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The Use of English as a Medium of Instruction in French Universities

A change of direction in language policies in French universities?

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Abstract

Just as Latin used to be the lingua franca for science in Europe, English has now taken over this role in the modern world, and not just in academia. However, France has for a long time opposed the linguistic invasion of English, for example by introducing legislation to limit the use of English words in advertisements. But in a modern-day European context such protectiveness now appears to be out of place.

This dissertation looks at the situation of French higher education policy which until recently outlawed the use of English in universities. But recent legislative developments have led French universities to becoming more flexible to the use of English as an academic lingua franca. An increase in the number of classes taught in English, the organisation of international conferences in English, and the development of exchange and double –degree programs, all provide evidence of how French universities now tend to accept the use of English. But what has influenced such an evolution? By analysing top down and bottom up influences, this study will look at the reasons behind this evolution, which I will suggest come from both governmental bodies, and from students and teachers themselves. The dissertation includes the results of a sizeable (170 respondents) survey of students and teachers from French universities into their attitudes towards the use of English as a lingua franca in academic contexts.

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Introduction

“English is currently a *lingua franca* that educated people throughout Europe are expected to know, in addition to any other European language.” (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011)

In *English in Europe Today*, Wilton and De Houwer (2011) assembled various articles from European researchers to establish a picture of this language in the European continent. English is portrayed as an international language used in various domains, such as business, diplomacy, science, and education. In European universities, English is an advantage to communicate science on a larger scale. Although English is the language used between many non-native speakers, France has shown some reticence in developing its use within its territories. In a country that seems to reject English, how is this international language perceived by the French, especially by members of French universities?

How language is perceived by users, or “attitudes towards language”, is of particular interest to understand how attitudes can influence the way speakers use a particular language. Using Garrett’s research on attitude towards languages (2010), this dissertation will analyse the attitude of French members of universities towards the use of English. English will not be considered just as any other language, because of its particular role as a global language. An international version of English is very different from the normative, or native versions of English. English has developed into a hybrid language, different from any other languages (Palumbo, 2015, p. 248). The term *lingua franca* is thus used to qualify a language used by people with no mother tongue in common. As Jenkins argues:

Although earlier languages had performed *lingua franca* roles, [English] was the first variety to be explicitly labelled as such, while alternative terms have included ‘contact language’, ‘auxiliary language’, ‘trade language’, and ‘trade jargon’ (2007, p. 1).

English as a *lingua franca* may have diverse benefits when used in an international context. This is what researchers such as Jenkins or Mauranen have been working on for several years. The role of English in non-English speaking universities and how ELF, as defined by Jenkins, could be considered as a practical alternative language of education are of particular interest to us.

Therefore this dissertation will look at English as a medium of instruction in universities, as well as a language of publication and research. A medium of instruction is the language used to teach. As English is an international means of communication, its use in universities could reflect the idea that universities turn towards the world and diffuse their research internationally. But why do universities appear to move forwards and to develop the use of English inside their walls? Why would a French

university develop programmes in English? How do students and teachers feel about this linguistic evolution? And could some issues that the use of English faces in France be resolved by the use of ELF instead of a standard/normative version of English?

France has not been very welcoming of the English language for a long time. Recently, a clear opposition was exposed to the world when the French government passed a law limiting the use of other languages in France in order to protect the French language. The 1994 Toubon law and over-protectiveness may have had a limiting impact on the use of English in universities, as English and other languages were not legally accepted as a medium of instruction, or even as the language of academic publication in French universities. However, English is seen by many as the language that can help people who do not speak the same language to communicate. When sharing knowledge is a necessary step in academic research, a law limiting the use of a different language than French may also limit the worldwide sharing of ideas. In a world of globalisation, France seemed to have made its move towards multilingualism, especially in universities. The Toubon law was modified to accept other languages in particular conditions. A movement towards English has recently been observed in French universities with for instance the creation of international programmes in English. It is interesting to ask what motivated France and its universities into accepting languages other than French. Were universities influenced by government, by students, or by teachers?

It is interesting to understand the current situation in France and in French universities. A study of the linguistic environment in France could also show what obstacles there are to developing English in French universities. The movement towards English has its limits and obstacles. Has France really opened up to English? Who influences whom? This study will overview the current situation in France and why English could prove effective in universities.

The main focus of this dissertation will be directed at questioning the main members of universities: teachers and students. At the heart of university life, they most certainly have an opinion on English usage in French universities. Their arguments might highlight the reasons why English should or should not be developed in universities and if they are satisfied with the presence of English in their institutions. Their feelings and opinions could be at the origin of diverse attitudes towards English. I will also compare their needs with the universities' language policies to understand if their needs and feelings are listened to by government and universities. The survey and interviews in Chapter three have been designed to ask them directly. Their opinion might be relevant to understand three aspects; the current situation in France concerning languages in university, their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the current use of English, and if change or evolution could be needed.

I believe that even if French universities appear to have welcomed the English language within their walls, in reality France is still behind other European countries from a linguistic point of view. Attitudes and resentment towards English in France could still limit the development of English in universities. The French still appear to have difficulties with the language which might be resolved with the use of a different version of English. Therefore I would argue that English as *lingua franca* might become a more practical alternative for French universities to enjoy the benefit of a globally understood language of science.

To understand better how ELF could be a possible alternative in French universities, an introductory chapter will first explore the concept of ELF, as well as attitudes towards this version of English. The dissertation will then focus on its place in Europe and in European universities. To understand the current situation in France, it is essential to understand the situation in Europe. As France is part of the European Union, the impact of the institution might reveal itself to be important when universities are making any decisions. This general chapter will be followed by a more focused chapter. France and its linguistic landscape will be explored to understand the current situation regarding English in France and particularly in its universities. This second chapter will then examine the possible influencers of universities to understand if students and teachers might be at the origin of a possible openness towards English as a medium of instruction. The reflexion will be led towards directly asking the key protagonists. The final chapter of this dissertation exposes the results of a survey addressed to students and interviews with university teachers. The survey and interviews were designed to understand if students and teachers might be at the origin of an inclination towards English and how they feel about the current situation in French universities concerning languages.

Chapter 1: English as a Lingua Franca, an international tool of communication

Chapter summary

To understand how the final survey and interviews depict the current situation in French Universities, it is necessary to define basic notions. This chapter will thus present notions such as English as Lingua Franca (also referred to as ELF), English as a foreign language, and attitudes towards language in general. This will help us to draw a picture of English today in our globalised world, with a particular attention towards its place in Europe and in European universities.

1.1. Understanding ELF

1.1.1. Basic definition and limits of ELF

The academic research on ELF has been focused firstly on defining it. One might not be familiar with the term 'lingua franca', and therefore it is necessary to explain it in more detail. In Jennifer Jenkins' words, "a lingua franca is a contact language used among people who do not share a first language, and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers" (2007, p. 1). Equally, Mauranen defines lingua franca as the language used between speakers who do not share the same mother tongue (2012, p. 8). Therefore, a German speaker and a French speaker might interact using Spanish as their lingua franca. But more than any other language, English in our modern world is a major international language, used not only by English native speakers but also by many non-native speakers. The English language has thus been studied recently as a major lingua franca (Jenkins, 2007; Knapp & Seidlhofer, 2009; Mauranen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2011). The English language is also different to other languages in one way in particular. It is no longer inevitably learnt by non-native speakers (now referred to as NNS) as a means of communication exclusively with native speakers (now referred to as NS). Indeed, most of its users do not only use it with NS, if at all (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. xi). English as a lingua franca is a language used by NNS of English, when they do not share the same first language.

This basic definition of lingua franca has an obvious limit. Because a lingua franca by definition is not used as a first language, it does not include native speakers. However, are English NS really excluded

from using ELF? As Jenkins notes, in modern times “English is frequently the mutual language of choice in settings such as conferences, business meetings, and political gatherings. The difficulty here is that such interactions may include NS of English as well as NNS” (2007, p. 1). Therefore, if interactions occur in a group, which may include English NS and NNS, the language used would tend to be English, and particularly ELF. NS would have to use the lingua franca as well. It is generally assumed that, in an international context, NNS outnumber NS (Mauranen, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011). If norm is in the number, Standard English spoken by NS might become less of a norm. This actually opens up a debate about the differences between ELF and other varieties of English. In other words, could ELF be a variety of English or only a deviation from a standard language?

1.1.2. *A deviation from a norm?*

The first thing to be noted is the uniqueness of English today, or as Barbara Seidlhofer interestingly presents it, “no language called ‘world language’ has ever had both the global expansion and the penetration of social strata and domains of use that English now has” (2011, p. 3). Its NNS users are numerous. From a linguistic perspective, it could mean that the evolution of the language depends more on international users than on NS, as logically more NNS could influence any changes imported to the language (Jenkins, 2007; Mauranen, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011). As the major purpose of language is to achieve communication, by manipulating the language a user tries to attain full or better comprehension by the receiver. According to Kramsch (1997), this is where NNS have a “privilege”: NNS have better adaption skills, and thus better communication skills in an international context.

Adapting the language to their use, NNS are changing it. Adaption means that when they are using the language, ELF speakers introduce new variations to the norm. And these variations could become the new norm because many users use them. For instance, if so many users start to use a certain spelling over a previously used spelling, the newest version takes over and becomes the norm. Examples of this can be found whenever Old, Middle or Modern English are compared. The language could appear similar but syntax or morphology have evolved. As an example, in a vocabulary list for basic Middle English London dialect by Wheeler, we can find words such as *bet* which is translated into ‘better’ in Modern English or *lat* into ‘lot’ (Wheeler, 2017). Those two examples show how spelling for instance changed over centuries. In the same way, ELF users influence the language they are using. Recurrences of their modifications have been studied by different researchers. For instance, Mauranen explores lexicogrammatical features of ELF used in academia in her ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings) data base. A recurring grammatical occurrence in ELF is the missing third person singular verb ending as in “she **live** in Tanzania” (Mauranen, 2010, p. 18). Thus, ELF users are challenging English by

changing its norms to suit their use. Yet, what is hard to understand is which English they are challenging? If they impose new norms on an already existing variety, which one is it? In other words, could ELF evolve from Standard English?

The first consideration that comes to mind is that NNS have learnt English as a Foreign Language (now referred to as EFL). In essence, EFL differs to ELF as it is meant to be used among national groups and used to communicate with NS. On the contrary, ELF is spoken amongst and between every group on a global scale (Jenkins, 2007, p. 4). Different studies show that the variety preferred by teachers and students alike when learning/teaching English is Standard English, a normalized NS's English (Ferraresi & Bernardini, 2015; Decke-Cornill, 2002; Jenkins, 2007; Murray, 2003; Palumbo, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). If teachers mainly prefer to teach Standard English, we can assume that the language learnt by students is its normalized variety. Following that lead, all the modifications to English when used as ELF are made to a standard variety. Thus ELF is a deviation from Standard English. However, as Jenkins and Seidlhofer assert, this assumption has its limits. ELF should not only be compared to a normalized version of English, as a deviation from it, but it should be considered as a variety by itself (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). A variety that evolves independently from a normative version of English and its "owners", NS.

The notion of language ownership assumes that only native speakers own the rights to alter and change the English used because they are at the origin of it. Seidlhofer opposes such an idea as, clearly, natives are not responsible for every change occurring (2011, p. 12). She counters the idea of a "globally distributed, franchised copy" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 19) of Standard English which spreads on a global scale but remains the property of its creator, with the assumption that English evolves differently and independently from its normalised version. This idea of a franchised language was also opposed by Widdowson, quoted by Jenkins:

So you can think of English as an adopted international language, and then you will conceive of it as a stabilized and standardized code leased out on a global scale, and controlled by the inventors, not entirely unlike the franchise for Pizza Hut and Kentucky Fried Chicken. Distribution of essentially the same produce for its customers worldwide. English the lingua franca, the franchise language. There are no doubt people who think in these conveniently commercial terms, and if English as an international language were indeed like this, there would be cause for concern. But it is not. It spreads, and as it does it gets adapted as the virtual language gets actualized in diverse ways, becomes subject to local constraints and controls. (2007, p. 6)

The evolution of ELF thus depends on its numerous users. As they originate from different parts of the world, their own language and culture might influence ELF. The international language becomes a

hybrid language influenced by many others (Jenkins, 2007, p. 1; Palumbo, 2015, pp. 247-249; Seidlhofer, 2011, pp. 8,73,80).

Therefore, in this independent international form, if what would normally be called a mistake becomes recurrent, it may in fact be considered as a new regulated form in ELF. At least this is what Mauranen suggests, backing it up with her research on her ELFA database (2010, p. 18). She explains that, in an international context, perfect use of language is not the aim of its users. Comprehension is the ultimate goal and is therefore considered more important than linguistic accuracy (Mauranen, 2010, p. 19). This is particularly the case in academic and business domains. All participants are required to be understood and to understand everything (Knapp, 2011). This is where ELF as a variety of its own could be considered an asset in international communication. In an international context, linguistic perfection should not be considered necessary to achieve full understanding. ELF is arguably the international variety of English which offers the best chances to be fully comprehended by all its numerous users.

But how is ELF perceived by its users? Do all of them have a positive attitude towards it? After exploring the concept of attitudes towards a language in the next part, I will come back to English used in academia with a particular focus on European universities.

1.2. Attitudes towards ELF

1.2.1. The concept of attitudes towards a language

The concept of attitudes to languages as conceived by Garrett (2010) is “not only about whether language users are regarded as being more or less intelligent or honest, but also how people interpret and orient towards these qualities and position themselves regarding these speakers” (p. 226). In other words, any language variation can trigger reactions that can vary from judgmental assertion of a person, to a change of one’s own accent or variety of language in order to adapt to speakers or to social environments, to even a social advantage or disadvantage procured by the variety spoken. Attitudes could originate in all levels of languages, be it grammar, syntax, accents, punctuation, dialects, speech speed and so on (Garrett, 2010, p. 2). For instance, while on a job interview, a person accustomed to speaking in a particular slang might change his/her way of speaking to produce a socially acclaimed and professional dialect. Changing his/her level of language might help the candidate to be more accepted in the work environment and maybe finally get the job. This particular attitude, adapting speech to an environment or a person, is scientifically branded as ‘communication

adaptation theory' (Giles, et al., 1987). Overall, every modification, every variation in speech might lead to different attitudes.

Attitudes can be positive or negative. A positive attitude tends to lead to a “constructive behaviour towards the social group and thereby lead to a more inclusive society” (Garett, 2010, pp. 5-6). In contrast, a negative attitude to a particular language might develop a reluctance in using it (Garett, 2010, p. 21). As an example, a positive attitude might be the importance put on pronouns used when addressing transgender or transsexual people. By accepting to adapt the pronoun to their chosen gender, we eventually acknowledge their personality and choices, and above all we would signify acceptance within our social group. Contrarily, a negative attitude to language could be a refusal to use a particular dialect or accent because it could be undervalued by society as, for example, an unintelligent dialect. If many refuse to use it, it might lead to a social exclusion of its speakers.¹ Be it positive or negative, Garett argues that “language attitudes can affect people’s wellbeing and social freedom, and working lives, in terms of career opportunities” (2010, p. 225).

These attitudes are not necessarily conscious though. When people value a language or an accent, for example, their evaluation might not be conscious in the sense that they may not have decided to value negatively a person. But rather, the respondent value negatively the accent according to a stereotypical social hierarchy of language that they have been exposed to. For instance, Peter Garett explores the findings of Canadian researcher Wallace Lambert and his colleagues (2010, p. 71). They found out that in bilingual Canada, English was mostly considered as more socially prestigious than French. What is interesting here is that even French speakers agree to this stereotype. As the minority group, they have agreed to a lower stereotypical classification of their language to adapt to the major group’s attitudes. They may have not intentionally decided to rank it as less important, but their environment implanted this attitude towards their own language in order to be in accordance with their society (Lambert, et al., 1960). Different variables may thus influence attitudes such as age, sex or even context. Researchers have been studying different attitudes in particular as influenced by environment such as labour domains or regions. I will now focus on the attitudes directed towards English and ELF.

¹ For more inquisitive research on stereotypes and accents see Giles and Billings (2004)

1.2.2. *Attitudes towards ELF*

Attitudes towards accents and idioms

ELF, like any other variety of English, is evaluated in comparison with other varieties, thus creating a hierarchy of varieties. In terms of accent, nativelike English is considered to dominate this hierarchy, as it is associated with success (Jenkins, 2007, p. 68). This idea is linked to a notion of prestige given to standard forms of languages, and what differs from them may thus be devaluated. Regarding ELF, both NS and NNS consider this deviation not to be imitated as it is not correlated with success (Jenkins, 2007, p. 68). Jenkins also uses St Clair's (1982) argument that in language variation, the socially powerful are to be imitated whereas the non-powerful are perceived as a deviant from the norm, even if the language they use triggers more linguistic change. She explains that St Clair actually anticipates some aspects of ELF research. Standard English is associated with the ideas of power, and therefore to be imitated whereas ELF users are seen as deviants even though they influence language change and evolution far more than NS (Jenkins, 2007, p. 68). For instance, even if on a social ladder two men might be equally powerful, if one has an accent regarded as more prestigious than the other, he will be perceived as more successful than the other one. Both him, the other man and their entourage will unconsciously agree on this hierarchical classification (Giles & Sassoon, 1983 as quoted by Jenkins, 2007, p.78-79). These attitudes towards ELF and Standard English have arguably led to individuals trying to imitate a particular accent or trying to eliminate their own accent (Garett, 2010, p. 224). Although ELF users appear not to strive to be normatively perfect in their use of the language, as long as they are understood, I would argue that attitudes to languages might still play against ELF and its consideration, as users might be perceived as deviants and thus socially undervalued. Even if ELF is considered as its own independent variety, it is still compared to other varieties and ranked on a lower step on the prestige ladder of English varieties. Attitudes towards it then lead to consider it as not to be imitated.

However, I would argue that copying NS's accent is a goal for NNS that may not be practical in international communication. If anything, it is sometimes the natives who are somehow excluded because of their language variety in an international context. For instance, in her article "Idiomatic English means Brits struggle to communicate with the world", published by the Telegraph on December 14, 2017, Rudgard reported about the idiomatic language used by the British as not being understood by international speakers. To illustrate her article, the journalist gives several examples of British interviewees not being understood by NNS, such as the Italian opera singer Roberto Alagna being asked if his London tour was "going swimmingly", an expression that he clearly did not

understand, or a Channel 4 News reporter having to reformulate “So how would you buck that trend?” as French President Macron clearly was not familiar with the idiom (Rudgard, 2017). Citing Professor Jenkins, the journalist presents the international version of English as an alternative variety spoken mostly by NNS where grammar perfection is not held as elementary. She even argues that to be better understood by internationals, the British might need to adapt their English.

Negative attitudes influencing language acquisition

Attitudes towards ELF tend to be negative especially as an alternative to traditional English learnt as a second language. First, regarding second language acquisition, attitudes are key triggers in influencing the motivation of students to learn another language (Garett, 2010, p. 128). A student might be motivated to learn English because it is assumed to be the language of business today, and as such it might help him to get a better job. Still, the variety mostly taught in schools, and preferred by teachers, is a standardized form of English (Decke-Cornill, 2002; Murray, 2003), which might not be exactly the language that students would use in international business communication. To be in accordance with the language really used by internationals, it has been proposed to adapt how English is taught as a second language to a variety closer to ELF than to Standard English (Jenkins, 2007, p. 118). However, despite the proposal, this has not yet been tried, as general attitudes towards it seem not to favour it. If teachers apparently prefer to teach a standard form of English because it is assumed to be the language of success, it could also be because teaching ELF technically remains not achievable, as some teachers have suggested (Jenkins, 2007, p. 224). Indeed, students’ expectations regarding the language they want to learn might lead teachers to teach normalised versions. As attitudes towards Native English are relatively more positive than towards an internationalized version of English, Standard English being considered as the language of the elite, logically students would ask for this version rather than for the other. As Jennifer Jenkins argues:

The attachment to NS English norms revealed in these studies of learners’ attitudes may account for some resistance to ELF revealed in the teachers’ attitudes, in that they may in part be influenced by their students’ (and students’ parents’) attitudes and beliefs concerning non-native and native Englishes. (2007, p. 105)

Moreover, the pressure to stick to native English appears to come not only from the student’s desires but also from governments, school boards and parents themselves (Jenkins, 2007, p. 224). Their decision to remain close to a native-like version of English could be linked to a specific goal in learning English. In order to prove one’s ability to speak a language, international tests serve as a generalized indicators on language proficiency of NNS of English, as for instance the quite popular American TOEFL or the British IELTS. They could be required to enrol into some universities or programs, as the

European Joint Degree in English and American studies², to be hired by some employers, or even to satisfy visa requirements such as the Student Visa for Australia³. For some governmental institutions and school boards, these international tests are considered as an authoritative proof of the level of their students. For instance, when creating a new English test in Greek schools, Susan M. Gass and Daniel Reed encountered a language education system where the final English test appeared as the most-wanted conclusive proof needed by Greek students in their future career (Gass & Reed, 2011). The dedication to such tests by teachers, school boards, students, parents and creators of tests shows the importance given to formal examinations. Yet, these tests are perceived as non-relevant in an international communication context, as the English they test is to Jenkins a native “‘brand’ of English” protected by “gatekeepers” (institutions, examination boards, universities, and more) (2007, p. 237 & 239) which appears not to be understood by all NNS (Rudgard, 2017). The samples used in the listening tests, for instance, are recordings of English NS mostly, and when testing pronunciation of participants, closeness to RP (Received Pronunciation) or GA (General American) could result in better grades. Those evaluation thus do not take into account different accents or varieties of English (Jenkins, 2007, p. 224). However, these pronunciations are hardly the ones learners will meet in international context (Jenkins, 2007, p. 226). The language they are tested for is thus not the language they will use in their future worldwide communications. I would argue that if these tests may be specifically relevant for a NNS who is going to communicate with NS, or study and live in an English speaking country, however they probably do not deserve the importance accorded to them on an international scale.

Towards a change in attitudes?

Although ELF tends to be regarded as less esteemed than a standard alternative of English, it nevertheless has attributes that could possibly correspond better to its user’s communication needs. Attitudes towards ELF might evolve and resolve as this variety acquires sufficient esteem to become a valuable alternative to Standard English. Or, as Jennifer Jenkins proposes:

As English, the language of globalization, spreads around the world and is appropriated by an ever-increasing range and number of NNSs, it is perhaps inevitable that their sense of inferiority in the language will one day begin

² See “Application and Selection - English and American Studies” on Joint Degree Programmes Website <https://www.jointdegree.eu/en/eas/application-selection/> Accessed December 20, 2017

³ See “Student visa English language requirements” on Australian Government- Department of Home Affairs Website <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/Trav/Stud/More/Student-Visa-English-Language-Requirements> Accessed December 20, 2017

to diminish and that they, the majority speakers of the language, will eventually start to see themselves as at least equals alongside NSs in the global lingua franca English context. (Jenkins, 2007, p. 188)

Although ELF could be considered as a valuable alternative, it has been rejected for a long time for being an invalid language, irrelevant for an international use in groups including English native speakers. Moreover, it was eventually considered to be too different in comparison to any other language, which makes it hard to teach according to known methods of second language teaching (Kuo, 2006). Arguing against Kuo's paper, Jenkins introduces the idea that ELF is an innovative alternative, which adapts the language to its use in a global system. She adds that questioning the validity of ELF leads to diminishing it as a deviant form of native English (Jenkins, 2007, pp. 113-118). As shown before, ELF use is extending and the number of users is overwhelming when compared to that of NS. AS NNS speakers arguably have a larger influence on the language, the variation that they use should probably be re-estimated as a valid and functional alternative. I am not affirming that ELF should overtake Standard English in every context; however, in international communication, it would probably be the more practical option. Nevertheless, teaching ELF as Second Language might not be feasible rapidly as it still needs to be codified (Jenkins, 2007, p. 238).

If the world uses English as its lingua franca, what specific features is it likely to reveal in a European context? The next section shall concentrate on defining the use of English in multilingual Europe.

1.3. English as a lingua franca in Europe

1.3.1. A multilingual region: language and power

Before considering the status of English in the specific case of France, it is necessary to focus on ELF uses in the multicultural region and institution to which France pertains: Europe and the European Union (EU). Historically, Europe has seen different languages serving as *linguae francae* to connect the multilingual continent, as for instance Latin and Greek in Antiquity. Latin remained important as a uniting language in science or religion throughout the middle ages and Renaissance periods. Other *linguae francae* include French or German, as well as Russian during the rise of the Soviet Union (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011). Yet, in modern times, English has become the new language which works as a European lingua franca (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011). The rise and fall of each language as lingua franca are presumably connected to the violent European military history, its shifting powers and the constant migration within, to, and from Europe. Wilton and De Houwer argue that "patterns of linguistic change reflect different power structures and societal realities" (2011, p. 1). The evolution

of a particular language in contact with several others should therefore be studied alongside political, social and economic history to understand particular trends in a language development, especially when focusing on lexical features. For instance, loanwords' proliferation in a language is seen as a possible mark of influential powers shifts (Field, 2002), thus if more words are imported into a language, then the language from which words are borrowed appears as the culturally and socially dominant language (Thomason, 2001). As power shifts from one country to another, from one language to another, vocabulary loan direction changes too (Jenkins, 2007). Today, for instance, as technological innovation is arguably led and influenced by the United States, a lot of English technological vocabulary has been imported to other languages. Thus, the English word "E-mail" and its different variations is found in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Danish, and Czech; similarly, the word "computer" can be found in Italian, Maltese, German, Dutch and Danish.

