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English as a medium of academic identity:  
attitudes to using English for research and  
teaching at Nantes University.

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**Thesis submitted to the University of Sussex for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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## **Dedication**

For my two Ms: Marguerite and Martin

In memory of Elisabeth and Geoffrey Carnall, lovers of words and PhD students, and Laurent Lescaudron, bilingual neuro-biologist.

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## Abstract

This socio-linguistic study investigates attitudes of French speakers of English to using English for academic purposes. The study is situated within the post-Fioraso Law period (2013), which sees France joining the process described as the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education in Europe<sup>4</sup>. This study confirms that rather than encouraging multiple languages in academia, the term ‘internationalisation’ implies ‘Englishisation’ in Europe by contributing to studies which show how English is instrumental to academic identity in Europe<sup>5</sup>.

Through the use of complementary qualitative methods (questionnaires, interviews, visual methods and classroom observations), the narratives of 164 academics working at the science faculties of Nantes University were analysed for how they positioned their professional identities in relation to the use of English for professional purposes (such as writing research papers, presenting at conferences, and teaching in English as a medium of instruction, EMI).

The major divisions regarding the attitudes towards English as a medium of academic identity in France are to be found in the issues relating to the legitimacy and authority of French speakers of English within the wider international academic community. The principal arguments are based on beliefs concerning the ownership of the English language and whether it is possible for L2 speakers of English to ever identify themselves as being anything other than ‘learners of English’, despite repeated proof of their language expertise. The study concludes that within French Higher Education in 2016, English is a strategic medium through which to access research and teaching communities. Ownership of the English language as an identifying feature comes second to the emerging bilingual identities of the participants who are competing in the global market of Higher Education.

**Key words:** France, Higher Education, Identity, Language attitudes, EMI

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<sup>4</sup> Cots et al. 2014, Doiz et al. 2013, Ferguson et al. 2011, Tange 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Werther et al. 2014, Soren 2013, Airey 2011, Phillipson 1992.

## Resumé en français

Cette thèse de sociolinguistique analyse les postures des enseignant(e)s-chercheurs(euses) francophones vis-à-vis de l'utilisation de l'anglais dans l'enseignement supérieur. L'étude se place dans le contexte postérieur à la loi Fioraso de 2013, qui voit la France s'inscrire dans le processus d'internationalisation des universités en Europe<sup>6</sup>. Elle confirme qu'au lieu de s'engager dans une tendance multilingue, le terme 'internationalisation' sous-entend 'l'anglophonisation' de l'enseignement supérieur européen. Elle s'inscrit aux études montrant que l'anglais est un instrument clef des identités des enseignants(es)-chercheurs(euses) en Europe<sup>7</sup>.

Une approche qualitative a été utilisée par le biais de méthodes complémentaires (questionnaires, entretiens, créations visuelles et observations de cours enseignés en anglais). A l'université de Nantes, 164 enseignants(e)s-chercheurs(euses) des sciences de la nature et de l'ingénieur (UFR Sciences et techniques et Polytech Nantes) ont été interrogés. Leurs récits sont analysés pour savoir comment ils et elles se positionnent par rapport à l'utilisation de l'anglais professionnel; pour la rédaction d'articles scientifiques, les communications lors de conférences, et l'enseignement de matières scientifiques en anglais (l'EMILE<sup>8</sup>).

Les divisions majeures concernant l'attitude envers l'utilisation de l'anglais comme langue vecteur universitaire en France sont liées à la légitimité et l'autorité de l'universitaire français(e), locuteur de l'anglais, au sein de la communauté scientifique internationale. Les principales problématiques sont fondées sur les croyances concernant l'appropriation de l'anglais – à savoir s'il est possible pour ces locuteurs non-natifs de pouvoir s'identifier autrement qu'en tant qu'« apprenant de l'anglais », malgré les preuves successives de leur expertise en langue anglaise. L'étude conclut que l'anglais au sein de l'enseignement supérieur en France en 2016 est d'abord un outil stratégique pour accéder aux communautés de la recherche et de l'enseignement. L'anglais ne pourra devenir une langue d'appartenance qu'après l'émergence d'une identité bilingue chez les enseignants(e)s-chercheurs(euses) français engagés dans la compétition mondiale de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche.

Mots clefs : France, langue anglaise, enseignement supérieur, identités, postures, EMILE

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<sup>6</sup> Cots et al. 2014, Doiz et al. 2013, Ferguson et al. 2011, Tange 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Werther et al. 2014, Soren 2013, Airey 2011, Phillipson 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Enseignement d'une matière par l'intégration d'une langue étrangère.

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....



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## List of Abbreviations

CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
COMUE	La communauté d'universités et établissements <sup>9</sup>
CoP	Community of Practice
DNL	Discipline non-linguistique <sup>10</sup>
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
EMILE	L'enseignement d'une matière par l'intégration d'une langue étrangère <sup>11</sup>
ERASMUS	European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
IATEFL	International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
L1	Language perceived or attributed as 'native' or first language
L2	Language perceived or attributed as 'non-native' or second language
NNS	Non Native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
SOLTEs	Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
TOEPAS	Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff
TOPTLUTE	Test of Performance for Teaching at University Level through the medium of English
UFR	Unité de Formation et de Recherche <sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Community of Universities and Higher Education Establishments.

<sup>10</sup> Non-linguistic discipline.

<sup>11</sup> Subject teaching via the integration of a foreign language.

<sup>12</sup> Teaching and Research Unit.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction to thesis**

### **1.1 Context and background**

English is used as a language of communication in Higher Education in countries where this language is not the local code. English as a language of education in former English-speaking colonies is a long standing phenomenon (Kachru 1990). More recently, countries in Europe have been undergoing what has been described as an ‘Englishisation’ process in connection with the use of English as a global language (Werther et al. 2014, Cots et al. 2014, Doiz et al. 2013, Tange 2010, Phillipson 1992). France joined this process more recently still by implementing a language policy (Fioraso Law 2013) which allows for the use of English in Higher Education settings. Using English as a second professional language for research and teaching purposes has highlighted issues relating to newer definitions of academic identity, to the type of English used in such contexts and how the local L1 fits into a newer linguistic landscape. This study evaluates the context of Higher Education in France as increasingly bilingual, but where one language (English) has higher professional status than the other (French).

The study investigates attitudes towards the socio-historical shift in linguistic practices in tertiary education in France, where English is used increasingly for research and teaching. The current understanding of English language use within Higher Education is that it is part of a general trend towards ‘internationalisation’ of academia (Cots et al. 2014, Tange 2010, Phillipson 1992) and that shifts from monolingual to multilingual contexts have impacted on professional status, professional objectives and ideological beliefs about what constitutes ‘a language’ (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Busch 2012, 2014, Li Wei 2011a). In addition, the context of the Fioraso Law marks a turn away from French linguistic grandeur as a vector of influence in the internationalisation process of Higher Education in France in the 2010s.

The present study focuses on the case of Nantes University as a microcosmic example of the French education linguistic context. By focusing on the attitudes of academics to English language use, Nantes University is exemplary of the ‘Englishisation’ process and the impact this has on the identities of academics working at Nantes science



faculties. To illustrate the ‘Englishisation’ process at Nantes University, 164 academics working at *UFR Sciences et Techniques* and *Polytech* engineering school were asked to position themselves in relation to the use of English as an aspect of their professional identities in a French Higher Education context between 2013 (when the French language policy was passed) and 2016. To this end, the study investigated the extent to which English is a medium of academic identity in a French Higher Education context.

The University of Nantes (*Université de Nantes*) is located in the French city of Nantes. The university as it stands today was created 1961, but its origins date back to 1460 when the University of Brittany (*Université de Bretagne*) was founded by the Duke of Brittany. Nantes University is attended by approximately 34,500 students, with a staff population of over 4, 000 including professors, lecturers, researchers, and administrative, technical and library staff. The University of Nantes offers 295 diplomas, including 31 sandwich courses based on the Bologna agreement (1999) model (Bachelor’s degree-Master’s degree-Doctorate). Nantes University prides itself in its diverse research areas of expertise, which are to be found within the 21 academic departments held in the 18 faculties and institutes of the university.

The participants of this study were tenured academics (referred to as ‘maître de conference’ or ‘enseignant-chercheur’ within French Higher Education). They were involved in both research and teaching within the scientific departments of Nantes University. This study aimed to give an account of how these participants reported on their professional identities as researchers and teaching staff, and how this related to their identities as L2 users of English.

Academia, which marks the context of this study, is understood as a categorising and categorised membership to a specialist educational community which engages in structured, performed and stylised interactive practices (Bucholtz 2005, Butler 1988, Tajfel 1981). The study is situated in the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and L2 identity research from a socio-linguistic perspective. In order to explore the attitudes expressed by academic participants in France, this study has focused on previous studies on the attitudes to using English in professional contexts and more specifically in Higher Education establishments in Denmark (Preisler 2014, Soren 2013), and Sweden (Airey 2011, Tange 2010). To better understand professional,

academic and learner identity within this context, frameworks for defining identity were referenced for how identity can be reported and observed in various contexts and communities (Norton 2000, Wenger 1999). An identity framework enables the study of the needs and desires (expressed by the participants) which are associated with using English as a means of communication at work. To study such projections of identity in relation to L2 language learning and use, identity frameworks were necessary for considering past, future and other possible selves (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009, Lemke 2008).

## 1.2 Institutional language planning in France

This study took place within a dynamic time-frame of social and institutional change concerning language policy in Higher Education in France. The Fioraso Law (2013)<sup>13</sup> states that ‘any language can be used within French Higher Education’, whereas previously only French was the official language of Higher Education. Although ‘any language’ implies increased language diversity, it has been in fact ‘English’ which has singlehandedly represented the ‘any language’ in question since the passing of the Fioraso Law. For the purposes of this study, it was the fact that English could be used from 2013 which became central to the participants’ discussions about their own uses of English for research and teaching. The Fioraso Law was criticised within the media<sup>14</sup> but received little objection within the French government. The law was backed by a senatorial law entitled ‘*Pour l’attractivité de l’université en France*’<sup>15</sup> (February 2013), which argued for a re-adjustment of Higher Education in accordance with recent trends towards ‘internationalisation’, out-of-date legislation, and a desire to attract a non-French-speaking academic public to French institutions of Higher Education.

The articles of law relating to language planning in the ‘*loi relative à l’enseignement supérieur et à la recherche*’<sup>16</sup>, also known as the ‘Loi Fioraso’ (2013) partly reversed the

<sup>13</sup> LOI n° 2013-660 du 22 juillet 2013 proposed by the then French socialist Minister for Higher Education and Research, Geneviève Fioraso.

<sup>14</sup> Such as *bbc.co.uk* 16.15.12, *Campus* 22.05.13, *Libération* 22.05.13, *Humanité* 22.05.13 and *Les échos* 22.05.13.

<sup>15</sup> The first paragraph of the senatorial law can be found in section 2.1.2.

<sup>16</sup> [law on Higher Education and research]

previous Toubon law<sup>17</sup> (1994). The Toubon law set limits on the amount of English used in institutional contexts, such as the legal system, the media and education. The Fioraso legislation presently allows for any language of instruction in Higher Education in France:

La langue de l'enseignement, des examens et des concours, ainsi que les thèses et mémoires, dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, *peut être une autre langue que le français*. (L. 761-1 du code de l'éducation)

[Translation:

The language of teaching, examinations, national diplomas, theses, and dissertations within institutions of Higher Education *may be a language other than French*.]<sup>18</sup> (L. 761-1 of educational legislation, my emphasis)

The Fioraso Law (2013) has had an impact on this study on how English is used and perceived in tertiary education in France, and therefore on the professional identity of the participants. This study started just before the introduction of the Fioraso Law (2012-3), during the public debate period when the law was presented at the assemblée générale (March 2013), and extended to in the three years following the publication of the law (July 2013-2016).

Prior to September 2014, using another language to teach without special dispensation was arguably illegal in France. Prohibitive language legislations such as the Toubon Law (1994) succeeded a general trend of post Second World War anxiety about the encroachment of anglicisms into the French language. The concept of 'francophonie' developed in the 1960s, and was referred to in the pre-Fioraso Law debate. Speaking to 'Le Monde', as Minister for 'Francophonie', Yamina Benguigui<sup>19</sup>, claimed that 'the Fioraso Law was not a threat to 'francophonie'<sup>20</sup>, and that, on the contrary, it would 'improve multilingualism in France'<sup>21</sup>. The concept of 'francophonie' relies on a belief that there is solidarity between people who are united by French language and French culture. In the 1960s, with new economic independence, President Charles De Gaulle

<sup>17</sup> loi n° 94-665, 1994 proposed by the then RPR (Rassemblement pour la République) Minister for Culture and Francophonie, Jacques Toubon,

<sup>18</sup> All translations my own unless otherwise specified.

<sup>19</sup> Ministre déléguée auprès du ministre des affaires étrangères, chargée de la 'francophonie'.

<sup>20</sup> «La loi Fioraso ne met pas "la francophonie en danger" » (Le Monde 22.05.2013)

<sup>21</sup> ["constitue un mieux pour le multilinguisme en France"] (Le Monde 22.05.2013).

aimed to reaffirm the French language's 'grandeur et prestige' (Chansou 1997: 24). In 1966 George Pompidou and De Gaulle created the 'Haut Comité pour la défense et l'expansion de la langue française',<sup>22</sup> (decree passed on 31 March 1966) to protect and promote the French language. Prohibitive language legislation concerning language control continued in the 1970s, when further special terminology committees were created to ensure that French would not decline in complexity ('richesse') and that new words should be invented to replace 'undesirable terms borrowed from foreign languages' (Chansou 1997: 24). It was also during the 1970s that the Ministry of Education became the counter-signatory for all national language legislation.

Addressing the assemblée nationale in 1993, Jacques Toubon opened his proposal quoting Pompidou's discourse of the 1960s which referred to 'the degradation of spoken French', 'the bastardisation of vocabulary', and 'linguistic barbarism',<sup>23</sup>:

Aujourd'hui, les menaces qui pèsent sur l'intégrité de notre langue /.../  
proviennent essentiellement de l'extérieur de nos frontières.

[Translation:

Today, the threat which weighs upon the integrity of our language /.../  
essentially comes from outside our borders.]

(1993, Toubon speaking at the Assemblée Nationale)

The Toubon law (1994) is still referred to as a key moment in French language legislation because of its prohibitive and prescriptive nature. There was another reason why the Toubon debate was highly valuable. It obliged legislators at the time to review what they meant by 'the French language'. By referring to the French constitution and Freedom of rights act, the '*conseil constitutionnel*' (constitutional council) proved Toubon's law arguably tenuous as it contradicted article 2 of the French constitution and article 11 of the Freedom of Speech Act (Article XI Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen 1789: 6<sup>24</sup>). These articles state that 'French is the language of the Republic', but that it is each individual's right to 'freely decide what words are most

<sup>22</sup> [High Committee for the defence and expansion of the French language].

<sup>23</sup> 'la dégradation du parler français', 'l'abâtardissement du vocabulaire', 'la barbarie linguistique' in the original.

<sup>24</sup> 'Article XI Declaration of Human and Civil Rights'

appropriate to express his or her thoughts’<sup>25</sup> (Decision made by the constitutional council on 29 July 1994, cited in Chansou, 1997: 33). In short, a French citizen has the inalienable right to use whatever words he or she wishes to use when speaking French. This key reference to the constitution revealed that Toubon’s definition of ‘a French word’ was not in keeping with French law. When a prohibitive law, such as Toubon’s, wishes to ensure the use of French words, it is then faced with determining what makes some words more essentially ‘French’ than others. The rapid increase in anglicisms used in the French language since 1990s has only re-enforced the constitutional council’s position to defining language.

In the twenty-year interval since the Toubon law, France has said 'yes' to Europe (Maastricht European treaty 1992) and to the Euro currency (2002). The linguistic attacks on French ideological notions of ‘integrity’ and ‘national identity’ expressed by Toubon (Suleiman 2006) have been challenged by a re-mapping of physical and virtual borders with the arrival of a widening Europe and the internet. With these changes there is some consensus that it is English as a lingua franca which has dominated studies of international communication (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Phillipson 1992, Kachru 1990).

### **1.3 Contributions of the study**

Within the Fioraso Law context discussed in section 1.2, this study highlights key issues pertaining to academic identity in France from 2012 to 2016, with implications for future language policy and practice in French Higher Education. This study could therefore contribute to research that has identified ideological discourses which separate defined languages according to their domains of use (such as those where one language is used for the workplace and another for the home) in communities that are bilingual or becoming increasingly bilingual (Garcia 2009, Blommaert 2005, Ferguson 1959). The present study could therefore be used to provide guidelines for the future professional needs of French L1 speaking academics (in terms of future training, recognition and professional development). The study of professional identity within a bilingual context

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<sup>25</sup> Original French citation: “le droit pour chacun de choisir les termes jugés par lui les mieux appropriés à l’expression de sa pensée”.

in education has been established as an important and valuable field of enquiry. Exploring how individuals define themselves and others in relation to a structured educational context can help all those involved to situate themselves within their community.

## 1.4 Research methods and objectives

This study is based on qualitative research methods and uses an ethnographic approach. In this way a rich and varied account of the attitudes expressed by the participants was achieved, who were themselves adapting to institutional demands regarding language use following the Fioraso Law. Within this new context, there was a need to represent the affective impact that English was having on professionals, without limiting the result to a single, fixed attitude to using English, which would not best represent the varied and even contradictory positions people may hold. To this end the participants were invited to modify and re-define their own positions throughout the study (Harvey 2014, Cahour 2006). The participants were presented with the data ensuing from questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations and asked to comment on them throughout the study. Because the data collection was ‘extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information, such as observations, interview, documents, and audiovisual materials’ (Cresswell 2007: 75), an ethnographic case study approach was used in keeping with Yin’s (2003) recommendation to collect six types of information<sup>26</sup> in instrumental case studies. Multiple enquiry methods were used to help the participants express attitudes to their own use of English for professional purposes within an identified institution (Nantes University, France). To this end, this study has focused on attitudes from different perspectives: self-reflexive questionnaire responses, semi-structured interviews, observations of teaching interactions, email exchanges, and visual productions. French institutional legislation (in documents and archives) informed the study in addition to research specifically related to identity and language.

The objective of this study was to understand academic attitudes to the use of English in

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<sup>26</sup> Yin (2003) recommends the collection of six types of information: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts’ (Cresswell 2007:75).

French Higher Education during a period of language planning (Fioraso Law 2013). The participants were invited to express attitudes to using English for research purposes, a process they were already very familiar with for conference presentations, thesis supervisions<sup>27</sup> and article writing. The newer territory which was explored in this study consisted in investigating the attitudes to teaching science courses in English, which was a professional territory previously reserved for the French language, even within scientific disciplines. Within this context, how would academics position themselves and their colleagues as English language users? How would their own teaching and research practices be re-enforced, challenged or changed as a result of the new law? To what extent would the academics in this study feel under explicit or implicit pressure from their peers and institution to teach their specialist subject in English? Finally, for those who already used English for both research and teaching purposes, what could be observed and reported about their bilingual practices?

