerably deeper, it should identify the contexts and factors which are likely to act in favour of one or the other of the two mentioned language policies, or, more precisely, which determines the mix that a given company will select and the measures they will implement to address their language issues.

In research, these questions have largely been dealt with on a statistic, quantitative level – I mean the so-called language needs research for business communication (Vandermeeren 1998, Hagen 1999), that traditionally works with questionnaires sent to the companies of a certain area, but they have hardly ever been studied on a qualitative case-study level.

Furthermore, the problems of internal language choice policies and practices in international companies as well as the implications of external language policies on internal language choice options and practices have, as far as I know, not been studied until now.

And, last but not least, we lack studies about the interaction of language issues and the organization of distribution channels – though this seems to be one of the main forms in which international companies address their language issues.

In order to fill this research gap, I have conducted a series of projects, workshops, seminars and theses in the framework of the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration (Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien) and of the Innsbruck Romance philology department (Institut für Romanistik der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck), focusing on code choice options and motivations in different kinds of professional environments, and more specifically in business contexts.

I started studying in detail the use of languages amongst the staff working at my own former university department, the department of Romance Languages of the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration (WU) (Lavric 2000 and 2001). These studies of an academic context reveal a number of different factors that determine the interactors’ choice of code, which may also be viewed as of relevance for other professional contexts. These include:

- "natural choice" such as a common mother tongue or the language for which the product of the company is the greatest;
- "language practice", the wish to practice a language one might not master so well;
- "prestige", i.e. wanting to impress through one’s language competences, and its opposite, “fear of losing face by making mistakes”;
- and finally "compliance", wanting that speakers will select the codes that they believe to be preferred by their interlocutor. Compliance in particular, as a crucial component in language choice, is clearly of considerable importance for business contexts.

The business environment appears again in Lavric 2003, which is mainly a research program for applying the findings gained in an academic setting to business contexts. This research program has since been fulfilled in a variety of ways with the help of my students:

- The year 2003 saw a seminar I conducted together with Bernhard Bäck at the Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien about code choice in international companies, mainly in French companies working in Austria and vice versa (Lavric/Bäck 2003);
- In 2004 the same Bernhard Bäck finished his PhD thesis about Austrian companies which export to Romance language countries (see also Bäck/Lavric forthcoming). It is based on in-depth case studies investigated through questionnaires and qualitative interviews, and provides not only a multi-method needs analysis survey, but also a theoretical model which shows that language choice factors occur at three different levels: a macro-level (e.g. national language policies), a meso-level (e.g. the individual sector or company, their corporate activities, the corporate language policy) and a micro-level (e.g. the individual employee with his language competences and preferences, the customer involved in the interaction, the specific situation: what Bäck calls "dispositional", "motivational" and "situational factors").
- This study was completed in 2005 by Zofia Mrzov's master's thesis about external and internal communication in a French investment bank in Paris, which added the method of the language diary invented by Bürkli 1999 to questionnaires, qualitative interviews, and participant observation. It brought about some interesting findings about the trade-off between external and internal communication skills, which can be handled in the language policy of an international company.
- In autumn 2005, I had the opportunity of organising a special section about "Code choice/code switching in professional contexts" at the Austrian Conference of Linguists in Graz, the subject of which covered a wide area, from teaching and academic conferences, to translation issues and religious code choices, and especially tourism and business contexts (to be published as Lavric et al. forthcoming).
- And last but not least, the business language choice theme was taken up again in a project seminar I conducted in winter 2005/2006 at Innsbruck University (to be published as Lavric forthcoming). This seminar resembled in many ways the one I had done in 2003 at the Wirtschaftsuniversität, but we were able to draw on all the research conducted since. It had seventeen participants who carried out not less than sixteen case studies in a wide range of economic sectors, situated mainly in the autonomous provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, but including German and Italian (South Tyrolean) companies, active in fields as different as tourism, banking, personnel leasing, fruit import, technical goods, transport, etc. etc. Methodologically they all combined questionnaires and qualitative interviews, but some of them added participant observation and the language diary method.

2. Fifteen Theses About Business Language Choices

Thanks to these investigations, we now have access to a wide range of qualitative case studies which include a large number of companies of all sizes in different branches and geographical areas and include external as well as internal business communication. (Table one gives you an overview of all the case studies we can now rely upon when studying code choice in business (and related settings)).

A comparison of those studies allows us to draw some initial conclusions that can be seen as a starting point for further research. They shall be presented here in the form of a series of 15 theses:

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2.1. Language issues are often dealt with through the organization of distribution channels.