The influence of one language over another one has led to a fear of linguistic invasion. This is not a new controversy. During the renewal of classical arts in the Renaissance, some had feared that Latin was influencing too much the English language. For instance, Jenkins significantly quotes a translation by Hoby of Sir John Cheke who wrote in 1561:

I am of the opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherin if we take not heed by tijm, ever borowing and never paying, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. (1561/1967, p. 12) (Jenkins, 2007, p. 2).

Jenkins then argues that similar controversies over the invasion of a language exists today as English loanwords or Anglicisms are perceived as invasive in European languages (Jenkins, 2007, p. 2). However, I would argue that the practice of borrowing vocabulary has always existed and it has arguably helped language to evolve. Linguistic evolution is a normal process that should not be opposed, but embraced. As ELF could be an evolution of English that adapts itself better to international communication, English loanwords in European languages might be understood as a benefit to the language. Language could be conceived as a tool to describe an environment, it should evolve with the world and not against it. This is probably a utopian interpretation of language evolution. However, researchers like Wilson and De Houwer also argue that the fear that English will invade other languages, such as Dutch, is not relevant, as "Dutch has [never] been used in so many different circumstances as today or has been learned as a second language by so many people today" (2011, p. 3). To them, several reasons could explained the current increase of Dutch learners, or any other language learners, such as better access to language acquisition or the boom of new technologies, which help to spread languages, and not just English, across borders (Wilton & De

Houwer, 2011, p. 3). Moreover, English is believed to be less threatening to other languages if it is used as ELF (Ferguson, 2006), as a language connecting its users in a multilinguistic context.

1.3.2. *Euro-English: a unifying variety?*

The particular use of English in such a multilingual environment sees the development of a particular variety called Euro-English, sometimes seen as another way to call ELF in the continent (McArthur, 2002). David Crystal defines Euro-English as the language of connection used when Europeans with different mother tongues come into contact, and when each of their mother tongues interfere with the English language they use (2003, p. 182). As it has happened on an international scale, English arguably has developed as the main lingua franca of Europe. English is thus a practical language, which can help with the complexity of organizing a region with so many languages (Nortier, 2011). The European Union in itself has 23 official languages, but many more dialects and languages, such as Basque or Welsh, can be found within its borders (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011). Therefore, to manage an institution with so many languages could become an issue linguistically. Even if EU institutions function with different languages, such as French or German, English could be an alternative in its ELF form. As Nortier suggests, when there are too many languages coexisting in an organisation, having one common language might help facilitate its functioning (Nortier, 2011). I am not assuming that a particular language should be put above the others and threaten them; on the contrary, I would argue that it would be relevant in certain contexts to facilitate international communication by using one common language. This common language should not be a native-like variety, but an international variety understood by most, ELF. Indeed, as Wilton and De Houwer acknowledge:

So far, none of the *linguae francae* that were dominant in large areas of Europe at any one time, be they Latin, Greek, French, German or Russian, have managed to threaten European multilingualism in any serious way. (2011, p. 5)

Europe shall remain a multilingual area, where English shall function in coordination with other languages when needed. As Wilton and DeHouwer elegantly express “without English as a *lingua franca* there would be much less communication and mutual understanding amongst Europeans today” (2011, p. 11). And one domain where it might be relevant to use a common language is in education and especially in higher education.

1.4. English as a lingua franca in European universities

1.4.1. A functional lingua franca in European universities

English appears to be the language shared by most educated people. It is not the only language used by them, but they use it alongside other languages as a tool to communicate in scientific fields. Historically, educated people had to be bilinguals, meaning they had to know a language other than their mother tongue in order to communicate with foreign scholars. Most educated Europeans had to know at least Latin or Greek, together with their own native tongue, to be able to pursue an academic career (Karahan, 2005). Correspondently, today educated Europeans presumably have some knowledge of English, or at least they are expected to (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011, p. 5). Whether their knowledge of it is a result of a real necessity for European communication (Karfield Knapp quoted by Cali, et al., 2008), or rather a result of English overtaking all other languages (Crystal, 2003), is still a matter of debate and controversy among academics. I would argue, in accordance with Seidlhofer (2011), that English should be rethought as a practical tool in communication, linking the European community together and thus favouring communication. It would not become a threat but an addition to a 'linguistic repertoire' (Wilton & De Houwer, 2011, p. 6). Just as ELF in international communication, English might be seen as a functional language for Europe alongside other languages, to help homogenize and facilitate communication in a multilingual environment. Moreover, the variety of English used by Europeans should be defined by its users, or, as suggested by De Swaan: "[n]ative speakers of other European languages trained in English at the language academies of the Union, could become authoritative editors and judges of style for an emerging European English" (2001, p. 192).

European students might not all have an equal access to an efficient language teaching, as language teaching efficiency could differ according to the students' out-of-school environment. Verspoor et al. (2011) assume that if students are exposed to English outside schools, it becomes easier for them to understand and use this language in classroom and their proficiency in English might be improved. Jasone Cenoz (2011) also suggests that a reason for a low English proficiency among Spanish students might be due to a light exposure to English within the media (pp. 16-17). Media use of English could then be a trigger in facilitating the acquisition of English. In Nordic countries for instance, dubbing is largely avoided in the media, which usually prefer subtitles and original versions (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Pall Kristinsson, 2013, p. 144). It might be interesting to note that on the latest English Proficiency Index, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Norway are the four countries at the top of the ranking (Education First, 2017). In contrast, two countries that remain at the bottom of the English Proficiency

Index in Europe, France and Italy (Education First, 2017), largely use dubbing in film distribution (Mera, 1998, p. 74). It might not be the only reason, but exposure to English in media such as movies, television and music might help students to improve their learning of English, leading to a better English proficiency at a country level. It is definitely seen by language teachers as a useful resource (Verspoor, et al., 2011). In any case, even strong skills learned from out-of-school environment need to be supported by an adequate scholastic method. A weak language education might become a barrier later on. A certain reluctance to EMI teaching at university level might be a result of it.

1.4.2. The EU and universities: cooperation among countries as a goal

A tendency towards cooperation appears to be one of the goals of the EU, of which one of the prerequisites is to have a comparable education system. The Declaration of Bologna of 1999 specifies that “the importance of education and educational co-operation in the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies is universally acknowledged as paramount” (European Higher Education Area website, 2017, p. 1). With political ambitions in mind, as well as to give European universities’ international legitimacy, the EU aspires to a collaboration between universities.

EMI in European universities: towards homogeneity in tertiary education?

EMI in European universities might be seen as a continuation of secondary school English teaching through CLIL techniques. CLIL stands for Content and Integrated Learning and is a technique used in schools to promote the active learning of a language in parallel with another subject, by using it as a medium of instruction (Cenoz, 2011; Knapp, 2011). However, EMI in universities is considered different to how it is used in secondary schools. Annelie Knapp (2011) warns against assuming too quickly that EMI in universities is similar to CLIL in secondary schools (p. 57). The difference lies in the fact that students at a university level supposedly already know English when they follow an EMI class. Since in universities “comprehension is crucial” (Knapp, 2011), language has the important task to convey ideas. For this reason, courses are usually given in the national language of where the university is located. This assumes that students have better comprehension abilities in their mother tongue. In this perspective, EMI classes are only given to those who already master enough of the language to follow a university class in English. However, EMI at universities might be used in the same way as CLIL: by having lectures in English, students might improve both their English and their knowledge in the studied subject. Annelie Knapp (2011) notes that more and more lectures in European universities are given through the medium of English, and especially in Germany since the

1990's. In Europe, according to the ICEF website, English-taught programmes have increased by more than 300% from 2007 to 2014⁴.

Other reasons to give lectures or courses in another language might exist. In the case of Europe, uniformity might be at the origin of language choices. The Bologna Treaty of 1999 shows a desire from European members to unify and somehow standardise university in Europe. For instance, with the creation of ECTS (European Credits Transfer System), the development of exchange programs as Erasmus and Erasmus +, or the birth of double-diplomas, international and joint degree programs, universities have agreed on facilitating access to studies for any European in any country⁵.

On the other hand, another aim for the EU is to promote multilingualism⁶. Multilingualism might thus challenge the idea of a unifying language for a unified tertiary sector within Europe. The conflict between homogeneity and multilingualism is fully expressed in the problem of language of education. Even if universities aim for homogeneity, the diversity of languages used in the continent, and therefore in universities, is far from being unique. A prerequisite to study anywhere in Europe is the ability to speak the language of the mobility university. This is where, in a European perspective, the use of a common language of instruction could offer a solution. As English is certainly the international language nowadays, universities could develop EMI in parallel with national languages and dialects to respond to European goals.

University as a market place

Universities could also be seen as companies competing to attract students, and EMI classes could be an argument of promotion. Researchers compare the university system to a market place (Ferraresi & Bernardini, 2015; Palumbo, 2015; Knapp, 2011). Universities arguably compete to get more students, more prestige, or more state subsidy. One way of attracting more national and international students might be to offer courses in a common language understood by most: English. It has also been argued that English proficiency is associated with successful careers, such as in Greece (Tzagari, 2009; Gass & Reed, 2011); therefore, by promoting EMI, universities might attract more students keen to access

⁴ See ICEF Monitor Website <http://monitor.icef.com/2015/06/english-taught-programmes-in-europe-up-more-than-300/> accessed 9 January 2018

⁵ See European Union Website https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/education-training-youth_en accessed 9 January 2018

⁶ See European Union Website https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/multilingualism_en accessed 9 January 2018

better jobs. The English language thus infiltrates universities on different levels, as it used to give lectures, for exams, in materials used or in websites. For instance, by focusing on universities' websites and their English versions, Palumbo (2015) argues that they are an impressive tool of communication for universities today. Moreover, he adds that they are an important way to promote the university internationally (Palumbo, 2015). Universities might then be using English as a way to "sell" their university to more "customers" (students, sponsors, researchers...).

ELF as a practical alternative

Even if some argue that ELF is the language used in universities (Jenkins, 2007), ELF might still not be associated by its users with the esteem and credibility usually accorded to universities. Moreover, as presented earlier, a tendency is noted towards English proficiency tests that promote a native English at school levels (Jenkins, 2007). Those tests are sometimes required to enter particular universities or programmes. As well as universities' websites (Palumbo, 2015, p. 258), this impulse towards NS English gives this variety credit as the language of higher education, arguably relegating other varieties, such as ELF, to be hierarchically downgraded.

I would partly challenge this idea, as ELF appears to be a practical alternative that might facilitate homogeneity within European universities, when used as EMI. If the language is understandable by all and keeps its influences from other languages, as well as its linguistic innovations, it might help to render international communication easier (Jenkins, 2007). Universities might gain from an internationalized version of English as an efficient language to promote their universities. However, this could be challenged by the idea that written official English, like publications on institutions' websites, might require 'correct' English, which is sometimes not a notion linked with ELF (Jenkins, 2007). 'Correctness', however, is a concept that needs to be defined and agreed upon, and as for now it still appears to be open for debate.

I would also argue that using ELF might be an alternative accepted by defenders of national languages. Arguments against the use of English in universities have been sometimes linked to national identity (Phillipson, 2003). English is seen as an invader, a language that threaten other national languages as it could replace them. Reuters, for instance, relayed a polemical debate over slogans used for sport events in France⁷. The 2024 Olympic Games slogan "Made for Sharing" used by the French committee

⁷ See Reuters' article published on February 17, 2017: "Francophones furious over English slogan for Paris Olympic bid" <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-olympics-france-slogan/francophones-furious-over-english-slogan-for-paris-olympic-bid-idUKKBN15W22O> Accessed 9 January 2018

sparked a series of complaints over the preference for English instead of French. Similarly, the official anthem selected for the Euro 2016 in France, the song “I was made for Lovin’ You (My Team)”, an adaptation of a song originally by American band Kiss, was also frowned upon⁸. A similar outrage could also be seen at a university level, where some teachers refuse to use English or any other language different from their own (Carli & Ammon, 2007; Ammon & McConnell, 2002). For instance, Claude Hagège from the College de France started a petition against the 2013 Fioraso law, which allowed classes to be taught in English inside French universities, as he believed that English would completely erase French (Chrisafis, 2013). However, I believe that ELF would challenge these nationalist ideas: being used by many NNS, it could arguably not be linked to any nation. It could be seen as the shared language of Europeans and therefore, in European universities, it could be a cultural alternative to national languages. Proposing courses in two languages, linked with national and international communications, could be relevant in a European perspective.

EMI at universities: a challenge

Logistical challenges could be faced by universities in organising classes in English. Logically, one of the first would be the need for teachers who are able to use EMI. As we shall explore in the teachers’ interviews later in the dissertation (see Chapter three), it appears that the newest generations of teachers are usually required to speak English, but not every teacher feels able to give lectures in English. According to Anderson (2015), older scholars might on the contrary face other linguistic difficulties, as they would address students with a very different linguistic background than themselves, especially in their use of ELF (p. 198). Also, since it appears that students are afraid to enrol to classes taught in English (see Chapter three), attendance might not be high enough for EMI classes to make them financially attractive for universities. To organise EMI lectures is a challenge worth investing in only if it can be relevant academically. In other words, if the cultural value for having lectures in English remains a criterion for prestige or enrolment to a particular university, then the investment made by universities could be profitable.

European universities are looking forward to a certain homogeneity in the continent. If the impulse of the European Union have opened up connections between universities, the promotion of a multiplicity of languages could still appear as an obstacle to unity. As ELF might be considered as an alternative to

⁸ See for instance the article published by The Guardian, on May 2, 2016: “Choice of English song as French anthem for Euro 2016 'concerning'” <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/may/02/choice-of-english-song-as-french-anthem-for-euro-2016-concerning> Accessed January 9, 2018

multilinguistic issues, it tends to be difficult to implement in universities. It also faces opposition and fears. We shall focus now on the specificities of France and its use of English, which shall lead us to French Higher Education distinctive characteristics.

Chapter 2: France and the English Language: understanding the use of English in French universities.

Chapter Summary

The focus will be on France in this chapter. This general review will investigate France's relationship with the English language. After a succinct overview of historical factors, the dissertation will study the current situation in modern France and its apparent reluctance on using English in different situations. Understanding the role of English today and its alienation by France will help to narrow down the focus to the French Higher Education sphere and its relationship with English.

2.1. *The case of France*

Part of the UE since its creation, France values highly its rich culture. Its national language is fiercely protected and held as a national treasure. For instance, since its creation by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635, the *Académie Française* is an active institution that promotes and defends its national language. We shall now concentrate on the specific case of France in its relation with the English language in view of modern times.

2.1.1. French, a national treasure to be protected against an English invasion

France and the English language do not appear to get on well together. This complicated relationship might originate from the past relationship between the two countries geographically divided only by a stretch of water. I will only mention the quite turbulent relationship of France with its neighbour England in regards to language. Enemies for a large part of history, the French and the English have had a troublesome time which might sometimes be felt in attitudes towards languages. Could the French traditionally remain reluctant to learn English because of a legacy from a complicated history? Well, belligerence is probably not the main historical reason. French had once been an international colonial power, resulting in a large community of French speakers worldwide. As its power declined, the use of the French language worldwide also reduced. The protection organised around the French language could come from a certain fear that the language might lose its aura as an international language. This is at least what Christine Vanston suggests. In her words: "the French deem their identity to be under assault, symbolized, perhaps, by the perceived eradication of their language" (Vanston, 1999, p. 176). The over protection of its national language could certainly become one of

the reasons to explain why the French do not appear to be good learners and users of foreign languages, and in particular English.

France tends to be the bad student of Europe in regards to English proficiency. Even though the Code de l'Éducation (Education Bill) provides rules to be followed by all national schools and stipulates in its first article that fluency in French alongside knowledge of two other languages are the main goal of the French Education (Legifrance, 2013), French students do not seem to efficiently master foreign languages and have a particular difficulty with English. This tendency appears to be recurrent each year. The language teaching company Education First has produced an English Proficiency Index for the last seven years. In 2011, France was ranked 12 out of the 19 European countries tested (Education First, 2011). In 2017, France went down to 22 out of the 27 European countries tested (Education First, 2017). Those results are to be considered carefully, even though Education First has links with universities such as Cambridge University, how the test was created and by whom is not specified. Moreover, the large number of respondents only includes people with internet access and a willingness to take the test. In addition, nothing is said about which variety of English was tested, if it was a normative version, it might not be the English usually used by international speakers. The results shall not be taken as highly accurate but they help to highlight the fact that the French people who took part in the test did not score highly if compared to other European countries.

2.1.2. French speakers' difficulty communicating on the international stage

In international communication, France seems to lag behind which could be a problem when interacting with other countries in different domains such as diplomacy, science, or business. Even if a French accent in English is sometimes regarded as elegant, it appears to be difficult to understand by other English speakers (Jenkins, 2007; Anderson, 2015; Garrett, 2010). In scientific collaboration and research, where comprehension is essential, a strong accent might reduce how much is understood. If a French accent is hard to understand, French researchers could possibly gain fewer opportunities to share their research orally or to teach in international conferences, as participants may have trouble understanding their English. For instance, when studying different presentations from international speakers during the Max Weber Program (a postdoc European program in Florence), Anderson (2015) observes that French participants had a very pronounced accent that was not easily understood by all. She then argues that French scholars accentuating their French accent might do it to recall France's place in the academic world and in Europe, its language being used in European institutions and also as a lingua franca in academia (Anderson, 2015, pp. 216-217). I will not deny the fact that French is a lingua Franca used among scholars from different countries or that it is also used as an institutional

language in the EU. However, Anderson’s interpretation relies on the idea that French users of English deliberately chose to accentuate their accent to coincide with their identity preference. It might be an explanation for some of them, but it cannot be generalized to all.

The French’s strong accent might actually come from more than just a personal choice. French speakers are known to have pronunciation difficulties in English for phonetical reasons. Their phonetical range does not include some sounds particular to English, rendering pronunciation of English words difficult to master for French speakers. For example, a look at Capliez research (2011) on commons errors produced by French speakers in English shows that the phoneme systems of English and French are quite different. As Capliez argues, even if humans have the same vocal organs, a difference in the range of sounds covered by one language with another language render perfect pronunciation harder to get. His figures of vowel phonemes in French and in English clearly show a disparity between them:

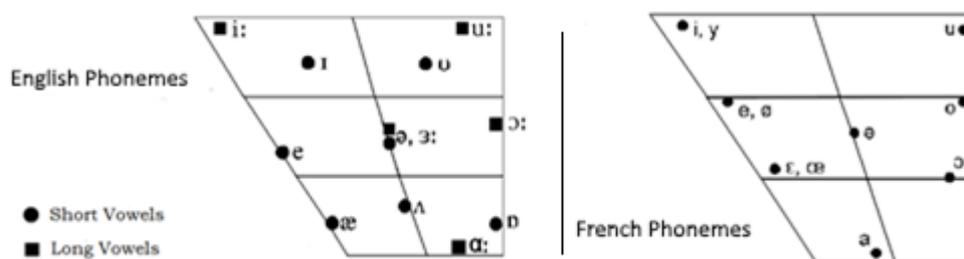


Figure 1 - Vowels, English and French Phonemes (adapted from Capliez)

There are more vowels in English and a differentiation between long and short vowels occurs. Therefore, French speakers might have trouble to reproduce the exact sound of an English vowel as they can hardly be assimilated with French phonemes they already know. French speakers might have not intentionally decided to have a strong French accent in English as Anderson (2015) suggests, rather their accent and their difficulty to pronounced RP arguably comes from the phonetic disparities between the two languages.

2.1.3. Towards reforming English teaching in French national schools

If pronunciation issues limit oral perfection in English for French speakers, their difficulties in oral pronunciation could also be explained by the French traditional education system based on written examinations, thus not favouring oral communication. Some journalists have accused the strict and traditional education system which favours writing excellence over speaking abilities and tends not to

be linked to the outer world⁹. However, I would argue that the education system might not be the only factor to blame. Some efforts have been made towards organising international schools, adding a European option or international option into the general curriculum in French secondary schools – sometimes even earlier. However, such language options are not developed in every school and are therefore not available to all. Groux (2006) even classifies different options available in France for multilingual education according to social criteria: which social class can access which language education (pp. 109-110). To him, international sections and options still remain mostly available to an elite. Therefore, even if French schools opened up to different language techniques, it would still not be available to many.

I would also add that even with such efforts, another dilemma seems to slow English learning in France. As shown in Chapter one, the out-of-school environment appears to have importance in foreign language learning. As Verspoor (2011) and her colleagues argue, school is not the only place where students are exposed to foreign languages, their whole environment may expose them to a language. In France for instance, movies in theatres or on television are largely offered dubbed in French. With limited access to movies in English, students might get less accustomed to hearing English and it could result to lower proficiency. However, exposure to other languages in the media might be far greater today than previously, as communication via the internet has developed. It is conceivably easier to use, listen to or read any content in any language on the Web. The argument that French students are bad in English because their environment does not facilitate access to English might thus be less relevant in our 2.0 era.

2.1.4. *A protective impulse from governmental bodies and national institutions*

The old *résistance*: The Académie Française

The environment appears to be important when learning language, and although 21st century France appears more exposed to English than previously, an old *résistance* is still imposing French over an English invasion. As mentioned previously, the *Académie Française*'s role upon its creation was to “work, with all possible care and diligence, to give definite rules to our language and to make it pure,

⁹ See for example Sandrine Chesnel's article “Pourquoi sommes-nous si nuls en anglais?” published by l'Express on June 13, 2014 https://www.lexpress.fr/education/pourquoi-sommes-nous-si-nuls-en-anglais_1550045.html Accessed on January 10, 2018 or Grégoire Fleurot's article “Les Français sont nuls en anglais: la faute à l'école?” published by Slate.fr on March 5, 2013 <http://www.slate.fr/story/68579/francais-nuls-anglais-ecole-education-nationale> Accessed on January 10, 2018

eloquent and usable to treat Art and sciences”¹⁰ (Académie Française, 1635). A role that the Académie currently holds on to. This council might appear traditionalist and exclusive, as its 40 members are appointed for life (today, they are only 34 members). They publish articles and dictionaries, they give conferences and speeches to promote a perfect French language. On their website, one of their sections is called “Dire, ne pas dire: Néologismes et anglicismes” translated as “To say or not to say: neologisms and Anglicisms”¹¹. In this section they post articles about particular English words or Anglicisms used in French which should be replaced by their official translations or synonyms in French. Such a publication could be interpreted as showing a strong resentment towards the influence of English in the French language. However, the role of the Académie might not be as strong as it used to be. Although it is still mentioned in numerous press articles as a reference for any language issue¹², the institution has no real power over people. It could only influence public opinion and, although it advises the French Government, it cannot impose language on French citizens.

A protective French government

This council is not the only official institution appearing reluctant to use English. The French Ministry of Culture has created its own website to promote new words in French approved by the government¹³. On this website, French equivalences are recommended to be used over Anglicisms. Even if it is difficult to know if French people actually use such websites, their publication by the government shows the importance put on French over English by governmental bodies. If institutions act in a protective manner, this might be interpreted as a fear. A fear which is not new. For instance,

¹⁰ My own translation from the original : “de travailler, avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles, à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences.”

¹¹ My own translation

¹² See for example Raphaëlle Rérolle’s article “Ecriture inclusive: malaise à l’Académie Française” published in le Monde on December 12, 2017 http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2017/12/13/ecriture-inclusive-malaise-a-l-academie-francaise_5228736_3232.html Accessed on January 10, 2018 ; Brenna Daldorph’s “Académie Française rejects push to make French language less masculine” published on France 24 Website on October 28, 2017 <http://www.france24.com/en/20171027-academie-francaise-gender-inclusive-spellings-mortal-danger-french> Accessed on January 10, 2018; or an article published by Le Figaro on December 17, 2017 “La France met à jour son dictionnaire diplomatique” <http://www.lefigaro.fr/langue-francaise/actu-des-mots/2017/12/17/37002-20171217ARTFIG00004-la-france-met-a-jour-son-dictionnaire-diplomatique.php> Accessed on January 10, 2018

¹³ See France Terme Website <http://www.culture.fr/franceterme> Accessed on December 27, 2018

already in the seventies, comic books authors Goscinny and Uderzo were making fun of this fear of Anglo-invasion in a comic strip from the *Astérix* collection:



¹⁴ Figure 2 - From 'Astérix et la Rentrée Gauloise?', "Latinomanie", (1975)

The English language invasion is replaced in Astérix's time by Latin. However, the pun lies on the fact that Latin is at the origin of romance languages such as French. If today those words are fully included in French language, they were imported into a vernacular language. Term borrowing is at the base of linguistic evolution (Thomason, 2001). It thus appears normal that a language develops including new vocabulary sometimes "borrowed" from other languages. The two authors might have mocked language over-protectiveness in France. A comic strip might make us grin, but the reality behind comedy is still debated today, as institutions still remain to oppose linguistic invasion.