The main aim of the study was to demonstrate the attitudes to language (here English and French), and their impact on individuals and the interactions between them (Gardner and Lambert 1972, Goffman 1959). Identity and language are understood to be socially constructed, and non-fixed, which means that different and even contradictory personal identities can be anticipated. Building on what is already known about the use of English in academia in Europe, this study has enabled the display of local understandings of identity during interaction (i.e. from a micro level) through which the academic participants have signalled wider, more continuous beliefs about their own identities and those of others (at a macro level) (Lemke 2008, Blommaert 2005). This study has taken into account the identity work involved in interaction as well as the beliefs and ideologies that people discursively convey in interactive situations (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Blommaert 2005).

With respect to the use of English as a research and pedagogical tool, the objective of this study was also to explore (and possibly challenge) the distinctions which separate 'content' from 'language' (Bernstein 1999). In other words, to question what it means to teach a subject where there are skills to be learned (content) and to the extent to which this content can be dissociated from the language through which it is learned (be it

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<sup>27</sup> Dispensations for theses written in English were current practice well before the Fioraso Law of 2013.

French or English). Such a discussion could provide a better definition for pedagogical situations where English is used in French academia. In terms of bilingual education models, the current literature in the field of multi-lingual education supports an understanding of bilingual teaching and learning as representative of language repertoires combining rather than being reserved for separate classrooms (concept of translanguaging, e.g. Creese and Blackledge 2015, Busch 2012, 2014, Wei 2011, Garcia 2009). The purpose of this study was therefore to encourage such understandings of multiple language use among French institutional policy makers who still tend to view languages as bounded and separate from ‘content’.

The study aims to show that L2 identity in French academia is not just a question of ‘learner’ identity. Motivation to learn a second language is a complex issue related to the degrees to which learners wish to access a target community (integrative motivation) or whether motivation is more extrinsic to what learners may feel they ought-to do in the eyes of their community<sup>28</sup>. In the present study the questions to address are whether the participants of this study are learners at all and how they frame their motivation with regards their professional community. The results of this study reveal that the labels and terminology used to describe ‘language status’ in contexts such as the French academia should be re-framed to express how emergent bilingualism ‘is an advantage over those who speak English only’ (Garcia 2009: 322). Understanding accounts of professional recognition in conjunction with other professional roles such as ‘expertise’ were in keeping with other studies which have evaluated how professional academic status may be challenged by shifts in language use (Preisler 2014, Soren 2013, Werther et al. 2014). This study also reveals that individuals who work in French academia will also increasingly measure themselves in terms of their L2 language expertise, which, up to the recent past, had not necessarily been part of their job description.

## 1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This **first introductory chapter** has provided general background information concerning the field of research in which this study is

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<sup>28</sup> Dörnyei’s L2 motivational system is based on ‘possible selves’ (reviewed in Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009).



situated. The context of the recent language planning in France (Fioraso Law 2013) was described in relation to the more prescriptive language legislation of the past 20 years which served to ‘protect’ the French language. Prior to the Fioraso Law, French was the official language of Higher Education. Today, the participants of this qualitative study have been invited to position themselves in relation to their own professional context and consider to what extent English may, can, must, or should be part of their professional identities. It is for this reason that the context of the Fioraso Law has given an undeniable impetus to the present study and also impacted on its results. The objectives were to present the attitudes to language use in relation to professional academic identity.

**Chapter 2** situates this study further within the context of the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education in France by providing a literature review of the attitudes to what is proving to be using English in Higher Education in Europe more generally. In **section 1**, the question of ‘internationalisation’ is reviewed in relation to current language use and policy in France and Europe. The attitudes to using a single lingua franca (English) are also addressed in relation to the ‘authenticity’ and ‘competence’ of L2 English language academics in Higher Education in France. Second language use in relation to teaching in English is addressed in terms of pedagogical objective. The teaching contexts where L2 and L1 are used are addressed according to a ‘translanguaging’ perspective which describes the interactions of bilingual speakers in education. The case of Nantes university is considered comparable to bilingual educational contexts where it could be argued that English is becoming a H(igher) variety language within the domains traditionally related to science. **Section 2 of Chapter 2** focuses on the literature concerning identity and academic identity in particular. Studies which view identity as positioned and positioning of self and others have been used to frame the analysis of complex social identity work which was the object of this study.

**Chapter 3** presents the methodological framework and general qualitative principles which guided the data collection process and analysis of this study. The research objectives described were informed by qualitative studies which have sought to gain rich qualitative analytical views of cases studied using a variety of complementary methods (Creswell 2007, Yin 2003, Denzin and Lincoln 2000). An overview of the research design and multiple collection techniques is given (a questionnaire, semi-

structured interviews, visual creations and classroom observations). This chapter reviews the strengths and limitations of this particular study, involving human participants, which called for an ethical procedure and consideration about its limitations and reliability.

**Chapter 4** presents the analysis of the results drawn from the preliminary questionnaire, the semi-structured interviews, the visuals created by the participants, and the classroom observations. Quotes, diagrams and examples of the visuals created by the participants are used to exemplify the themes which emerged in relation to identity and attitudes to language.

**Chapter 5** gives an overview of the main results drawn from the qualitative analysis. A model for understanding academic identity in French Higher Education is provided for use in future educational programs wishing to consider EMI teaching in relation to identity and language. This model results from the specificity of the context of language change occurring in French Higher Education post 2013.

**Chapter 6** concludes this study and addresses the implications it has for future research.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

The literature review is divided into two sections to highlight the key broad themes relating to the present study, namely language and identity. Section one addresses issues relating to the study of language. The issues to be considered in the present study are English as an L2 language for Higher Education contexts where English is not the local L1 language. Research on how English is defined and used in such educational contexts has informed the present study of English usage for research and teaching in a French Higher Education establishment (Nantes University).

Section two of the literature review addresses how attitudes to English usage are informed by groups of individuals who work together. This separate, yet related, section considers how people's attitudes are positioned and negotiated through their identities. Section two considers issues relating to positioning as a function of community membership, involving the contested identities of learners, and how this relates to academic status. As language is informed by identity, and vice versa, the rationale is to highlight how positioned identity is inevitably linked to areas which are often related to the study of language, such as 2.2.3.2 which links both sections of the literature review by presenting positioning as a function of identity and language ideology.

### **Section 1: Defining language practices within the internationalisation of Higher Education in a European context**

#### **2.1.1 Introduction and aims**

This section will focus on the 'internationalisation' of Higher Education in Europe and how this relates to institutional language policy in France. The Fioraso Law (2013) context will be compared to the context of northern European universities which have a longer experience of 'internationalisation' where English is used as a language of communication (McGrath 2014). The increasing use of English in European universities has also called for a re-evaluation of what it means to communicate, learn English and learn in English (Salomone 2015, Werther et al. 2014, Tange 2010). A

discussion of English as a lingua franca will be carried out as it has been associated to the debate about what types of English to access in such an internationalisation process (Jenkins 2015). How working in L2 English may impact on the identities of academics, and in turn on their social status, will be discussed in terms of ‘linguistic authority’ and ‘credibility’ (Preisler 2014). This section will focus more particularly on L2 usage within pedagogical contexts, referred to by such terms as EMI, CLIL, DNL and EMILE<sup>29</sup>). These terms make problematic distinctions between ‘content’ and ‘language’ and tend to focus on language separation (between English and French) and between ‘knowledge’ and ‘discourse’ (Bernstein 1999). The concept of ‘translanguaging’ and the pedagogical approach it involves will be explored in 2.1.7 as a framework for studying bilingual educational contexts (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Lewis et al. 2012, Li Wei 2011a). A justification will be given for considering this study in alignment with studies of bilingual educational contexts (Garcia 2009). The subsequent models proposed for studying both language and learning are based on ‘translanguaging’ concepts where learning occurs through non-bounded languages and where ‘specialist discourse’ could be presented as preferable to the ‘content learning’. The dominance of one language (English) over another (French) will be discussed in its relation to diglossic language status in such bilingual contexts (Viah 2007, Fisherman 1967, Ferguson 1959).

The main aims of section 2.1 are to discuss the internationalisation of French Higher Education within the current context of English being regarded as the dominant language of communication.

### **2.1.2 The 'internationalisation' of French Higher Education in a European context**

Higher Education in Europe has undergone what has been described as ‘internationalisation’ (Werther et al. 2014, Cots et al. 2014, Tange 2010). Tange (2010)

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<sup>29</sup> English as a medium of instruction (EMI), Content and language integrated learning (CLIL), Discipline non-linguistique (DNL), L’enseignement d’une matière par l’intégration d’une langue étrangère (EMILE).

defines ‘internationalisation’ in Danish and Swedish Higher Education as ‘a process of organisational change motivated by an increase in the proportion of non-native students and staff’ (Tange 2010:138). In France, greater student and staff mobility, mainly through the Erasmus programs for the former, and mainly via research writing and communication for the latter, has meant that there has been a desire to compete with other European universities which are more linguistically diverse because of a broader overseas student public. The Erasmus programs (1986)<sup>30</sup> and the Bologna Secretariat agreement (2010) paved the way for greater student mobility between European universities. Courses were created in non-local languages, most often English, to encourage visiting students to be able to study biology in English, for example. In addition to student mobility, contracts and course credits had to be drawn up in two languages which added to the administrative work which could be simplified by a shared lingua franca (English). European universities are continuing to attract students from outside their home territories. This has concurred with greater funding needs which can be met by attracting internationally diverse student public. A key term in French educational policy (post 2013) has been ‘*attractivité*’ (attractiveness) and the focus has been on how it could improve the ‘soft power’<sup>31</sup> of French Higher Education. The French senatorial white paper entitled ‘*Pour l’attractivité de l’université en France*’ referred to France’s academic appeal when backing the Fioraso Law in 2013 to signal that French Higher Education was also ‘pointing to English proficiency as a valuable commodity and the gateway to social and economic advancement’ (Salomone 2015: 262).

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<sup>30</sup> European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS)

<sup>31</sup> ‘Soft power’ is a term coined by neoliberalist Joseph Nye (2004) to describe a country’s influence and ability to attract rather than to coerce (hard power). Soft power implies the potentially increased ‘appeal’ and ‘attraction’ of France as cited in the senatorial white paper.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

L'enseignement supérieur et la recherche n'ont pas échappé à la mondialisation. Longtemps circonscrites à quelques rares pays, les meilleures universités de la planète sont désormais présentes sur tous les continents : l'Amérique du Nord et l'Europe doivent maintenant rivaliser avec les pays émergents (Brésil, Chine, Inde, Mexique, Corée du Sud...) où se sont développés des établissements réputés pour l'excellence de leur formation et de leur recherche. Acteurs majeurs de l'économie de la connaissance où l'innovation, le savoir et le capital humain sont des éléments centraux de cette compétition globalisée, les universités doivent attirer les meilleurs étudiants et les meilleurs chercheurs. En plus de l'enjeu qu'il représente pour la compétitivité, le sujet est stratégique pour les Etats : l'enseignement supérieur contribue à leur *soft power*, c'est-à-dire à leur politique d'influence et à la diffusion de leurs idées, de leur langue, de leur culture et de leurs valeurs à travers le monde.

First paragraph of the senatorial white paper addressed to the senate in support of the Fioraso Law (12 February 2012).

[Translation:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Higher Education and research have not escaped globalisation. Long reserved for only a few rare countries, today all continents are home to the best universities: North America and Europe must now compete with emerging countries (such as Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Korea) where establishments reputed for their excellence in education and research can be found. Intellectual and human capital are the major competitors in the global economics of knowledge and innovation exchange. Universities must attract the best students and the best researchers. Higher Education has a strategic role to play in each of these countries: Higher Education contributes to a nation's *soft power*, that is to say its politics of influence and the communication, throughout the world, of its ideas, its language, its culture and its values.]

If the default language of 'internationalisation' in European Higher Education is currently 'automatically presumed' to be English by Higher Education practitioners (Tange 2010:138), then it is worth considering why educational policy continues to use 'internationalisation' or 'other language' rather than openly stating that internationalisation is implied as being able to use English. Kirpatrick (2011), Phillipson (1992) and Doiz et al (2013) have described this use of 'internationalisation'

as a smoke screen to conceal that it is the use of English which defines the process. The term ‘internationalisation’ has been placed in inverted commas in recognition of its ideological construction within the discourse of economic competition and language use. This is why researchers such as Phillipson (1992) have chosen to be more explicit in what is happening in terms of language use in Higher Education by referring to it as the ‘Englishisation’ of tertiary education in Europe. ‘Englishisation’ is used as a more transparent term to reflect the reality that it is *English* that European universities are turning to.

Although the student and staff populations in European universities may be increasingly diverse, the general trend has been to understand ‘internationalisation’ as attracting more students from overseas and converging increasingly to English as a medium of instruction (henceforth EMI) in many European universities (See Table 1). EMI is a pedagogical concept still to be defined in terms of both teaching and language learning objectives. For the purposes of this study a working definition of EMI is:

The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority populations is not English.

(Dearden 2015: 2)

For the time being, there seem to be two main aims to European universities proposing English-taught programs. On the one hand EMI encourages home students to be more competitive in an international, English-speaking work market. It is assumed that English language skills will be acquired through listening, interacting and doing task-based activities. On the other hand, EMI is also seen to be appealing for visiting students, whose English is assumed to be better than their proficiency in the local L1. In this case the French language should not be a barrier to attracting foreign fee-paying students who would wish to study in France. EMI therefore appears to be a pedagogical approach based on socio-political ideology rather than on specific language learning objectives.

Those countries which can be described as historically anglophone, such as Britain, the US, Canada and Australia for example, are in a position of power within today’s competitive context of Higher Education internationalisation (Welch and Welch 1999).

Lavelle (2008) and Jenkins (IATEFL<sup>32</sup> Harrogate symposium 2014) have identified such English language dominance by highlighting that some institutions are better off than others in the business of selling English as a medium of instruction (EMI). Those universities which are traditionally part of the inner circle of English speakers have been offering EMI of sorts ever since they started to include overseas students. The differences are the locatedness of education in an L1 English-speaking country versus the delocatedness in a non L1 English-speaking country.

Countries with languages of Germanic origin, such as those of Scandinavia and the Netherlands, have the longest experience of using English-taught programs (ETP). Werther et al. (2014) argue that this is because of the similarity of Germanic languages to English, their geographical proximity to Britain, their relatively small populations and greater immigrant populations (Werther et al. 2014: 444). This argument is based, in part, on the belief that some languages are easier to learn than others. Another reason could be the strategic attitude of countries such as Denmark to languages for trade and education. Within the context of internationalisation providing education in English has also meant that Scandinavian universities have been able to provide international qualifications for students and staff, and attract international students and staff by teaching their courses in English (Werther et al. 2014). Nordic educational language policy has been proactive in trying to maintain equity between English, Danish, and Swedish by calling for ‘parallel language use’<sup>33</sup> (Nordic language policy act of 2007, McGrath 2014).

The following table shows approximate percentages of EMI courses in relation to the other language(s) used by the universities of Nantes, Graz, Helsinki, Copenhagen, Milan and Bucharest. The data were collected in 2013 via email correspondence with International Relations departments at the cited universities.

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<sup>32</sup> International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, video and discussion available at <https://eflnotes.wordpress.com/tag/emi/> by Mura Nava.

<sup>33</sup> The Nordic language policy is encouraging the language maintenance of Danish and Swedish to pre-empt language attrition of those languages (the implications of Language Maintenance and Shift in global education are discussed in Pauwels 2016).



<b>Universities</b>	<b>Languages of instruction (and approximate percentages for EMI courses)</b>
Nantes, France 2013	French, <b>5% English in undergraduate and postgraduate courses combined.</b>
Graz, Austria 2013	German, <b>50% to 100% English at Masters' level.</b>
Helsinki, Finland 2013	Finnish, Swedish, <b>50% to 100% English at Masters' level.</b>
Copenhagen, Denmark 2013	Danish, <b>~50% English at undergraduate level</b> <b>100% English for 15 Masters' courses (2009).</b>
Milan, Italy 2014	Italian, <b>~90% English.</b>
Bucharest, Romania 2013	Romanian, Hungarian, French, English <b>~60% English</b> at undergraduate level.

Table 1 Examples of approximate levels of EMI used in some European universities (2013-14)

This study of French Higher Education practice concerning English usage does not yet benefit from the experience of longer-term multilingual usage. The present study has therefore drawn from the extensive literature of similar experiences in Denmark and Sweden. In terms of EMI in France, the turn to 'Englishisation' has been slower than in Northern European countries, such as Denmark and Sweden. Nevertheless, internationalisation has caught up with French Higher Education, marked more radically by the passing of the Fioraso Law in 2013. Official texts, (such as the Fioraso Act

2013, the senatorial law of 2013, and the COMU 2014<sup>34</sup>) have increasingly referred to ‘internationalisation’ in which English language use is implied. Omitting the word ‘English’ in these texts may be due to a desire to leave room for other international languages, depending on need and language change. To use the word ‘English’ explicitly as the language of internationalisation would also be a coercive push for English usage. This could be interpreted as denigrating French as the language of education. Referring to English as a ‘tool’ rather than as an openly official, and therefore higher language variety, highlights a strategic view of English through which to achieve competitiveness rather than national identity, for example. There is nevertheless a tendency to refer to English as ‘the intruding language’ (Toubon 1993) either during language policy meetings, during political debate or even in language policy texts. This tendency goes back to the 1990s which encouraged the use of the French language to talk about French policy and to maintain the international significance of ‘la francophonie’.

### **2.1.3 English as a lingua franca in academia**

Internationalisation has often meant the adoption of a common language for business, communication and education. Various terms<sup>35</sup> have been used to describe the different types of Englishes used in the world. The phrase ‘World Englishes’ is used to describe the varieties of English which arise from either code-switching or variation in local contexts where English is not the L1 (Jenkins 2007, Rampton 1995, Gao 2014:63). ‘World Englishes’ also refers to the result of older economic and imperial drives to promote linguistic and political unity during colonialism (in India and Africa for example, Saraceni 2010). Differently from World Englishes, the term ‘English as a lingua franca’ can be viewed as delocalised from local language contexts and as a language feature (rather than a language) of both local and de-localised international contexts. Nevertheless, English as a lingua franca has also been viewed as geographically definable and closely related to the L1 languages present in the

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<sup>34</sup> COMU: Communautés Universitaires - From September 2015, French universities will be regrouped by region. For example the universities of Nantes, Rennes and Brest will be called ‘L’université Bretagne-Loire’.

<sup>35</sup> English as an International Language (EIL), ‘global English’, ‘globish’, World Englishes (WE), ‘English as Lingua Franca (ELF), English as a Foreign language (EFL), and English as a Second Language (ESP) are just a few examples.

interaction (Jenkins 2015: 75). The difference between World Englishes and English as a lingua franca would therefore seem to lie more in how L2 speakers bring along their different types of English to an interaction which has strategic aims outside of local identity. In the Higher Education context of the present study, the primary objective would appear to be conveying content and language using a vehicular English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) 'tool'.

Cots et al. (2014) have addressed the debate around English as a lingua franca in European Higher Education:

Through lingua francas, institutions can expand the reach of their social action, have more impact on a larger portion of population, and gain greater visibility and revenue. Nevertheless, for many citizens in minority language contexts, the promotion of lingua francas may be regarded as threats to their identities and to their rights to use their own language.