This is maybe the most important of our findings (see Bäck 2004, 114 and Bäck/Lavric forthcoming). The necessity to address the client in their mother tongue is generally imperative — but the reactions to it can be diverse. (This is of course valid for B2B contexts and not for tourism, where the client in general is addressed directly.) There are three basic strategies, which will depend on the size of the company as well as on the markets and can also be combined:

- the company may address the client directly and is then obliged to provide for the necessary language skills within its own staff;
- they may resort to a sales agent working in the foreign market;
- or, they may even found a subsidiary.

In the two latter cases, the language problem is converted from an issue in external communication to an issue in internal communication or something very similar. In fact, the power balance related to language is simply inverted: while a company who deals directly with its clients finds itself in a generally weaker position and is thus forced to adapt linguistically, a company who relates to sales agents or subsidiaries is likely to be in a stronger position and can force their partners to adapt or at least fail back on a lingua franca in general, English). This shows how language issues in business are intrinsically tied to the power balance of the partners.7

2.2. Under certain circumstances it is possible to be successful with “English only”.

(But this also depends on the distribution policy.)

In fact, two of the companies in the many case studies I overview are quite successful with an “English only” strategy. But it is striking that both of them use an indirect distribution structure. One is a big company (case study 19) that as a matter of principle founds a subsidiary in every single new market and communicates in English with the subsidiaries, who on their part take over the whole communication with the clients. The other one is a small but successful company (case study 7) that cooperates on all markets with local distributors who must be able to speak English and who are in charge of all types of translations, including package texts and the name of the product.

This means that the “English only” strategy — which might subjectively be very effective — is nothing but a lie when the whole system, e.g. the whole group of the bigger company, is considered. Only the smaller one might claim that it has really managed to completely delegate its language issue.

2.3. Linguistic adaptation (“Language-of-the-client”) is an important success factor, especially in certain branches (above all, but not only, tourism).

This principle is so clear that it would exceed the space of this contribution to enumerate all the examples of how companies adapt to their clients’ language and of how they try to provide the corresponding language competences in their staff. Where language training is organized, it usually takes place during the employees’ free time, but it is financed by the company. As for the languages to be provided for, neighbourhood can play an important role; for Tyrol this means speaking Italian. E.g., we had the case of one Tyrolean bank (case study 17) that opened a special office only for its Italian clients, employing partly Italian native speakers. As for Mrázová’s (2005) investment bank in Paris (case study 13), it uses a special team of native (or near-native) speakers for every one of its important markets.

In that context, the very professional companies are not content with only having one person for every important language, but they systematically provide some extra competences just in case the main language specialist should be absent.

And, in one of Bäck’s (2004, 185) case studies, the telephone switchboard operator has made a point of learning the basics of a whole series of languages, in order to be able to receive every person calling in their own mother tongue.8 But it seems to be in tourism that we find the most versatile code-switchers. Two of our Tyrol case studies (number 14 and 15) concerned tourist information bureaus, one of them with a language diary that shows a switching rate of one switch every two or three minutes.9

2.4. Language needs are always subject to cost-benefit considerations with their corresponding trade-offs.

The positive effect of foreign language skills on business achievement and prosperity is an intuitive evidence. Nevertheless, considerable problems arise as soon as it comes to measuring this influence. The profit drawn from foreign language skills is neither operational nor quantifiable, and it must bear the comparison with very concrete and perfectly quantifiable costs. In addition, there is the problem of time spans, as it is a fact that a good language policy will only produce concrete results after a certain period of time. No wonder then that despite euphoric declarations in favour of foreign language competence, a very simple language investment into a certain market area might very well become the victim of harsh cuts, as its marginal utility is questioned (see Bäck/Lavric forthcoming).

Companies are very much aware of the increasing or decreasing importance of certain markets, which might lead to recruitment, but also to dismissals as soon as one market seems to lose importance. E.g., one of the companies Bäck (2004, 281) studied (Rosenbauer, case study 12) had a special agent for the Russian and the Arabian market, but as sales went down, they began employing the same person on a freelance level.

2.5. Language competences do (up to a certain point) create their own market opportunities.

This was a point I made already in my 1991 contribution, stating that a businessman who has a certain language competence will more easily have the idea to conquer the corresponding markets. This is true especially for small companies, where no pervasive language strategy can be implemented. Here the language skills of the head of the company or (much less often) of some single employee might be decisive for the step into a certain market. This very interestingly turned out to be the case in a small fruit import company studied in the Lavric 2006 seminar (forthcoming) (case study 29).