¹⁴ "I heard you... It is a shame! You speak Latin only! We need to preserve our beautiful language's purity!"

"We speak Latin? Us?"

"But yes! Auditorium, ultimatum, aquarium, they are all Latin words!"

"But then, Druid, what shall we say?"

"Well, you must say 'public auditions room', 'proposition without contestation', 'recipient used for salt water or freshwater animals'..."

"Et caetera, et caetera." (My own translation)

The Ministère de la Culture is also at the origin of legislative decisions concerning language use in France. The French legislative power have interfered with language within different domains. A particular example is 1994 Toubon Law. It officially marks French as the national language of the country, which needs to be preferred to other languages in various occasions such as in work contracts, in education, in other public services or in public space advertisements (Legifrance, 1994). In higher education, this law states that the language to be used to teach had to be French. This is quite a harsh law which was perceived as protectionist at a time when Europe was opening itself to the world (see for example Roger Cohen's "France's Allegiance to Things French, Like Hypocrisy" published by the N.Y. TIMES on August 24, 1997, Charles Bremner's "Franglais Falls to Purist Guillotine" published by THE TIMES on March 19, 1994 or his article, "Gaullists Draft Bill to Outlaw English Patois" published by THE TIMES on April 14, 1997 and Christine Vanston's article "In Search of the Mot Juste: The Toubon Law and the European Union" published in the Boston College International and Comparative Law Review on December 1, 1999). This law limits foreign words importation into the French language, and a violation of this law could result in a fine from 250 French Franc (FF) to FF 20,000 in 1994, and a maximum of €750 today. Even if the law includes many exceptions and may not be carried out entirely, legislating such measures clearly shows that the French government of Mitterrand saw the protection of language in a globalizing world as a priority. This might have limited clearer international communications. However, it might also have developed the need for interpreters and translators. By acting as a protector of language, the French government deeply limits the contact with other languages in public life.

Although, the Toubon law was recently adapted, it remains used today and recalled in some particular cases. For instance, three associations for the protection of the French language (Francophonie avenir, Pour la sauvegarde et l'expansion de la langue française, l'Union nationale des écrivains de France) filed a court application against the use of English for the 2024 Paris Olympic Games slogan¹⁵. Their argument invokes the Toubon Law as well as the Olympic Charter. Article 14 of the 1994 law in particular is referenced. The article states that public legal entities should not use a trademark containing words in a foreign language if French words that expresses the same idea exist (Legifrance, 1994). This recent recall of the Toubon law clearly underlines the idea that French defenders still oppose the influence of foreign languages and particularly English in modern France. Even if the law evolved with time to adapt to modern issues, it still remains as a barrier in language evolution. It could

¹⁵ See Grégoire Amir-Tahmassebi's article "Trois associations demandent le retrait du slogan anglais de Paris 2024" published by L'Union on February 15, 2017 <http://www.lunion.fr/16210/article/2017-02-15/trois-associations-demandent-le-retrait-du-slogan-anglais-de-paris-2024> Accessed on January 10, 2018

lead to the isolation of a language and a culture; and can be seen as an obstacle to international communication.

CSA, a linguistic censor?

Another institution, which has an impact on the French cultural environment and its relation to language, can also be seen as an obstacle to English in France. The Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel (CSA- Superior Council of the Audiovisual) regulates media production, radio or television, in France since 1989. It was created to guarantee “la liberté de la communication audiovisuelle”¹⁶ (CSA, 2017). However, it is seen by some as a censor limiting complete liberty. For instance, it suggests French terms should be preferred to English words during programs, although it cannot impose the use of French only¹⁷. Another of its missions has been to set quotas on English songs broadcasted on the radio to limit its presence so that French artists would be promoted instead. Therefore, the CSA could also be seen as an official institution limiting the use of English in French Medias to protect French. This might be an issue when language learning also depends on environment.

English in France has seen some obstacles for years. An environment reluctant to English language might have led to lesser efficiency in using the language. The government and cultural environment did not help to develop the use of English as a lingua franca. The new 2017 government might lead to an openness towards languages. Its leader, President Macron has shown a certain inclination towards using the international language when addressing an international audience. For instance, he made a speech on January 10, 2017 (when he was still a presidential candidate) in the Humboldt University of Berlin. He began his speech in French in order to apologise to his French listeners because he decided to go against the tradition to make public speeches in French. He explained that to be understood by most, English appeared to be the best solution. He also underlines that language matter and respect of the Molière language are “highly scrutinised” in France (En Marche, 2017). Reactions indeed exploded like fireballs soon after the speech¹⁸. Being head of State now, President Macron and the party he recently created might foster change in the French war over language. A particular domain

¹⁶ Audiovisual communication liberty – my own translation

¹⁷ See “Réponse aux plaignants” published on the CSA Website on December 12, 2015 <http://www.csa.fr/Television/Le-suivi-des-programmes/Le-respect-de-la-langue-francaise/Utilisation-d-anglicismes-dans-plusieurs-programmes-reponse-aux-plaignants> Accessed on January 10, 2018

¹⁸ See for example Darko Janjevic’s article “French presidential candidate Macron under fire for speaking English” published by Deutsche Welle on January 11, 2017 <http://www.dw.com/en/french-presidential-candidate-macron-under-fire-for-speaking-english/a-37092723> Accessed on January 10, 2018

that interests us is higher education. In a hostile environment such as France, how do French universities respond to an internationalised higher education? To understand the evolution of English's place within the French tertiary education system, it is necessary to first explore its specificities.

2.2. Features of higher education in France

French Higher Education system is peculiar in its organisation. University is not the only option available to high school students to pursue their studies. According to the website Campus France, designed to introduce international students to French Higher Education system, there are only 72 universities among the 3500 public and private institutes of higher education in France¹⁹. The website classified the other institutes into “multi-institute campuses”, “Doctoral schools”, “engineering schools”, “business and management schools”, “post-secondary public schools of art”, “schools of architecture”, and “private schools and institutes” (EPIC Campus France, 2017). Moreover, Campus France adds that some French high schools “provide courses in preparation for entry to the Grandes Ecoles, the *classes préparatoires*, [as well as] two-years technical programmes called *sections de techniciens supérieurs* (STS- Higher technician diploma), or classes in preparation for the national *Brevet de technicien supérieur* (BTS-Higher Technical Certificate)” (EPIC Campus France, 2017). The diversity of possibilities offered to students might be perceived as a bit overwhelming particularly to students who are not familiar with it. To understand the system, I will introduce with some details some of the possible student career options available. The complexity of this system might underline the difficulty of French Higher system of education to internationalise itself, or in other words, its capacity to attract international students as well as earning international recognition.

2.2.1. French universities as part of a European network: similarities and uniqueness

I will start to look at French universities as they are the preferred option for international students coming to France. An impulse from the European Union might be at the origin of a certain step towards internationalisation. Since the Bologna Declaration, French universities propose three-year programmes (License – Bachelor's) followed by one or two-year programmes (Master 1 or 2 - Master's) in various domains. Moreover, French universities also agreed upon ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System), a common system of grading, as in most European universities.

¹⁹ See “How Higher Education Works in France” on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/French-higher-education> Accessed on January 4, 2018

Even if students are given a French traditional mark out of 20, European credits points are calculated for each passed class. From the Bologna Decision, the ECTS grading system allows each diploma to have a comparable value in different European countries. Thus French universities are to some extent similar to other European universities based on grading system and diplomas offered. The EU conceivably had an impact on French organisation of higher studies. This closeness to other foreign university organisation might explain the fact that, according to Campus France, 75% of international students in France chose to study in a university rather than in another institute²⁰. Another reason that might attract students is that tuition fees are very low, which is definitely publicised by Campus France²¹. Thus, largely advertising for a good education at a low cost is one of the main arguments used by the French government to attract students in French universities. English-taught courses also seem to have developed in the last 20 years but I will explore this subject further in a later part of this dissertation.

I am not saying however that French universities are extremely similar to other European universities. Culturally, each country has a particular way of teaching. Thus, in French universities, subjects are usually divided into a *cours magistral* (lecture) and a complementary *TD (travaux dirigés)* which could be compared to a module or a workshop. Usually lectures and *TD* gather a large amount of students which leaves less opportunity for discussion and debate between students and teachers. Moreover, written exams are preferred to oral examination in France²² contrary to Italy, for instance, where exams tend to be more oral examination²³. As European countries organise themselves with slight differences than others, international students have to acclimatise to each way of teaching. But international students may also decide to study abroad specifically to experience a different education system. What are the particularities of other types of institutes in France? I shall now introduce other possible institutions that can welcome students in France.

²⁰ See “The Different Types of Institutes of Higher Education In France” on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/institutes-higher-education-France> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²¹ See “How Higher Education Works in France” on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/French-higher-education> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²² See Holly and Summer Read’s article “What to Expect When You Study in France” published on Top Universities website on August 1, 2016 <https://www.topuniversities.com/blog/what-expect-when-you-study-france> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²³ See Mario Villani’s article “10 Reasons to Study Abroad in Italy - Real Pizza is the Most Important One” published on Masters Portal Website on January 11, 2017 <http://www.mastersportal.eu/articles/200/10-reasons-to-study-abroad-in-italy-real-pizza-is-the-most-important-one.html> Accessed on January 11, 2018

2.2.2. French Excellency: a too selective system?

Typically, France's higher education is considered prestigious, as traditional *Grandes Ecoles* are still branded as purveyors of French Excellency²⁴. The French Government officially defines *Grandes Ecole* as a selective Higher Education Institute with an entry exam which provides a high level education (LegiFrance, 1992). Internationally, they are among the few French institutes which actually get a good ranking in the World Top University Rankings. For instance, on the *Times Higher Education World University Ranking 2018*, a list of 1000 of universities in the world, the *Ecole Polytechnique* arrives at number 115 (Times Higher Education, 2017), which could arguably be said not to be a very high position. On QS World University Ranking, *l'Ecole Normale Supérieure* arrives at 43rd place (QS Top Universities, 2017). Those rankings should however be read with a cautious eye. As criteria might change from one test to another, the rankings might actually be hard to compare. They could only be taken as possible indications of universities efficiency.

With very selective application systems, sometimes requiring years of *classes préparatoires* (preparatory courses), *Grandes Ecoles* are sometimes considered to be elitist as they remain accessible mainly to certain social upper classes. Peter Gumbel (2013) vigorously attacks the *Grandes Ecoles*, as he believes they are creators of a limited elite that rules France and are certainly not accessible to all. Furthermore, they accept less international students than other institutes. According to Campus France, *Grandes Ecoles* welcome about 29% of international students compared to 75% of them welcomed by universities²⁵. They were even criticised in the media as "overly elitist and generalised, not turned towards innovation enough and not recognised in foreign countries"²⁶ (Lefebvre, 2011). This last point is actually interesting as it highlights a paradox: French *Grandes Ecoles* are a symbol of Excellency, yet diplomas that they deliver are not recognised internationally. Typically French, *grandes écoles* might find it hard to internationalise themselves. Even if English tests became a

²⁴ See "Higher Education in France: Educational Excellence" on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/educational-excellence-France> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²⁵ See "The Different Types of Institutes of Higher Education In France" on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/institutes-higher-education-France> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²⁶ My own translation from the original : "trop élitistes, trop généralistes, pas assez tournées vers l'innovation et peu lisibles à l'étranger..."

requirement to enter some of the *grandes écoles*, such as the ENA²⁷, these do not particularly welcome international students.

Most of French higher education institutes are classified as “specialised schools institutes” (EPIC Campus France, 2017). They offer courses in specific sectors such as business, political science, medicine, etc. Some of them are renowned internationally. Sciences Po for example ranked 220 on the QS 2018 World University Ranking and number 4 on the ranking by subject (for politics) (QS Top Universities, 2017). On their website they even promote their internationalisation: “No need to speak French to Study at Sciences Po” article states that half of the school students are international students (Sciences Po, 2014). As for the *Grandes Ecoles*, these institutes require a competitive entry exam which makes them hard to get into. And the certificate or diploma that they confer may not be recognised at state level²⁸. Even though they enjoy international recognition, their harsh entry exam and the fact that their diploma might not always be recognised in France, make them a challenge to reach for French and international students. Moreover, their tuition fees can escalate to reach high sums compared to French standards. For example, a Specialized Master in the ESCP Europe costs €14.800 per year in 2018²⁹. Even if they are highly selective, these institutes might have actually opened up to international students.

2.2.3. *Technical studies, a good alternative for French only?*

A particularity of the French higher education system is the development of technical studies, sometimes seen as alternative to typical universities studies. BTS and STS are two years programmes that prepare students for a particular job. Taught usually in high schools, these are an alternative to university and are arguably valued in France. The 2 years diploma satisfies students who look for short studies with high employability rates. Even if clichés surround them with the idea that technical studies are a default solution and without a prestigious selection, BTS diplomas are considered by

²⁷ See “Arrêté du 16 avril 2014 fixant la nature, la durée et le programme des épreuves des concours d'entrée à l'Ecole nationale d'administration” on Legifrance
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000028870871&fastPos=1&fastReqId=334245943&categorieLien=cid&oldAction=rechTexte>

²⁸ See “How Higher Education Works in France” on EPIC Campus France Website
<https://www.campusfrance.org/en/French-higher-education> Accessed on January 4, 2018

²⁹ See “Mastère Spécialisé® Management des biens et des activités culturels” on ESCP Europe Website
<http://www.escpeurope.eu/fr/programmes-escp-europe/masters-et-masteres-specialises/arts-culture-medias-et-edition-masteres-specialises-plein-temps-enseignement-superieur-grande-ecole-de-commerce-escp-europe/ms-management-des-biens-et-des-activites-culture> Accessed on January 11, 2018

employers as a valuable proof of one's technical skills (Bouleau, 2012). Moreover, students tend to go to universities as a default solution rather than the contrary. As technical studies are more selective than regular bachelor courses in universities, students who do not get their first application for these technical studies may end up in university. Some explain the low success rates in universities during first year because students may happen to be there as a last resort. During first year, BTS diplomas or similar have a 90% success rate compared to universities first year success at only 50 % (Rollot, 2011). Moreover, BTS and similar diplomas also offer a more structured teaching than in universities, with classes organised as high school classes. From electronics to accountability, a large choice of studies are available to students. However, these diplomas are largely directed at French students and do not really englobe internationalisation. To apply to these courses, a French Bacalaureate is necessary. Some programmes might accept equivalent qualification; however, classes are generally offered in French. These are typical diplomas and it is hard to find an exact equivalent in other countries.

2.2.4. Other specialized institutes

Another particularity in France is that schools of art and architecture are considered independently from university studies. Most are public therefore financed by the government. The private ones however remain very selective and their fees reach high amounts compared to public universities. For instance the private school of architecture ESA (Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture) can cost up to €9.000 per year³⁰. Moreover, they confer their own diploma which is not a state diploma, therefore it might have some difficulties being recognised internationally or even nationally. However, as art and architecture are sciences that export themselves, it is not rare to accentuate language teaching in those institutes. These institutes favour international mobility for their students and foster partnerships with other foreign institutes. For example the ENSAPLV (Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris La Villette), a public institute, promotes on its website their attraction to international students and international teachers³¹. Considered very selective, these special institutes nevertheless opened up to internationalisation.

The French higher education system remains somehow quite complicated. Trying to internationalised itself, to attract more international students for instance, France seems to remain a confusing system

³⁰ See for example "Cycle 1" on ESA Paris Website <http://www.esa-paris.fr/-Cycle-1-.html?lang=fr> Accessed on January 12, 2018

³¹ See "INTERNATIONAL" on ENSAPLV Website <http://www.paris-lavillette.archi.fr/index.php?page=international> Accessed on January 12, 2018

yet attractive for its arguably performant education and research sector. For universities opening up to the world, attracting international students is not the only aim. The results of their research must also be communicated to the worldwide scientific community. This is where language use in universities is relatively important. But one must note that the French language had had its importance as a lingua franca in Europe beforehand. As French is spoken in different countries, it can be used as a medium of communication among scholars, thus French research might internationalise itself among French speaking countries. Therefore it could be argued that French as a medium of instruction is enough to share knowledge to students and academia across the world. However, the French speakers' community is limited. English is the major lingua franca worldwide. Therefore by delimitating academic language to French, with the argument that it is a lingua franca, is actually counter-productive. Indeed, to reach a majority of scientists and students, ELF remain the best option possible. I would argue that French universities should not erase French altogether but offer the possibility to broaden knowledge sharing with the use of French and an internationally understood language. Language options should be granted to publication, conferences and teaching. The French higher system must find a way to propose English as a language in their classrooms, be it in the auditorium or in publications. French should not be erased but ELF should accompany it to reach a larger audience. We will see how in reality such assertions prove difficult to introduce with the interviews with teachers in Chapter three, as for instance publication in English might be relevant to a particular scientific community but not for all. Beforehand, I wish to analyse where the impulse towards internationalisation with the use of ELF comes from. Is it a bottom-up or top-down influence?

2.3. Who is influencing whom? A look at influences from governments, institutions, university staff, students regarding the use of English

The use of English in French universities has been discussed for a long time. It is interesting to understand if an openness towards it or a reluctance to it originated from governments, universities, or students themselves. Who might have an interest in having English in French universities?

2.3.1. Government influence

All public institutes in France, including universities, are governed and financed mostly by the French government. Therefore, we could arguably say that governmental institutions might be at the origin of an impulse towards the use of English in tertiary education. Universities are governed by *the Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation* (Ministry for Higher Education, Research and Innovation). According to Campus France: "[e]ducation is the State's biggest

budget item, representing over 20% of the budget” (EPIC Campus France, 2017). Such a policy has arguably led to an affordable university education for students and an efficient innovation sector. But what is underlined by money subventions is that government might have the upper hand in public institutes’, schools’ and universities’ decisions. The best example of Government influence on academic orientation might be the Toubon law, which is interesting as it regards language restriction.

The law was welcomed with wide criticism, including from the scientific community. The law, voted in 1994, took the name of Jacques Toubon who at the time was the *Ministre de la Culture et de la Francophonie* (Minister for Culture and French-speaking culture). This Department of the French government changed its name over time, as a *Secretariat d’Etat de la Francophonie* it became an office dependant from the Ministère de la Culture. Downgrading in the hierarchy might have been a clue that defence of the French language is not as important to the government as it might have been once upon a time. Yet, upon its creation, the Toubon law clearly states that

Art. 11. - I. – The language used to teach, for exams and selective tests, and for PhD and Master’s thesis is French. Exceptions can be made if justified by the necessity of Regional or Foreign Languages and Cultures teaching, or when teachers are associate professors or foreign guests.³² (Legifrance, 1994)

This was quite a strong position to take in regards to language preferences in universities. It actually made the use of English outlawed in higher education, if not fully justified. If a complaint was made, this law could rule out the use of English and fines would be imposed on the guilty party. On the one hand, this harsh measure was embraced by some, for instance by Phillippe Séguinor or Maurice Druon who discussed largely in favour of it (although acknowledging some limits to the law) on the right-wing newspaper *le Figaro* in January 1994 (Chateigner, 2015). On the other hand, the law was largely exposed and debunked by others, nationals and foreigners alike. The law outraged associations for the defence of regional dialects, as it made using them as a medium of instruction “hors-la-loi” (outlawed)³³. On an international level, journalists mocked the project and even nicknamed the minister “Mr. All-Good” (Riding, 1994). Interestingly, scientists rejected the original obligation made by the law to organise conferences in France only in French. They wished for exceptions to be made,

³² My own translation from the original : “La langue de l’enseignement, des examens et concours, ainsi que des thèses et mémoires dans les établissements publics et privés d’enseignement est le français, sauf exceptions justifiées par les nécessités de l’enseignement des langues et cultures régionales ou étrangères ou lorsque les enseignants sont des professeurs associés ou invités étrangers.”

³³ See for example article “HEURES LOCALES CULTURE REMOUS LINGUISTIQUES AUTOUR D’UNE LOI Le projet de texte de Jacques Toubon sur le français est contesté par les défenseurs des langues regionals” published by *le Monde* on April 10, 1994

especially in cases when audiences to conferences might be mostly non-French speakers³⁴. As a result, exceptions, if justified, were allowed, as a new draft of the law was published (Legifrance, 1994). This law clearly shows the importance of the French government in influencing university's decisions regarding language use. An exception could be made for the creation of international programs in English designed for international students developed in France, which could be legally justified. As we shall see with the interviews with teachers, international programmes appear to be leaders in EMI teaching in France nowadays.

The Toubon law is not the only law that might be important to study in regards to governmental input on university's decisions. The 2013 Fioraso Law actually transformed the Toubon law by officially allowing other languages to be used in universities alongside French (Legifrance, 2013). Nonetheless, programmes have to be partially taught in another language, so that French is kept as the main language of education. The law also made it compulsory for programmes in English to offer foreign students French language classes, if their level is not sufficient to follow lectures in French (see Article II, Alinéa 2). This law could be interpreted as a step by the government towards more tolerance in favour of multilingualism at universities. I also believe that the Fioraso law could be seen as giving back more organisational decisions to universities. If the French government has an impact on decision making in universities, it seems that it recently allowed more freedom concerning languages of instruction to universities.

2.3.2. The impact of the European Union

Universities are also influenced by another top-down institution. As mentioned in Chapter one, EU political decisions have a relatively important impact on language selection in European universities, including those in France. The Bologna Agreement shows a movement towards a certain unification of European universities, with for example, the creation of similar diplomas, or a similar grading credits system³⁵. It therefore facilitates a mobility of European students within the Union. Moreover, the development of Erasmus programmes helped Europeans students and staff to study and work in another countries. The Erasmus programme has been a huge success since it was launched 30 years

³⁴ See Le monde article "L'Académie des sciences s'émeut" published on May 5, 1994 http://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1994/05/05/l-academie-des-sciences-s-emeut_3829852_1819218.html?xtmc=loi_toubon&xtcr=45 Accessed on January 14, 2018

³⁵ See "The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999" on European Higher Education Area website http://media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf Accessed on December 26, 2017

ago. Since 1987, it has financed 5 million individual projects, and allowed 3.3 million students to go on a mobility period (only 3200 students participated in the programme in 1987) (Lelièvre, 2017). The Bologna Agreement therefore demonstrates how the EU actually influenced decision making in universities.

Universities had to adapt in order to be attractive to foreign students. For defendants of exchange programmes, such as the Erasmus programme, a mobility experience could allow Europeans to learn another language as well as to have a different cultural experience (Užpalienė & Vaičiūnienė, 2015). Accordingly, by studying in Spain, one could learn Spanish, by studying in Italy one might improve his/her Italian. However, not all European students have a sufficient level in another language to be able to follow lectures delivered in Spanish, Portuguese, or even Polish. Yet, to offer the possibility for universities to welcome a maximum of exchange students, a language option seemed to be relevant. As English is an international language spoken by many, launching lectures using EMI seems to be an alternative choice to render a university attractive to most international students. By speaking English, a student could study in Germany without speaking German, or in Greece without speaking Greek, and still enjoy a different cultural experience. EMI in universities is therefore a relevant choice to attract foreign students. Also, France had to adapt, and the impulse of exchange programmes and student's mobility probably stimulated the creation of international curricula (available in English) and, since the Fioraso law, the development of lectures and courses in English too. Already in 2013, before the Fioraso Law introduction, journalist Louis Hausalter referred to 800 programmes taught partially in English and more than 600 entirely taught in English³⁶. At the time, such programmes were "exceptions" as they needed an actual justification to be legally authorized. Therefore, the presence of numerous programmes already taught in English in France might have originated from the EU's impulse towards student mobility.

2.3.3. Universities decision making and students' influence

A possible bottom-up influence might also be taken into account in university's policies. If considering the university as a company competing in the market of education, to function and proliferate a university should satisfy the needs of its "clients": students. Several researchers have compared the university to a business-like institution (Ferraresi & Bernardini, 2015; Palumbo, 2015; Knapp, 2011) in which, in order to prosper and earn subsidies, a university must enrol more and more students each

³⁶ See Louis Hausalter's article "Les universités françaises parlent déjà (un peu) anglais" published on Slate.fr on May 15, 2013 <http://www.slate.fr/story/72405/universites-anglais> Accessed on January 14, 2018

year. The number of exchange students per university is also a criteria used to rank universities in 'Best University' indexes such as QS Top Universities or Times Higher Education (QS Top Universities, 2017; Times Higher Education, 2017). A university might open new programmes, hire more staff, produce more research and therefore earn more subsidies if its popularity among students increase. Therefore a university must attract a large variety of students.

In a modern world, having English-taught courses might be an argument to interest international students but also national students who might feel that to pursue a career in our globalised world, English is needed. To confirm this idea, the survey of students in Chapter three might underline some of the reasons why students feel that English is necessary in universities. Yet, English in universities also appears as an obstacle to full comprehension. As previously said, comprehension is crucial in academic studies (Knapp, 2011). As French universities claim to be open for everyone, students with a low proficiency in English might feel rejected from the access to university if English-taught classes became the norm. Therefore I would argue that English should not replace French in universities, but become an alternative, an option to students to satisfy their needs.