(Cots et al. 2014:1)

Cots et al. (2014) refer to the question of the extent to which second language use 'threatens' identity and rights to language use within formal education. The right to 'learning in an L1' is currently being debated in the Italian constitutional courts after Milan's Polytechnic University proposed a switch to EMI in 2013 (Salomone 2015). This is because of the debate concerning whether L2 English as a lingua franca can be considered a legally legitimate language of communication in terms of constitutional law. Added to this is the question of whether ELF communication either heightens or diminishes the different categorisations allocated to the 'native speaker' or 'non-native speaker' (Jenkins 2007, Davies 2011). Beyond aspects of language legislation, language legitimacy can also be understood as inclusive of the rightful 'ownership' of a language, and that English is not owned by 'native speakers' (Kachru 1992).

There are arguments in favour of using English as a lingua franca in Higher Education institutions where English is not the first language. Firstly it would help home students to have greater access to the global, predominantly English-speaking work market, including that of the research world. Secondly, international students, also *assumed* to be proficient English-speakers (Tange 2010: 139), could therefore register for these courses, not in the UK or America, but in France for example, where the registration

fees are significantly lower<sup>36</sup>. The point in question is what institutions understand by ‘international’ in terms of English language use, what is meant by ‘English’ and whether this includes an ELF perspective (Jenkins 2015: 78).

An issue to address is whether British universities are selling a preferred ‘native’ (often monolingual) speaker model of English to attract both overseas students and staff, who will return to multilingual contexts. The driving force for this type of teaching is believed to be financial (Jenkins, personal email communication 01/11/2015, and IATEFL 2014). The focus on L2 English-speaking universities in Europe being insufficiently ‘legitimated’ as speakers of English should perhaps be transferred to the questionable legitimacy of monolingual institutions presenting themselves as appropriate models for multilingual contexts. Such ‘native speaker models’ are becoming increasingly deconstructed and are regarded as insufficiently representative of what it means to speak ‘English’ in a global context<sup>37</sup> (see Jenkins 2015, Saraceni 2010, Phillipson 1992, and Kachru 1982 ’s inner (minority) circle of Native English speakers 1992). However, UK universities are responding to a real demand which has been confirmed by Jenkins’ own past research: L2 speakers of English tend to favour ‘native’ speaker models themselves, and would prefer to learn from, and be taught by native speakers (Blair 2012, Block 2007, Jenkins 2006). Such speakers are believed to represent not only a favoured standard of English but also a culture and teaching method associated to their L1 English:

The notion of the native speaker in applied linguistics is in fact an ideological construct. It has no linguistic or psychological reality. It has had a divisive effect in that native-speaker teachers are often assumed to represent a Western culture from which spring the ideals both of the language, especially English, and of the language teaching methodology.

(Wei 2001: 15)

Access to what is considered ‘the right kind of English’ also ensures access to

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<sup>36</sup> Nantes University fees for 2015-6 were 404.10 € for undergraduates and 476.10 € for postgraduates. This includes social insurance (215.00 €), preventive medicine (5.10 €), Fonds de solidarité et de développement des initiatives étudiantes (FSDIE) (16.00 €) and library costs (34.00 €).

<sup>37</sup> Monolingual ‘natives’ of the English language (Kachru’s inner circle) represent the minority of the total English speakers in the world. Speakers of English may use English as a second official language (Kachru’s outer circle), or as a foreign language (Kachru’s expanding circle). Although these distinctions are fluid, the minority of inner circle speakers is used as an argument for giving greater credit to global Englishes.

educational, social and occupational opportunities. In this context ‘legitimacy’ reinforces symbolic capital and power of ownership. Salomone highlights that the rise of global English in relation to language rights is ‘not a zero-sum game’ (Salomone 2015: 263). By this Salomone refers to the inequality of those who have and those who do not have access to English as a language of educational and professional advancement. In this case, English can be presented as rights of access to a language (English) which should not only be available to an elite class. It is this aspect of appropriation of the English language that I believe Jenkins (2015) wishes to see as the democratisation of English as a lingua franca. However, other approaches see this as a position denying people access to the higher language varieties of English (based on a formal definition of competence, discussed 2.1.5) that they wish to attain (Gazzola and Grin 2013).

The concept of the ‘legitimacy’ of L2 speakers of English, as developed by Jenkins (2007) and Gao (2014) has resurfaced in the debate of legitimate ‘models’ of English in European Higher Education (Preisler 2014, Chaplier 2013). The extent to which L2 speaking academics may or may not feel they are legitimate members of an international community of ‘English speakers’, ‘Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English’ or an ‘speakers of English as a lingua franca’ is closely related to how motivated they are to communicate in the L2 or even to teach in it<sup>38</sup>. Studies which have focused on how teachers of English feel about being non-native speakers have particularly focused on how L2-speaking participants see themselves as being ‘authorities’ on English (Blair 2012, Jenkins 2006). Following on from this debate, the present study investigates how French academics situate themselves within such a shifting and widening community of L2 speakers within the context of the internationalisation of Higher Education in France.

#### **2.1.4 The impact of internationalisation on academic identity in Higher Education**

The relationship between foreign language use and professional academic identity is key to this study. Reflective practice studies related to tertiary education have explored

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<sup>38</sup> Dörnyei 2009, and see Yashima and Zenuk-Nishide for WTC (willingness to communicate) 2008

the processes of academic identity through reports of how lived experiences are accounted for over time (Lemke 2008). Institutional loyalty in relation to motivation may also impact on academic development as a whole. In keeping with studies such as Canrius et al. (2011), this study highlights the relationship between believing in the institutional language policy and being a motivated academic (see figure 16, chapter 5). This study on how French academics relate to using English (as part of a lengthy process of professional development) follows on from studies of how academics relate to culture, language, and institutional change (Soren 2013, Farrell 2011, Westbrook and Henrikson 2011, Ige 2010). Wider theoretical frameworks for identity, in combination with localised studies of specific communities, have explored the relationship between foreign language learning and identity, discussed in section 2 of the literature review (Block 2007, Ricento 2005, Bucholtz 2005, Norton 2000). Such understandings of professional identity in an L2 context incorporate how ‘ideal’ teacher identity models (Dörnyei 2009) are constructed within academic communities for example:

The processes of identity construction described in these studies demonstrate the complexities of developing a professional identity in a context where the linguistic resources and previous experience of participants can be interpreted differently, depending on the positions of the members of the community.

(Soren 2013: 38)

This quote highlights the varying degrees of value which can be attributed or ascribed to professional experiences for example. Where the members of the community are positioned and position themselves in relation to others, the linguistic resources are ‘linguist capital’ which are negotiated and bartered for (Bourdieu 1982). Linguistic capital uses a monetary term to refer to the varying linguistic repertoires speakers can profit from in different social encounters.

Preisler’s (2008, 2014), and Westbrook and Henriksen’s (2011) studies of academic identity in relation to internationalisation in Higher Education have suggested that using a second language contributes to ‘diminished credibility’. These authors justify that academics reported having diminished credibility because they believed that communication in an L2 would result in poor impressions of the teaching events they are involved in. Such studies on diminished credibility are in keeping with other

studies of people who report experiencing a life-changing shift when they leave a shared L1 community to go and live as a minority L2 speaker in a new professional context (Caldas-Coulthard et al. 2007, Krzyzanowski and Wodak 2008, Norton 2000). When living and working in new L2-speaking contexts, L2 speakers (who may have had higher status in their L1 professional contexts) describe how interacting and working with the new community reduces their right to be taken as credible and valid members. Feeling inferior or being made to feel inferior is re-enforced by reports of the (new) community not recognising the validity and status which should be afforded to bilinguals (Norton 2000, Bush 2012, Garcia 2009, Lambert 1967). Where academics are using L2 English for research and teaching, they are not isolated or distanced from their L1-speaking communities. In such non-L1 English language communities there is nevertheless a shift in language use (Pauwels 2011: 248). It can be argued that when the L1 is not recognised or maintained, such distancing from the L1 results in demoting the speakers who identify themselves through more than one language (Hall and Cook 2012, Garcia 2009, Cook 2003).

Within a Higher Education context diminished credibility can be experienced by the academics who report that because of an impression of reduced linguistic competence in English they feel that their status as a credible and valid member of their scientific community is challenged. The challenge to authority can be perceived by the academic participants themselves (see Preisler 2008, 2014, Soren 2013). For those who wish to question whether L2 speakers of English are valid models of English for teaching in that language, credibility can also be used as an argument to criticise EMI teaching (Shohamy 2012, Chaplier 2013). Loss of credibility is also associated with a 'loss of face' (Brown and Levinson 1987). Face is understood to be the public image held by speakers which can be threatened in interactions. Loss of face can be dependent on an EMI teacher's self-perception but also on a teacher's 'credibility' in the eyes of his/her students, where identities are enacted and negotiated within the classroom (Preisler 2014). The concept of 'credibility' is based on a sense of departure from an idealised prototype of a teacher for example (Preisler 2014). Such beliefs have been framed from the perspective of strategic, essentialist notions of how communities categorize individuals (such as in Bucholtz 2005) to interpret how a teacher's 'authenticity' may be challenged when the idea of a university teacher 'prototype' is departed from:

Even if the prototype of the university teacher (or even ‘professor’) is fuzzy, essentialist conceptions are a necessary methodological tool whereby we are able to provisionally identify and label social groups so as to make them accessible to scholarly enquiry.

(Preisler 2014: 221)

Within the context of a shift in language policy in Higher Education, what constitutes as a university teacher ‘prototype’ will be likely to shift.

There are deviations from more traditional ‘dominant teacher’ status during EMI classroom interactions, but where loss of face does not occur because the lecturers’ ‘sense of security stemmed from their institutional identity and not from their L2 linguistic identity’ (Soren 2013: 41). This position emphasises their role and title rather than their communicative proficiency (Hymes 1972). Real or imagined pressure from an institution to include English proficiency as part of an idealised and sought-after university teacher profile may also account for how academics may experience diminished credibility and loss of status.

### **2.1.5 The ‘competence’ of L2 speakers in Higher Education**

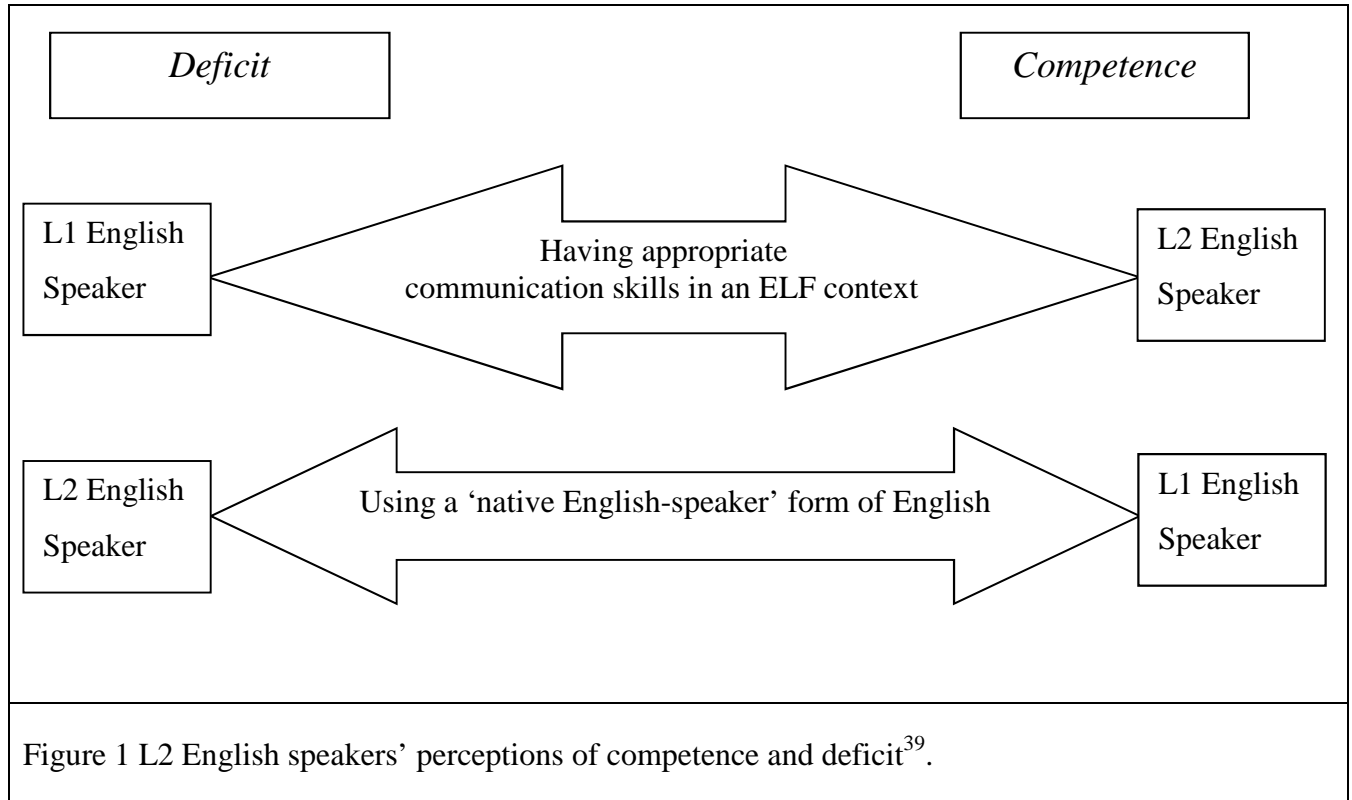
If the second language in question, English, is in fact English as a lingua franca, then the status of such a ‘vehicular’ language (Chaplier 2013: 64) may also be called into question. In opposition to Jenkin’s (2015) appraisal of the democratising capabilities of ELF, others see ELF as a process of language standardisation (Werther et al. 2014, Reyes 2013). Standardisation in this sense is seen as leading to a loss of quality, both in terms of the complexity of L2 language structure and pragmatic understanding of language which may be diminished in the use of L2 English (Preisler 2014, Chaplier 2013, Tange 2010). ‘Loss of quality’ builds on the notion that writing research papers or communicating in an L2 at conferences would also result in loss of quality and therefore the social authority of such speakers.

The notion of competence is a highly contested issue regarding what it means to use language ‘appropriately’ (Kramsch 2013, Canale 1983, Canale and Swain 1980, Hymes 1972). When ‘competence’ is used to define what a learner can do, it is either used to praise or sanction. Another problem with the word ‘competence’ is that it can



be perceived as fixed and static. In the context of the present study, notions of competence are squarely seated in the discussions relating to competence as being in alignment with or departing from a native speaker model (Li Wei 2011b, Davies 2011). Not believing oneself to be a native speaker would therefore re-position such an L2 English-speaker to the position of 'learner of English'. Depending on the context, the learner status can be seen as either an opportunity or as handicap. On the other hand, a learner status can be seen as both inevitable and desired for anyone involved in academia who values learning for learning's sake. Within Higher Education, some learners have higher social status than others. For example, those learners who have 'professorships' have greater social status within the academic community. Learner status can therefore be understood analogously to ascribed and avowed identity, where the learner attribute is either declared or attributed to as an identifying feature (Butler 1988). The contested issue within this study has been L2 English language competence and whether this should meet or depart from 'native speaker' models or converge to other competencies including the intercultural competencies of English as a lingua franca.

This opposition in perceived competence is summarised in the figure below representing the communicative competence and deficit as it may be perceived by French L2 speakers of English:



L2 communicative competence (also framed within as a 'communicative approach', Canale and Swain 1980: 2) could be understood as an assessment of achieved communication based on the speaker's performances. A focus on the 'form of English', however can be understood as a 'grammatical' or 'formal' approach to language competence (Canale and Swain 1980: 2) based on Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance:

We thus make a fundamental distinction between *competence* (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations).

(Chomsky 1965:4)

<sup>39</sup> of L1 monolingual and L2 multilingual speakers in English in a lingua franca context.

The ELF context can be described as the ‘situational’ context (Canale and Swain 1980: 2) under discussion which in the figure above is applicable to scientific congresses held in English.

The question of credibility has been strongly associated with evaluations of the competence of those who teach in a second language. The objectives of second language teaching are in keeping with ideological beliefs about knowledge domains and appropriate knowledge exchange sites (such as in institutional educational settings). Chaplier (2013) addresses the concept of the competence of French-speaking university lecturers who teach in English by stating that ‘se débrouiller en anglais’ (‘getting by in English’, Chaplier 2013: 64) is insufficient grounds for teaching in a second language. It is difficult to untangle those who are against using English in French Higher Education because it challenges French national identity (discussed in Suleiman 2006) from those who refer to loss of quality in teaching and learning in any L2 language context of learning (Preisler 2014, Chaplier 2013, Tange 2010). Within this second camp, there are further differences and reasons for arguing against EMI in Higher Education in Europe. Preisler refers to his own position of EMI teaching as being ‘inauthentic’, whilst Chaplier implies that although she is not against EMI per se, she joins Tange in questioning EMI staff’s ‘ability’ to communicate ‘expert knowledge’ through a second language (Chaplier 2013: 70, Tange 2010: 139).

Knowledge is, however, as socially contested and enacted as other areas of identity work where it is the speakers who interchange between dominant, subordinate and attributed roles of he/she ‘who holds and presents the knowledge’ (Mondada 2013a, Bamberg, 2004). Chaplier’s criticism of EMI in France is based on an equivalent position of the ‘validité’ (validity) of an ‘appropriate’ language competence which she believes EMI teachers should have (Chaplier 2013: 70). Chaplier refers to a knowledge-based and teacher-led approach which she defines in terms of validation and teacher responsibility (Chaplier 2013: 74) without defining what an ‘appropriate teacher model’ would be. Chaplier is concerned that EMI teachers at Toulouse University are not sufficiently proficient in English to teach in that language. A lack of validity seems to be based on a departure from what she may feel is a more acceptable prototype of an English-speaking teacher as she criticises the current EMI teaching staff at Toulouse University for not being closely aligned enough with the prototype of a ‘native speaker’.

Departures from this idealised model, Chaplier implies, are more likely to be approximate than precise (Chaplier 2013: 70).

Critics of English as a lingua franca teaching are concerned that it sets limitations on the quality of Higher Education teaching (Preisler 2014, Chaplier 2013, Truchot 2008). It is not English which is being criticised, but English as a lingua franca which is held by such critics as being inferior to other types of English:

Quelle est la valeur d'un diplôme universitaire de haut niveau dispensé en lingua franca. Car les enseignants-chercheurs scientifiques de l'Université Paul Sabatier [de Toulouse] ne sont généralement pas anglophones : quel est leur niveau linguistique? Un enseignement de haut niveau est-il compatible avec un anglais approximatif ?

(Chaplier 2013: 70)

[Translation:

What is the value of a Higher Education degree which has been taught in a lingua franca? The academics of the University Paul Sabatier of Toulouse are generally not anglophone. What is their level of English? Is Higher Education teaching compatible with having approximate English language skills?]

The limitations of English as a lingua Franca in a European context are described by Truchot (2008) as epistemological (i.e. what it means to really 'know' a language):

[i]l est très probable que de telles formations reposent sur une estimation erronée et donc aberrante *de ce qu'est connaître une langue, de ce qu'il est possible de faire avec une lingua franca* par rapport à ce que l'on peut faire avec une langue dans laquelle on a été socialisé et éduqué.

(my emphasis, Truchot 2008: 125 in Chaplier 2013: 67)

[Translation:

It is highly probable that these [EMI] courses are founded on a false and abhorrent estimation of *what it means to know a language, when we consider what it is possible to do with a lingua franca* when compared to what we can do in a language through which we have been socialised and educated.]