On the other hand, small companies often simply lack language competences, as in one of our case studies where the only foreign language skill of the entire staff is the broken English of the managing director (case study 7).
2.6. There are some language competences in companies which are simply not taken into account.

In many of our case studies it turned out that there are some language skills of some employees which the company simply doesn’t take advantage of. This is often the case with very well integrated immigrants from Eastern Europe, who are mentally considered equivalent to citizens of their immigration countries. For instance, Mržová (2005) in her Paris investment bank was treated linguistically as if she were Austrian, while in fact she is a Slovak and could have provided the firm with new marketing opportunities. But this shortsightedness might be due to the fact that she was only doing an internship; in another case (number 25) a company had recruited a man with Japanese origins only for his English competences, but ended up confusing him the Japan business.

2.7. Professional interpreting and translation competences are rarely used and problematic because of the special terminologies.

Only big companies with a pervasive adaptation strategy say that they regularly use translation services, in general for web pages, leaflets and other written documents. This is the case especially for transport companies (case studies 27 and 28), who are the absolute champions when it comes to multilingual homepages. (Not all of the languages promised by the homepage are then really spoken within the company, but a great number of them effectively are.) But especially companies with highly technological products complain about the lack of accuracy of translations done by professional translation bureaus. They rather revert to their own personnel and sometimes have their translations checked by some long standing clients.

2.8. Negotiations will often take place in a lingua franca, which gives equal opportunities to both parties involved; but complying linguistically with your partner during the small talk phases is very much appreciated.

It can be seen that negotiations are a very special kind of communicative setting, which tends to obey its own rules. It is a situation where the normal economy of language choice is overruled by a pervading need to give equal opportunities to both parties involved, which in general will exclude the use of the mother tongue of one of them and act very much in favour of a lingua franca. Even language-friendly managers, who usually do not miss an opportunity to put into practice their foreign language competences, report that they conduct negotiations nearly exclusively in English. But the small talk at the beginning or during the pauses is again a good opportunity to comply with one’s partner linguistically – which means that in such situations there will often be code switching related to a change of footing (from informal to formal communication), just as it is described in Goffman 1979. (See e.g. Bäck 2004.234 and 282 – case studies 11 and 12).

2.9. Language competences are generally present with sales managers and secretaries, but they are much rarer and would often be really required among technical staff.

It is not always the highest hierarchical level in a company that has the best language skills. This might be related to the pervading role of English in top business negotiations. The competences are present above all in those employees that really deal with foreign customers on a day-to-day level. E.g. in a hotel it is nearly everybody, from the reception desk to the waiters or to the tennis coaches (case study 16); the same is true of a bank or an investment bank (case studies 17 and 13). In industrial and commercial firms the competences are there at the level of the sales managers, who often spend a large part of their time travelling from customer to customer (or from subsidiary to subsidiary). They are important also for secretaries and officials who deal with foreign customers via e-mail or phone. One domain where they are always missing but especially appreciated is the area of technical assistance. It seems difficult to find technicians with language competences, although this corresponds to a strong need in a series of companies. Especially when the product is a more sophisticated technical one (e.g., in case study 23), we find a certain type of engineer with language competences who acts as an instructor and a trouble-shooter and has to deal directly with the foreign technicians abroad (who often don’t speak foreign languages), relying on the common technical knowledge as well as on a refined specialized terminology.

2.10. Language competences in employees hardly ever pay in terms of salary, but they might be decisive for getting the job.

When asked about the concrete financial implications of certain foreign language skills, both managers and employees usually react in an evasive way. In fact, we haven’t found any single case where language competences were specially remunerated. But, for many of the interviewed persons, it seemed that they would never have got the job they were doing or reached the position they were in, hadn’t they been able to boast their foreign language skills.

2.11. Every (successful) manager thinks, the way he himself addresses the language issue is the best. I.e.: there are language freaks and others, everybody is convinced he’s right. (And: the boss often doesn’t know it all.)

This is a point that became blatant in our Tyrol seminar, where it appeared that all the managers that had been interviewed were in fact convinced that their own way of dealing with language competences was the best. I.e., a manager who had acquired his language competences at university would look for collaborators with a similar formation; a manager who had acquired a language by a stay in the country itself would prefer staff with comparable experience abroad. And a manager who did very well with English only would be convinced that no further language skills were necessary for his employees. (But by asking the employees one could in that case discover that they were constantly using a wide range of languages, which their boss obviously was not aware of, see case study 25.)