Moreover, the English translation of University websites also appears to become necessary nowadays to attract students (Palumbo, 2015). If most of universities have an efficient English website, some French universities, like Paris Diderot, do not. This is quite interesting as Paris Diderot attracts many foreign students (500 according to its website) and is one of the universities in the Joint degree programme consortium³⁷. If the website is considered to be the window of the university and therefore a way to promote it internationally, the lack of an English version could lead to less publicity among English speakers. It might also underline the fact that studies in France are still advertised in French, as it is assumed that international students are interested in a mobility in France as a way to learn French. French Journal *Libération* indeed reports that in 2013, 37% of international students in France chose to study there to learn French (Piquemal, 2013). And if Campus France promotes English-taught classes in France, learning French still appears as one goal publicized on its website³⁸. Moreover, some programmes still require a good proficiency in French to enrol, especially at

³⁷ See "International" on Université Paris Diderot - Paris 7 website <https://international.univ-paris-diderot.fr/> Accessed on January 14, 2018

³⁸ See "Learning French" on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/learning-French> Accessed on January 14, 2018

bachelor's level³⁹. For example, the *Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture* requires a B1 level in French for any international student who wishes to apply for an undergraduate or graduate programme. I would argue that the importance of English in some French universities is still second to French.

When making decisions such as which is to be the language of instruction, or publishing multilingual versions of their websites, French universities express the importance of an internal influence towards their own language policies. As their goal is to attract more national and international students, every measure taken could be to promote better their university worldwide. As a result, students appear as another influencer in universities' decisions as satisfying their needs could become a priority for universities.

To conclude, I would argue that decisions regarding language in French universities appear to come from two directions: top-down and bottom-up. The French Government, the UE and students themselves might have put pressure on universities administration, but did the influence actually generate changes? Is EMI in universities functional? The next part will investigate the current situation in France regarding the use of English in universities.

2.4. A real openness to EMI in French universities?

2.4.1. A difficulty to find teachers who can teach in English

EMI availability in French universities could actually be hard to increase. First, to make available lectures in English, universities need teachers able to teach in English, either French teachers or international teachers. As we will see with the interviews with teachers in Chapter three, it appears that the oldest generations of French teachers are more reluctant to EMI than the younger generations. As the importance of English has evolved in French universities, nowadays teachers appear to be more able to teach in English than before. Some universities try to encourage their staff to teach using EMI by establishing a bonus wage to compensate the effort made by teachers who teach in English, as for instance in the University of Nantes (see interviews with teachers in Chapter three). Yet some professors still oppose the apparent invasion of English in French universities. In an

³⁹ See "How Higher Education Works in France" on EPIC Campus France Website <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/French-higher-education> Accessed on January 4, 2018

article published by *Le Monde* on December 28 2017, Jean-Claude Lewandowski highlights the main arguments of this opposition in French Business Schools (Lewandowski, 2017). He notes that some teachers mix up French and English, leading to a confusing speech far from being perfect linguistically. The loss of clarity and excellence may lead, according to the journalist, to lessons that may not explain with subtlety technical concepts. But in a domain where English is arguably a necessary tool, as the language of business, a lack of English-taught classes may turn out to have implications on students' future careers. Even if EMI classes were introduced into French institutes of Higher Education, some opposition from teachers, as well as the difficulty to find teachers able to lead lectures in English, may actually be seen as recurrent obstacles to an evolution of French universities' openness in language policies.

2.4.2. Students' English proficiency: a limit to EMI?

Another issue that universities may face when imposing EMI classes might be French students' insufficient English proficiency. As Knapp (2011) says, at university level, comprehension needs to be perfect for the student to acquire the required level of instruction. However, having lectures in a language not mastered by students might lead to a lesser result. As previously exposed, France scores badly on English proficiency indexes (Education First, 2011; Education First, 2017). Upon leaving high school, the English level that students reach has been denounced as not sufficient enough (Bonnard, 2013; Fleurot, 2013). Young students arrive at university with a level of English that could prevent them from being able to follow full lectures in English and to produce well-written exams in English. Moreover, as we shall see in the students' survey, students appear to fear classes taught in English actually because they believe their level is not sufficient enough. Low attendance to classes given in English might become a result of such a fear, which could be costly for universities. However, reassuring students by using an international English that they might actually master, as ELF, could lead to better efficiency and therefore higher attendance in classes. Not focusing on a perfect language but on the necessity to teach an important content, through a language that students might use again during their career, could lead to a better appreciation of English courses by French students.

2.4.3. ELF as a possible solution to reconcile French students with English?

ELF, as presented in Chapter one, aspires to become a useful communicative tool that can bridge the gap between students' needs for English in today's world, and their fear of their own English level as well as a requirement for more English speaking teachers. When relevant in their studies, English-taught courses could become an alternative to French. And ELF used as an international language might be easier to use than a NS English in such a context.

Implementing English-taught lectures should nevertheless be considered, as having English-taught programmes might help students to master an English that they might use in their future careers, and it might attract international students. However, EMI should be proposed to students if relevant for their particular curriculum. For some sciences, teaching in English might not be necessary. For example, French law is deeply linked to the French language therefore teaching this subject in French is arguably the best logical solution. Nonetheless, as law professor Alexandre Guigue (2015) notes, law students have been asking to learn a foreign language while pursuing their studies (p. 196). To satisfy their needs, law schools might offer Legal English Language classes taught in English, which is relevant, as law students might use legal English in their career. In domains where most of the research and international collaboration is in English, it becomes relevant and absolutely necessary to teach in English, so that students become used to a particular scientific English. Indeed, it appears that for natural and technical sciences such as physics or chemistry, publication and teaching tends to anglicise itself. In 2013, François Hérant observed that almost 70% of French physics laboratories used only English as their language of research, whereas in the field of humanities, laboratories using only English represented only 8% of them (2013). Therefore depending on the subject, English-taught lectures or English language lessons might be offered to students.

If EMI appears to be needed, a solution to familiarize French students with lectures in English might be to introduce it gradually during their studies. As high school students entering universities might not have a sufficient level of English, to impose EMI classes directly could be seen as an obstacle to most. With a more progressive approach, students might earn both confidence in their use of English and proficiency. Therefore, EMI courses could be introduced step by step. For example, a first year programme might have specific English vocabulary lessons, which progressively could become a full module taught in English in the third year. And at a master level, several lectures in English might be offered to students. Another possibility, as introduced by Alexandre Guigue in the Law Department of the University of Chambéry (Guigue, 2015, p. 200), is to offer EMI lectures in parallel with language classes designed to focus on vocabulary and topics developed during the main lecture. The University of Chambéry tried this alternative from 2007 to 2016, and the board decided to continue it, as it received positive appreciation from students (Guigue, 2015, p. 202). Different attempts have thus been experienced towards a reconciliation between French students and English.

Yet, concerning the amount of English-taught classes, differences exist between universities, subjects, and diplomas. For instance, most international programmes taught in English are mostly available to Masters Students or PhD students. On Campus France, a list of all diplomas taught partially or fully in English is available. In 2018, it counts 1337 programmes in France available partially in English in every

field, among which 1011 are taught entirely in English. Most of them are at masters' level, as the website counts 1054 of them, among which 777 entirely in English. Only 100 Bachelor diplomas could be found taught partially in English and 73 totally in English⁴⁰. As the level gets higher, the need for English appears to become greater. Over the years, numerous doctoral schools and summer schools in English have also been created in France such as the Hercules School for Nuclear Physics in Grenoble University. These schools are designed for a short period of time and attract international students and teachers. This could be interpreted as an evolution of the need for EMI classes in universities studies, comparable with the development of one's study level.

Yet, students appear to lament the fact that at bachelor's level, they receive poor English languages classes and almost non-existing English-taught lectures (see the survey in Chapter three). It might not be the tendency in all French universities, but it marks the idea that more language options should be given to students for their studies from their first year on.

Regarding academic publications, a tendency concerning the language of publication can be noted. Natural and formal sciences scholars appear to publish more in English than Humanities scholars (Hérant, 2013). This could be explained by the idea that English is relevant as an international means of communication for hard sciences, but it is not really necessary when dealing with more 'soft' sciences. An historian specializing in the medieval political life in Marseille might not need to publish articles in English. However, I would argue that even if it does not appear relevant, publishing in English might still mean that a larger community of scientists can access one's work and one's research might not only be read by French but also by Americans, Chilean or Taiwanese researchers who commonly speak English. Writing only in French might limit an international share of science. Some reviews in French are even not indexed in the international system (see the interviews with teachers, Chapter three), which might make them difficult to find by international scholars or it might not be accepted by non-French peers as a trustworthy publication. It might become relevant for French teachers, if they feel able to, to publish in English as to expand their readership and therefore share their knowledge. It could be particularly interesting for young researchers launching their careers. English in French universities should not replace French as the language of academic publications, but be proposed as an addition to it in order to reach a larger community of scholars.

⁴⁰ See "Programs taught in English" on EPIC Campus France Website <http://taughtie.campusfrance.org/tiesearch/#/catalog> Accessed on January 14, 2018

English as the modern international language appears to be necessary in French universities. Students require it for their future careers and researchers might need it to communicate with a larger group of scholars. Therefore by proposing EMI as an alternative to lectures taught in French, as well as fostering more publications in English, a university may expand itself onto the international stage. It may attract more students (French and international alike) and become a more eligible producer of articles among international circles of research. It may be more relevant for particular sciences but English in universities still remains a key to a worldwide recognition of science.

Chapter 3: How teachers and students in France feel about the use of English in French universities (survey and interviews).

3.1. *The survey of students*

3.1.1. Method and research

The survey was an online survey designed using Google Forms. It was created in October 2017. Since then, 172 replies were collected in total. The questionnaire (see **Appendix 1**, p.93) was available either in French or in English. It was designed to document attitudes towards the use of English in France and in French universities, and it was addressed to students.

An online survey was a fast and easy way to collect answers from different regions. Its results however are to be considered with caution. To reply to the questionnaire, an internet connection was necessary. Even if it is assumed that most students nowadays have access to internet, the survey does not represent the opinions of students without internet access. It is also a small-scale survey, 172 replies cannot clearly represent the general tendency in France; it can however give insights that might lead to a broader study. Moreover, the survey was spread through social networks and emails, thus respondents might be from the same social circles. For this reason, the survey might have failed its original purpose of reaching a broad range of students in all France.

The decision to offer two languages to reply to the survey was carefully considered. If the questionnaire had only been in English, some students might have felt unable to answer, believing their English level not to be sufficient. Their opinion and attitudes towards English still are relevant, and as such, a decision was made to provide the survey also in French, thus not excluding them. The perception of the time to be spent on the survey was also taken into account. Writing in one's own mother tongue is generally faster than in another language. Respondents might have decided to respond to the questionnaire only because it was announced that no more than 10 minutes were required to reply. Offering the questionnaire in French might have further convinced students that would have not completed the questionnaire otherwise, concerned with the time to be spent after it. Giving the choice to students regarding language was thought to be more user-friendly and compliant with students who agreed to take the survey.

After the language selection, the questionnaire opens up in a first section collecting a few background data. Gender, university, prepared diploma and field of study were asked. This data will be used in an analysis of variables for language attitude. However, the aim of this questionnaire was not to collect social data, but rather linguistic data, attitudes to language data. Social origins of students was not considered as an imperative variable in this survey. It is however an interesting lead in further research on the subject.

The words preference list is to determine if neologisms and Anglicisms are used and accepted by respondents. A list of words connected to modern technologies or academic environment was shown to students. This particular vocabulary was selected because it might be used and heard by students in their environment. For each word, two versions were given, one in French and another one being either an English translation, or an Anglicism. Students were asked to select the word they would mostly use when speaking French. If they use both versions equally, they were invited to select both options. Some students also did not reply for some of the words proposed.

Following sections concern attitude towards English. Open, closed and scaled questions were designed to allow each respondent to qualify their answers with more ease. Commentary sections were also included, although they were not compulsory. However, by introducing them with “I particularly value your opinion in this questionnaire”, I hoped to encourage them to comment. Resulting comments by students are very interesting, and will be analysed in depth later in this dissertation.

The collected data has been organised in charts to be easily analysed later in the dissertation. Here are the data organized by section, together with a comment regarding the motivation behind each question.

Language:

- **27** students replied in **English**, which represents **15.7%** of the total.
- **145** students replied in **French**, which represents **84.3%** of the total.

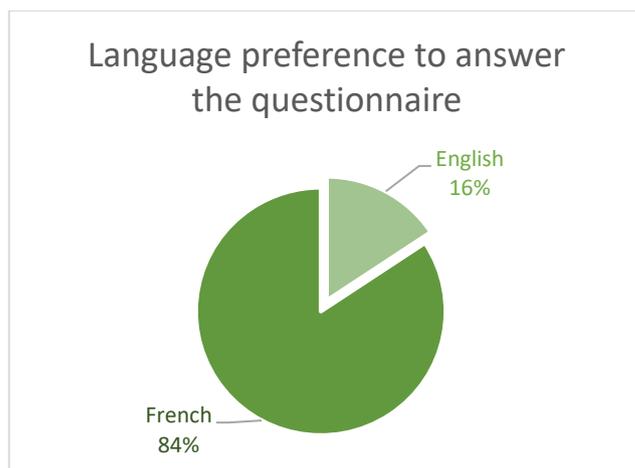


Figure 3 - Students language preference to answer the questionnaire

Gender:

- **122 women** answered the questionnaire (**71%** of all respondents).
- **50 men** answered (**29%** of all respondents).

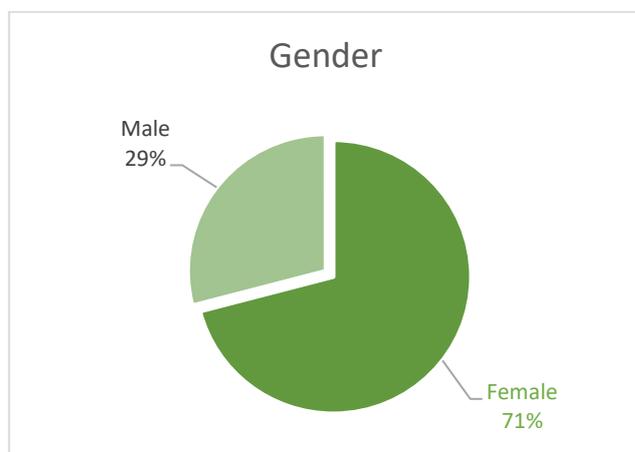


Figure 4 - Gender of respondents to the students' survey

Mother Tongue:

The questionnaire was directed at students in French universities. Therefore, it was designed for students of different nationalities. Asking about the mother tongue was a way to understand if respondents might have come from another country. However, as French is also the national language

in different countries, all those with French as their mother tongue might not only come from France. French speakers represented 95% of respondents.

- **164 French speakers** answered, among which **three** also reported a **second mother tongue**.
- There were **eight** respondents with **non-French mother tongues**.
- **Other languages:** Albanian, Arabic, Cambodian, English, German, Hindi, Italian, Luxembourgish, Russian, Spanish, Thai and Turkish.
- **Four persons indicated two mother tongues:** French and Arabic, French and Cambodian, French and Turkish, and Hindi and English.

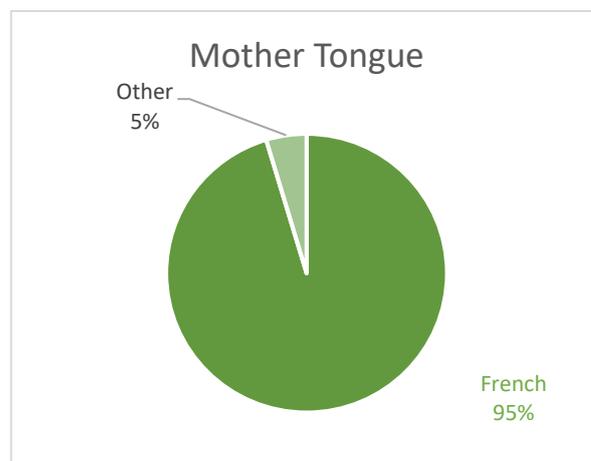


Figure 5 - Respondents' mother tongue

Diploma:

I chose to offer traditional diplomas as options. Following the Bologna Declaration, universities in Europe usually function with a 3-years diploma followed by a 2-years diploma leading to doctoral positions. Even if French universities are organized according to this general distribution, numerous other kinds of diplomas are available to French students. Therefore, the option "other" was left open for them to specify their diploma. As many selected this option and wrote down their own diploma, most of the times with a unique spelling, it was difficult to sort through all the different answers.

- **66** students prepare a **Bachelor** (among which **two students** are preparing **two diplomas**: one Bachelor-Master and one Bachelor- Nurse diploma).
- **81** students prepare a **Master** (among which **three students** are preparing **two diplomas**: one Bachelor-Master, one Master-PhD and one Master-Engineering diploma).

- 7 students prepare a **PhD** (among which **one** is preparing **two diplomas**: Master-PhD)
- **21** students prepare **other** diplomas.

In the graph that follows, the three respondents preparing two diplomas (Bachelor-Nurse diploma, Bachelor-Master and Master-PhD) were taken off to count only Bachelor, Master, PhD, so that two persons were not counted in the same category.

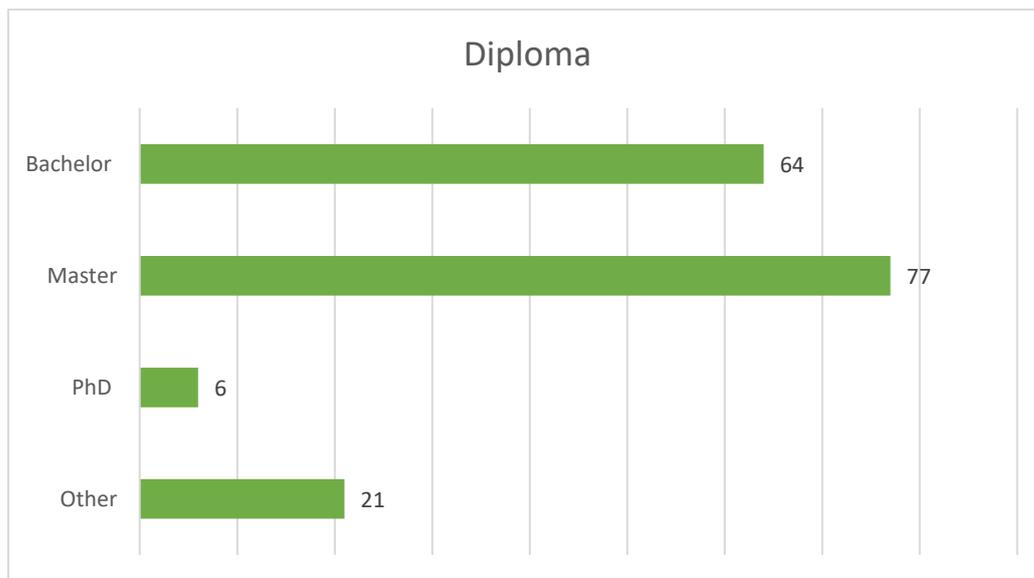


Figure 6 - Diplomas prepared by students

- Among other:
 - **Six diplômes d'ingénieur** (engineering diploma),
 - **Five DUT** (*diplôme universitaire de technologie*, university diploma in technology),
 - **Three classes préparatoires** (preparatory classes for *Grandes Ecoles*),
 - **One diplôme vétérinaire** (veterinary diploma),
 - **One Médecine** (medical studies),
 - **One BTS PI** (*Brevet de Technicien Supérieur Professions Immobilières*, Technician Certificate for Real Estate Professionals),
 - **One Diplôme d'Etat d'Infirmier** (Nurse National Diploma),
 - **One Diplôme de directeur d'hôpital** (Hospital Manager Diploma),
 - **One Module de Préparation à l'agrégation d'Histoire** (Preparation to public education competitive examination in History),
 - **One RNCP de niveau III** (could be a *BTS* or *DUT*).

Fields of Study:

I selected the classical Anglo-American classification of academic domains. This selection was indeed subjective, but it allowed me to gather replies in large groups. However, as for the previous question, an open option “other” was offered to students. Many selected this option as they felt that their field was not represented. This might show the limit of surveying: as choices had to be made to ease the analysis, some fields were not mentioned and some students did not belong to any category. In the end, 15% of students selected the “other” option.

- **19** students study **Applied Sciences** (Engineering, Medicine and Health Sciences); among them, **five** students also study another subject.
- **30** students study **Humanities** (Geography, History, Language and Literature, Philosophy, and Theology); among them, **eight** students also study another subject.
- **29** students study **Natural and Formal Sciences** (Biology, Chemistry, Earth Science, Space Science, Physics, Computer Science, Mathematics, and Statistics); among them, **seven** students also study another subject.
- **83** students study **Social Sciences** (Anthropology, Economics, Law, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology); among them, **nine** students also study another subject.
- **28** students study **another subject**; among them, **three** students are studying two different subjects.
 - Architecture (1);
 - Arts and Design (3);
 - Business, Administration and International Trade (5);
 - Consulting (1);
 - Management (3),
 - Real Estate Professionals (1);
 - Cultural organisations management (1);
 - Marketing and communication (4);
 - Music and Sound (1);
 - Education Science (3);
 - Information and communication sciences (1);
 - Sciences and Technics of Physical and Sportive Activities (STAPS) (2);
 - Cultural Tourism (1);
 - Agriculture (1).

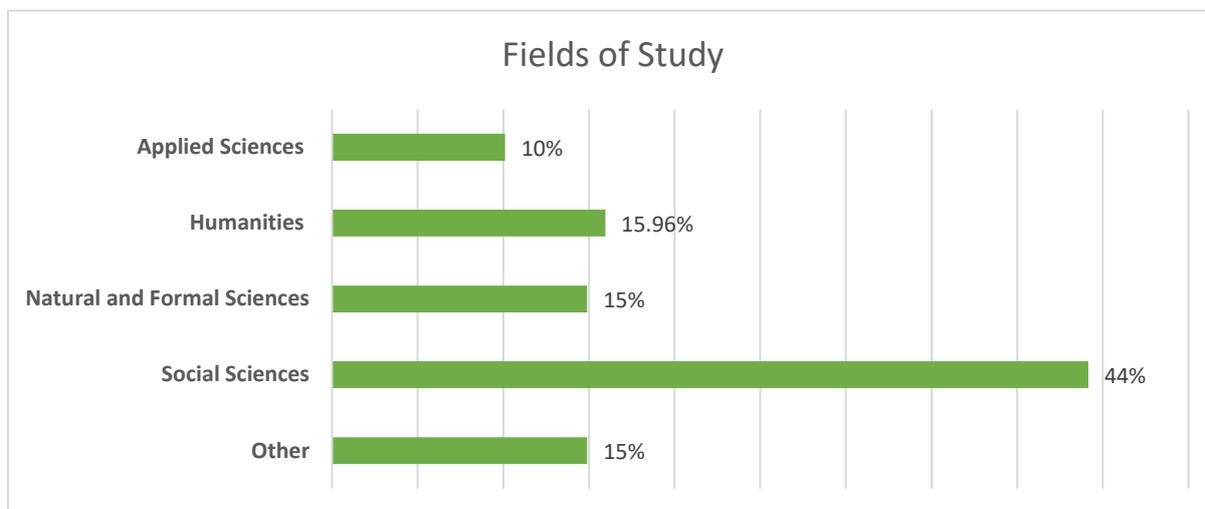


Figure 7 - Students' field of study

University:

Asking for their university was a way to see if tendencies might be drawn from the region where students study, or even if tendencies within a particular university exist. As the survey was shared on social media, it was sometimes published in study groups, therefore some universities are more represented than others. This small-scale study cannot represent tendencies from different regions, as replies are unevenly distributed within regions. However, it opens up questions to be further on studied. A larger scale study might be of interest to determine tendencies in language attitude according to different regions of France. Four French students replied to the questionnaire although they do not study in France. However, I kept their answer as they might have been on mobility period. They could also have decided to fully study in other countries, but their opinions as French speakers in academia are still relevant in regard to their use of English. As some answered with only the name of their University/institute, which is present in different cities, I was unable to know in which area they were studying.

- **123** students study in **Paris** or in the **suburbs**.