Both the critics and supporters of EMI have something in common nevertheless. Seeing language as a strategic ‘tool’ with which ‘it is possible to do something’ (Austin 1975) are more related to judgements about language competence than language as identity. Truchot (2008) and Chaplier’s (2013) positions draw heavily on contexts which assume that ‘education’ should happen in one language only.

There is also a concern about language approximation when pragmatic intention is called into question in an L2 language. A loss of pragmatic knowledge exchange is illustrated in Preisler’s (2014) belief that EMI contexts for instance are devoid of humour. Preisler refers to the ‘humorous intent and humorous effect’ (Preisler 2014:231) which his academic EMI teacher participant had been able to successfully communicate for 40 years, teaching in Danish (Preisler: 2014: 232). There is also a concern that the intended meaning of the speaker will be reduced (Austin 1975, Grundy 1995). What is meant by ‘appropriate’ pragmatic knowledge exchange appears to be based on the assumption that individuals are best ‘socialised’ and ‘educated’ within culturally bounded contexts (Truchot 2008). There is a view that EMI is ‘inappropriate’ for Higher Education in Europe because only superficial communication will occur in English. It is argued that loss of common pragmatic knowledge will result in an overall effect of a ‘restricted code’ (Tange 2010, Bernstein 1999). Such a restricted code is described as impeding teacher ‘authenticity’ and affecting ‘academic authority’ (Preisler 2014: 236). Preisler understands authenticity as being closely aligned to essentialist notions of teacher prototypes which are performed when an academic is ‘teaching’ (Preisler 2014: 221). The present study challenges arguments of appropriate language codes or authenticity models through the observation of EMI contexts in France (see chapter 4.3).

Bilingual teaching models (Lewis et al. 2012, Garcia 2011) can be an answer to such concerns about the package which comes with valid ‘language’ models. Teaching contexts which are not based on idealised monolingual language models view English as a lingua franca as occurring in multilingual, mobile contexts, where language crossing occurs and where it is encouraged (Jenkins: 2015, Garcia: 2009 ). The objectives of bilingual classrooms differ from parallel language policies which are ideologically based on maintaining an L1 and keeping it separate from contexts where

the L2 is used in an EMI context. This thesis includes EMI classrooms as representative of an English as a lingua franca translanguaging context (Jenkins 2015), as discussed in 2.1.7. Translanguaging is understood as a function of bilingual identity where speakers acknowledge their bilingual communication by delving into multiple linguistic repertoires (Li Wei 2011a, Creese and Blackledge 2015). Within bilingual pedagogical structures, the growing multilingual contexts have been less concerned with ‘authenticity’ but more with the ‘creativity’ and strategic use of the speakers in ‘translanguaging contexts’ (Li Wei 2011a). In such contexts the ‘legitimacy’ of speakers is based on how best they use ‘all the languages at their disposal’ within pedagogical interactions (Lewis et al. 2012). The positions taken on the legitimacy of L2 speakers of English in French Higher Education will be based on beliefs related to the ‘authority’ of L2 language speakers and whether such speakers can convert such a stance to positions of educational ‘authority’.

For the time being, the focus of the literature seems to be on whether teachers who teach in a second language are ‘good enough’ to do the job. Within the context of many EMI studies, those participants who are teaching in English have already been writing and presenting at conferences in English for many years (and this part of their professional identity is rarely taken into account). If these same individuals are assumed to be ‘good enough’ to engage in the international arena of research, then why should their competences as L2 teachers be more contested than their competence as L2 researchers? The reason for acceptance and encouragement in one domain (research) rather than another (teaching) may be based on beliefs about the different skills associated to each area, with an assumption that they are not broadly transferable or compatible. Aside from whether the skills are transferrable, it could also be argued that there is a deontological difference between responsibility to students (including learning objectives and outcomes) and responsibility to academic peers (including conveying information). It is for this reason that this study has focused on the entire range of academic uses of English, and by making comparisons between the differences between using English for research and using English for teaching.

### 2.1.6 The aims and conceptual dimensions of content and language integrated learning

The aims of integrated language learning are discussed within the context of a growing demand for English-taught modules in Higher Education contexts in France. English-taught modules are firmly established within the French secondary school system (since the 1990s) where pupils can choose to have one of their ‘non-linguistic disciplines’ taught in English. These classes are taught in English by French-speaking secondary school teachers who have passed the DNL (discipline non-linguistique) language certificate which is a French national exam. Those subjects which are believed to be ‘linguistic’ are those traditionally associated with the ‘arts’, while the ‘non-linguistic’ are the subjects traditionally labelled ‘sciences’. Although science subjects are accessed through ‘language’, there is a belief that some subjects are more concerned with developing language skills than others. Bernstein (1999) has described this difference in terms of two main ‘knowledge structures’ that reflect the aims of those disciplines which are ‘discursively’ motivated and those which are motivated by ‘the integration of general propositions’ (p. 162). The subjects which build upon ‘empirical procedures’, such as the natural sciences, depend on ‘attempts to refute positions, where possible, or to incorporate them in more general propositions’ (Bernstein 1999: 163). The schematic representation of this type of knowledge structure (figure 2) shows that there is only one acceptable proposition at the apex of the triangle, before it is replaced by a new theory.

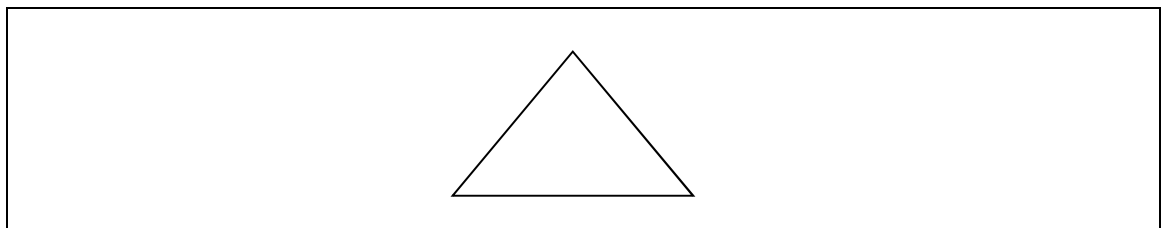


Figure 2 Bernstein's hierarchical knowledge structure<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> as a representation of a ‘non-linguistic’ discipline (1999: 162).

In contrast, ‘any one of the specialised disciplines within the form of a horizontal knowledge structure found within the humanities and social sciences’ is based on a ‘series of codes’ and ‘legitimate texts’ (Bernstein 1999: 162). Bernstein’s concept of ‘development’ (or learning) in this linear structure will result in new language (‘Ln’ in figure 3) building upon older language.

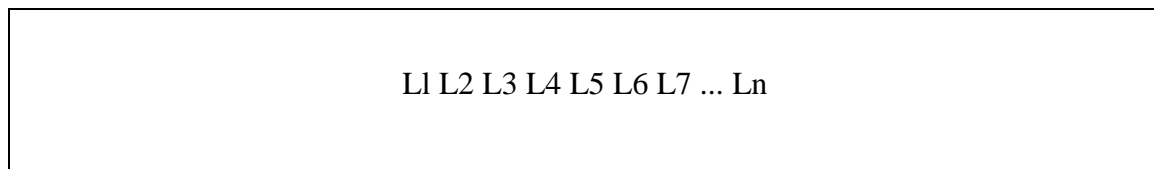


Figure 3 Bernstein’s horizontal knowledge structure<sup>41</sup>.

According to Bernstein’s framework of ‘knowledge structures’, the motivations of discursively-oriented disciplines<sup>42</sup> would not seem to apply to ‘scientific’ disciplines, be it in the students’ L1 (here at Nantes) or in the students’ L2 (here English). This would explain why Airey’s (2012) study of university teachers in Sweden reported that they claimed to not ‘teach language’. This attitude to the difference between what participants consider as teaching ‘content’, and teaching ‘language’ has also been explored in this study.

Bernstein’s framework continues to be validated via current pedagogical terminology which categorizes learning into separate disciplines, with different learning objectives. However, Bernstein’s framework is limited in that it assumes that the natural sciences are categorically narrow (only one positivist theory can hold true at one time), or that the ‘humanities’ are founded on consecutive series of specialist jargon, replaced by newer jargon and that they do not stand up to empirical enquiry, for example. Jones (2013) critiques Bernstein’s ‘great divide’ perspective on knowledge theory:

The fatal flaw in [Bernstein’s] whole conception is the distinction between ‘understanding of the language’ and ‘extra-linguistic knowledge’, a distinction which is impossible to draw in principle [...] Since linguistic

<sup>41</sup> as a representation of a ‘linguistic’ discipline (1999: 162).

<sup>42</sup> These motivations are ‘oriented to speaking/acquiring/ developing the hegemonic language or its challenge or marketing a new language’ (Bernstein 1999: 163). These motivations are therefore at odds with the strategic view of use of English as one of several ‘tools’ with which to achieve a set of learning outcomes.



communication is an interpretative activity on the part of particular individuals, rather than the transmission of pre-packaged meanings, then their understanding of any utterance in any context is indissolubly bound up with their knowledge and experience of the world and of the topic of the interactional engagement.

(Jones 2013: 169-170)

Bernstein's framework also focuses on difference rather than compatibility and leaves little room for contextualised, interdisciplinary skills.

The terminology currently in use to describe the conceptual dimensions of teaching in a second language, both in French and English, reflects the fact that there is still uncertainty about what teaching and learning in a second language learning entails, and the extent to which there is a focus on 'language' (horizontal knowledge structure) or 'content' (vertical knowledge structure) (See figure 2).

Abbreviated term	Full term	Implied focus of the term
EMI	English as a <i>Medium</i> of Instruction <sup>43</sup>	English as a strategic tool.
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning <sup>44</sup>	Equal status given to 'language' and 'content' (Shaw 2013).
EMILE	Enseignement d'une matière <i>par</i> l'intégration d'une langue étrangère	Causal relationship between content integration <i>via</i> another language.
DNL	Discipline Non Linguistique	'Knowledge structures' differ between disciplines (Bernstein 1999).

Table 2 French and English terms used to describe teaching in a second language.

<sup>43</sup> 'Instruction' implies a teacher-led pedagogical approach.

<sup>44</sup> 'Learning' focuses more on a learner-centred pedagogical approach.

The current terminology expresses varying degrees of how much ‘language’ work is focused on in an English medium teaching context. There is also an epistemological grey area (Chaplier 2013, Shaw 2013) concerning what practitioners mean by ‘content’ and what they mean by ‘language’ and whether the two concepts can be clearly dissociated when used in pedagogical terminology. The terms relating to pedagogy may also reveal how the content should be acquired. The term ‘instruction’ (English as a medium of *instruction*), rather than ‘learning’ (Content and Language Integrated *Learning*) for example suggests more of a one sided, teacher lead pedagogical learning. The terms ‘matière’ (subject) and ‘discipline’ focus more on the intrinsic nature, and status of what is under study, rather than how it is acquired.

The term EMI explicitly states that it is *English* which is being used. The extent to which practitioners embrace what has been labelled by Soren (2013) *English as a lingua franca teaching* or *English as a lingua academia* (Salomone 2015) will depend on what (role) models of ‘English’ they wish to adopt. For the time being, the type of English to be used in the classroom has not been disseminated by language planners and policy makers in France. In English as a lingua franca teaching, those involved may regard English as an approximate and malleable tool with which to conduct exchanges. The extent to which teachers and students will believe themselves to be in alignment with a ‘native speaker model’ will be the result of personalised learning histories, based on past experiences, contact with other speakers and beliefs about idealised speakers of English (Kachru 1990, Jenkins 2007). Within the context of this study, the ‘type of English on offer’ was not signalled by the practitioners or course module descriptors. The purpose of the study was to investigate what type of English the academics believed themselves to be using and how this aligned to native speaker and lingua franca models. The disappearance of the word ‘language’ in the term EMI can be seen as a detour to avoid definitions of what a complex ‘language’ may be. EMI can also evoke a wider field of non-verbal communication expressed through the word ‘medium’.

The degree to which an English medium programme focuses on students acquiring new language skills will depend on various factors. The student body, such as their year of

study and level of proficiency<sup>45</sup> and experience of being taught in an L2 will impact on whether ‘sufficient’ English proficiency is taken as a given before the course actually starts. This would be the case in an international Masters course, where the students share L2 English and have different L1 Languages. Where all or most of the students and teacher share a ‘community language’ L1 (here at Nantes), which is ‘mutually related’ to L2 (here English), then the extent to which vocabulary is compared, translated and contrasted will differ again (Shaw 2013: 18). The context of this study reveals a learning situation which is closer to the bilingual education settings described in both the concept and technique of ‘translanguaging’ (Creese and Blackledge 2015), which is defined in section 2.1.7.

The extent to which language and/or content is focused on in an EMI context invites comparisons with a learning context where the students are taught in their ‘native’ L1s. The term ‘Content and Language Integrated Learning’ (henceforth CLIL) suggests that as much ‘content’ as ‘language’ is being learned. If it is agreed that a CLIL teaching approach is one where ‘language and disciplinary content are equally targets of the learning process’ (Shaw 2013: 20), then such a definition could also surely apply to any university course which builds upon implicit and explicit knowledge, improving the learners’ communication skills and widening their specialised ‘academic’ discourse (by learners I refer to both the students and the teaching members of the learning community). The balance between ‘language-improvement aims alongside the content-mastery aims’ (Shaw 2013:20) can be assessed beyond EMI teaching contexts to all teaching contexts.

The literature which addresses the objectives of EMI teaching is in keeping with ideological beliefs about knowledge domains and ‘appropriate’ knowledge exchange sites (such as in institutional educational settings). The terminology used to describe institutional learning contexts, both in French and English reveals that disciplines continue to be distinct (i.e. as either a ‘science’ or ‘arts’), as are the beliefs about academic and non-academic ‘authority’. Literature in the field of pedagogy continues

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<sup>45</sup> At Nantes university English proficiency is assessed during the ESP language classroom. To apply for the Advanced Biology undergraduate course, students must have attained a minimum of 12 out of 20 in their English class. Concerning the intake of overseas students for international Masters courses, it is up to the heads of scientific department to decide how they define English proficiency: by either asking for a minimum TOEIC, TOEFL or IELTS score, or by speaking to candidates over the phone.

to be based on notions of ‘knowledge’ acquisition, which is broken down into categories such as content knowledge (*savoir-savants*), practical knowledge (*savoir-faire*), and knowledge in action (*savoir-être*) (Bédard 2009). Studies in interactive linguistics define ‘knowledge exchanges’ between individuals in terms of performance roles and agency (Archer 2003, Ochs 1993). Within contexts where an L2 is added to an already complex domain of social interaction and identity work, there is a need to examine how such an L2 impacts on such contested identity settings. At present the terminology used to describe courses taught in ‘English’ to attract both foreign and home students to French Higher Education have not taken such epistemological precepts and language ideologies into sufficient consideration.

The following section will focus on the language work which occurs in ‘emergent bilingual’ (Garcia 2009) educational settings such as the one described in this study.

### **2.1.7 Translanguaging spaces in EMI**

The aims of this section are to relate the observation of EMI classes (see chapter 4.3) with the literature relevant to learning in a second language. EMI teachers and students are far from being beginners at learning English. All of those concerned during the teaching interactions observed in this study will have been learning English for at least 15 years. It is for this reason that the literature which seems to converge most closely to this ‘emerging’ phenomenon of EMI in France is that of the ‘emergent bilinguals’ described in bilingual educational settings (Garcia 2009). This section will give an overview of the origins of the term ‘translanguaging’ as a conceptual framework for understanding multilingual contexts: how it has developed in relation to other (historic) concepts, particularly code-switching and translation. Within the context of this thesis, the term ‘translanguaging’ is understood to be an active space<sup>46</sup> created by specific bilingual communities, which includes code-switching within full-range linguistic and ideological repertoires. The present study identified translanguaging practices as occurring in the EMI classroom and in the interviews held with the participants in both

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<sup>46</sup> The notion of ‘space’ emphasizes both the temporal and physical moments where translanguaging occurs, discussed further on in this section.

French and English. In this context, we drew from our combined<sup>47</sup> English and French repertoires, switching from English to French and creating a space unique to our bilingual interactions. The observations and participation in translanguaging practices were informed by theoretical understandings of bilingual talk (Busch 2012, Li Wei 2011a, Garcia 2009) but are not yet definable as intentional bilingual educational policy in France (as is Lewis et al. 2012).

The term ‘translanguaging’ was originally used to describe a pedagogical practice in Welsh schools (Williams 1994). The term was later taken up to describe bilingual interactions (outside of the classroom) for interactive analysis (Li Wei 2011a). When observing bilingual speech, conceptualisations of translanguaging fall into different camps which either view translanguaging as socially negotiated and situated (Garcia 2011) or both sociologically and psycholinguistically framed as a cognitive and transformative feature of identity within a socio-historical dimension (Li Wei 2011a: 1223). Within the context of this study, translanguaging is viewed as being a socio-interactive feature of EMI classrooms in France (translanguaging is understood as including practices such as code-switching<sup>48</sup>, co-languaging<sup>49</sup>, and translation<sup>50</sup>) which can be linguistically observed in the speech of bilinguals). As a pedagogical approach, there are arguments (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Langman 2014, Garcia 2009) that translanguaging should be used as a theoretical framework for studying identity in emergent bilingual educational settings. This thesis argues that this is because translanguaging is more closely aligned to what is actually happening in the classroom and therefore more appropriate for framing dynamic bilingualism:

A dynamic theoretical framework of bilingualism allows the simultaneous co-existence of different languages in communication, accepts translanguaging and supports the development of multiple linguistic identities.

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<sup>47</sup> The ethnographic study involved bilingual interactions between myself and the participants.

<sup>48</sup> **code-switching** (also referred to as code-mixing, crossing, creolization): a discursive practice used by bilinguals to signal their bilingualism, involving the use of two languages in an inter-active segment. In educational settings ‘planned code-switching’ is used as a pedagogical tool to draw from all the students’ linguistic repertoires (Garcia 2009).

<sup>49</sup> **co-languaging**: curriculum content delivered to different language groups in parallel, each pedagogical setting theoretically involves a monolingual setting (Lewis et al. 2012, Garcia 2009, Nordic language policy 2007).

<sup>50</sup> **translation**: separating languages to express similar meaning in both. In the classroom, translation is used as a scaffolding technique to switch from the weaker academic language to the stronger academic language (Lewis et al. 2012: 659).

(Garcia 2009: 119)

If today's speakers are involved in 'super-diverse' (Arnaut 2013, Vertovec 2007) global structures where they move into and out of spaces defined by specific communities with different linguistic codes (Blommaert 2010, Wenger 1999), then this phenomenon is expanding to include Higher Education in France. If there has been a recognition that linguistic codes are flexible, and that linguistic repertoires are non-fixed, then how does this relate to contexts where two or more languages are in operation within the same community (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Bush 2014, 2012, Shaw 2013, Lewis et al. 2012, Li Wei 2011a)? Such language contexts - where different languages combine - have led to studies of the 'lived experience' of multiple language use (Lewis et al. 2012, Bush 2012, 2014).