2.12. There seem to be products and businesses that are so successful that they sell whatever the language strategy (and the webpage, etc.) might be.

Market dominance has shown in our case studies in two rather different ways: first (as one would expect), as (partly) the result of a well planned and constantly refined distribution and language policy (i.e., case studies 12, 21, 25 and 28). And second, as a result of an excellent product which more or less can be sold by itself. This is the case of two of our Tyrol case studies (number 26 and, above all, number 23), where it is striking that neither the language policy nor e.g. the webpage are taken very seriously, as no real necessity to attend to these things can be perceived.

2.13. The language issue is much less consciously seen in buying, but it can be a trump.

When we read the language-in-business literature, it seems that everybody is only interested in selling. In buying, language, as it seems, represents no concern at all. This imbalance is due to the power slope that can be found on nearly all markets, which are buyer’s markets, and therefore put the seller in a weaker position and force him to adapt linguistically. However, this self-content attitude companies adopt as soon as they are in the buyer’s position might be a little shortsighted. Linguistic competences of some alternative suppliers’ markets might open new possibilities and help to cut down costs. This is the case of one of the companies studied by Bäck 2004.259 (case study 12), which widened its possibilities thanks to Italian competences in the buying department. And it is definitely proven by the fruit import company studied in the Tyrol seminar (case study 29), whose whole corporate strategy relies on the excellent Spanish competence of the two bosses, who can thus manage a direct contact with all their important suppliers.
2.14. In internal communication, “English only” doesn’t work between people with the same mother tongue.

This truism is worthwhile asserting, as a series of international companies have already introduced English as the official language for all internal communication, at the expense of the original company’s mother tongue (e.g., French in a series of firms that we studied in the 2000 seminar). Such a language policy appears as over-simplifying and is in fact hardly ever followed by the employees, who continue to weave their complex but meaningful code choice patterns (see above, the language choice factors developed in Lavrie 2000 and 2001). Only in e-mails and written papers do employees tend to follow the official language policy, as they know that these kinds of texts are susceptible to dissemination in the whole (international) group. (Thus, medium reveals to be sometimes an important parameter of language choice.)

Despite official language policies, in internal communication the staff will generally tend to use the language of the country the subsidiary is situated in – unless there are some members that do not speak this language at all. By doing so, they follow the general rules of language choice in communities with different mother tongues and language skills: in general, a language will be chosen that allows all people present to participate in the conversation. This becomes easier when the group is smaller or more homogeneous. Where there are more possibilities (often in dyadic communication), the most “natural” or “efficient” language will be chosen, i.e., the language in which the product of the competences of the interlocutors is highest. And, in case all the people present share the same mother tongue, this mother tongue is of course the most natural choice: no language policy will ever prevent people from communicating in their common mother tongue.

2.15. Some companies rather provide language competences for external communication at the expense of internal communication possibilities.

This is one of the main findings of Mržová’s (2005) study. The international investment bank she investigated has a special recruiting policy of employing native speakers for all the important language areas they deal with. In fact for every area they have a team of two or three people of whom at least one is a native speaker and the others have near-native competence. So the question arises of what will be the lingua franca employed for inter-team communication? As the company is situated in Paris and most employees speak very good French, French acts in general as the lingua franca for the whole office. But there is the problem of the Scandinavian team, whose members speak only very poor French. With them, the communication has to be in English. Which means that the internal language patterns in the office are being complicated a lot due to the company’s primary concern to supply linguistically adequate interlocutors to all of their clients.

3. An Example of a Logogram

To finish, I shall give Mržová’s (2005:91) diagram of the linguistic interactions of one of the traders, which she designed as a result of a very detailed language diary for one whole day. It is meant to illustrate the mix and interaction of external and internal communication in the daily working reality of a business professional and some possibilities for its systematic analysis and presentation. It comes very close to what I suggested in my 2000 and 2001 contributions, calling it a linguistique sémagram or logogram of an individual employee’s language uses.

4. Conclusion

The study of code choice in business settings through a series of qualitative case studies has brought about some interesting findings which are often unexpected (e.g., the importance of distribution channels in corporate language policies), and which, where they are expected (“adapt to your client!”), can now be analyzed in much more detail and put into relation with factors like market dominance, external versus internal communication, the nature of the product, cost-benefit considerations and the linguistic experiences and attitudes of the managing director. The question of language in business communication has certainly still many secrets to reveal us – but it can now be investigated with a well proven methodological tool kit, on a broader empirical basis and with a solid base for comparisons and a series of guiding questions which could be derived from the set of theses I have just presented.