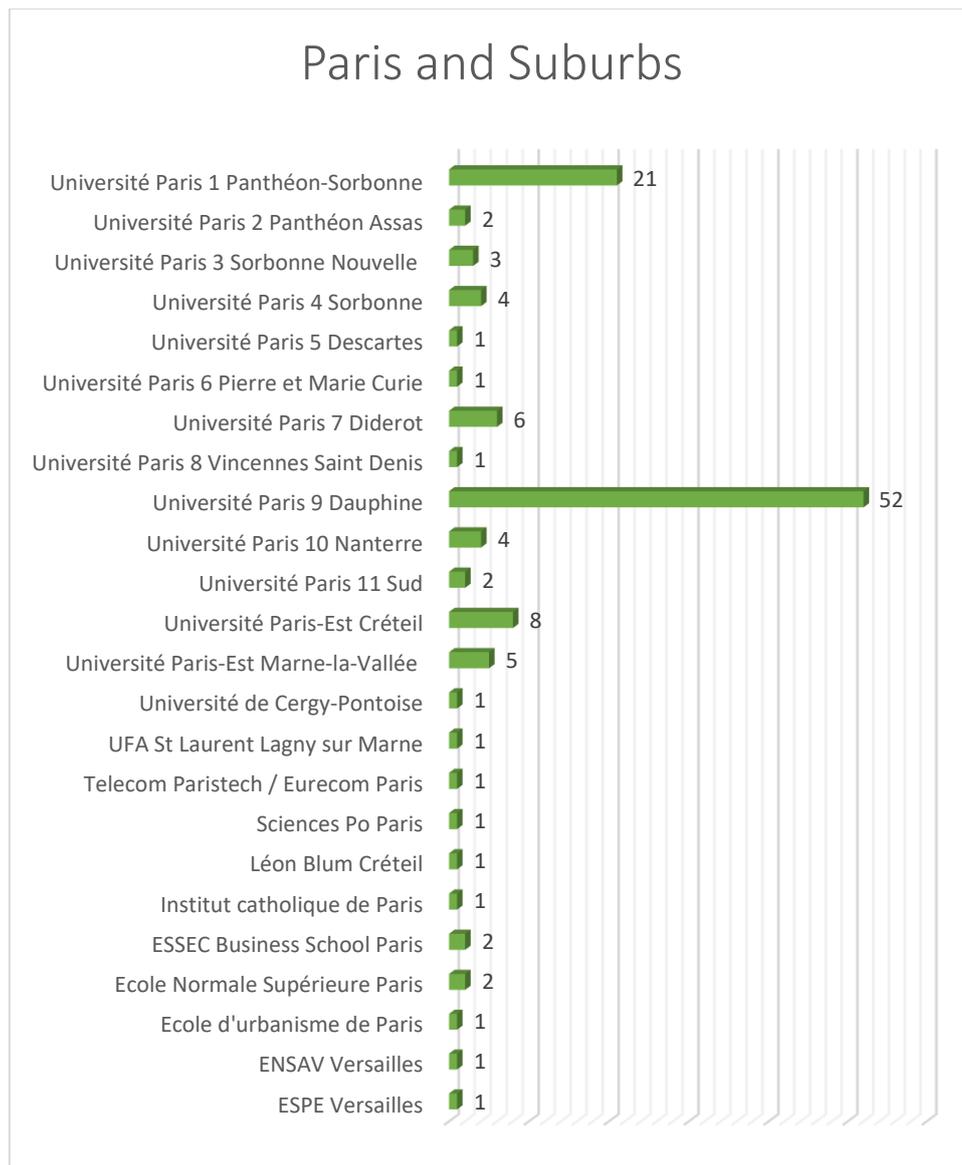


Figure 8 - University of origin for students from Paris and its region⁴¹

- **Seven** study in the **South East of France** (Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes and Provence):
 - Marseille : 1
 - Avignon : 1
 - Clermont-Ferrand : 1
 - Lyon : 4

⁴¹ NB: for Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 15 students study in a partnership with Paris School of Economics.

- **Five** study in the **South West of France** (Occitanie and Nouvelle Aquitaine):
 - Bordeaux : 2
 - Toulouse : 2
 - Poitiers : 1

- **Thirteen** study in the **North East of France** (Haut de France, Grand Est, and Bourgogne-Franche-Comté):
 - Dijon : 2
 - Nancy : 1
 - Strasbourg : 2
 - Compiègne : 3
 - Troyes : 1
 - Lille : 4

- **Ten** study in the **North West of France** (Bretagne, Normandie, Pays de la Loire, and Centre-Val-de-Loire) :
 - Rennes : 3
 - Brest : 1
 - Nantes : 1
 - Angers : 1
 - Rouen : 1
 - Tours : 2
 - Le Havre : 1

- **Four** study in a city **outside of France** (Spain, UK, Belgium, and Canada)

- **Ten** have answered with the name of a University present in different cities, so their location is **unknown**.

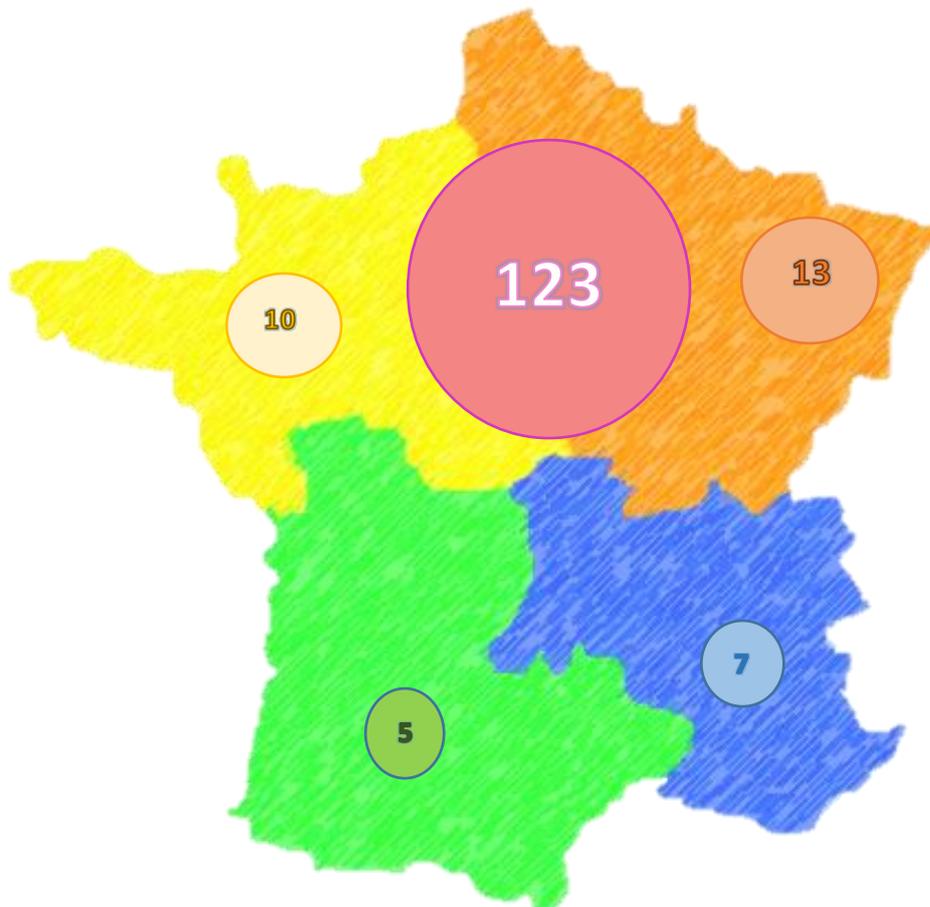


Figure 9 – Geographical origin of respondents⁴²

English in French Language:

- In the list of ten words given to respondents, **68%** of respondents would choose an **Anglicism** or an **English word** over the French version of the word when speaking French. **22%** would rather use a **French word** and **8%** would use **both equally**. **2%** did not answer for either of the options.

⁴² The four students studying abroad and the ten students that did not specify the city in which they are studying do not appear on the map.

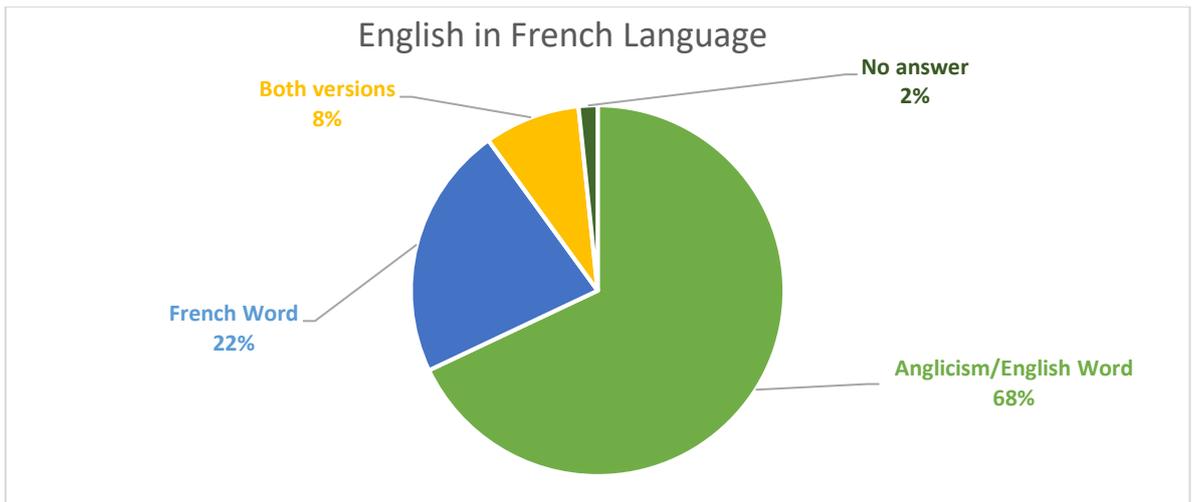


Figure 10 - Student's English words use in French on a 10 words list

- Then it **varies** according to the **word**:

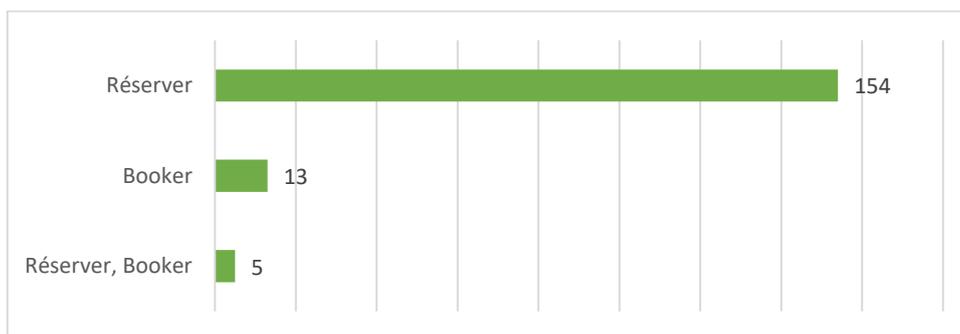


Figure 11 - Students' preference between "réserver" and "booker" in French

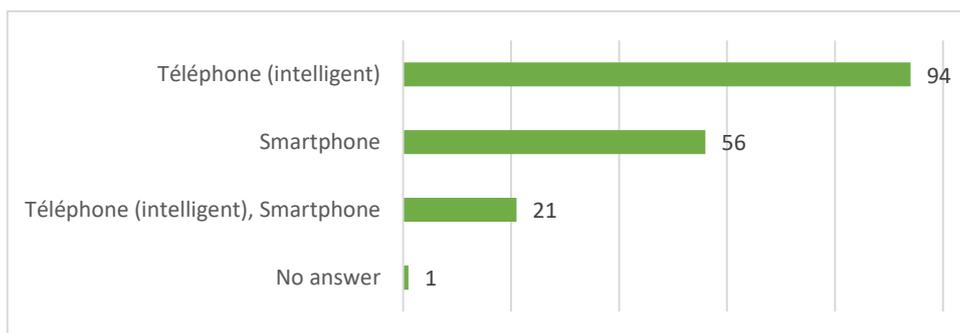


Figure 12 - Students' preference between "téléphone (intelligent)" and "smartphone" in French

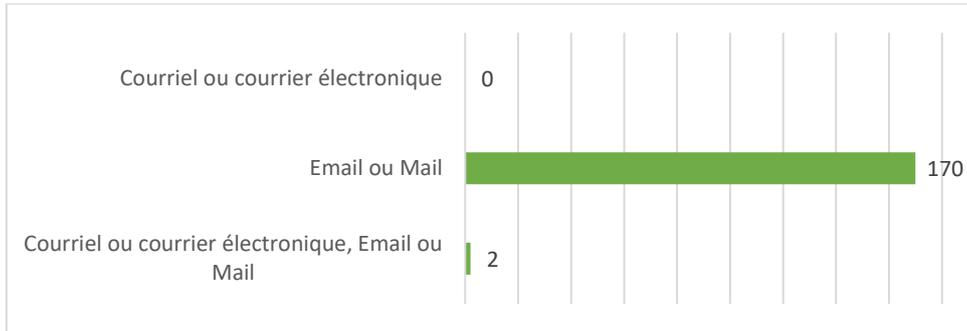


Figure 13 - Students' preference between "courriel/courrier électronique" and "Email/mail" in French

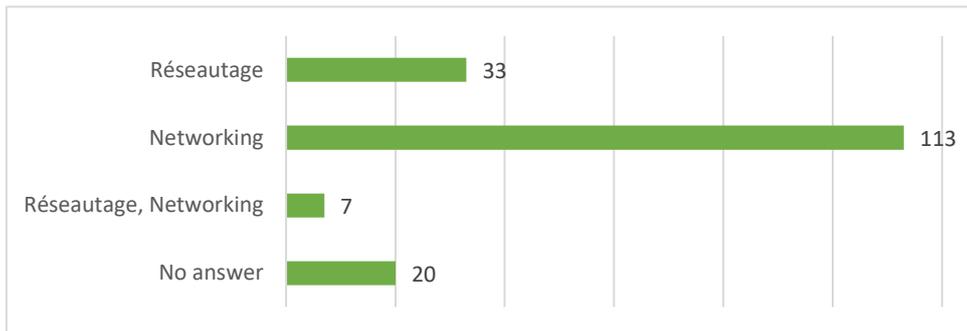


Figure 14 - Students' preference between "réseautage" and "networking" in French

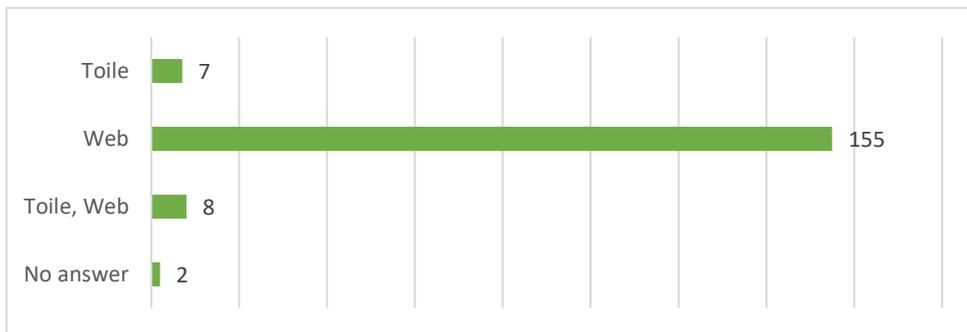


Figure 15 - Students' preference between "toile" and "web" in French

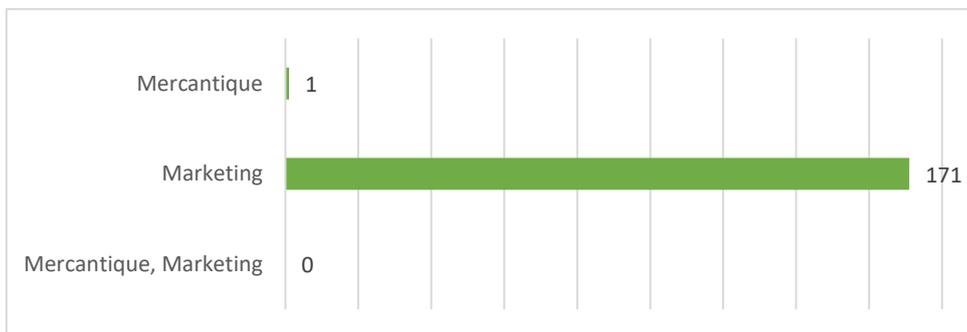


Figure 16 - Students' preference between "mercantique" and "marketing" in French

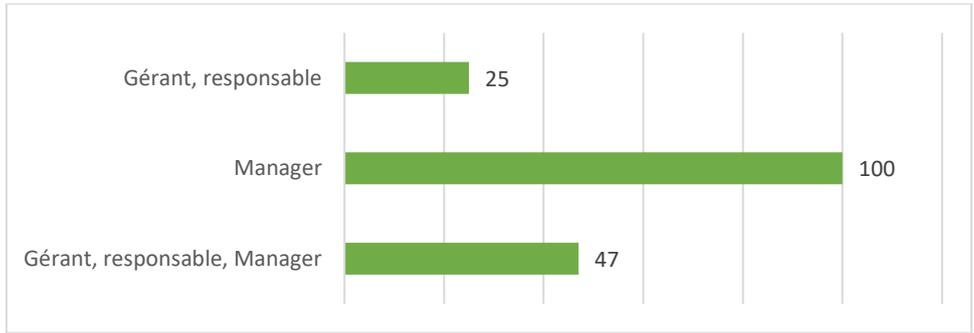


Figure 17 - Students' preference between "gérant/responsable" and "manager" in French

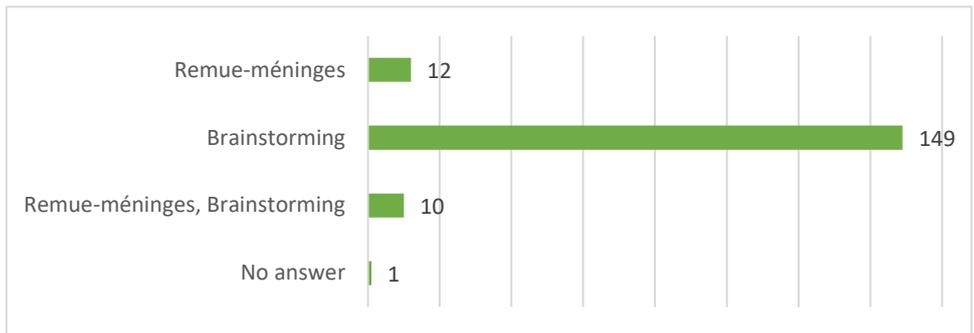


Figure 18 - Students' preference between "remue-ménages" and "brainstorming" in French

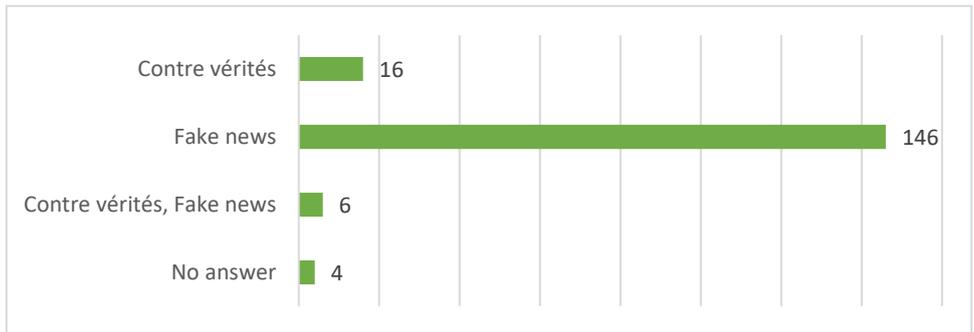


Figure 19 - Students' preference between "contre vérités" and "fake news" in French

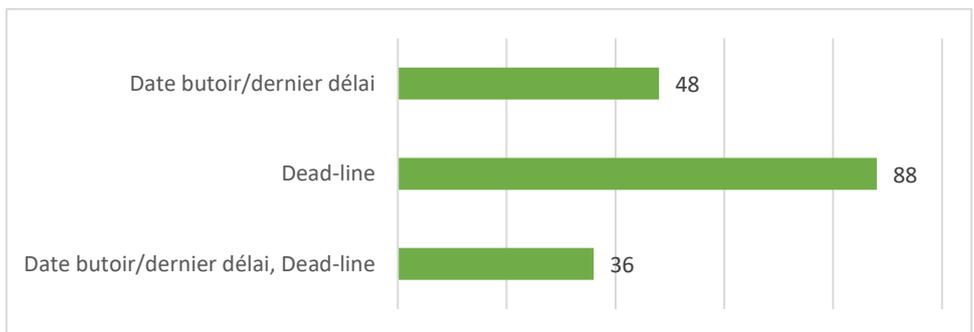


Figure 20 - Students' preference between "date butoir/dernier délai" and "dead-line" in French

Level of English:

I asked how students would personally rate their own level of English. I chose not to use the European classification table (A1-A2, B1, etc.) as some students might not have taken any test to situate their level according to that system. Moreover, personal evaluation might offer an insight in students' self-recognition of their level. The level might not be officially evaluated or inexact, however it gives student the opportunity to reflect on the level they believe to have. A scaled question (1 to 5) offers students the possibility to qualify their answer.

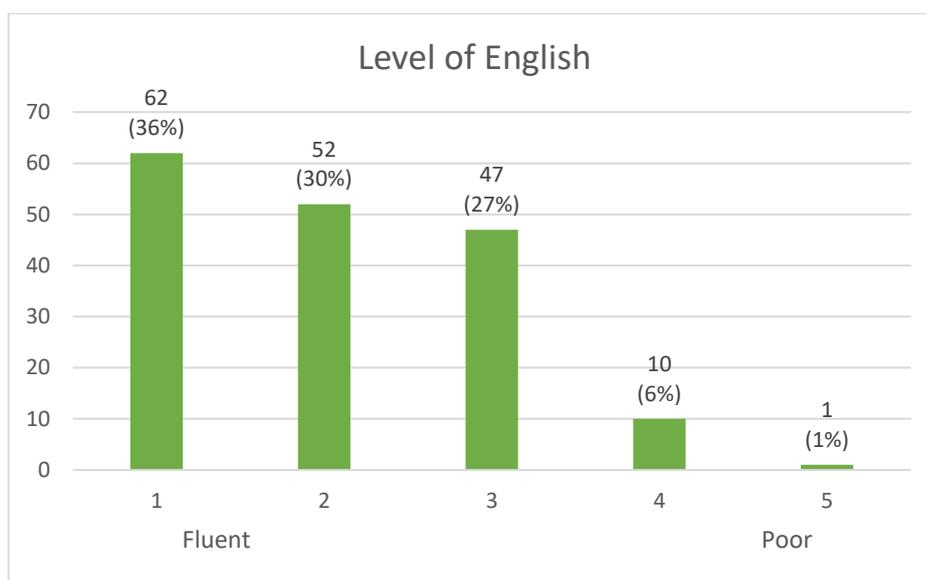


Figure 21 - Students' appreciation of their own level of English

Does your university offer courses in English?

This question was aimed mostly at understanding if students were actually aware that their own universities offer courses in English. Even if they are not planned in their own curriculum, students might be aware that courses in EMI are available in other curricula. What will be interesting in the results, will be to compare answers of students from the same universities to see if their answers differ. It could signify that even if courses in English are available in their university, they might not be aware of them.

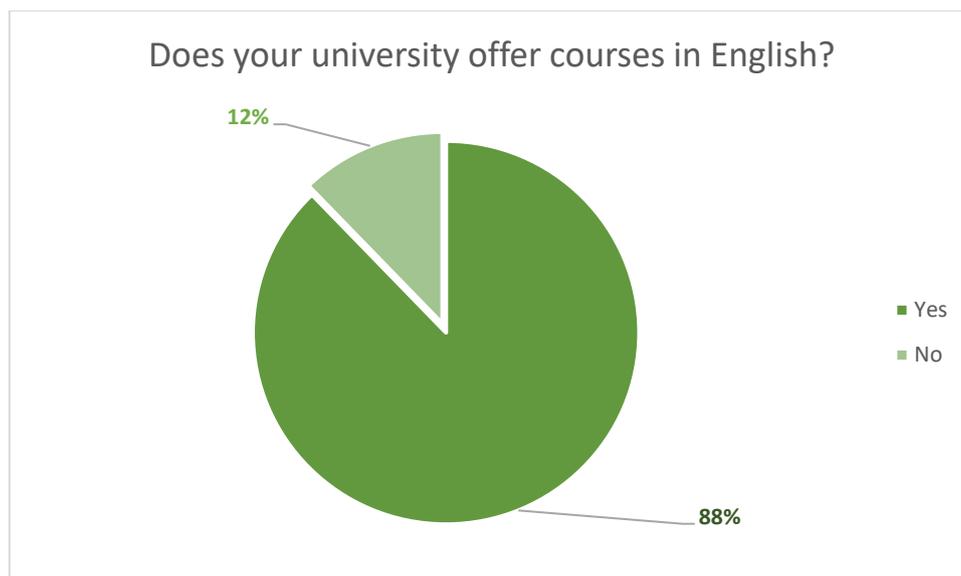


Figure 22 - Courses in English offered by students' universities

How important do you think it is that French universities offer courses through English as well as through French?

As previously, a scaled question offers to students the possibility to qualify their answers. This question was aimed at understanding how students feel about the necessity of EMI at a university level. It might be interesting to compare results of this question with the answers to the previous one. If students who do not have lectures in English still believe that having EMI is important, this might highlight a need from students that French universities should take into account. To understand some of the reasons behind answers, a free commentary section was made available. 82 students have commented, which allows me to have some insights on their motivation and beliefs concerning language in higher education.