A view that languages combine is the basis of discursive plurality. In discursive plurality there are many separate elements (including different languages) which are part of a greater whole (Emerson and Holquist 1981). This is why theorists such as Busch (2012) have returned to Bakhtin's notion of 'heteroglossia' to designate the dialogical<sup>51</sup> interconnectivity between not only speakers but also between the words that those speakers use (Bakhtin 1981, 1986). Heteroglossia describes the 'primacy of context over text' (Bakhtin 1981: 263) where words take on different meanings in different utterances. The individuality of unique utterances is especially relevant to the bilingual talk. Translanguaging borrows from the concept of heteroglossia. The prefix 'trans' implies that there is a transformation occurring when there is a crossing between languages and new language codes are created in unique interactions specific to bilingual encounters:

At any given time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions - social, historical, meteorological, physiological - that will insure that a word uttered in that place and that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other condition.

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<sup>51</sup> **Dialogism** is a conceptual framework within discourse analysis based on how individual voices echo social discourse and make it their own through 'multidiscursivity' and 'multivoicedness' (Bakhtin 1982). Bakhtin's notion of 'linguistic diversity' is especially relevant to an understanding of 'languages that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other' (Bakhtin 1981a: 295 reviewed in Busch 2014: 24). **Heteroglossia** situates dialogism in the meanings created in contexts where such 'crossings' occur.

(Emerson and Holquist 1981, glossary)

A translanguaging approach to language considers the combination of flexible parts of language (Busch 2012, Li Wei 2011a). Language combination and flexibility would appear to be closely related to the speech of bilinguals, both in terms of their social linguistic experiences and identities (Busch 2014, Li Wei 2011a, Creese and Blackledge 2010). Translanguaging contexts are understood to contain a certain amount of flexible continuity ‘which links the repertoires formed through individual life trajectories to the available linguistic resources in a particular place’ (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014:166) where speakers will both draw from and build on existing linguistic and identity repertoires (Busch 2012, 2014, Lemke 2008, , Zimmerman1998). In interactional linguistics ‘linguistic repertoire’ is based on the notion that speakers choose between all ‘the accepted ways of formulating messages’ depending on need and context (Gumperz 1982: 138).

The notions of linguistic repertoire have been taken up in more recent translanguaging theory to break down the bounded concept of ‘a language’<sup>52</sup>, both in terms of critical sociolinguistics where the notion of ‘‘a’ language is the result of ideological construction and therefore involves power, authority, and control’ (Blommaert 2007: 512). Frameworks which move away from bounded language concepts achieve a better description of translanguaging spaces in which wider linguistic repertoires are used, such as the interactions reported in Li Wei’s (2011a) interviews with bilingual Chinese-English students or Lewis et al.’s (2012) observations of bilingual Welsh-English classrooms. Bilingual educational models which are based on bounded language concepts see separate languages occurring at different times in the curriculum. Nevertheless, such a notion of ‘a language’ is seen as insufficiently representative of how language works as a whole and limiting to those whose linguistic identity is based on expanded repertoires (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Garcia 2009). The interest of using translanguaging as a conceptual framework from which to study language practices is that it allows for both the individuals’ linguistic biography and the specificities of different contexts.

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<sup>52</sup> An idealised concept related to the belief that languages are separate entities, and should be kept separate from each other.

A contextualised study of how multilingualism is experienced and used in specific educational contexts, such as in the present study, is complementary to an understanding of identity as a spatial construction of an inter-communicative act which can be both experienced and observed (Busch 2014, Benwell and Stokoe 2006). An observation of an EMI class will deliver results which may reveal that what practitioners believe they are doing may be different to what they are actually doing. For example, they may say that the class is held in English, whereas it is held in English and French, or that they are not teaching language, when in fact they are focusing on it specifically. It was for this reason that this study gave the participants the opportunity of reporting English usage as they experience it both inside and outside of the classroom and then be ‘confronted’ (Cahour 2006) with examples of their own *in situ* teaching (by enabling the participants to listen and report on the audio recording of the EMI classroom, discussed in chapter 3). Repeated ‘checking’ and discussion of the data with the participants (Harvey 2014), enables the teacher participants to accept that both they and their classrooms are ‘bilingual’ and that ‘English’ may be an appropriate umbrella term for mixed language settings, especially multilingual ELF contexts (Jenkins 2015).

There is therefore need to reflect on ‘the mobility and complexity of multilingual communication modes [where] languages in contact mutually influence each other’ (Creese and Blackledge 2015: 22). There is a difference between observing how such languages come into contact through code-switching for example (Rampton 1995) and the degree to which such an act (of code-switching) is viewed as a strong identifying feature, or as a valid sociolinguistic model of bilingual education which should be encouraged in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012). By building a conceptual framework of a ‘translanguaging *space*’, Li Wei (2011a) has focused on both the active and creative work involved in social interaction (‘*linguaging*’) as a psycholinguistic feature of bilingual Chinese-English speakers. The inter-active relationship of language and identity is also taken into account where mixing has a transformative impact on both languages and identities:

The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived



experience.

(Li Wei 2011a: 1223)

Li Wei's notion of 'space' is relevant to specific bilingual interaction which would not be reproducible elsewhere. An EMI classroom in France, where the participants share L1 French and are talking about biology in an L2 will give rise to unique linguistic combinations and transformations. There is relevance to the connectedness, and positioning (Li Wei 2011a:1222) of such a community (see section 2.2.3 for a discussion of positioning and community in relation to identity) which 'is not a space where different identities, values and practices simply co-exist, but combine together to generate new identities, values and practices' (Li Wei 2011a:1223). Hence the relevance of notions of 'creativity' and 'special space' which were enacted both during the EMI classrooms, teacher-training sessions and interviews I held with the participants of our emergent bilingual community at Nantes University, France.

### **2.1.8 Parallel language use**

Research relating to multiple language contexts in Sweden and Denmark, where English is also used for research and teaching, has addressed 'parallel language use' to describe how languages can be used within Higher Education institutions. This term has little to do with the languages that are actually spoken within the classroom, for example, but much to do with language policy. The Nordic Language Policy Act of 2007 was established as a guideline for language management at the tertiary level in Sweden and Denmark, and to address concerns of local language loss at the expense of English in Higher Education. McGrath (2014) defines the term 'parallel language use' in (1) below and highlights the underlying desire of Nordic language policy to push for equity between languages (in (2)), and downplay status of English in Higher Education:

- 1) The parallel use of language refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas. None of the languages abolishes or replaces the other; they are used in parallel.
- 2) For the university to successfully carry out its mission, Swedish and English should be used in parallel.

(Nordic Language Policy cited in McGrath 2014: 8)

The term ‘parallel language use’ as described above, is focused on language separation rather than on integrated concepts of linguistic repertoire or translanguaging. There may also be a difference in what language policy advises, i.e. using languages separately, and what actually happens in the classroom. At ground level the practices of individuals may show integrated language use, including code-switching (see section 4.4 for examples). Parallel language policy suggests that linguistic forms and historical social relations should be considered separately. It also suggests that languages are distinct, bounded entities, working side by side and that no policy arrangement is made for possible crossings between them. ‘Parallel Language Use’ as a bilingual framework and policy is in alignment with a view that two languages can operate side by side as monolingual languages, and where the desired outcome is ‘simple monolingual duality’ (Garcia 2009: 121). As an educational objective, monolingual duality means speaking either English or French and that the two languages should be kept for separate teaching events. The model is based on additive bilingualism,<sup>53</sup> according to two monolingual standards through which the separate development of each will not extinguish the other (subtractive bilingualism) but is seen as an enrichment possibility (Garcia 2009: 116).

Where there is a belief that languages interact and cross, it may still be maintained that for crossing or interaction to occur, there needs to be separated entities (languages) to begin with. Indeed, Li Wei (2011a) has highlighted that indexing knowledge of different languages in bilingual interaction can be used as a means to both signal and celebrate difference from other (monolingual) speakers. However, this ‘dissection’ does not mirror how the languages occur in trans-existence, nor how they are built upon and compared, even if such separations can be analytically useful in explaining, post-hoc

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<sup>53</sup> Additive bilingualism ( $L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$ ), (as opposed to subtractive bilingualism ( $L1 + L2 - L1 = L2$ )) does not see the use of one language extinguishing the other (Garcia 2009:116).

how different linguistic repertoires combine. The interest of the term ‘translanguaging’ is that it attempts to describe a social space where language phenomena occur simultaneously with possibilities of flexibility, permeability and transformation. Within bilingual educational models, translanguaging practice would fall under the category of dynamic bilingualism based on heteroglossic linguistic practices and beliefs which ‘promotes transcultural identities; that is the bringing together of different cultural experiences and contexts generating a new and hybrid cultural experience’ (Garcia 2009: 117-119).

As the present study is concerned with attitudes to language use, framed by linguistic ideologies, it will also reveal that the different languages are separated according to function and status. Studies of how languages ‘may be arranged sequentially, in parallel, juxtapositionally, or in overlapping form’ (Busch 2014: 4) also reflect how speakers refer to these languages in terms of hierarchical status (as in diglossic contexts<sup>54</sup> as described by Ferguson 1959). The context of the present study, which reveals emerging bilingual practices in Higher Education in France, may invite the question of whether French and English are assigned separate hierarchical territories or even separate functions or whether they can ‘co-exist in the same place’ (Lewis et al. 2012: 656, Garcia 2009: 78-79,). In the translanguaging educational settings described by Garcia (2009) and Lewis et al. (2012) the ‘languages are not placed in a hierarchy according to whether they have more or less power’ (Garcia 2009: 78-79), on the contrary they are equally interchangeable.

Although translanguaging could be viewed as a challenge to diglossia, the current literature on the standardisation process described under the umbrella term of ‘internationalisation’ implies that English is well on the way to becoming a higher variety in Higher Education. There is a difference between language legislation therefore which labels languages as separate, parallel and ideologically (promoted as being) equal (i.e. parallel language policy), and the promotion of EMI which may be more unclear about the status of the local language and English. What may be actually occurring on ground level is another matter. This study predicts that additive bilingual

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<sup>54</sup> Diglossia is discussed in 2.1.9.

educational frameworks based on monolingual duality or parallel language use may no longer be in alignment with translanguaging practices which have been observed in this study.

The present study of an emergent bilingual educational setting, which has been planned and legislated for under the aegis of the Fioraso Law (2013) questions the notion of ‘equity’ or ‘parallelism’ between French and English in Higher Education in France. This is especially relevant within a context where educators signal the power of language status in the global education market. In keeping with current translanguaging theory (Busch 2014, Li Wei 2011a, Lewis et al. 2012), this study contemplates an active translanguaging space created by a specific community, including code-switching within full-range linguistic repertoires. Translanguaging is viewed not only as a pedagogical tool but as an analytical lens through which to study ‘sociolinguistic, ecological and situated’ identities (Lewis et al. 2012: 659).

### **2.1.9 Emerging diglossia and bilingualism in French Higher Education**

The European trend towards having a functional distribution of English for research communication and increasingly for education begs the question of whether English is becoming a higher variety in an emerging diglossic context. In this case English is allocated higher status in certain domains such as research publication, with ‘specific people and for particular functions, whereas the *other* language is kept out of this territorial or functional space’ (my emphasis, Garcia 2009: 155). The previous section on translanguaging spaces explored the extent to which the language practices of bilingual groups are separate or interrelated. With respects to the tensions between these two camps, the societal positions of such languages drew this study to consider whether the situation in French Higher Education could be considered diglossic<sup>55</sup>. This is because diglossic contexts are representative of language shift (Pauwels 2016), which in this case sees an increase in the use of English in French academia.

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<sup>55</sup> Authors such as Shohamy (2012) may refer to the ‘superior status and prestige’ (p.204) of English without necessarily referring to the term ‘diglossia’. Such issues of prestige, power and language as a gatekeeper to certain institutions are nevertheless related to diglossic contexts.

Diglossia is traditionally described as a function of societies where some or all of the population use two (or more languages) (Fishman 1967). Ferguson's initial article entitled 'Diglossia' (1959) borrowed the term from a French academic working on Arabic (Marcais 1930 cited in Ferguson 1959) and Greek languages (Psicharis 1928 cited in Garcia 2009). Traditional diglossic situations described by Ferguson refer to bilingual contexts where one of the two languages has a higher status (High variety) and the other a lower status (Low variety). These languages are often related and share some vocabulary such as in Ferguson's study of Classical Arabic (H) and Al-Ammiyyah (L), Swiss German (H) and Sweizer dielekt (L), Haitian French (H) and Créole (L), and Classical Greek (H) and Dinotiki (L). Fishman (1967) extends the definition of diglossia to contexts which are not necessarily bilingual and where the languages are not necessarily closely related (Baker: 2001). He establishes the following types of relationships between diglossia and bilingualism:

- (1) Both diglossia and bilingualism    (2) Bilingualism without diglossia
- (3) Diglossia without bilingualism    (4) Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

(Fishman 1967: 30)

Before addressing which of these categories the French university context may fall under, the term 'bilingualism' will be explored in view of its relationship to this study.

Although French Higher Education is a context where French and English are used, none of the participants of this study described themselves as 'bilinguals'. Having initially considered the participants of the present study as a 'community of L2 English learners'<sup>56</sup>, the progression of this study compelled me to consider more closely the parallels with diglossia and bilingualism. The interactions and observations were bilingual, accompanied by attitudes to English as a privileged language of academia at Nantes. Although due to my own background as a bilingual speaker from an early age I was aware that my own history of using French and English was different to those of my participants, I became increasingly convinced that the academics I spoke to were

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<sup>56</sup> Initial thesis title: 'Identity shifts within a scientific community of L2 English learners'.

nevertheless ‘bilinguals’ to a degree. Although ‘bilingualism’ is still often associated with native-like proficiency of two languages (Bloomfield 1933), this study has been drawn to include Garcia’s (2009), Fishman’s (1967: 32) and Baker’s (2001) understanding of bilingualism as ‘the ability to use more than one language’ (Garcia 2009: 44).

This study therefore highlights further issues concerning bilingualism as an aspect of an avowed and ascribed identity. It would appear that for ‘bilinguals’ to recognize themselves as such then there needs to be a process, at some point or other in their lives, of ‘mak[ing] sense of their bilingual worlds’ (Garcia 2009:45). Being self-aware of multiple discursive practices from the perspectives of the bilinguals themselves (Garcia 2009:45) is also how Garcia defines translanguaging contexts (defined in section 2.1.7). Nevertheless, within Garcia’s (2009) and Li Wei’s (2011a) definition of translanguaging (as a language practice of bilinguals), bilingualism can only be ascribed to those who identify themselves as being (avowed) bilinguals.

Fishman understands diglossia and bilingualism to be similar sociolinguistic phenomena, where diglossia is societal (defined in sociocultural terms) and bilingualism is individual (defined in psychological terms) (reviewed in Vaish 2007:173 and Garcia 2009: 75). As Fishman himself recognizes, such categorizations are overlapping because ‘individual bilingualism’ cannot be understood outside of the social context in which it occurs (Fishman 1967: 33). Fishman understands diglossia as a societal allocation of functions to different languages and bilingualism as a characterization of individual linguistic versatility (reviewed in Vaih 2007:173 and Garcia 2009: 75). Although Viah (2007) and Coulmas (2005) also view the distinctions in diglossic situations according to monocultural or bicultural conditions (Coulmas 2005: 134, Viah 2007: 173), these distinctions are perhaps less pertinent to the wider, super-diverse and multi-cultural communities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century where ‘the separation of people, goods and information has become more complex’ (Garcia 2009:155, Arnaut 2013, Blommaert 2010). Indeed, such forms of societal change may be seen as an opportunity, by some, to include pedagogical frameworks such as translanguaging into their classrooms (Garcia 2009, Li Wei 2011a). Fishman (1980) views rapid modernization as a threat to lower varieties becoming pidgins and being devalued. In this case, contexts could arise where endangered languages die out and resemble

linguistically isolated monolingual communities (*neither diglossia nor bilingualism*) or contexts in which bilingual languages are not officially recognised (*bilingualism without diglossia*), such as Spanish speakers by the US (Garcia 2009).

The compartmentalisation of languages according to different functions is key to Fishman's four categories. Where both H(igh) and L(ow) varieties are not widespread across a population, then the bilingual population 'would be a small, privileged caste or class' such as the elite French-speaking groups of pre-world war I in England (*diglossia without bilingualism*). Access to learning English is not reserved to a closed group in France, as English is taught to over 90 percent of children from the age of 6 (Eurostat – Europa 2015). However, as was pointed out by Geneviève Fioraso, Minister for Higher Education, more access to English education should be available to all and not just private Higher Education institutions in France. Salomone (2015) and Van Parijs (2007) have pointed out there is inequity between those who have 'excellent English' and a chance to earn 30 to 50 percent higher salaries, and those who do not (Salomone 2015: 248, citing Education First<sup>57</sup>, 2013).

The social pattern of *diglossia without bilingualism* alters when widespread literacy and education democratise access to previously restricted linguistic functions. In such a context there is the possibility for more members of the population to engage in *both diglossia and bilingualism*:

Wherever speech communities exist whose speakers engage in a considerable range of roles (and this is coming to be the case for all but the extremely upper and lower levels of complex societies); wherever access to several roles is encouraged or facilitated by powerful social institutions and processes; and finally, wherever the roles are clearly differentiated (in terms of when, where and with whom they are felt to be appropriate), both diglossia and bilingualism may be said to exist.

(Fishman 1967: 32)

The above condition would appear to apply to the academics of this study because they use English extensively for research. The context of French language policy post 2013

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<sup>57</sup> Education First. (2013). English proficiency index.

suggests a desire to expand English language use to societal bilingualism. Such a transition signals institutional planning which is moving towards *both diglossia and bilingualism* where English is a H(igh) variety within French education.

Unlike translanguaging approaches to bilingualism which view languages as a combined repertoire, Fishman is concerned about what Viah refers to as ‘osmosis’ between diglossic domains which could challenge the functional separation of the speech varieties and endanger the L(ower) variety (Fishman 1967, Viah 2007: 173). It was for this reason that Fishman later (1991) referred to ‘threatened’ and ‘unthreatened’ languages in terms that still suggest linguistic hierarchies relating to power. This is in keeping with Fishman’s original position of describing language change which sees ‘a language or variety which is *fortunate enough* to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces [...] to displace the other(s)’ (my emphasis, Fishman 1967: 36). This present study views language as a function of social identity and not vice versa, (as is suggested by Fishman’s personification of a language being ‘*fortunate*’ above). It is for this reason that the transient language shifts and allocations (including power allocations) are seen to be relevant to policies and speakers as was suggested by Ferguson’s (1959) understanding of diglossia.

Within the context of this study, it is rather the extension of diglossic situations which are ‘exogenetic’. Exogenetic diglossia can refer to languages that are imposed from outside (either by colonisers or institutions). The more traditional ‘endogenetic’ diglossic contexts indicate language sets which originate from within a speech community (Viah 2007: 173). The endogenetic and exogenetic contexts are compared in the table below (without the mono-cultural and bi-cultural distinctions made by Viah and Coulmas):



<b>Genesis of language community</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Endogenetic	Classical Arabic H (igh) Vernacular Arabic L(ow)
Exogenetic	English H (igh) Local language in European Higher Education, in this context, French L(ow)

Table 3 Endogenetic and Exogenetic diglossic contexts<sup>58</sup>.