Zusammenfassung

Sprache ist eine wirtschaftliche Ressource: Wie gehen Unternehmen und ihre MitarbeiterInnen mit Fragen der Sprachvielfalt und der Sprachwahl in der externen wie auch in der inneren Unternehmenskommunikation um? Die entsprechenden Fragen sind bisher nur auf quantitativer, statistischer Ebene behandelt worden. Die hier vorgestellte Untersuchung behandelt sie nun in Form einer Reihe qualitativer Fallstudien, zu den verschiedensten Branchen und Unternehmensgrößen.

Der Beitrag gibt einen Überblick über alle diese Fallstudien und zieht allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen zu den Besonderheiten der Sprachwahl und der Sprachpolitik in Wirtschaftskontexten. Es geht um die Mischung von Adaptations- und Standortierungsstrategien, den Sonderfall der Verhandlungen, die Bedeutung von Machtvorteilswissen und Vertriebsstrukturen, die Rolle von Kosten-Nutzen-Erwägungen und darum, wie die persönlichen (Sprach-)Erfahrungen der leitenden Manager in die Sprachpolitik des Unternehmens hereinspielen. Behandelt werden auch Fragen der Forschungsmethodik sowie die Asymmetrie zwischen Einkauf und Verkauf und die Güterabwägung zwischen internen und externen Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten.
Summary

Language as an economic resource: How do companies and their employees deal with problems of linguistic variety and language choice in both external and internal business communication? These questions have only been dealt with until now on a quantitative, statistical level. In contrast the present paper is based on a series of qualitative case studies, covering a wide area of sectors and business types.

The contribution gives an overview of these studies which allows to draw more general conclusions about the specificities of code choice and language policies in business contexts, the mix between standardization and customization strategies, the special case of negotiations, the importance of market power and organization structures, the link with cost-benefit considerations and with the managers' personal language experiences. It touches on problems of survey methods as well as the dissymmetry between selling and buying and the frequent trade-off between internal and external business communication.

Notes

1 The terms “adaptation”, “non-adaptation” and “standardization” designate the three basic options of code choice in business have been introduced by Vandermeeren 1998.

2 Lavric (1991), for instance, is a (quantitative) language needs review among the alumni of the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration (WU), which looks in detail at the relationship between levels of language proficiency and professional activities. A series of masters' theses initiated by Lavric looked at the use of and need for languages other than English, notably French, Italian and Spanish, within the Austrian business context (see Kubits-Nugent 1996, Rheindt 1997, Seebick 1999, Daublebsky 2000).

3 In Lavric 2002, I completed my research about code choice in academic, and especially language teaching settings with a study of the use of the students' mother tongue (as well as third languages) in and around university language classes, finding e.g. that only outside the language class native speakers tend to resort more to the target language than non-native language teachers.

4 In fact, I used to write "the sum of the competencies", but Lavric pointed out that a complete or nearly complete absence of language competences on part of one of the interlocutors cannot be compensated by a near-native competence of the other. Hence, it must be "the product".

5 The seminar participants who covered four theoretical subjects and nine case studies, including French companies exporting to Austria, Austrian companies exporting from France, Austrian and German companies exporting to Romance language countries, and French subsidiaries of Austrian companies as well as several Austrian subsidiaries of French companies.

6 One participant (the one who investigated in a personnel leasing firm, case study 18) completed her study with a quantitative analysis of job postings.

7 But Blak 2004, 278-279 tells an interesting anecdote about how one of his case studies companies (number 12, Rosenbaue) conquered the Latin American market: they translated all their information material into Spanish and managed this way to attract the most proficient sales agents away from their American competitors.

8 In a Turkish carpet factory I met a dyer who was able to explain his work to tourists in not less than nine different languages – in fact he had learned his text by heart, which was perfectly functional for his purpose.

9 Interestingly, the switching is not only between German and different foreign languages, it is also between standard German and the local dialect – which reminds us of the study with which Blak 1999 inaugurated the language diary method, which was an investigation of code switching in a Swiss company, between standard German, “Schweizerdeutsch” in different variants and the local dialects.

References


Lavric, Eva/Fischer, Florenza/Konetz, Carmen/Kuhn, Julia/Wochele, Holger (eds.) (forthcoming): People, products, and professions. Choosing a name, choosing a language (Sprache im Kontext), Frankfurt a.M./Peter Lang.


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