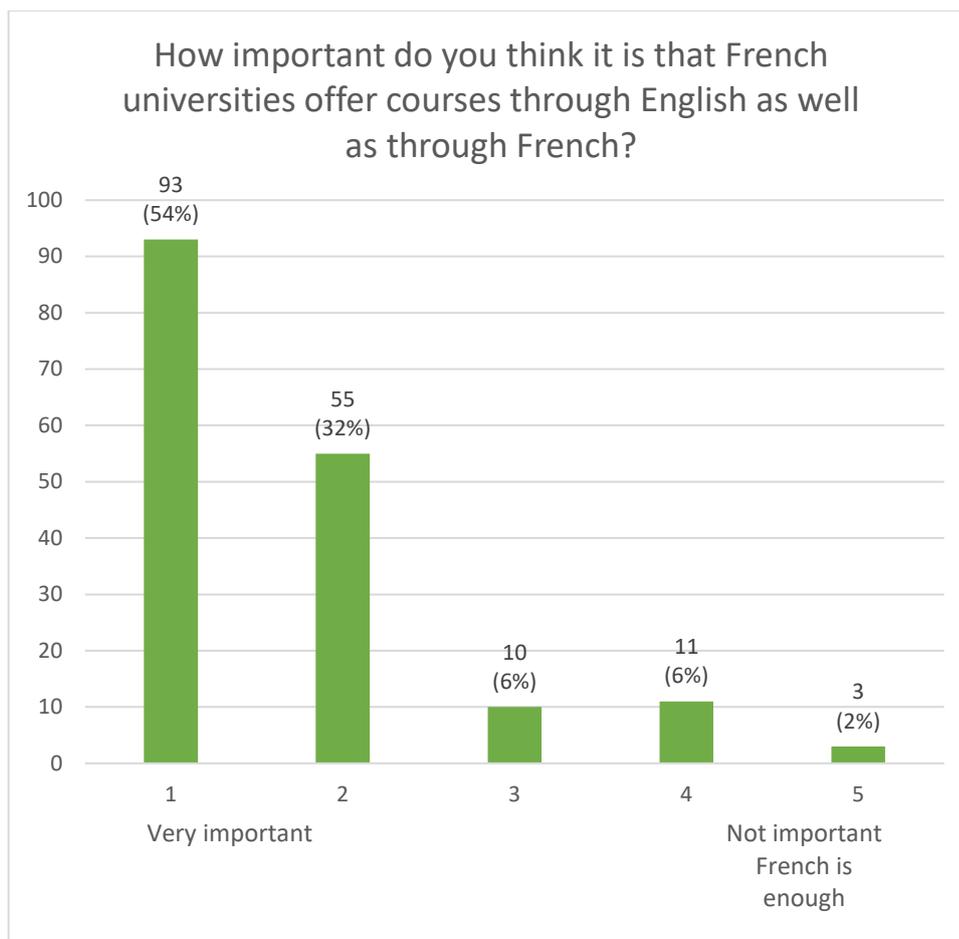


Figure 23 - Importance granted by students to English-taught lectures at university

Are any of the lectures in your course delivered through the medium of English?

This question was especially aimed at understanding respondents' own student career. To know if English-taught classes in their course were optional, compulsory or both, might underline the fact that it could have been a choice from the university or from program coordinators to have EMI courses. Among those who replied that they do not have English-taught courses in their own degree program, five students still answered to the next question about whether courses in English were optional or mandatory. They might have misunderstood the question. Their own answer will be analysed with more care in the next section. Answers to these questions will be analysed in comparison with the diploma that students are preparing, to see if English-taught courses are more frequent in higher levels of education or not. A free comment section was made available to understand how students feel about having lectures in English. 106 gave their opinion on the matter.

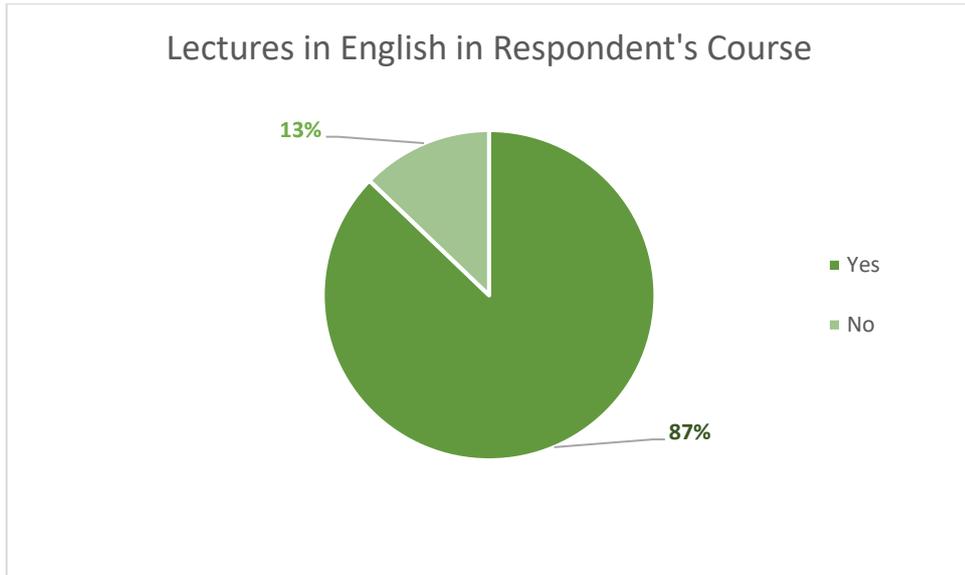


Figure 24 - Lectures in English offered in students' particular degree

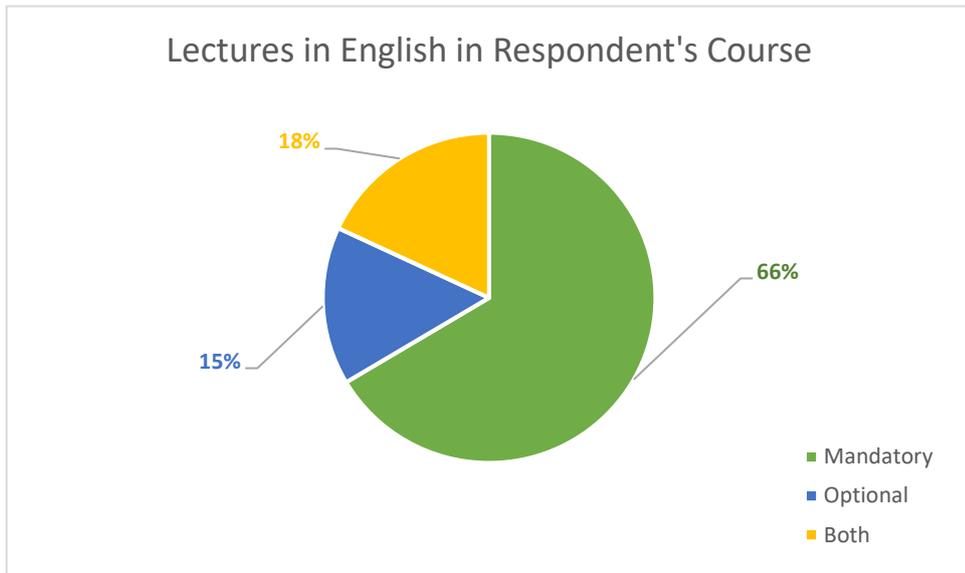


Figure 25 - Mandatory English lectures in students' programmes

Do you think the French language is threatened by the worldwide spread of English

As previously, a scaled question allows students to better adapt their answers according to their opinions. A yes or no question might have been too manichaeian an answer, with the risk of missing the subtleties of students' viewpoint.

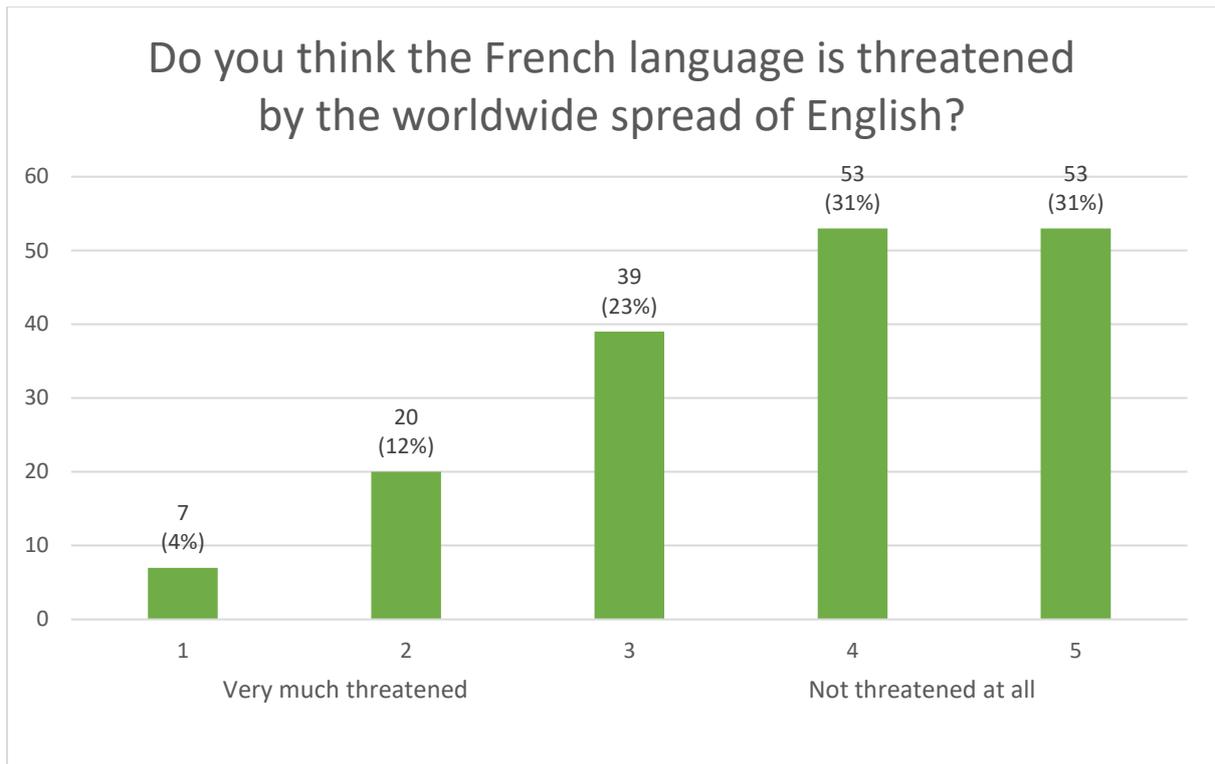


Figure 26 - Students' opinion on the threat of the English language on French language

If so, do you think it would be a good idea to limit the use of English in French public life?

This question was not compulsory to answer. Yet, 136 students answered. As the words used in the question were not particularly defined (“French public life” for instance), this might have resulted in different interpretations of the question.

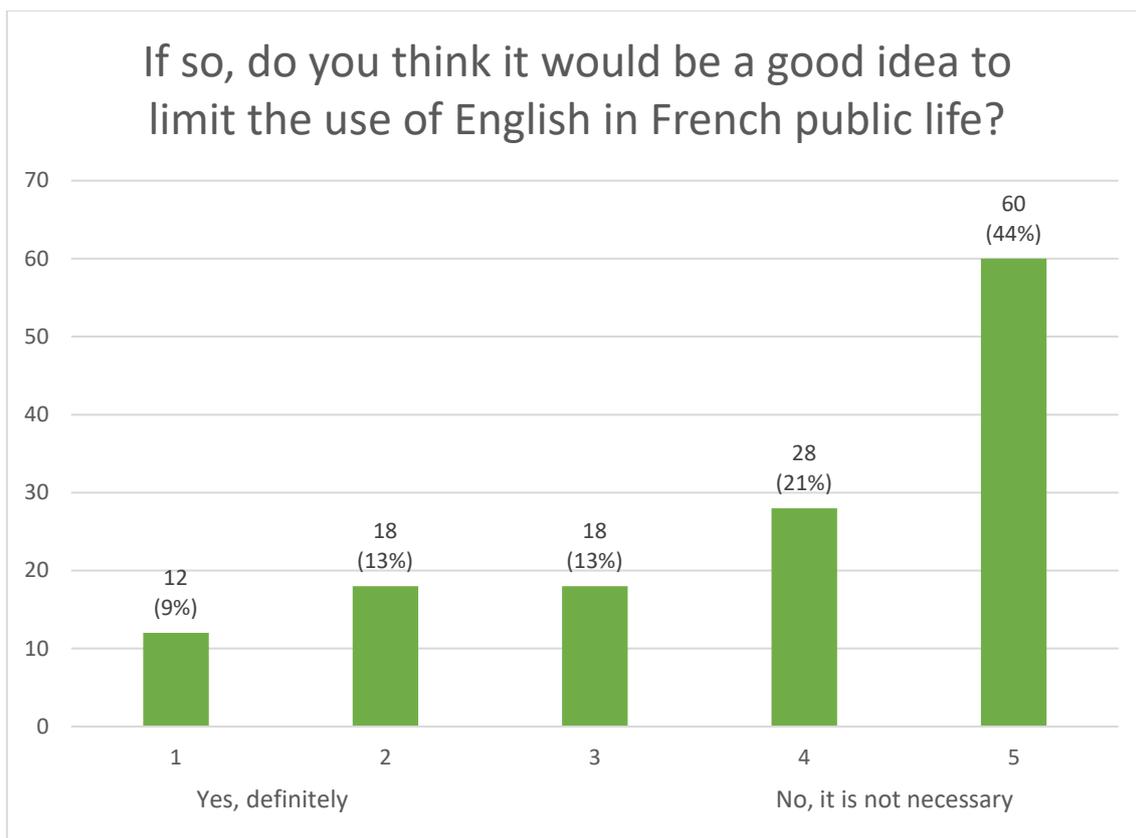


Figure 27 - Students' opinion on limiting English in French public life

Have you heard of the *Loi Toubon* (the Toubon Law)?

The *Loi Toubon* has been largely against the influence of English in French life, be it in universities, in the media, or elsewhere. However, the awareness of this law in nowadays generations of students might be limited, the law might even be unknown to them. This question was thus aimed at understanding if the Toubon law and its implications were known by today students. Only French students have heard of *Loi Toubon*.

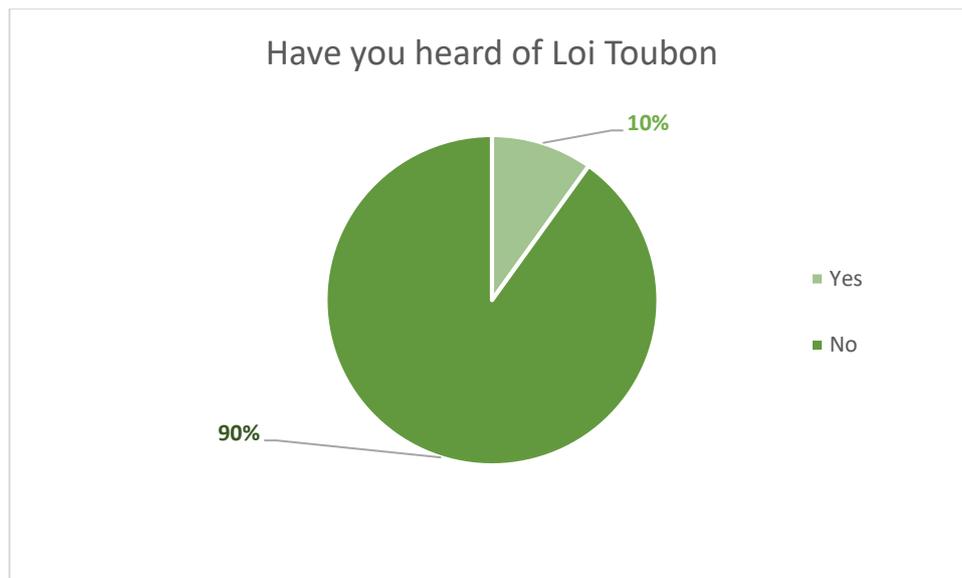


Figure 28 - Students' knowledge of the Toubon Law

Free comment section

In the free comment section made available at the end of the survey, students were offered the possibility to give their opinion on the survey itself, on matters not addressed by the questionnaire, and on English as a language of communication in general. 30 students gave their opinion.

3.1.2. Interpreting the results

When designing both the survey and interviews, I did not expect so many replies. However, as the number grew, they provided sufficient information to merit an entire chapter, and as a result, the analysed data may provide insights and leads for new research. Nonetheless, the study remains a small-scale study which might not provide a comprehensive overview of the situation in France. However, the collected data might confirm or challenge what has been previously discussed in Chapters one and two. Further research will be needed to build on questions we tried to address in this study, or as Garrett (2010) observes: "It is a common feature that findings from one study throw up questions or new issues to be investigated in future research" (p. 201).

English in universities seen as necessary and important by students

Answers collected for the survey show that a majority of students in France accept and see the English language as necessary, especially for their studies. Most of the students believe that English lectures in universities are necessary, as 93% voted for “1” and 55% for “2”, where 1 stands for “very important” on a scale to 5 (see Figure 23, p.62). Moreover, if we look at the answers of those who do not have English courses in their universities (20 students), most of them (86%) think that EMI courses are necessary in University (they voted 1 or 2 on a scale to 5). Only two of them voted “4”, considering that EMI might not be that important in French universities. Thus, I would argue that even students who do not have lectures in English still believe that it is important in universities. It might not be the general tendency in France, as only a few students answered. More research, on a larger scale, might lead to more reliable conclusions.

The 82 students’ comments were very interesting to better understand their views on English as a language of instruction. Most of the comments show students’ awareness of the international statute of the English language. The points they make could be generalized as such:

- English is the international language, so it is needed to communicate with foreigners. As our world is globalised, any company might request that its employees speak English. Hence, English is needed for almost every career. Moreover, a few students complain that universities do not take that argument into account and do not provide French students with necessary English courses.
- In universities, English-taught lectures attract international students who do not speak French. Having international talents can be a benefit for the university, as well as for French students who might mingle with people from different countries and thus broaden their networks. One student compare French universities to foreign universities, saying that concerning the development of English courses, French universities are lagging behind.
- Having lectures taught in English might be more valuable than having English language classes when it comes to help students to learn a technical English vocabulary, needed for their careers. Moreover, while using the language during their studies, French students might improve their overall level of English. Two students argue that oral proficiency is needed more than written proficiency.
- A few students comment about their particular field of study. Natural and applied sciences students see English as necessary to access international research and

publications, mostly done in English. A history student also explains that mastering English allow students to access research currently not translated in French, and would therefore be necessary in her field of study. Similarly, a computer sciences student points out that English is needed in his field, as it is the main language used in computer sciences. Contrarily, a law student highlights the fact that English might not be necessary for every legal career, except for those specialising in international law.

- A few students express the idea that learning any language might be a benefit for learners. Changing language means that there is a need to reformulate ideas in the new language; a change of language and therefore of point of view could challenge these ideas.
- Many students complain about the bad English level of French speakers. According to one, it is due to a poor language teaching during primary and secondary education. Other students suggest that the bad level of French students is a cliché, and that French people are afraid of speaking English due to a wrong belief of not speaking it well enough. This student assumes that with practice French students might realise that their English level is not so far from the average.
- Five students agree on the necessity of English but require that teachers teaching in English should speak perfectly. Their argument lays on the fact that a loss of knowledge can occur if the language is not mastered well enough by teachers.
- A student also argues that, as French students do not all have the same proficiency in English, having EMI classes could become discriminating. Another student considers that French should be taught to students in France in priority, before even considering using or teaching in another language. One student points out that there are other ways to learn English today rather than in universities. Finally, another student suggests that a more efficient way to learn English than English lectures at universities would be to watch TV series in English.

These points recall some of the arguments developed in previous chapters. Many students agree on the necessity of English in universities. Considered as the international language, English is seen by them as necessary for any career. This means that students' attitudes towards English remain positive as the language is associated with success. However, as I suggest in Chapter two, some students believe that English is necessary for some fields of study but not for all.

Another argument largely shared by students is that EMI would have different benefits: students could learn English, especially the specific English that they would use during their career, and it could attract

international students. Some of them also agree that EMI classes appear to be more efficient than English language classes, since they allow them to learn a contextualised English. Quoting one of the students:

In my university, we only have English courses but no courses in English and that is really appalling from my point of view. For example, I am currently doing an internship in a non-speaking French country so that all the internship is in English and I was struggling very hard at the beginning with all the scientific vocabulary and all the stuffs linked to it.

I also presented these arguments in Chapter one and two, as I believe that EMI lectures could work as CLIL techniques: while studying a subject in English, students could both improve their English and master the concerned subject. This technique might be more efficient than just language classes, as students would be better introduced to an English that they would need afterward.

As I suggest in Chapter two, French universities have been internationalising themselves but this openness might be not available to all yet. Students appear to agree with such a limit and they also complain about France lagging behind other countries in implementing English-taught classes in universities. Although most of students evaluate their level of English as fluent or very good (see Figure 21, p.60), the idea that the French have a poor level of English is still suggested by several students, some of them accusing the French education system to be responsible for such bad results. For example, one student interestingly claims: “English language teaching in secondary schools is close to mediocre. One’s level of English is a selection criteria to enrol in a master and leads to better employability”. This assertion is also expressed by several other students at the end of the survey, who complain about an inadequate teaching of English in French schools and universities, especially if compared to other countries. Some students describe their general out-of-school environment as not being supportive to learn English. A common claim is that English is not present enough in French media; for instance, they observe that films are mostly available dubbed in French and subtitled. This recalls Verspoor’s (2011) and her colleagues’ argument that out-of-school environment are an important support in language teaching.

What interestingly emerges, however, is that this perception of having a “bad” level creates a certain fear among French people, a fear that they are not good enough to use English at a university level. This echoes Peter Garrett’s argument (2010) that a negative attitude towards a language may limit the desire to use it, because one does not feel intelligent enough in another language (p. 21). I believe that ELF could help to overcome this fear. French students probably value themselves compared to high standards, to NS’s English. If reaching a native-like level might be hard for French students, it is

also not practical, as they will probably use a more internationalised version of English later on. ELF could be a reachable alternative goal for these students that might appear as less frightening, or as one student put it: “it could tone down the use of the language, give it context, instead of considering it as a subject to be learnt”.

Yet, positive attitudes towards normative versions of English could still be found in the students’ arguments. A few students require teachers with a good level of English or even natives to teach them in English. I believe that students assimilate the notion of a good level of English to a native-like level. Thus, this positive attitude towards NS’s English renders other variants, such as ELF, versions not to be imitated.

Furthermore, a few students consider French to be the first necessity in French universities. One student even believes that the priority was to give French language classes so as to “master well French” before even thinking about giving lectures in English. Another student suggests:

It is better to offer quality lectures in good French by teachers of whose mother tongue is French, instead of an imitation of a lecture with an international vocation led by French teachers who jabber an approximate English.

Although not being shared by the majority of respondents to the survey, these students’ arguments are highlighting limits of EMI classes in French universities. As shown in Chapter two, universities that wish to develop English-taught lectures face a logistical issue: to have teachers able to teach in English. What students imply here might be that universities created classes to answer to a general demand for internationalisation without having enough teachers capable of speaking a fluent English. However, as new generations of teachers seem to have a better proficiency in English, the students’ complaints might be reduced in the future.

Universities policies and their students’ feelings about studying in English

A real interest to me was also to understand universities’ policies regarding the use of English. I asked if students have English courses in their own programme and if those are mandatory or optional. If English-taught lectures are mandatory, it could suggest that the university made the decision to impose English on its students, whereas if they are optional, it means that students still have a choice to make concerning their preferred language. 87% of students have lectures in English in their own programme (see Figure 24, p.63). This highlights the fact that, today, French students generally have English-taught lectures, universities having increased the number of EMI classes over the years. EMI classes are mandatory for 66% of students who replied to the survey (see Figure 25, p.63). As this is more than half of the total, it seems to show that there is a certain tendency on behalf of universities

to impose English on their students. A larger scale study might confirm if this tendency is generalised throughout France. However, as 15% of the EMI lectures are optional, this also means that some students are still given a choice. EMI lectures in some universities could thus be considered as an alternative to courses taught in French, offering a choice to students.

The 106 students who left a personal comment about attending lectures in English offer some insights on students' appreciation of their EMI lectures. More than half of them show positive feelings. Most of these positive feelings concern a certain ease felt by students when studying in English, which was earned after some adaptation time or more work on their behalf. Some even asserted that they preferred English over French for their studies. Moreover, most of the respondents accorded again on its necessity in today's world. Interestingly, some students commented on the utility of EMI lectures compared to English language classes: they agree that EMI offers a better preparation to the English that they would use during their career, and that EMI classes are in general a more efficient technic to learn English than traditional English language classes. As an example one student commented

[EMI lectures] allow students to practise their English in a more interesting way than during classic English language classes, and they allow students to familiarise with vocabulary and expressions linked with one's studies.