I have highlighted the comparison between Classical Arabic H and English H because of the relevance of higher varieties (in both endogenetic and exogenetic contexts) to domains where the H variety is an (elitist) language used to access classical literature or religious texts. In such classical literature, such as H Arabic, the body of ‘higher’ literature has usually been produced long ago and is a model in form and content of poetical beauty and religious meaning. This is analogous to the overwhelmingly English-medium publication of impact-factor scientific journal articles (Ferguson et al. 2011, Flowerdew 2001). Ferguson stressed that ‘the importance of using the right variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated’ (Ferguson 1959: 28). When submitting a paper to a scientific journal, the ‘right’ variety is English, and within this category of English there are yet two sub-categories which could be referred to as H-Native English and L-Non-native English. This sub-division of higher and lower varieties is especially relevant to this present study of academics who have experienced submitting research papers to journals in English.

### **2.1.10 Summary of the ‘internationalisation’ of French Higher Education in a European context**

The first section of the literature review explored what is meant by the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education in Europe. The specificities of the French context, including the Fioraso Law (2013), aimed to achieve a contextualised understanding of what it means to speak English in terms of language policy and how English is understood as a language (including its status as a lingua franca) as a strategic operational tool in which ‘internationalisation’ may occur. With respect to

<sup>58</sup> Adapted from Viah (2007: 173) and Coulmas (2005: 134).

‘internationalisation’ occurring in the classroom, other objectives of courses taught in English were explored through the terminology currently in use in France. The bilingual identities and practices of those involved in classrooms where the speakers speak more than one language were studied for their translanguaging particularities.

This study has highlighted the parallels between French Higher Education and emergent ‘bilingualism’ and its ‘diglossic’ allocated functions. For the participants to identify themselves as ‘bilinguals’ then they would have to recognize themselves as ‘valid’ speakers of English, with an understanding of ELF as part of a translanguaging identity (Jenkins 2015). The attitudes to English and French (discussed in the analysis chapter) are in keeping with the diglossic compartementalisation and attribution of different functions to each language.

## **Section 2: Status in the community: a hybrid learner-teacher self**

### **2.2.1 Introduction**

The present study focuses on academics in French Higher Education involved in the professional use of English for research and increasingly for teaching. Language and identity are taken to be interdependent in that ‘language transcends man, and to some extent creates him’ (Kelly 1979: 30) where language is both a product and a function of identity. It was in this vein that an approach to identity was thought to provide a viable framework for this study which took into account how individuals report on and enact their own language use within a specified context. Language use is understood as ‘the entity which forges human relationships, which forms human beings by giving [them] the tools to express their experiences of the real’ (Kelly 1979: 26).

The events which are relative to this study are those which occur within a professional domain of social identity. Wider, national events have occurred at the level of institutional language planning and legislative acts. More local events have occurred within the interactions between the individuals of this study, including myself. This section addresses some of the relevant literature for understanding social and interactive identity. The aspects of social identity which will be discussed concern definitions of professional identity (in contrast to other types of identity) within a Community of Practice (henceforth CoP) framework for understanding social identity (Wenger 1999). CoP theory, which initially investigated communities of learning (Lave and Wenger 1991), is relevant to this study of a community of scientific research and instruction. For the purposes of this study, a CoP framework is based on understanding how social groups, involved in common practices, are associated to people’s attitudes and positioning to other individuals (Langenhove and Harré 1994). Attitudes to L1 and L2 languages – as a defining feature of an identity – will be discussed in relation to the status of different social identities (such as those of the learner, teacher and expert).

An individual’s status and positioning to the group will be understood in relation to the social group and the attitudes expressed by its members. This section will explore the status of the members of the community under study who are life-long, professional

learners of an L2. Because of the recent language legislation in France, which focuses solely on Higher Education, academics are now undergoing what I have described as a shifting status. Highly qualified and formally safe in the role of ‘the expert in their field’, many of these lecturers are embarking on the new, unfamiliar territory of teaching in English and even undergoing new evaluation processes such as the TOEPAS<sup>59</sup> or TOPLUTE<sup>60</sup>. This could be interpreted and experienced as a demotion in terms of social status, depending on the participants’ attitudes towards epistemic status and stance (Mondada 2013a). A change in status can also be understood as loss of face (Brown and Levinson 1987, Goffman 1959) that concerns the hierarchical status within one’s profession and may also imply a need for both the participants and theorists to reframe their current definitions of what it means to be a French academic.

In terms of what defines a language learner, the context of this study has also identified the need to explore new definitions of teacher and learner. The academics in this study described themselves as ‘learners’ of English, which appears inconsistent with their prolific use of English for research communication and publication. I have been reluctant to define the academics of this study as ‘learners of English’, and hesitated, right from the start about this term which seemed inappropriate for such competent and prolific users of English. It is for this reason that the language learner status of the participants is discussed in closer alignment with ‘emergent bilingualism’ models (Garcia 2009, see section 2.1.9), which this study aims to promote in French Higher Education.

### **2.2.2 Framing identity within a professional educational context**

The aspects of the socio-linguistic identity debate which have particularly informed this study have been the theories which have addressed the issue of identity as being both continuous and changing and which Grad and Rojo (2008) describe as:

A subjective sense of a solid, complete and continuing self and the other [...]

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<sup>59</sup> Test of English Proficiency for Academic Staff (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use, Copenhagen University and Nantes University)

<sup>60</sup> Test of performance for teaching at University Level through the medium of English (University of Basque Country).

identities that derive from situation roles and more continuing membership in social groups.

(Grad and Rojo 2008: 9)

Such an approach to identity allows for the different terms people use to describe identity when it is experienced as inwardly conceptual (the self) and identity as a social phenomenon (the person). This difference in perspective has been represented in Riley's (2007) ethno-linguistic identity framework (see below).

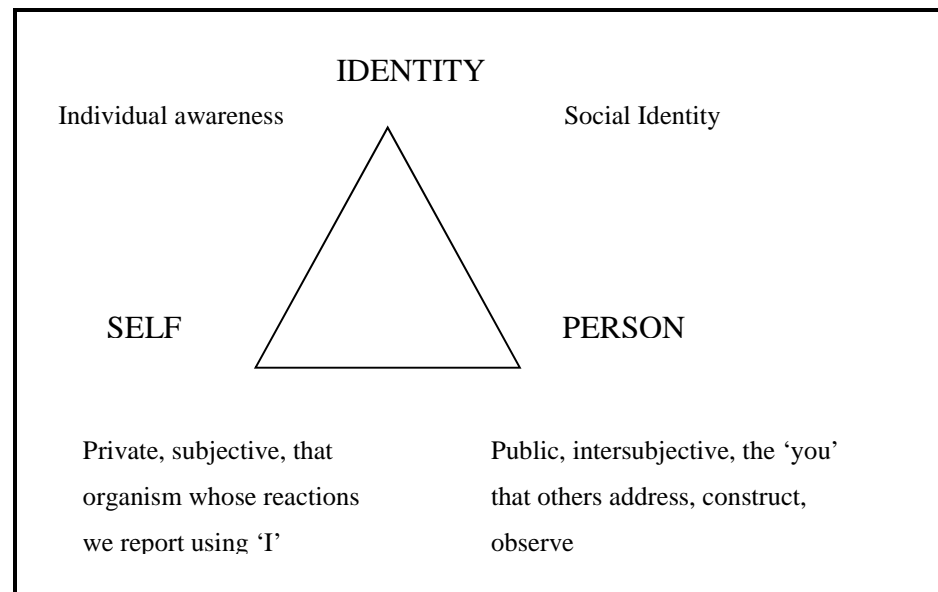


Figure 4 Riley's ethno-linguistic framework (2007: 87)

The subjective and inter-subjective relationship of identity is in keeping with socio-constructivist linguistic models of identities in their social context (Bourdieu 1982). In the field of social theory, Archer understands 'social identity' as a sub-set of personal identity because the focus on reflexivity within this relationship is perceived from the 'I'. From this perspective, personal identity is 'the achievement of subjects themselves in relation to their environment' (Archer 2003:120). The degree of causality between identity and social environment is described as an impression of objectivity when describing 'structure', in contrast to a sense of subjectivity when reporting in the first person (Archer 2003: 1). An understanding of how structures influence agency and vice-versa is relevant to a study such as the present where individuals report on how institutional policy (structure) impacts on their identities. The mediation between structure and agency is taken to be centred upon human reflexivity and the reception of

circumstances as they are understood by those agents (Archer 2003: 15). When considering impressions of determinism, conditioning or reactions to the institutional structure, these are taken from the starting position of language where ‘we don’t talk *to* society, we talk *about* society’ (Archer 2003: 129).

In a socio-constructivist approach to identity, researchers such as Lemke (1994, 2008) continue to highlight the Cartesian problem of combining the embodied individual (the physical biological object) where ‘identities come to feel fixed even if there are convincing demonstrations in the social sciences that identity is a construction, a process never completed, always in process’ (Hall 1996: 2). The present study also takes identity to be a cumulative and progressive construct of both embodiment and time-scales:

The notion of identity needs to be more scale-differentiated: that is, we need a range of differentiated concepts from that of identity-in-practice or the short timescales of situated small-group activity, to notions of identity appropriate to larger institutional scales and lifespan development. Identities across timescales are integrated by means of the material continuity of bodies and other socially meaningful material constructions across time.

(Lemke 2008: 18)

Such an approach seemed relevant to a study of identity which would take into account the past and present identities of an L2 language speaker<sup>61</sup>. To what extent would past events have an impact on the present self, and to what extent could such an identity be perceived by the participants as continuous, progressing or on the contrary, unchanging? These questions have also been addressed by researchers who have studied English language learning contexts (Block 2007, Norton 1995, 1997, 2000). A contextualised study of learner identity therefore takes into account a language learner’s history without limiting its possibility of progression, shift or change.

The justification for incorporating longer-term approaches to identity was that the ‘sociolinguistic profile of a given community [...] gains in intelligibility if the historical

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<sup>61</sup> Houzé-Robert’s (2005) thesis in sociology on academics at the Nantes Science faculty focused on the importance of memory (hence the relationship between past and present identities) in the production of scientific knowledge.

dimension is taken into account' (Bonfour 1994: 38 my translation). The historical dimension of identity work looks at an evolving individual within an evolving time frame (Broudic 2013, Hoddeson 2006, Lemke 2008, Bonfour 1994). This present study focuses on what people have to say about language use both in their present and past lives. As well as the immediacy of identity work which is highlighted by a Conversational Analysis approach to interactions (Mondada 2013a, Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, Schegloff 2007, Sacks 1992 [1964-72] ), this study also concedes that '[i]dentities can be there long before the interaction starts and thus condition what can happen in such interaction' (Blommaert 2005: 206).

The socio-historical dimension of identity is in keeping with Li Wei's (2011a) framework of 'translanguaging' which takes into account both present, and past identities. When studying the discursive practices of bilinguals, translanguaging is taken to be a specific moment created by bilinguals who bring together 'different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience' (Li Wei 2011a: 1223). The focus on historical identity is nevertheless sociological in this study (rather than psychological) because identity is not taken to be 'transformative' or 'brought out' in critical developmental or stages (for 'transformative' learner identity see Illeris 2014). The call to past learner identities continuing to the present is based on Kehrwald's (2014) and Li Wei (2011a: 1224) methods for studying learner histories. Visual representations of a learner timeline, for example can be used as a referral point to talk about a whole learning experience rather than as a focus on critical moments which 'remain below the level of conscience' (Li Wei 2011a: 1224).

The starting point for studying identity in this study is nevertheless the one which is described, developed and re-assessed in a specific context (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Benwell and Stokoe 2006). This can be the moment of an interaction, the moment of responding to a specific question or the moment of drawing a picture. It is during these moments that discourse is created (Blommaert 2005). The approach to identity in this study is in keeping with studies which analyse identity from a semiotic angle (Blommaert 2005: 204, Caldas-Coulthard and Iedema 2007: 29). Such semiotic moments of identity will include linguistic definitions of reality which necessarily

result from hindsight, interpretation and modification. Identity-making semiosis will occur in the moments when people signal how they have accumulated linguistic, personal, and social histories which they call 'identities' (Giddens 1991). The identities in question are those we are ascribed by others but also those we claim for ourselves as avowed marks of identity status (Blommaert 2005, Butler 1988). For example, the social identity category of 'an expert' may be bestowed onto a researcher whereas that person may be more hesitant about avowing such an identity.

The approach to identity in this study therefore takes into account the cumulative aspect of identity which integrates both the biographisation of the self and the construction of a reflexive self. Giddens refers to biographisation as 'the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography' (1991:53). Such an approach to a language learner's biography allows for both the continuous and shifting statuses which an individual may present when creating a discourse of the self. A language trajectory may also be represented as a series of 'thresholds' or key stages within such a learner's biography (Wodak and Kryzanowski 2008). Far from occurring in isolation, the biographisation of a highly transient individual, either as a learner of an L2, migrant, or a professional undergoing institutional change, may give rise to more expressions of uncertainty or ambiguity where 'transient, sometimes unclear relationships between self and other contribute to an individual's position vis-à-vis a collective identity' (Wodak and Kryzanowski 2008: 98). Language learning histories, where individuals auto-biographize their learning have been explored by the visual methods used by Kehrwald (2014). Kehrwald invites participants to visually represent a timeline from the past to the present day as a language learning path, visually represented with its highs and lows (Kehrwald 2014). Such a socio-biographization of the learner, for example, situates identity within a specific context but also allows for salient moments to be privileged.

### **2.2.3 Communities of practice as a framework for professional identity**

This section will outline a key approach to understanding identity as group membership within the context of education as a profession. Within this context, the



professional context of Higher Education involves the interactions and positioning which occur between the (card holding<sup>62</sup>) members of that professional learning community. CoP theory, which initially investigated communities of learning (Lave and Wenger 1991) is relevant to this study of a community of scientific research and instruction. Such communities are above all speech communities of people who interact and communicate regularly and who share either a speech variety or norms and rules for the use of language (Garcia 2009: 74). The concept of membership is based on the premise of the subjective and inter-subjective function of identity:

Building an identity consists of negotiating the means of our experience of membership in social communities. The concept of identity serves as a pivot between the social and the individual, so that each can be talked about in terms of the other. It avoids the simplistic individual-social dichotomy without doing away with the distinction.

(Wenger 1999:145)

Membership is understood to involve all social individuals be they 'actively participative, non-participative or indirectly participative' (Wenger 1999: 152). All the members of the academic community may not be directly involved with scientific research, (for example in the case of administrative staff and technicians) but are essential for the organisation and well-being of the community (Dias 2014).

Block (1997) has used a community of practice framework for understanding learner identity in opposition to essentialist approaches of a fixed 'learner' type for example. This present study takes into consideration Block's post-structuralist approach to individuals as members of different communities of practice but also takes into consideration both the continuous elements of identity as well as the different situated contexts where identities influence and are influenced by the social group in which they interact.

A CoP approach is relevant to closed or semi-closed groups such as academia that operate on highly structured and hierarchical membership categorisation (Omoniyi 2006, Tajfel 1981) with specific rules of conduct (Brown and Levinson 1987, Goffman

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<sup>62</sup> Each member of a Higher Education establishment is given a student or professional ID card which signals and validates them as being a member of that community. This physical representation of membership emphasises both the inclusiveness of its members and the exclusion of others.

1959). Membership can operate in local or global contexts formed within the domain of the internet, for example. By engaging with theories of learning as a social phenomenon (Vygotsky 1962), learning English can be considered as a one of the 'layering of events of participation' (Wenger 1999:151). Whereby learning English coincides with other layers of participation, including learning 'biology', learning other subjects, but also interacting with co-workers in the workplace (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2014). In the context of this study, the community could be said to be a bilingual speech community where English and French are used for different functions (see section 2.1.9 on diglossia and bilingualism). Understanding individuals as evolving within communities of practice also allows for these salient moments to express and prioritise certain contextualised identities (such as a professional identity during a discussion of a specific topic, for example).

These salient moments of identity have been prioritised in studies which focus on how identity can shift according to need and priority. Omoniyi (2006) referred to such shifts as the hierarchies of identity (HOI) depending on specific needs and interactions. Such shifts have also been understood as a process of 'layering' to express the dynamic levels of identity work operating within multiple communities (Blommaert 2007). Blommaert refers to the 'layered simultaneity' of multiple identity memberships occurring on the same micro scale ('neighbourhoods') or level. Blommaert's scale is imagined as a vertical superposition of identity traits and memberships which are constantly under 'processes of hierarchical ordering' which 'are not juxtaposed, but layered and distinguished' (Blommaert 2007:1). The shifts up and down such a scale will also result in affective shifts. This is because as one element moves along a scale of immediate priorities, an individual will give greater or lesser value to the 'strongest' or most relevant.

A scale-differentiated approach to identity combines both the short and long term identity traits as well as membership to local and larger, institutional communities. These scalar approaches remain a theoretical framework to allow for the complexity of identity. Ranges of weak to strong identification can be modulated and may change from context to context (Krzyzanowski and Wodak 2008). Although Blommaert's (2007) and Omoniyi's (2006) shifting order of salient identity moments may be useful in expressing short term priorities (i.e. I feel more of a mother when I am with my son

than when I am at work), a scalar approach does not account for the continuous aspects of identity which are 'the cumulative repertoire' (Lemke 2008, Giddens 1991) of identities played out in the past and which have repercussions in the present (Goffman 1959, Butler 1988). A scalar approach may allow for quick modulations and shifts up and down a scale but it may also need revisiting to allow for contradictory identity claims expressed within one measured response. That is to say, one may be ambiguously related to a certain community, where feelings of belonging and non-belonging may be expressed (Norton 2000).

### **2.2.3.1 Positioning as a function of community membership**

With respects to using English as a vector of communication within a community of shared scientific interest, the practices of other members of a same scientific community of academics will have an impact on the attitudes of individuals who are active in the practice of teaching a specialist subject in English, for example. Within the contexts corresponding to how people describe their identities at work, the influence of how other people are perceived are taken to be a part of identity (Coffey 2013, Grad and Rojo 2008, Riley 2007, Simmel 1950). Impressions of the self and the other, or the self in opposition to the other are understood in terms of the institution, institutional policy, the community and other individuals. The social relationship of identity will play a role in how individuals present themselves (Goffman 1959) and how they will position themselves in relation to being representative or non-representative of the community. The extent to which French L1 speakers may feel a greater or lesser sense of belonging to an international community of English speakers is relevant to a study of L2 usage in education and in the workplace (Blair 2012, Jenkins 2006). Understanding the individual in terms of investment (Norton 2000) into a professional learning community is also helpful in preparing for and then analysing identities which are also situated within a professional context.

Attitudes to other members of a professional community come into operation from a positioned social identity. The term 'position' implies a critical stance in terms of affect, ideology and epistemological in relation to other people (Ochs 1993). In keeping with studies which use the moment of meaning-making semiosis as a starting point for studying identity, positioning has been studied from the micro (local displays of

identity) to the macro level (dominant discourses or master narratives) (De Fina 2013, Georgakopoulou 2007, Bamberg 2004). Such a discursive approach to analysing identity builds on narratological perspectives of how ‘stories’ of the self are negotiated in an interactive moment (Georgakopoulou 2007, Bamberg 2004). Positioning can occur during an interaction as a negotiation of status and epistemological domination (Mondada 2013, Bamberg 2004). Positions to the ‘other’ are played out as dominant and subordinate positions within an interaction (Bamberg 2004). This is particularly relevant to communities of learning where the experience of knowledge gain and knowledge deficit is heightened. Norton (2000) describes this type of identity work as a site of struggle, cooperation and negotiation. Mondada’s (2013a, 2013b) studies on business meetings and guided tour interactions highlight the struggle to acquire or to maintain epistemological status within contexts where specialist knowledge is competed for. A parallel can be drawn with the H(igher) and L(ower) diglossic varieties discussed in 2.1.8, where the specialist knowledge is accessible only through access to the H(igher) variety, in this case, English. In the context of Higher Education, where academics may have to teach in a foreign language for example, their epistemological status as ‘holder of knowledge’ may be challenged by a weakened linguistic status which Preisler (2014) identifies as loss of credibility. Such negotiations for epistemological status as a function of social identity have been the focus of this study, be they through group interactions, formal presentations, teaching, or interview contexts.