These positive feelings towards EMI show that these lectures are generally well accepted by students. Universities and students alike might have understood that English is necessary and, for most, it appears not to be an issue regarding comprehension.

Nevertheless, around 30% of the students who commented shared mixed feelings towards EMI. Although it is often seen as a necessity, frequently this importance is overshadowed by the difficulty felt by students. "Fear" is again indicated by some students as sometimes being the main obstacle in choosing EMI lectures. Most of them actually express the idea that even if EMI lectures are necessary, their university is not providing enough or adequate lectures in English or that their teachers were not good enough to teach in English. This reminds of the argument suggested by Jenkins (2007) that students generally consider native English teachers to be better in teaching English than NNS (pp. 93-94). Curiously, one student declares that EMI lectures are interesting, but some teachers, especially natives, are hard to understand. This resonates with the idea that NS English might not be the most practical option for universities lectures in an international context, as some students might have comprehension difficulties with such varieties. Two students comment that even if lectures in English are beneficial for students, they cannot equal an immersive experience in another country (not necessarily an English speaking country). This could be interpreted again as France not offering sufficient or enough classes in English if compared to other countries.

The rest of comments (about 17%) are rather negative towards English in universities. Most of the students argue that lectures in English in French universities are not good enough, as the language level used in those classes is comparable to the English taught in secondary schools. Respondents declare that English courses are thus time consuming and that other better ways to learn English exist. Another student claims that English lectures are not relevant when both teachers and students are French. A student interestingly comments:

[Lectures in English] are not sufficient. They also discriminate students according to their social origin and if they had the choice, or not, to go abroad (in English-speaking countries) to practise their English. I add up shortcomings in English as I don't have such opportunities and this is detrimental to my studies now completely in English.

This student highlights an argument that I did not address in my dissertation: the socioeconomic status of students as being a potential variable in students' attitudes towards English. A further study might reveal if socioeconomic status plays an important role in students' attitudes towards English and in their English proficiency.

The students' comments show again an awareness of the importance of English as an international language. Most students have positive feelings towards their English-taught lectures, which can be interpreted as an overall positive attitude from students. Nevertheless, some limits can be identified, such as the difficulty to study using a foreign language, the importance of the teachers' level of English, or French universities not having enough options available in English. In addition, even if negative feelings towards English were not found in the majority of comments, some opposition from students is still revealed.

English in French

The list of words shown to students was designed to understand the influence of English in contemporary French language. As there are only ten words, selected because they might be frequently used by students, this study cannot be assertive for the whole language. A more exhaustive study would be more appropriate to understand the real influence of English in French. This study, however, offers some indications about the fact that French students might not be reluctant in using some English loanwords. For the ten words selected, a majority of students would rather use an English word or an anglicised word (see Figure 10, p.57). Only 22% of students would still prefer a French version of the word. This cannot prove that students prefer to use English words in every day French, it however shows that they are not reluctant in using them at least in specific cases.

Yet, the preference for one version over the other changes depending on the word used (see Figures Figure 11 to Figure 20 pp.57-59). What is interesting to see is that some words proved to be almost entirely used in their English version, such as “email”, “web”, “marketing”, “brainstorming” and “fake news”. This can be interpreted as the loanword being accepted in French by a majority of French speakers. In a notable example, a student selected nine times the French version of each word over the English one, and preferred only once an English version: “email”. We can interpret this choice as a proof that even if some French generally refuse to use English loanwords, they might accept at least a few exceptions that have been by now fully adopted in French, as “email” for instance. A student actually comments about the words selection:

I don't have any problem in using English words in French, however I think (and I might not be the only one) that *frenglish* is unbearable. In the list of words, you have selected “booker”, which is an English verb with the French verb ending morpheme “-er”. I would NEVER use it because it is not a word in one language or in the other. I also often hear “*focuser*” that I hate as much. However, I could say “*faire un booking*” or “*faire un focus*” if I feel that at a particular moment those words are closer to what I want to say than their French translation (as an example: I would use “*réserver*” for a restaurant booking and “*faire un booking*” when I talk about a voyage or a youth hostel).

The student points at an interesting linguistic adaptation of words. Loanwords can be imported in a new language without any change to their morphology, or they can be transformed with morphemes to fit in the destination language. By adding verb ending morphemes to English words, like in “*booker*” or “*liker*”, loanwords become part of the French language and they can be subject to French *conjugaison*. Although the practice is frowned upon by some researchers, such as Edwards (see Garrett, 2010, p. 11), it still proves the flexibility of languages in adapting to their environment. Another student suggests that, before mixing languages, French people should master the use of French, described by the student as “our language [being] beautiful and plentiful”. Another student believes that French speakers should master and know both French and English, but Anglicisms should be avoided. These comments prove that, although some English words appear to have been fully adopted by French speakers, reluctance still exists in using English words in French.

English: a real threat?

For the most part, students mostly believe that English is not threatening to the French language (see Figure 26, p.64), and 60% of them disagree with the notion that English presence in French public life should be limited (see Figure 27, p.65). This can be interpreted as a positive attitude from students towards English in general. As exposed in Chapter two, certain negative attitudes result from a fear of a linguistic ‘invasion’. In France, nationalistic ideas revolt against the English language as it is seen as

a threat, particularly in French universities⁴³. However, this fear of linguistic invasion appears not to be felt by French students today; at least, this is what answers to this survey seem to demonstrate. What is also of significant interest is that most of the students who replied (90%) have actually never heard of the Loi Toubon. This 1994 law limited the use of English in diverse domains including higher education. At the time, it was criticised by some teachers⁴⁴. Since the introduction of Loi Fioraso, who officially allowed English in French universities, the Toubon law has lost its grip on dictating language in universities. This might have resulted in this law being forgotten or unknown by new generations of students. This can also be interpreted as universities being less controlled by governmental decisions.

The role of variables

Questions labelled “Background information” were designed to get some variables in the replies. I wanted to know if tendencies could emerge according to students’ gender, university of origin, level of studies, field of studies, or mother tongue. However, no significant differences emerged to observe any tendencies depending on these variables.

Gender is not a determinant variable in the study, as replies from males and females are mostly alike. Regarding the mother tongue, only eight students are not French native speakers, therefore there are not enough answers from non-French NS to draw any tendencies among their answers. The students’ origin (where their universities are located) is again not a determinant variable, as most of them come from Paris and its suburbs. Not enough answers were collected from other regions to be able to draw tendencies depending on location.

Nevertheless, I compared the results of two universities from which I received more answers, Paris 9 Dauphine University (52 students) and Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne University (21 students). It would be interesting to continue this research and to investigate the socioeconomic background of students from each university, as different backgrounds might have an impact on general appreciation of English. Students from Paris 1 value their level of English as fluent or almost fluent (52% chose “1”,

⁴³ See for example Angélique Chrisafis’s “French academia in war of words over plan to teach in English” published in The Guardian on May 10, 2013 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/10/french-universities-english-language> Accessed on January 9, 2018

⁴⁴ See for example article “L’Académie des sciences s’émeut” published by Le Monde on May 5, 1994 http://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1994/05/05/l-academie-des-sciences-s-emeut_3829852_1819218.html?xtmc=loi_toubon&xtcr=45 Accessed on January 14, 2018

29% chose “2” and 14% chose “3”). Students from Dauphine also largely believe that they have a good level of English, however, in contrast with Paris 1, no level is largely more selected than the others are, as level 1, 2 and 3 got chosen respectively 33%, 35% and 25% of the time. All students from Paris 1 reply that they have lectures in English in their programme, compared to only 83% of students from Dauphine. Also in Paris 1, the EMI courses are largely mandatory (86%), whereas only 40% of EMI courses in Dauphine are mandatory. This seems to indicate that universities might have different policies, depending on the subject studied, regarding the creation of mandatory lectures in English for their students. If students from Paris 1 have mostly mandatory English lectures, it could denote a wish from this university to render EMI lectures mandatory for all its students. Regarding English as a threat, more than half of students from Paris 1 do not believe that English is a threat in some ways (57% chose “5”, “Not a threat”), only 25% students from Dauphine reply the same answer and 35% answered “4”. Almost half of students from Paris 1 consider that it is not necessary to limit the use of English in French public life compared to only 29% students from Dauphine. Such slight differences between universities might underline the idea that environment could influence students’ attitudes towards English.

It is interesting to note that an oddity happens in some of the students’ answers. When asking them if their university offers EMI classes, students from the same university do not answer equally. For example, 10% of students from Paris 9 Dauphine University answer that no English-taught classes are offered in their university, although 90% claim the opposite. The same disparities happen in the answers from Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne University, from Paris 7 Diderot University, from Paris 10 Nanterre University, from Paris Est Créteil University and from Ecole Normale Supérieure. It might show that some students are not aware that their university offers lectures in English, either because they are not concerned with them in their particular program, or because the university may have failed in publicizing them well enough. However, another plausible explanation is that students might have just not understood the question thoroughly, as some of them reply that their university have no EMI class but their particular programme has, which is not logical.

Regarding the level of studies, not enough answers have been collected from PhD students or from “other” diplomas (non-Bachelor, non-Master and non-PhD) to see some tendencies emerging. It is possible to compare answers from bachelor students and from master students, as I received 66 answers from bachelor students and 80 answers from master students. However, no particular differences between their answers could be noted, apart from their own English language evaluation. Half of master students claim to be fluent in English, and 36% to be almost fluent (they chose “2”). In contrast, bachelor students are more moderate in their answers as respectively 26%, 26%, and 38%

of them chose “1”, “2” and “3”. This can prove that master students feel more comfortable with the English language than bachelor students. It could also be interpreted as an improvement of students’ general level of English over the years.

When concentrating on the different fields of study, some similitudes and disparities can be observed. Students evaluate their level of English in a similar way for all fields of study. Generally, a tendency towards considering EMI as necessary is observed among every student, yet some slight disparities can be noted. Humanities students are not all in favour of English in universities, as 13% chose “4” (“5” being “not important at all”); they are overall less likely to be in favour of it if compared to students of Applied Sciences (see Figures Figure 29 to Figure 33, pp.76-78). This can be linked to the idea that English might not be important for all students, depending on the subject of their studies.

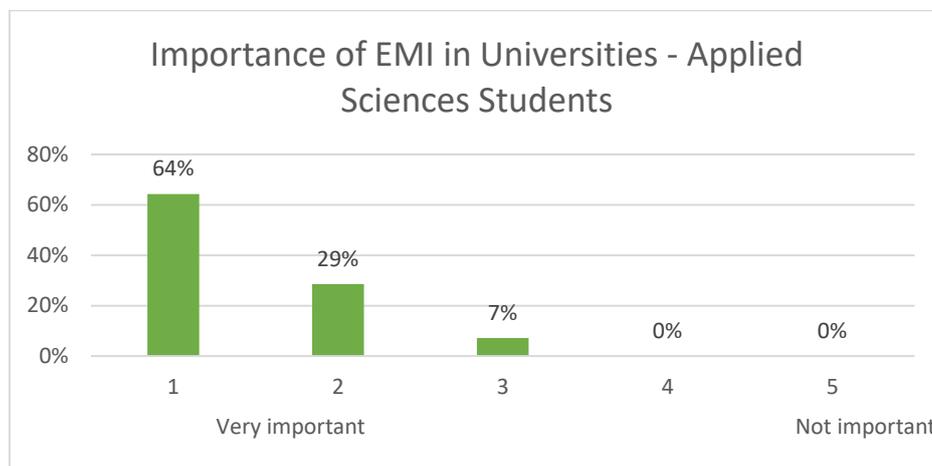


Figure 29 - Importance of EMI in universities for Applied Sciences students

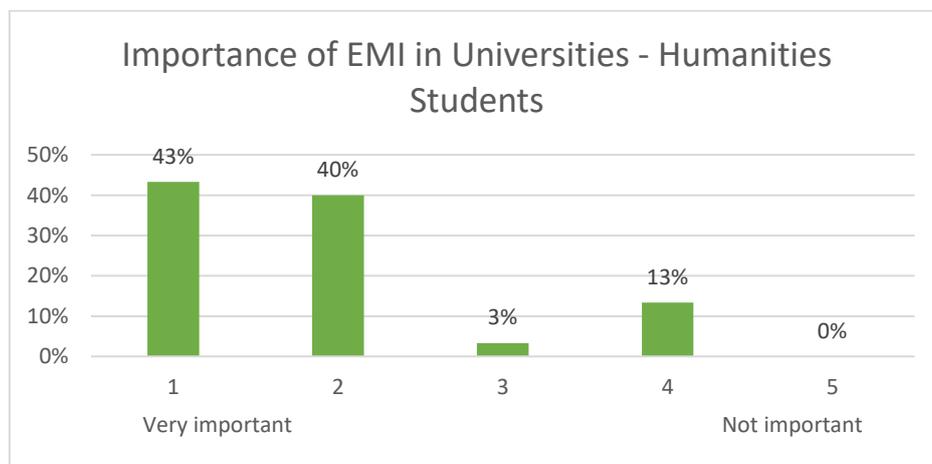


Figure 30 - Importance of EMI in universities for Humanities students

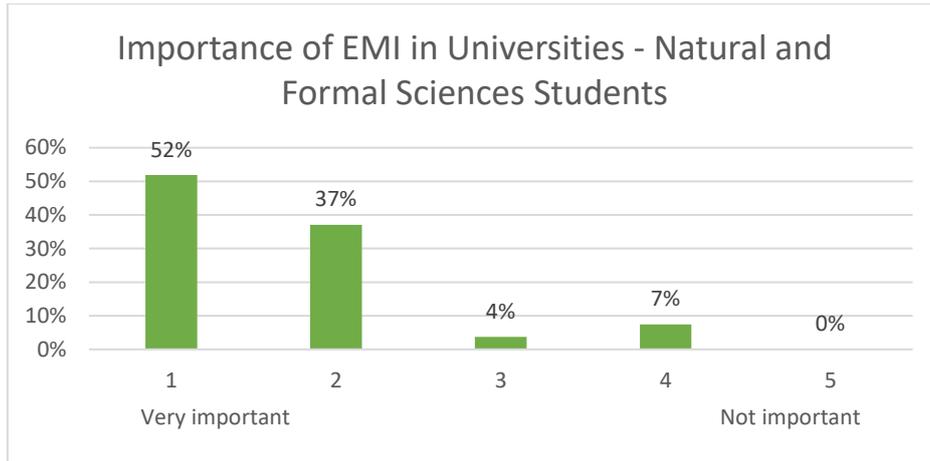


Figure 31 - Importance of EMI in universities for Natural and Formal Sciences students

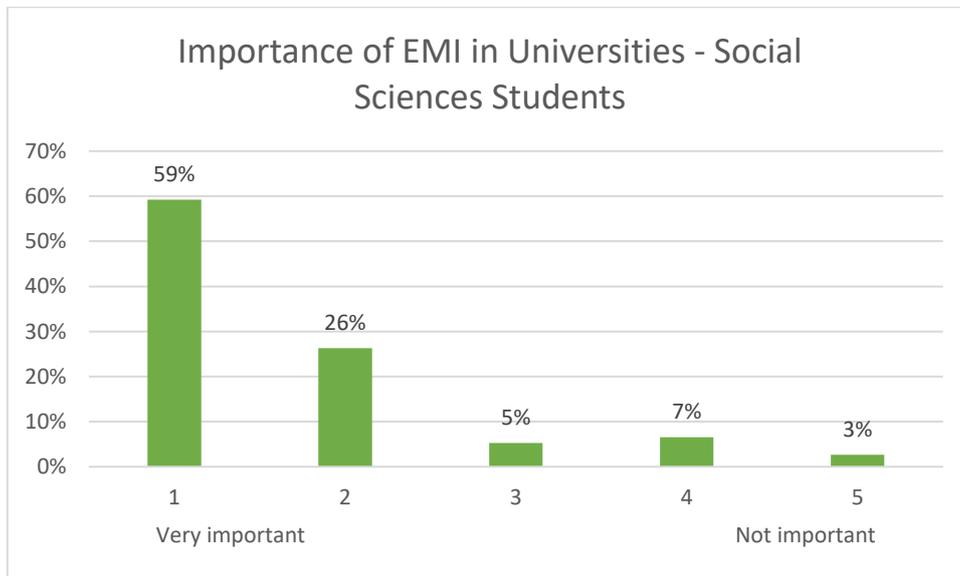


Figure 32 - Importance of EMI in universities for Social Sciences students

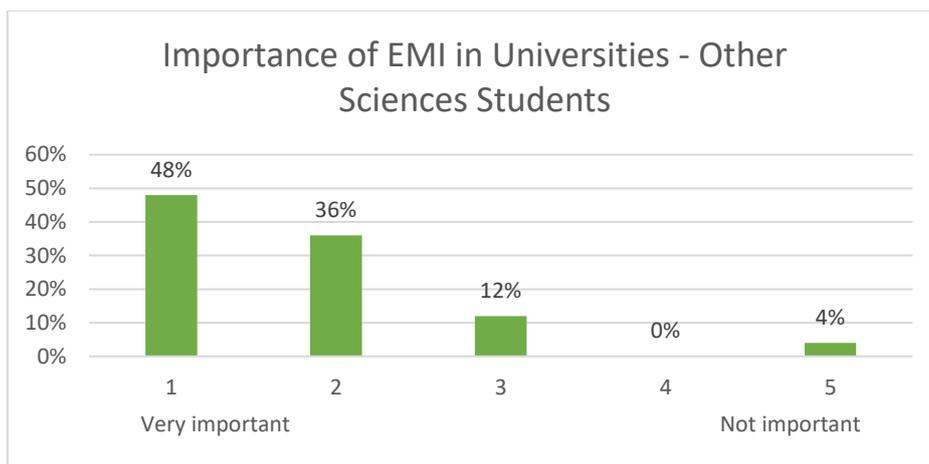


Figure 33 - Importance of EMI in universities for Other Sciences students

The question “what is your field of study?” was easier to analyse when students answered the questionnaire in English, as barely none of them selected “other”. In contrast, 21 students responding in French typed down their own answer. This selection can actually be a testimony of the diversity of the French higher education system. As shown in Chapter two, the French system differs to some extent from an Anglo-Saxon system, as many more institutions and options are offered to French students. Nevertheless, as many students in the survey have not chosen any of the proposed options, this trend could also be due to limits in the design of the survey, as I might have left aside some fields of study in an effort to streamline the choice.

Regarding the preferred language to answer the questionnaire, French was largely chosen, by 84% of all respondents. As previously said, I offered the test in French and in English, as I believe some students might have found that answering questions in their own mother tongue was easier and less time consuming. The high number of questionnaires in French can indeed be an indication that students felt more comfortable answering in French. Yet, as most of the respondents’ mother tongue is French, most of those who replied in English are thus French speakers. The 27 students who replied in English, although not the majority, show that some French students feel able to use English to convey their opinion.

Differences can be noted when we compare the answers to the English and French questionnaires. Those who replied in English generally gave themselves better “grades” in English: to the question “how would you rate your English level (1 to 5)?” almost half of students who replied in English considered themselves fluent, and 37% as almost fluent (they chose “2”). Only one student chose “poor English”, although he still answered the test in English. Looking at his mother tongue, it appears

that this student is actually Thai, so even if he considers his level as poor, he might not speak French and decided to answer the questionnaire in English. In French questionnaires, English levels are generally chosen for in a more homogeneous way. Students deemed to have a medium to fluent level, as around 30% of students chose “1”, “2” and “3” each time (34% chose for “1”, 29% chose “2” and 30% chose “3”).

Regarding the importance of English in universities, students who answered in English are mostly in favour of it, as 70% of them selected “1” and 20% selected “2” (on a scale to 5). In the French questionnaires, half of them were largely in favour of EMI (51% chose “1”). They were 30% to select “2”. Between English and French questionnaires, it appears that those who replied in French were more moderate in their answers. However, this might also be due to the difference in number of respondents, as only 27 students on a total of 172 replied in English.

Answers to “Do you have EMI courses in your programme?” and if they are mandatory or not, do not show relevant differences between the English and French questionnaires. However, comments given in the English questionnaire were more positive than in the French questionnaire, where students replied with more mixed feelings. Students who replied in English might feel more comfortable in using English and thus be more positive towards English.

The question concerning a possible threat of English against the French language saw no differences between the answers from the English and from the French questionnaires. However, when asked their opinion about limiting English use in French public life, students who replied in English are largely against a limitation (70% of them chose “not necessary”). In the French questionnaires, the answers were more moderate, as about 40% selected “5” (not necessary), 25% chose “4”, 15% chose “3” and “2” alike, and only 9% selected “1” (absolutely necessary). It still shows that generally students who answered the test are against limiting English usage in French public life, although those who replied in English definitely showed more certainty against it.

Concerning the list of words, no significant difference exists between students’ answers in the French and in the English questionnaires. Nonetheless, those replying in English decisively preferred the words “networking”, “manager” and “dead-line” (their English versions), as those words got higher percentage of votes in the English questionnaires than in the French ones. This can probably be linked to the notion that those who replied in English are much more comfortable in using English words.

In conclusion, the students’ survey highlights some arguments developed in previous chapters. Students show positive attitudes towards English in universities in general. However, some of their

arguments also recall criticisms developed against EMI in universities, as described in Chapters one and two. A future larger and more meticulous research would help to generalise these attitudes among French students in France. After questioning the students, the focus will be directed at the opinions of other important members in universities: teachers.

3.2. Interviews with teachers

3.2.1. Method and research

The interviews with teachers (see **Appendix 2**, p.107) were aimed at collecting impressions and attitudes of university teachers in French universities towards the use of English as a medium of instruction. The interviews were recorded so that the data collected would be easier to analyse later on. Eight teachers were interviewed, and, one of whom is a PhD student⁴⁵. The teachers came from different universities in France: Nantes, Paris, Grenoble, Aix-Marseille, Chambéry and Lille⁴⁶.

I decided to focus on teachers who are already teaching in English, as they might be more experienced and aware of the issues behind EMI in French universities. Thus, I researched English-taught programs among several universities. I then sent emails to coordinators of such programs, asking them if they would be interested in answering my questions, and if they could forward my request to their colleagues in order to obtain a larger sample. Interviews were then carried out with those teachers who agreed to participate. As some teachers happened to have more to say, interviews did not all last for the same amount of time, some lasting 15 minutes, others up to 35 minutes. I also asked them if they would prefer to answer questions in English or in French. Three teachers preferred to reply in French, as they believed it would be easier for them to express their opinions in their mother tongue. Six of them are French nationals, one is German and another one has two nationalities, British and French.

The first question concerned their teaching career, and specifically for how long they have been teaching. The purpose of this was to analyse if attitudes towards English as EMI could depend on the generation of teachers to which they belong. The youngest to answer, the PhD student, has been teaching for 3 years. Others have been teaching for up to 30 years.

⁴⁵ I decided to include this student, as PhD students are most likely to become the next generation of university teachers.

⁴⁶ The teacher from Lille is teaching this year in Barcelona.

I then asked them which subject they are teaching. I tried to obtain replies from diverse universities and fields of study to get a broader view, and see if differences might be noted. The different subjects taught by teachers include electronics and computer engineering, law, economics, biophysics, and management.

The third question was the most interesting one for this dissertation, since it concerned their teaching in English. I asked them how many hours they teach in English compared to French-taught classes. I also examined their perspective regarding teaching in English. Having their personal opinions could give insights on the reality of EMI in France.

Conferences held in English were the subject of the fourth question. As conferences are part of knowledge sharing in universities, the language used during these conference is a vital feature, especially to attract an international audience. Asking teachers if they attend conferences in English can confirm whether they consider them an important step for their careers. Furthermore, asking teachers if they would attend conferences in English in France can lead to insights into whether the French higher education system is opening up to the world by using ELF as a communicative tool.

Question five was aimed at responding to one of my hypotheses. I would argue that one of the reasons to give lectures in English is to attract non-French speakers to French universities and thus to internationalise universities. Teachers' opinions on the question might not justify this argument; however, it is still relevant to understand what they believe are the main reasons for having lectures taught in English.

A similar topic is considered in question six, which deals with obstacles against the use of English in universities. I asked teachers their thoughts about the main difficulties that universities face when introducing English-taught classes: whether there might be logistical or idealistic issues, or for example whether students might not have an adequate language level. By asking this question, I was looking at teachers' opinions regarding probable challenges that EMI would face in French universities.

Question seven concerned the other main aspect of a teacher's career, which is writing scientific papers. As part of teachers' academic work, scientific publications are a necessary part in the process of sharing knowledge. Asking the teachers which language they use when writing papers can give insights into the importance of English in reaching an international audience, and on how this can depend on the field of study.

Finally, the last question regarded international academic careers. My attention was to find out if teachers have taught abroad and in which language, to understand if language diversity could allow

teachers to work in foreign universities, or if it was even a personal aim for some to pursue parts of their career abroad. Also, teaching abroad might have expanded their teaching techniques in order to adapt to cultural and traditional teaching from other countries.

At the end of the discussion, I asked teachers if they would like to add on an issue that we had not discussed. As for the students' survey, I believe that leaving respondents with the option to open up the discussion on new topics could first give me ideas that I might not have thought about and, secondly, make the respondents feel more involved in the interview, reassuring them on the importance of their opinions. Putting respondents at ease helped me to collect more personal impressions from teachers regarding their use of English.