Positioning can be an identifying feature to signal longer standing allegiances or rejections to communities, institutional policies or wider belief systems through ideologies (Bamberg 2004, Harré and Lange Grove 1991, 1994, Ochs 1993, De Fina 2013). In both the positioning that occurs in face-to-face interaction, and in the positioning to macro social processes and ideas, the levels of positioning are complex and multiple (described by Georgakopoulou 2007, Bamberg 2004, and De Fina 2003, 2013, as occurring on at least three levels).

### **2.2.3.2 Positioning and language ideology**

At the intersection of attitudes to language described in section 1, how individuals position these attitudes as community members draws on concepts of language

ideology. Language ideology is understood as a systematic organisation of attitudes which drives human motivation, action and resistance. The term 'idéologie' originates from 18th century France and the understanding of 'idéologie' was close to a philosophical understanding of 'a science of ideas and their basis in sensation' (Schiefflin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998: 5). In this sense ideology is subjectively related to mental concepts. This is why ideology is described by socio-cognitivist Van Dijk as 'a system of ideas' in cognitive processes (2006:115). This study focuses more on the sociological approach to understanding ideology as 'shared representations of social groups and more specifically as the 'axiomatic' principles of such representations' (Van Dijk 2006: 115).

Within the context of this study, the discursive representation of 'axioms' or 'beliefs' is studied in order to determine what such ideologies may be, how they are acquired, expressed, confirmed, changed or perpetuated through discourse (Van Dijk 2006: 115). In relation to how individuals position themselves to their community, ideology can be an identifying marker to distinguish oneself from a group or, on the contrary, to confirm belonging. A CoP framework will undoubtedly include ideology as a function of group membership where ideologies are the 'ultimate basis of the discourses and other social practices of the members of social groups *as group members*' (Van Dijk 2006: 117). Studies of national identity, for example, systematically refer to ideology as a framework for understanding how people create discourses which they apply to a whole social group. Anderson's (2006) definition of national identity therefore understands national identity as an 'imagined' community, hence an ideology, rather than an inherent national identity trait belonging to a group of people:

An imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

(Anderson 2006: 6)

Linguistic markers to indicate ideologies, such as *we*, *them* can be found at the 'intersection' between conceptual ideology and language (Schiefflin, Woolard and Kroskrity: 1998) via the study of the texts produced by the participants. Texts are understood to be 'samples of either spoken or written languages' (Fairclough 2013: 3).

Halliday (1978) describes the dynamic function of texts as working to simultaneously represent reality, enact social relations and create new identities. The issue is how ideological discourse is maintained and reproduced. Within the context of this study the use of the term ‘internationalisation’ has been used in texts published to signal an ideology concerning a newer definition of French universities (post 2013). When course managers contact me because they wish to offer courses in English at their universities, they will probably use the term ‘internationalisation’ as part of their justification.

Maintaining or perpetuating ideology is therefore a two-way process which either ensures that communities will believe, follow and perpetrate ‘the party line’ or resist it (Fairclough 2013). Ideology can also be seen as dogma in the ‘service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power’ (Schiefflin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998: 7). For instance, the Fioraso Law (2013) is emblematic of a party line which associates English language use with notions of the national ‘soft power’ (term, it will be remembered, used in the senatorial white paper in proposal of the Fioraso Law). It is both the tool and a material property of the dominant groups. This is what is meant by referring to (either written or spoken) texts as manifestations of institutional discourse. The value of a socio-historical approach to identity as is discussed in section 2.2.2 in relation to studying ideological discourse may also be a longer term perspective of how ideologies are repeated, transformed and even replaced (Blommaert 2007). Within the context of this study, ideological discourse is also taken to be a manifestation of group membership during the creation of texts (either during interview or when responding to a questionnaire). For example, the ideological claim that ‘English is the language of science’ signals that ‘sometimes ideologies become shared so widely that they seem to have become part of the generally accepted attitudes of that entire community’ (Van Dijk 2006: 117).

#### **2.2.4 Summary of ‘status in the community: a hybrid learner-teacher self’**

This study explores teacher-learner status within a shifting context of linguistic

authority in French Higher Education. Learner identity has been described by the participants within a timeframe of past, present and future learner statuses (Dörnyei 2009), in keeping with studies which have investigated L2 speakers and how they define their learner status over time (Ellis 1994). The consideration of identity within this study has allowed for how participants re-frame and re-define themselves as learners over time. To this end, the study has used a process of co-constructive and collaborative reflexion with the participants (the ‘auto-confrontational’ approach, Cahour 2006 and ‘beyond member checking’, Harvey: 2014) discussed in the methods.

### **2.2.5 Summary of the literature review**

Through the review of the relevant literature, chapter two aimed to situate the French context within a process which has been referred to as the ‘internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe’ (Werther et al. 2014, Cots et al. 2014, Tange 2010). The literature shows that the language of internationalisation in French Higher Education is currently (indirectly) understood to be English. The type of English which is in use, or ‘should be in use’ is therefore a contested issue, highlighting further issues of competence, relevance and English as a lingua franca as part of a multilingual identity.

As it concerns academics who use English for research publication but also for teaching, the study has also addressed the aims and conceptual dimensions of CLIL and EMI pedagogy. Courses taught in a second language have been defined as bilingual educational contexts (Garcia 2009). This study has therefore considered the extent to which the context under study can be considered bilingual and the extent to which English is becoming a H(igher) variety in an emerging diglossic context for both publication and teaching.

These changes, which are still very recent in France, will be of considerable impact on the academic communities of French Higher Education. It is for this reason that an understanding of identity was complementary to this study for apprehending the relationship between such individuals within a community of practice and how academics would understand their own position in relation to their contexts. Such shifts in professional practice have led to a re-evaluation of what it means to be a ‘learner’ or an ‘expert’.

## Chapter 3: Methods

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used to gather and analyse data in this study, based on a qualitative research approach. The rationale for a qualitative approach is given in section 3.2. Qualitative research is understood as:

The studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives.

(Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 3)

The methods of data collection used in this study were a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and visual creations in response to questions. The methods were devised to offer a body of texts which could then be used to answer the following research questions:

Research question	Methods
How do the participants perceive using English as either a benefit or an inconvenience to their own professional lives, and those of their students?	Questionnaire, interviews, and classroom observation.
How do the participants position their own identities as English speakers in relation to other speakers of English within the international community?	Questionnaire, interview, and classroom observations.



How do the participants differentiate between professional and other uses of English?	Questionnaire, interview, classroom observations and visual creations.
How do the participants position their own identities as English speakers in relation to their identities as speakers of French, and other languages?	Questionnaires, interviews, classroom observations, and visual creations.
How is English presented as an 'obligatory' professional language and how does this reflect institutional ideology?	Questionnaire, interview, and classroom observations.

Table 4 Research methods used to explore the research questions.

These questions were used to inform the main research question which was:

**To what extent can English be regarded as a medium of identity in the post-Fioraso Law (2013) period?**

This chapter will give background information about the participants of this study and the research context. An overview of, and justification for, each method will be provided along with the analytical approach adopted. Data reliability and generalisability will also be discussed.

### 3.2 Research methodology: rationale for a qualitative methods design

Distinctions between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research are based on 'deeper beliefs about the nature of research itself and the world it seeks to understand' (Richards 2009: 148). The decision to use a qualitative methods design for this study was closely aligned with a social constructivist approach to 'understanding, through locally situated investigation, participants' social construction of reality' (Richards 2009: 148). The methodological approach was therefore in keeping with a broad definition of the identities of the participants as non-fixed and socially constructed (Giddens 1991, Lemke 2008, 1994, Norton 2000). Even if this study used questionnaires (commonly associated with quantitative studies which count and compare frequencies, Dörnyei 2007: 26), the questionnaires were used to explore the textual responses of the respondents, which they wrote to justify and explain the closed responses options that they were asked to complete. Aspects of this study which were quantifiable, such as the demographic details of the participants, or the numbers of article publications, were used as contextual information which were explored through the oral, written and visual responses created by the participants. The qualitative approach to the study valued the 'perception of individual diversity' above all (Dörnyei 2007: 25). It was because of the following general distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches to identity that this study proposes a qualitative framework to data analysis:

The QUAN[titative] solution is to take a large enough sample in which the idiosyncratic differences associated with the particular individuals are ironed out by the sample size and therefore the pooled results largely reflect the commonalities that exist in the data. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, question the value of preparing an overall, average description of a larger group of people because in this way we lose the individual stories.

(Dörnyei 2007: 27)

The qualitative methodological approach of this study was motivated by the belief in the multiple meanings to be gained in an ethnographic study. Ethnography is understood as a methodological approach to a research field in which:

the ethnographer participat[es], overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

(Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:1)

As the fieldwork was constructed in my workplace, the answers reflected the fact that I was also a member of the community (Mason 2006). The study was therefore based on an interpretivist and naturalist, rather than a positivist, approach<sup>63</sup> (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004). It was anticipated, in accordance with a view of identity as socially situated, that the participants would frame their own positions in relation to other people. In addition, the participants were not expected to be consistent or to hold fixed positions in response to questions.

This study was informed by an awareness of the benefits of a local ethnographic study which can highlight both the local (micro) context of English language usage at Nantes University with a view on wider attitudes to English on a more global (macro) level. As Dörnyei points out, the concept of motivation to using English within a specific (micro) community can offer interesting parallels with the (macro) process of 'language globalisation [...] from a macro-quantitative perspective' (Dörnyei 2007: 30). For example, Lawson studied the case of Britons living in the Ariège region (micro) in association to a study of how expats are perceived the British media (macro) (Lawson 2015). Within the context of this study, the national French press and relevant language legislation concerning English were used in support of the literature which could give further information concerning the institutional context in which the participants were involved. Hence the micro-local attitudes to a macro-global phenomenon of English usage have been described within their local socio-historical context. The approach to the context of language legislation in France was consistent with socio-historical frameworks of identity that take into account past and present contexts as having an impact on individuals (Broudic 2013, Lemke 2008, Hoddeson 2006, Bonfour 1994).

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<sup>63</sup> Naturalism is an approach used in ethnography to acknowledge the non-fixed identities of the researcher and his/her participants in the natural research field. The subsequent findings are based on interpretations made by the researcher, with the participants, rather than on 'truths' which a positivist approach aims to obtain at a given moment.

Such a framework acknowledges both a conception of significant events whilst also believing that their significance is to be defined by how humans interpret them.

The study drew on qualitative methods because of the researcher's involvement in the community, the multiple sources of data, the theoretical lens, and subsequent interpretation of a complex issue (Creswell 2007: 37-39). Subsequently, the ethnographic study enabled the collection of 'experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals' (Creswell 2007: 54). The accounts which the participants gave through the media of writing, talking and drawing were then read as narratives of the self which were positioned in relation to myself and the community under study (Georgakopoulou 2007, Bamberg 2004, Lange Grove and Harré 1994). Ethnographic observation, of which interviewing is a part, involves asking questions and listening to participant insider accounts who are expected to give solicited and unsolicited accounts in response to questions (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004: 126-131). The participants are identified as being part of a group, hence the term 'insider account'. This is why the group of people under study are perceived as a separate or 'bounded' case under study (Yin 2003). Initially the case is studied for its own specificities, in much the same way as anthropological studies referred to 'tribes' (Levi-Strauss 1955), which can be further compared or contrasted with other cases.

The observation consisted of studying a group of individuals participating in the 'event', and 'activity' (Yin 2003) of English usage within a bounded organisation which is Higher Education. The study was illustrative of a bounded case study approach in that the case at Nantes could be used as an example to illustrate other similar communities which use English. The phenomenon of using 'English' was also applicable to phenomenological approaches to qualitative enquiry where the participants shared a common experience, but departed from phenomenology in that a common experience was not considered as being appropriately definable in terms of philosophical 'essence' (philosophy of Edmund Husserl 1859-1938). Phenomenologists will try to define what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon (Cresswell 2007: 58). Although many people in the world have the shared experience of using English professionally, the individual and unique experiences of individuals within varied socio-economic contexts would be tenuous as an essentialist experience from which to generalise. Another departure from phenomenology is the desire for phenomenologists

to 'bracket out' (Cresswell 2007: 59) their own conceptualisation of an issue or problem, whereas an ethnographic approach such as this one will include the researcher's own interpretation of the events under observation. Consequently, the model I devised below illustrates the main methodological influences of this study:

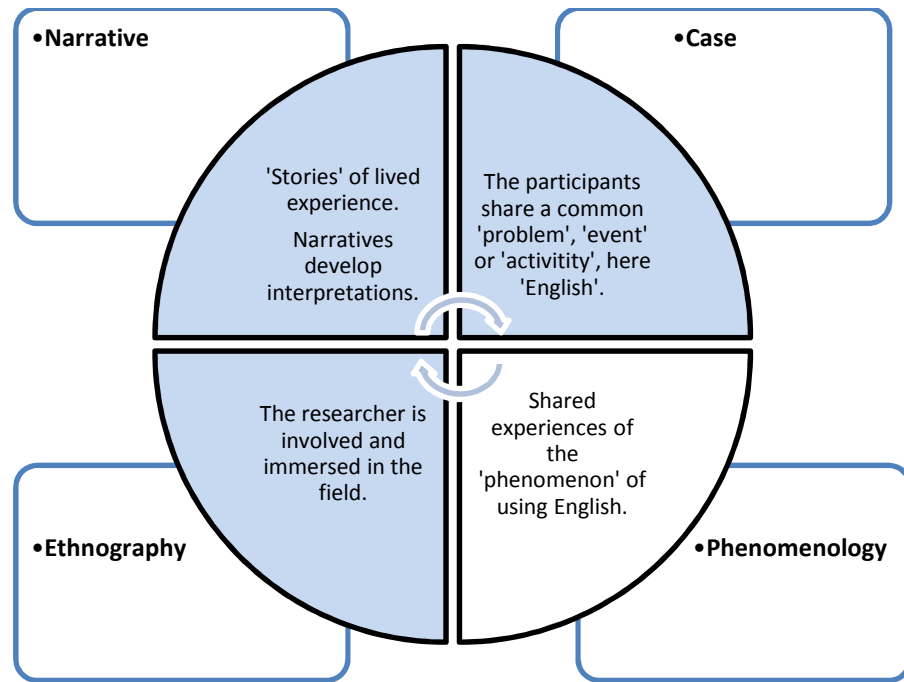


Figure 5 Methodological approaches<sup>64</sup>.

The variety of data sets meant that the analytical approaches were both specific to the methods used but also complementary to the final body of texts that were collected from the four data sets (a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and visual creations).

In the questionnaire, the responses were extracted to build a small corpus which provided a body of text which was subsequently analysed according to the themes that had been addressed in the questions. Each question created sub-corpora which could be read as a group of responses to a specific question of the questionnaire, or the corpus could be read as a whole (all of the open responses to the questionnaire). The corpus

<sup>64</sup> These methodological approaches influenced the initial organisation, and data collection of the study of English as a medium of academic identity. A combination of ethnography, case and narrative approaches were used for the data analyses.

was interrogated with a concordancer which was used to test frequency, collocation and textual context of a specific words, such as 'English' or 'French'.

The transcribed interviews were also collated into a corpus of words which were analysed as situated narratives (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, Bamberg 2004, De Fina 2003). Situated narratives in sociolinguistics are understood as 'small stories as sites of identity work' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008: 377). In this case, those taking part in the story were the researcher (myself) and the participant who took on different roles in the shared moment of the interview which was built on our shared personal, professional and past experiences. The link between literary narrative and social enquiry (Labov 1972) exemplifies that when people talk about themselves their stories are comparable to the structure of narrative. For example, there will be a beginning, middle and an end to the interview. The participants' accounts were read as narratives including the different ways people position and display identities in social discourse (Bamberg 2004). The participants were 'telling a story' about English (including learning English, difficulties about using English, and other colleagues who used English) which 'embedded the story in surrounding talk' (De Fina 2013: 53) with myself, the interviewer. Key episodes or turning points within the interaction may be identified as memorable moments in the interview which link momentary experiences to other stories of identity (Whincup 2004, Butler 1988). This allowed the interviews to be read as connecting identity constructions (between myself and the interviewee, between the interviewees, and to perceptions of macro social processes such as the institutional context) (De Fina 2013, Georgakopoulou 2007, Archer 2003). In the case of using English within an institutional context, representation of structure and agency are based on the relationship between the ideologies people create but also adhere to in their accounts of professional identity.

The interview corpus (containing 20 situated narratives) was studied for recurrent themes which were representative of positioned and ideological discourse (such as beliefs about other French speakers, beliefs about native speakers of English, professional English domain usage, personal English domain usage, and reactions to the Fioraso Law). The coding of the themes required different levels of coding which would both situate the parts of the text that addressed the Fioraso Law (through a word

search in the concordance, for example) but which needed to be sub-divided into more categories to explain why and how a participant responded to the Fioraso Law in relation to other themes such other students, other colleagues, or even the French language. The use of the concordancer helped to address who had said what (each interview transcript was read as one file) whilst the corpus of all the interview transcripts could also be read as a single corpus. Nevertheless, even if the focus on words in the concordancer was used as a guide to the data, the concordance was used for its ability to collate and manage searches through the corpora in addition to the manual reading of data segments.

The classroom observations and visual creations were analysed as field notes relative to an ethnographic approach. From these events resulted recorded extracts, non-recorded interviews with EMI (English as a medium of instruction) teachers and teacher-trainees, drawings and research notes. The discussion with the participants (over a four year period) could occur in a classroom, by email, on the phone, or over lunch.

The variety of data that ensued was studied as a collection of ethnographic artifacts which are a collection of objects (here texts and images created by the participants). The analysis was based on a holistic interpretation (my own, but also those of the participants) of the events in which these artifacts were created.

### **3.3 Defining the professional profiles of the participants**

The rationale for choosing to study an academic scientific community derives from my 20 years of experience of working in different disciplines as an English teacher and translator. For the past 10 years I have worked alongside scientists at Nantes University where I teach English at the Science faculty. Because my Science colleagues wrote their articles in English we increasingly came into contact when I was asked to edit or translate my colleagues' research papers which they are required to publish in English. It was during these meetings that it became apparent to me that using English was impacting on my colleagues' professional lives. The study had ethnographic beginnings well before the research proposal was framed; by 'examining people in interaction in ordinary settings' and working alongside some of my future participants (Creswell

2007: 71). The drawbacks and advantages of such a researcher's position in this study are discussed throughout the study and in 3.7 of the methods.