3.2.2. Interpreting the results

Interviews with teachers show similarities with arguments developed in this dissertation, as well as with some arguments developed by students. As only eight teachers were interviewed, the results constitute only a small sample and no general conclusions can be drawn regarding tendencies in France; however they open up a possible comparison with themes already addressed.

A recent evolution

Among the many arguments developed by teachers, one that frequently arises is that they have witnessed an evolution of the use of English in French universities over the last ten years. This could be linked to the idea that French universities have progressed towards opening themselves to the world. However, this opening has its limits and many improvements are still needed.

If some lecturers teach entirely in English, others also teach in French or in another language alongside their English lectures. Generally, older generations of professors agree on the idea that they are finding themselves to give more and more lectures in English.

Attracting international students

Most of the teachers agree on the idea that EMI lectures attract more international students. In some universities, international programmes only taught in English were especially developed to attract those students, such as in Nantes or in Grenoble. As those were actually designed to welcome international students, they were authorized as an exception to the Toubon law. These master courses however later opened up to welcome French students as well.

Nevertheless, three teachers explain that English-taught lectures are often not enough to attract foreign students. Universities need to advertise their programmes, to be attractive as a “good” institute, to organise partnerships with other universities or even to create labels of recognition. It is not just about having English programmes, universities that want to open up to international students need to organise themselves to appear as valid and interesting alternatives on the international stage. Therefore, language of education is not the main criterion of international excellence, although teachers see it as a necessary advantage.

The importance of French is mentioned slightly in the interviews. Two teachers reflect on the fact that France could also be attractive to worldwide French speakers. Although smaller than the English speaking community, international French speakers studying in France could be also considered as an international opening of universities. Moreover, some teachers express the idea that international students may also come to study in France to learn French or because they already know the language. Yet, despite their belief that French should be maintained in universities, to these teachers English still appears as necessary to reach larger communities. Moreover, lectures in English are seen by teachers as reassuring international students.

The opinions of teachers then confirm the argument that EMI lectures are a key element to attract international students and that they should be considered alongside lectures in French as a complementary option to students.

The difficulty of teaching in English

Most of the teachers agree on the difficulty to teach in English especially at the beginning. To them, teaching in English requires more work, preparation and time on behalf of teachers. Time that some might not have. However, they all agree that after an adaptation period, or some years spent abroad, teaching in English becomes easier. Some of them still believe that teaching in French allows them to be clearer and to convey ideas to students more efficiently, because it is easier for them to reformulate in French. However, others reflect on the idea that, for some subjects, specific and technical vocabulary is largely in English, therefore they are more comfortable in using it.

A difficulty that has been revealed by some teachers is that generally French teachers are hard to convince to teach in English. A law teacher especially comments on older generations of teachers as being less willing to teach in English than newer generations. A physicist even recalls aggressive behaviour from French colleagues towards teaching in English, as some of them raised nationalist arguments in favour of a protection of the French language, arguing “in France, we teach in French”.

This contention could be related to the general environment in France, where protection of the national language is seen as particularly important (see Chapter two). Against such nationalistic fears of an invasion of English, a law teacher expresses the idea that France will not become a suburb of England just because it has developed more lectures in English, but France and French researchers' ideas might export themselves better in the world if expressed in English. Other teachers note that reluctance to teach in English might also be due to teachers not feeling able to teach in English. An engineer observes that some teachers who do not feel able to teach in English are most of the time capable of doing it, but they do not have enough confidence in their own capabilities. French teachers and students alike might thus lack in confidence when they have to change language.

To encourage teachers, the Universities of Nantes and Chambéry offer some additional wage, a bonus for those teaching in English. Moreover, the University of Chambéry offers support to their teachers by organising English classes for teachers. This shows that universities are ready to make an investment in English-taught lectures by supporting their teachers. An investment sometimes seen as not enough by some of the teachers. Indeed, a frequent claim in the interviews is that French universities do not provide teachers with enough help to teach in English. Some of them believe that a network of experienced teachers or better support from universities might help teachers improve their English teaching skills. An engineer however notes that even if some help is provided to teachers, they often do not have enough time to take it. Otherwise, universities could invest differently, by directly recruiting new staff able to teach in English. As young teachers point out, lecturers recruited in international programmes nowadays are expected to know English. Therefore, universities make a choice when developing English in their programmes: either invest in their own staff by providing them with sufficient help to teach in English, or directly recruit new teachers able to teach in English. A law professor notes that, as English-taught programmes are developing, nowadays students are more inclined to master English than previous generations; and since some of them will become teachers, he concludes, the general level of English among young teachers will progressively improve in the future. Even though in his university EMI lectures at master level are taught by visiting teachers and not local teachers, this might change in the next few years. Teachers able to teach in English are not a majority in France; nonetheless, there is an increasing demand for more staff able to teach in English, especially from the younger generations of students.

A high demand from students for English-taught lectures

Some teachers consider that students are not an obstacle to EMI in France, as they do not reject it. Easier to convince than teachers, students appear to adapt more easily to being taught in English. An professor of engineering observes that lectures and programmes that became entirely taught in English over the years, due to a large presence of international students, did not see any decrease in attendance of French students. According to teachers, students have accepted that English is needed for their career, and they are the ones requiring more English at university. This recalls students' answers in the survey presented earlier. Moreover, teachers of engineering and management claim that, for their particular subjects, students are expected to know English to pursue any career, therefore English has been made compulsory in their institutes.

However, some teachers are aware that students sometimes fear that their level of English cannot allow them to follow English lectures, a fear that was also revealed in the students' survey. As reported by some professors, once the initial fear is overcome, French students seem to enjoy English lectures. Attendance to these lectures has been rising through the years according to the teachers interviewed. Students see English as important and necessary, and therefore work harder to attend English classes. A law teacher also observes that students feel more comfortable following EMI classes when the teacher is not a NS of English. She argues that perfect language is not as important as good specific vocabulary during EMI lectures. An engineer adds that he is used to specific and technical vocabulary in English, therefore teaching using this language is not problematic to him. This actually recalls my argument that an international English, close to what students and teachers are used to hearing and employing, such as ELF, might be more understandable and practical than a native version of English in university lectures. The two law teachers also believe that students following lectures in English can also practice their English during these lectures. Therefore, English-taught lectures can be beneficial for both international students and French students alike. A negative aspect that has been evidenced is that, according to one engineer, French students have some difficulties remaining concentrated for hours in English-taught lectures, and that it could be harder to get technical messages through. Nevertheless, he believes that this loss in efficiency is a valuable compromise, as it allows students to practice an English vocabulary that they will certainly use during their careers.

Conferences and publications: English as a key to promote French research worldwide

Generally, the interviewed teachers participate in conferences in English mostly abroad. Some of them have seen international conferences organised in English in France, but very few. In France, conferences appear to be mainly in French and organised for audiences of French speakers. This seems to underline the idea that France does not promulgate international events in English to share knowledge within its borders, but rather sends its teachers to such events abroad.

The teachers of sciences, such as biophysics or engineering, as well as teachers of economics publish articles mostly in English. To them, this is due to the fact that research in their domain tends to be mainly done in English. This resonates with the assertion expressed in previous chapters that, for some sciences, English is the language of research nowadays. Teachers from other fields mostly agree that, although writing academic papers in English is definitely harder than in French, it is interesting for their careers, especially for young teachers to get their work known internationally. Some scholars observe that French publications are sometimes not recognised on the international scale, so in order for French researchers to get their work read by most, they need to publish in English. Interestingly, an engineer notes that the French journal *Comptes Rendus de Physique* has only its title in French, but its articles are published in both French and English. This could be a proof that some French scientific journal editors are trying to internationalise their publications. Nonetheless, according to a law teacher, the reason why he publishes mostly in French is that, in his academic field in France, English articles are not considered when teachers are promoted. It appears not relevant for law teachers to publish in English, although according to this teacher, this tendency has been changing lately.

English, a necessity for all disciplines?

The argument that English may not be necessary for all disciplines is also found in teachers' answers. Depending on one's desired career, English might not always be relevant. International lawyers, for instance, absolutely need English in their career.

In the interviews, it was also observed that language and sciences are linked. If for some sciences English is considered as the most used language, such as in physics, in other domains, a particular subject might be more affiliated with national languages than with an international language. For instance, law teachers argue that French law is deeply intertwined with the French language, and dissociating the two, when teaching French law in English for instance, can prove to be a difficult exercise for both teachers and students. Two professors underline the fact that other languages, not just English, might also be considered in France, when they are relevant.

Again the relevance of lectures in English in a context where both teachers and students are French is also addressed by an engineer. He believes that English generally slows the rhythm down, and that it would not be as useful in such a situation as in a situation with international students. I would then argue that English-taught lectures should be developed in relevant situations, when needed because international students are present or when students might have an interest in using English for their careers.

Nevertheless, I would maintain that English should always be offered to students as an option, so they might decide whether they could need it for their future careers or not. By limiting courses only to French, universities are risking to hinder access to international careers to some of their students. A law professor even argues that English is still useful for any type of career, as one might one day need to communicate with a non-French speaker. In his department, English is therefore seen as necessary, and language classes and EMI lectures are compulsory for students.

Mobility: important for both students and teachers

All the interviewed teachers who have never taught abroad agree on the fact that they would consider it an interesting opportunity. Those who already have taught abroad see it as a necessary experience to understand other ways of teaching, and to learn how to adapt one's teaching to his/her audience. The law teacher currently teaching in Spain argues that, in order to teach in English, it is necessary for teachers to have some experience abroad, especially in an English speaking country, as she believes that it helps teachers to master the language. One engineer believes that his experience abroad allowed him to teach in English more easily. Moreover, as students from the survey observe, if the language is changed, the point of view also changes. To one law professor, changing language could help students to reflect on what they assume to know.

The law teacher from Lille also notes that nowadays students seem to be more afraid to go on mobility than previously, at least in her university. A shame for her, as she agrees that it is a valuable experience for students. For both a law teacher and an engineer, a mobility period is necessary for students to acquire a sufficient level of English. This could underline the idea that French institutes might not be efficient in teaching English to their students, so students need to be formed in another country. However, it could also be explained by the fact that students in a foreign country are more exposed to foreign languages than in France, and this may help them to develop linguistic capabilities. The Law professor from Chambéry explains that double diplomas within his university have made compulsory a mobility period for their students. By organising such diplomas and partnerships, universities show their willingness in participating in international mobility for their students.

The importance of the environment

Two teachers underline the importance of universities' environment when English-taught lectures are created. They both mention the Toubon law as an obstacle to EMI lectures. A law teacher also talks about media environment, such as the dubbing industry in France, as a possible obstacle for French students to master English perfectly. He talks about a "*résistance culturelle*" (cultural resistance) in France towards the English language. This is linked to what I have previously shown in Chapter two, and what students have mentioned in the survey: environment plays an important role in language appreciation by teachers and students alike, and it could be a trigger for them to master more efficiently English.

One engineer observes that most curricula in European universities are taught in English; therefore, if France wants to compete with its neighbours, French universities should develop English as one of their languages of education. This observation shows that teachers are aware of the importance of English in Europe and in its universities, and that France somehow appears to be late in developing the use of English in academia if compared to its neighbours. This situation is also observed by some students in the survey.

3.3. Final reflections on the survey and interviews

The survey and interviews revealed interesting attitudes of important members of universities, students and teachers, towards English in French universities. Even if the two small-scale studies could not pretend to represent a general tendency in France, they nonetheless introduce ideas and attitudes on which deeper analysis could be built on in the future. In regard to my general research on EMI in French universities, the analysed data show how students and teachers play a role in decision making in universities, as well as teachers' and students' positive feelings towards EMI, seen as an asset to French higher education.

Students and teachers have comparable arguments. They both agree that English is important to universities. Most of them acknowledge the fact that English is an international language needed in many different careers. Having university lectures in English is seen by both teachers and students as a way to learn the language while learning their subject and specific vocabulary. As expressed by both students and teachers, some scientific fields today use mainly English; therefore, it has become

necessary for them to master English in order to have access to international research. Moreover, both students and teachers agree on the idea that English-taught lectures allow more international students to be welcomed in French universities.

What is also largely revealed in the survey is that students complain about the poor level and the too low number of English lectures in their university. Similarly, teachers express the idea that students need more English lectures in French universities. This might explain the development of academic courses in English over the last few years in France, but also the idea that France still lags behind other European countries in the development of English in its universities.

The importance of linguistic environment is also mentioned by teachers and students, as they observe that France appears to be protective of its language (in the media, in official institutions, etc.); such a protectiveness could become an obstacle in opening the country and its research to the world.

Both students and teachers feel that using English during lectures, to write papers or in conferences can be challenging. However, this challenge is to them a valuable investment, as it helps them to improve their English, which can be useful for their careers.

It is an investment that universities should consider, although some obstacles may limit a quick development of the use of English in universities. Teachers highlight the fact that not so many lecturers are able or feel confident enough to teach in English. Some teachers even are totally opposed to change their language of education. Universities then need to make a decision to satisfy the current need for English: either help their willing teachers to master English or recruit new staff able to teach in English. As the presence of English grows in universities, young and future teachers appear to be more capable to teach in English nowadays. Moreover, universities need to reflect on whether to adapt lectures in English to their students' level by maybe introducing English lessons gradually, or by offering them as an option that students themselves can choose.

Nonetheless, arguments against ELF, although not numerous, come out in both interviews and the survey. Some teachers and students question the relevance of English-taught classes in a context where the audience and the teacher are all French speakers; the real need of English for particular subjects is also called into question. English should not replace French totally; however, it should be offered as an alternative, alongside other languages, to diversify students' options, to internationalise French research and to allow students to access a tool that they might need in their future career.

What also emerges in both the survey and interviews is that a native version of English might not be fully understood by students. To overcome students' fear of having courses in an English that they

might not understand, choosing a different version of English could be a solution. As one teacher observes, if a lecturer is not a native English speaker, and he/she uses an English that is not perfect but is still understood by all, students might feel more comfortable. ELF could then be a practical alternative which would prepare students to the English that they will probably use when interacting with the world. It could also be easier for teachers, as they would certainly be more accustomed to using and hearing this particular form of English.

Conclusion

Even if in the last ten years English programmes have been developed in universities, students and teachers alike require improvements to be made. I believe that adopting ELF to develop English courses in French universities lectures could help to achieve the needed improvements.

The environment in France could explain the apparent delay in accepting and developing the use of English in French universities. From the Toubon law to the habit of dubbing, the environment of French scholars does not offer the needed support to favour the development of other languages in universities, and especially English. However, English appears to have become a language needed for international communications, and especially for the scientific community. Impulse from the European Union has led to some improvements. With the goal to favour international mobility, English-taught lessons have been largely developed in French tertiary institutes. However, students and teachers appear not to be satisfied by the current situation. In the survey, many students lamented about not having enough or efficient English classes in their university. As attitudes towards the English language are evolving in France, English is more accepted as a needed international tool of communication. It is needed by students and teachers as a key to the world.

Students and teachers show some awareness that English is mostly needed for any career today and students require more and efficient teaching of it in universities. Courses in English might help students to develop the necessary vocabulary for their future careers. Moreover, EMI lectures could also attract more non-French-speaking students and help to make the university internationally renowned. Universities appear to respond to students' needs in improving the role of English in their institutions. English should definitely be considered as an option alongside other languages in French universities. Although it may be hard to organise, it is an investment that is most necessary for universities to compete on the international scale. Diversifying language in French universities might help to export French research and talents abroad.

However some limits still inhibit an effective use of the English language in France. Firstly, teachers able to teach in English are not a majority and thus universities have to make some investments either in providing English lessons for their current staff or in hiring new teachers capable to teach in English. However, this limit appears to disappear as more and more teachers among the younger generations are able to give lessons in English. Another limit that is exposed by students in this survey is their fear to follow a class in English, as they believe they do not have a level of English which is good enough. Moreover, some admit to encounter additional difficulties in understanding NS teachers. These last

two issues might be solved by adopting ELF as an alternative to native-like versions of English used in universities, as it offers a language closer to what students might be used to and to what they will probably encounter in their future careers. If NNS and NS teachers use an English understandable by most, students might feel more comfortable in following classes in ELF rather than in native-like English. As Jenkins suggests:

It should also be clear that in international communication, the ability to accommodate to interlocutors with other first languages than one's own (regardless of whether the result is an 'error' in ENL) is far more important skill than the ability to imitate the English of a native speaker. (2007, p. 238)

Therefore, if ELF is implemented in universities, students and teachers might feel more comfortable as the language adapts to their use. It might not be seen as a barrier anymore but as an advantage.

As some students and teachers observe, if compared to other European countries, France still needs to develop its EMI programmes in its universities. The future will tell if universities are ready to develop more the use of English for teaching or publishing alongside the French language. English is definitely an asset to universities, and universities have to rethink how they wish to invest in different language teaching. EMI classes should be developed, if relevant to a particular curriculum, as a language option, alongside other languages, to help both students and teachers access a larger communal science. The survey and interviews from this thesis opens up new questioning. Larger scale studies might be organised to understand the general tendency of attitudes towards foreign languages among French scholars. However, I hope to have shown the importance and the necessity to develop English in French universities.

Appendix 1

Students' Attitudes towards English in France/ Attitude des étudiants quant à l'utilisation de l'anglais en France

Included in my master thesis research, this survey is intended to determine attitudes of students within French universities about the use of English as a lingua Franca -or an international language. This questionnaire contains 9 sections, it shall not take you more than 15 minutes to answer it. It is an anonymous questionnaire, your data will be protected.

Cette étude est au cœur de mon mémoire de recherche. Il se concentre sur les attitudes des étudiants des universités françaises face à l'utilisation de l'anglais comme lingua franca -ou langue internationale.

Le questionnaire contient 9 sections, 15 minutes sont plus que suffisantes pour y répondre. Il est anonyme, vos informations seront protégées.

*Required

1. Click on the language you prefer to answer in/Sélectionnez votre langue de préférence pour répondre aux questions: *

- English (English questionnaire)
- Français (Questionnaire en Français)

English questionnaire

2. Background information

2.1 Gender *

Female

Male

2.2 Mother tongue *

French

Other: _____

2.3 What is your University? *

2.4 What diploma/degree are you preparing for? *

Bachelor /License

Master

Phd/Doctorat

Other: _____

2.5 What is your field of study? *

Humanities (Geography, History, Language and Literature, Philosophy, Theology)

Social Sciences (Anthropology, Economics, Law, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology)

Natural and Formal Sciences (Biology, Chemistry, Earth Science, Space Science, Physics,

Computer Science, Mathematics, Statistics)

Applied Sciences (Engineering, Medicine and Health Sciences)

Other: _____

3. English Words used in French

Please, in this list tick the words you would normally use when speaking French. If you regularly use both, click on both.

Would you rather say:

Réserver

Booker

Téléphone (intelligent)

Smartphone

Courriel ou Courrier électronique

Email ou Mail

Réseautage

Networking

Toile

Web

Mercatique

Marketing

Gérant, responsable

Manager

Remue-méninges

Brainstorming

Contre vérités

Fake news

Date butoir/dernier délai

Dead-line

4. Level of English

How would you rate your English level? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
	<input type="radio"/>					
Fluent						Poor

4. Courses in English

Does your University offer you courses through the medium of English? *

Yes

No

6. Importance of English

6.1 How important do you think it is that French universities offer courses through English as well as through French? *

Very	1	2	3	4	5	Not
Important	<input type="radio"/>	important				
						at all

6.2 Feel free to give reasons here. I particularly value your opinion in this questionnaire.
e.g. because it attracts international students, because it allows students to get better employment opportunities later on...

7. Your degree and English

7.1 Are any of the lectures in your course delivered through the medium of English? *

Yes

No

7.2 If so, are they mandatory or optional?

Mandatory

Optional

Both

7.3 How do you feel about about following lessons in English?

e.g. English is a barrier for me as I don't understand classes. It is important to me to get your opinion here.

8. English as a threat

8.1 Do you think the French language is threatened by the worldwide spread of English? *

Very much	1	2	3	4	5	Not
threatened	<input type="radio"/>	threatened				
						at all

8.2 If so, do you think it would be a good idea to limit the use of English in French public life?

Yes, definitely	1	2	3	4	5	No, it is not necessary
	<input type="radio"/>					

8.3 Have you heard of Loi Toubon? *

Yes

No

9. Free section

Please, feel free to use this space to give your opinions or comments on the use of English as a lingua franca in French universities or in France in general.
I particularly value your opinion here.

Thank you for your participation!

If you wish to get the results or discuss the project with me, you can contact me at:

859972@stud.unive.it

Questionnaire en français

2. Informations générales

2.1 Etes-vous un homme ou une femme? *

Femme

Homme

2.2 Quelle est votre langue maternelle? *

Français

Autre: _____

2.3 Quelle est votre université/école? *

2.4 Quel(s) diplôme(s) préparez-vous? *

License

Master 1 ou 2

Doctorat

Autre: _____

2.5 Quel(s) est votre domaine d'études? *

Sciences humaines (Géographie, Histoire, Langues et Littérature, Philosophie, Théologie)

Sciences sociales (Anthropologie, Economie, Droit, Sciences Politiques, Psychologie, Sociologie)

Sciences naturelles (Biologie, Chimie, Sciences de la Terre, Sciences de l'Espace, Physique, Informatique, Mathématiques, Statistiques)

Sciences appliquées (Ingénierie, Médecine, Santé)

Autre : _____

5. L'anglais dans la langue française

Merci de sélectionner dans cette liste les mots que vous utilisez naturellement quand vous parlez en français. Si vous utilisez les deux versions de manière égale, merci de sélectionner les deux.

Dites- vous plutôt:

Réserver

Booker

Téléphone (intelligent)

Smartphone

Courriel ou Courrier électronique

Email ou Mail

Réseautage

Networking

Toile

Web

Mercatique

Marketing

Gérant, responsable

Manager

Remue-méninges

Brainstorming

Contre vérités

Fake news

Date butoir/dernier délai

Dead-line

6. Votre niveau d'anglais

Comment jugez-vous votre niveau d'anglais? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Courant, très bon	<input type="radio"/>	Mauvais				

7. Cours en anglais

Votre université vous propose-t-elle des cours en anglais? *

Oui

Non

6. L'importance de l'anglais à l'université

6.1 Pensez-vous qu'il soit important pour les universités françaises d'offrir des cours à la fois en anglais et en français? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Très important	<input type="radio"/>	Pas important du tout, les cours en français suffisent				

6.2 Si vous le souhaitez, vous pouvez justifier votre point de vue ici. Votre opinion est très importante pour cette étude.

par exemple: parce que ça attire des étudiants étrangers ou parce que cela offre une meilleure employabilité pour les étudiants...

7. Votre cursus et l'anglais

7.1 Des cours en Anglais vous sont-ils proposés dans le cadre de votre cursus? *

Oui

Non

7.2 Si oui, ces cours sont-ils obligatoires ou optionnels?

Obligatoires

Optionnels

Les deux

7.3 Quel est votre ressenti quant à suivre des cours en anglais?

Par exemple: pour moi l'anglais est une barrière car je ne comprends pas mes cours en anglais.

8. La menace anglophone

8.1 Pensez-vous que la langue française soit en danger pour cause de la diffusion rapide de la langue anglaise dans le monde? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Oui, elle est en grand danger	<input type="radio"/>	Non, ce n'est absolument pas un danger				

8.2 Si oui, pensez-vous qu'il est nécessaire de limiter l'usage de l'anglais dans la vie publique française?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Oui, absolument	<input type="radio"/>	Non, ce n'est pas nécessaire				

8.3 Connaissez-vous la Loi Toubon? *

Oui

Non

9. Section libre

Si vous souhaitez ajouter un commentaire sur l'utilisation de l'anglais en France et/ou dans les universités françaises, vous pouvez utiliser l'espace ci-après.

Vos opinions sont importantes pour cette recherche.

Merci pour votre participation!

Si vous souhaitez obtenir les résultats ou discuter du projet, vous pouvez me contacter à l'adresse:

859972@stud.unive.it

Appendix 2

Interview with teachers

Name of the teacher (if permission given by the teacher): _____

University: _____

Gender: F M

1. How long have you been teaching? And in this University?
2. What subject are you teaching?
3. Are you giving lectures in English? How often? How do you feel about it?
4. Do you attend (listener and/or speaker) conferences in English? In France?
5. Do you think that a university which offers courses in English attracts more international students?
6. What do you think are the main difficulties French universities have in using English as a lingua Franca?
7. Do you publish articles in English?
8. Have you ever taught abroad? In English?

Abbreviations and acronyms used

BTS	Brevet de technicien supérieur- Higher Technician Certificate
CLIL	Content and Integrated Learning
CSA	Conseil supérieur de l’audiovisuel – Superior Council of the Audio-visual
ECTS	European Credits Transfer System
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings (Mauranen database)
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
EU	European Union
GA	General American
NS	Native speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
RP	Received Pronunciation
STS	Section de technicien supérieur – Higher technician diploma

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