French academics working in scientific domains use English for professional purposes (Ammon and McConnell 2002). In 2016, peer-reviewed scientific articles written by French-speaking scientists are published in English (see section 4.1). Using English for research enables academics who work in the sciences to have direct access to the wider international scientific community. At the same time, and across the disciplines, language training budgets in languages other than English have gradually diminished in French Higher Education over the past decade (Eurostat –Europa 2015), confirming that English as a global lingua franca is having an impact on the learning of other languages (Pauwels 2011, 2014). English is now the only second language taught at the Science, Medical and Pharmaceutical faculties at the University of Nantes. The Science faculty has the highest amount of English language tuition in hours of teaching time per academic year at Nantes University<sup>65</sup>.

The participants of this study were academics working at the University of Nantes, France. By 'academics' I mean people who teach and are involved in research. Academic identity can be considered as relevant to the fields of teacher identity, researcher identity and learner identity. This means that the vocational or professional identity of an academic is an identity which can be categorised but which is not necessarily distinct and non-transferable with other identities. Professional identity is taken to be one of the many levels of participation within different social groups (Canrinus et al. 2011, Wenger 1999). The academics of this study were working in the Science departments of the University of Nantes. The ratio of teaching-to-research depended on other factors such as academic title, research status or working conditions defined by the participants' professional contracts. The academics were civil servants working within the French ministry for education and had permanent contracts.

In accordance with an ethnographic approach of studying a community already in operation, the community under study had been together for an extended period of time

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<sup>65</sup> Total hours of English language lessons (excluding EMI) taught in the Science faculty for 2012-13: 3372 hours, with no other languages taught.



(Creswell 2007:71). This justified the choice of using permanent staff because they were members of the community who were more than just partially or peripherally related to the institution as visiting members (Wenger 1999). The members had similar educational backgrounds within the French education system themselves, were L1 speakers of French and shared the same qualification (PhD and/or Agrégation<sup>66</sup>). As permanent members of the science faculty, the participants would have had similar experiences in research and shared English language usage as part of their profession. They would also be directly affected by the Fioraso Law language legislation (2013) which they were asked to react to in the interviews. The passing of the Fioraso Law meant that the academics of this study may have to consider the possibility of teaching in English.

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<sup>66</sup> The *Agrégation* is a French national competitive exam for teachers wishing to teach at secondary school or in Higher Education.

### 3.4 Data collection

The data collection process took place in four main stages as outlined in the table below:

Data collection stage	Data collection method	Number of participants
Stage 1	Self-reporting questionnaires	118 academics
Stage 2	Semi-structured interviews (including visual creations) Of which, visuals drawn during the interviews	20 academics (18 academics)
Stage 3	Classroom observations of EMI teachers accompanied by pre and post interviews Pilot: Student feedback questionnaire devised with 2 EMI teachers.	3 academics <sup>67</sup> (39 students)
Stage 4	In-class visual creations with EMI trainees ( <i>where I was the teacher</i> )	25 academics
<b>Total number of academic participations</b>		<b>164</b>

Table 5 Data collection stages, data collection methods and number of participants.

#### 3.4.1 Self-reporting questionnaires

The first part of the data collection consisted of a self-reporting questionnaire to explore attitudes to the use of English. A web-survey programme called *Sphinx* was used to generate a web page through which the respondents could respond to the questionnaire anonymously. The software enabled a questionnaire design which guided the respondents to the next question or when further explanation was needed. This function was especially important for a qualitative analysis of the questionnaire which focused on the open responses of the participants. The questionnaire contained closed responses

<sup>67</sup> The small number of observations is due to the small number of EMI courses currently underway at Nantes Science faculty (c. 5%). I met three other teachers who did EMI teaching but who did not feel comfortable about being observed by me (this issue is discussed in 3.7).

which the participants were invited to justify by responding to an associated open question. The questionnaire stage of the data collection was the only anonymous part of the study and this had the advantage of giving the participants a quiet, personal time to reflect on the subject of enquiry.

With the agreement of the Dean and Vice-Dean of the Science faculty of Nantes University, an email was sent on 17/12/ 2012 to 328 academics working at scientific academic departments at the University of Nantes, France. The participants were all members of a mailing list entitled 'enseignants-sciences' (science-teachers), which includes all permanent members of academic staff who teach and do research. 118 academics responded to the questionnaire. There was no second call to the survey as it was agreed with the deanery that the mailing list was reserved for professional communication between the deanery and staff. The 35.9% response rate for a single call to respond to the questionnaire was taken to be satisfactory. The body of over one hundred (118) responses enabled the closed questions to be counted in representative percentages, as was the creation of an admittedly very small corpus of open responses (~30,000 word tokens).

The questionnaire obtained contextual demographic information about the questionnaire participants such as gender, age and professional academic discipline. The gender distribution of the participants was in keeping with the gender distribution of the science faculty as a whole (95 women, 233 men for the academic year 2012-13<sup>68</sup>). This shows that the study did not draw more women than men to the study or vice versa. There were 34 female to 84 male respondents to the questionnaire (discussed in section 4.1.1) and 5 female to 15 male interview participants (discussed in section 4.2.1). These participation rates, in association with the data concerning the gender distribution at Nantes Science faculty, shows that there are twice as many men as there are women employed as tenured academics at Nantes Science faculty.

The study did not aim to measure how gender would impact on the results and it therefore did not aim to measure whether one gender would respond differently to the use of English professionally. Gender issues did not come to the foreground during the

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<sup>68</sup> Personal communication, Human Resources Department, Nantes University.

analysis. Both men and women responded to the issue of English without referring to gender differences. Of the male and female participants, who were also parents, both genders referred to issues of the use of English for their children's future professional development. The gender distribution of the respondents nevertheless reinforces the fact that women are still under-represented in the scientific academic community at Nantes University. This gender inequality could impact of other areas of both the female and male participants' professional identities.

The age of questionnaire respondents was largely typical of the category of active civil service (age 25-60). The age variable was of interest because it could have been assumed that older participants may have been more resistant to the encroachment of English on French, for example (see Jensen and Thøgersen 2011). The older participants may have experienced presenting their research (either orally or in writing) in French at the start of their careers. Before the early 2000s, all teaching within Higher Education in France was also carried out in French. The open responses of this study, however, revealed that age was referred to as relevant to research credibility and experience but was not referred to by the participants as being relevant to a positive or negative attitude to English. This is in line with Søren's study of teacher cognition in EMI settings in Denmark where the older participants 'express without hesitation their level of confidence and ability to be themselves in the EMI context' (Søren 2013: 145). Considering that 68% of the questionnaire respondents had published 10 or more articles during their career meant that younger and older participants alike were all experienced users of English for professional purposes (discussed in section 4.1).

<b>Demographic data of the respondents (n = 118)</b>		
<b><u>Gender</u></b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Male	84	71 %
Female	34	29 %
<b><u>Age</u></b>		
Under 25	0	0
25-45	75	64
46-60	37	31
More than 60	5	4
Age not given	1	1

The email contained a link directing the recipient to the bilingual (French-English) *Sphinx* questionnaire. The bilingual format of the questionnaire both validated and invited the participants to address their identities as participants capable of bilingualism. The bilingual format also prepared them for subsequent interviews which were carried out in French and English<sup>69</sup>. The intention was to not prime the participants into responding in a particular language. When the participant clicked on the link, they were offered the choice of answering the questionnaire either in English or in French. One of the final questions of the questionnaire asked for an open response as to why the participants had chosen to answer the questionnaire either in French or in English. The participants were also given the opportunity to give details about other languages that they used personally or professionally during the subsequent interviews. This was because English was compared to other languages that they spoke, such as German and Spanish, or to other languages that they imagined they may have to speak in the future, such as Chinese, which was presented as a potential competitor to English as a lingua franca (English as a lingua franca for science is discussed in 4.2.4).

<sup>69</sup> The methodological choice of having both a French and English version of the questionnaire was acknowledged by participant 105 for example who claimed that 'it seemed appropriate to answer in English because the subject is the English language'.

The objectives of the questionnaire were multiple. The questionnaire aimed to introduce the participants to the research field and to gain access to the research group (Bulmer 1988: 152, Lawson 2015) which would subsequently be involved in stage two of the data collection process: the semi-structured interview. The 20 participants who came to interview volunteered to take part by leaving their contact details at the end of the questionnaire, hence lifting the anonymity of these 20 responses<sup>70</sup>. The questionnaire itself aimed to investigate the areas in which the academic participants used English in all aspects of their lives, with a greater focus on their professional lives. After being asked to complete demographic details about their gender, and age group, the participants were asked to give details about the contexts in which they used English for speaking (conferences, seminars, meetings) or writing (articles, emails, grant proposals) in order to identify the areas in which they used English. Another of the aims of the questionnaire was to verify that academic staff did indeed use English for their professional purposes. The themes derived from data collected using the questionnaire were used to both inform the subsequent interviews and for analytical triangulation purposes where multiple methods are used (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 5).

### **3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews**

The 20 interviews I carried out from March to June 2013 were in keeping with qualitative approaches to interview methods involving a semi-structured interview, audiotaping the interview and transcribing it (Creswell 2007: 130). The interviews were ethnographic in nature in that they were based on themes to address but were unstructured enough to allow the participants to develop on what using English meant for them in their own way (Haenfler in Creswell 2007: 316). The ethnographic interview tends to favour semi-directive and non-directive questioning, leaving room for the interview to ‘facilitate the open expression of the informant’s perspective on the world’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004: 129). The ethnographic interview is viewed as a common-sense and subjective approach to the social world (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004: 124). The role of the ethnographic interviewer can be either to amplify or deconstruct what are considered to be key issues relating to insider accounts representative of a clearly identified social group (here academics working at Nantes

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<sup>70</sup> The identity of these 20 individuals is nevertheless protected in this thesis via the use of pseudonyms in the semi-structured interviews section 4.2.

university). The interviews of the present study were semi-structured because they were conducted using a pre-prepared interview schedule. The interview schedule containing the main themes which were addressed in the interviews can be found in the appendix.

Part of the interview schedule took the form of participant-researcher collaborative triangulation analysis of the participants' responses to the online questionnaire (Harvey 2014). Prior to each interview I printed out the participants' questionnaire response sheet and studied it carefully. During the interviews, I especially referred to themes that the participant had evoked in response to the open questions of the online questionnaire, and asked them to comment on their own responses. The interview was conducted in a conversational style; we could, and did, stray from the questions, depending on the participant. My role as ethnographer was crucial in both assessing the attitudes the participants had to English but also as offering an opportunity to practise the language with me, although this was not my aim. In keeping with the bilingual questionnaire, I gave the participants the choice of language at the start of the interview. Leaving them the choice of language signalled that I valued their contributions as both competent French and English speakers. This approach to speaking to participants in an L2 as an accommodation and validation of their L2 identity has also been used by Norton (2000).

### **3.4.3 Visual methods used during interactions in this study**

In the context of this study, the participants were asked to create visual artifacts during stage 2 (interviews) and stage 4 (in-class visual creations) of the data collection process. The rationale for using visual methodology to accompany an interview or a classroom interaction was in keeping with ethnographic inclusion of visual artifacts as 'purposeful of meaning' (Hogan and Pink 2012: 230). Case study and ethnographic research methods use artifacts which have already been created by the participants (such as tools, clothes, journals, letters, photographs) (Creswell 2007: 241, Yin 2003). In accordance with Knowles' and Sweetman's approach to visual methods, it was not so much the status of the image that was of concern, 'but its *conceptual and analytic possibilities* [...] when research subjects are asked to comment on their own or other's [images] it is what they make of the images that counts' (their emphasis, Knowles and Sweetman 2004: 6).

The justification for using visual methodology to accompany an interview or classroom interaction was its ability to create a point of reference during an interaction. It also enabled the framing of 'experience in unsolicited ways' (Wheeldon and Faubert 2009: 69), as an aid to further talk. The social interactive element of the activity was combined with a more personal, quiet moment of reflexion during the preparation, which was then followed by presentation and shared discussion. The visual creation itself then became a trace (or artifact) which could also be used after the interactions as an object of study in itself. In this way the visual objects were used as a 'route to ethnographic knowing' (Hogan and Pink 2012: 230). Meaning was gained from the object itself and from those who interpreted the context around it. Devoid of its context however, the object could then be afforded different, de-contextualised meanings. Hogan and Pink (2012) emphasize the link between such ephemeral and physical objects and the concept of embodied identity which is also considered as having physical properties. An embodied identity approach is used to understand people interacting in a situated, space-time continuum as physical objects:

The pronoun 'I' is an indexical locating various aspects of the speech-act it labels with respect to a specific and marked location in the space-temporal manifold of embodied persons and in a variable location in a multitude of manifolds of morally responsible persons, unique in each act.

(Harré and Langegrove 1991:224)

The embodied identity approach takes into account the 'materially situated and environmentally anchored nature of social interaction' (Markaki and Mondada 2012:33) which can be highlighted by visuals created by participants (such as in this study) but also where people are filmed interacting with each other (Mondada 2013a, Mondada 2013b, Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, Markaki and Mondada 2012).

The purpose of the present study was to anchor, as much as possible, the visual artifacts which the participants created to the moments in which they had been created. Like the interactions themselves, the visual objects were studied as snapshots of specific interactions representative of situated and fluid identities. They were not used as generally defining attributes of the interviewees, but as supports for further talk and



creativity. For the purposes of addressing second language use, I drew on Busch (2009) who uses visual methods to encourage participants to talk about how multiple language use impacts on linguistic and identity repertoires.

During a one-to-one interview, the participants were given the opportunity to create something which they could use as a third party object or 'prop' which both the interviewee and interviewer could refer to (Wheeldon and Faubert 2009: 69, Busch 2012). Although an interview may be perceived to be researcher-led, depending on the degree of direction, once the participant has created the visual object, it is her own and she can then lead the discussion, explaining something that belongs to her. The aim is to minimise, as much as is possible, the influence of the researcher in such ethnographic interviewing and to 'facilitate the open expression of the informant's perspective on the world' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004: 129). The participants had completed stage 1 of the data collection process (online questionnaire) and were being interviewed by myself about their attitudes to their own English use as part of their professional identity. Participants were asked to choose key words that they would associate with themselves and to organize them using visual forms to link words together. I drew on mind-mapping methodology which builds on 'brainstorming' to link ideas together using simple words or drawings, rather than making a list or writing sentences (Buzan 1974). The participants were asked to categorise and describe the areas in which they used English, and focus on the areas in which they used English for professional purposes and those in which they used English for other purposes.

During in-class interactions, (where I was the teacher), academic participants were asked to create language body portraits (Busch 2012). In the language portrait below, Busch asked her participant 'Pascal' to draw a body outline to represent his own person. Pascal was provided with a template and given the following instructions:

Participants are asked to think about their linguistic repertoire, the codes, languages, the means of expression and communication that play a role in their lives and to map them with multicoloured felt pens in the body-shape drawing.

(Busch 2012: 9)

Subsequently Pascal described his identity as a multilingual speaker (speaking to Busch), in relation to the visual artifact he had created (citation below picture):

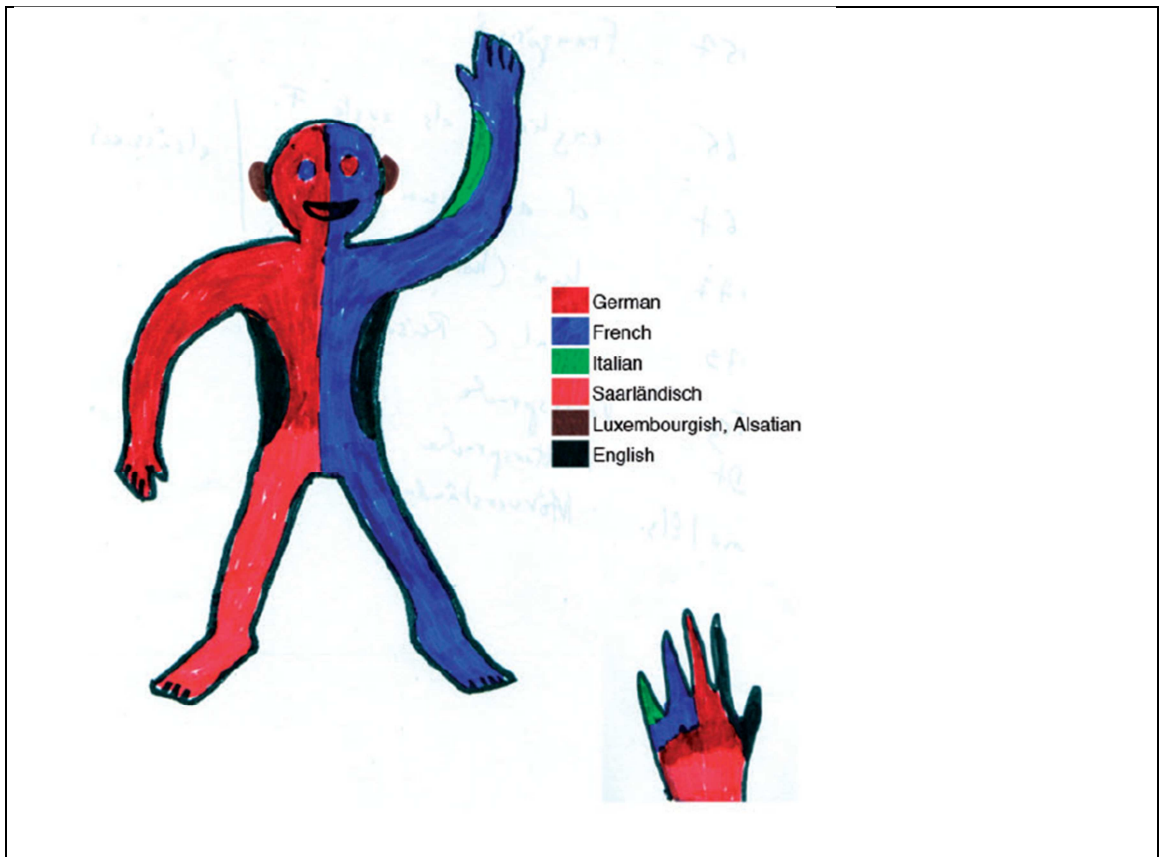


Figure 6 Example of Busch's (2012) language portrait methodology<sup>71</sup>.

‘Und es überkommt doch einem oft, man ist doch nie wirklich - das eine oder das andere. Und selbst, wenn ich jetzt Franzose bin, in Frankreich, so hab ich doch immer ein deutsches AUGE. Und seh nicht nur auf die anderen sondern auf mich selbst auch. Wenn ich jetzt in Deutschland bin, so wie heute, so überkommt es mich doch auch, ü berfällt es mich, das ist wie ein Reflex, der Franzose in mir wehrt sich doch auch. (...) Wenn ich in der einen Sprache bin, habe ich immer die andere auch im Blick. (...) Auch die anderen haben einen immer im Blick’.

(Pascal reporting on his language portrait, Busch 2012:10-11)

[Busch's translation:

And I am often overcome [by the feeling] that one is never really only-the one or the other. And even if I am now French, in France, I still always have

<sup>71</sup> Drawn by Busch's participant Pascal. Image reproduced with permission from the author, Busch (2013: 513).

a German EYE. And I not only look at others but also at myself. When I am in Germany now, as today, the feeling comes over me, it is like a reflex, the Frenchman inside me also defends himself somehow. (...) When I am in one language, I always also have my eye on the other. (...) Also the others always have their eyes on me. ]

In a classroom setting, trainees presented their visuals which they had created for the class. The trainees were academics who wished to improve their English for research or EMI teaching. Their formal presentation was then followed by further interaction with myself and the other classmates, including comments, questions and answers. The purpose of the visual data collected in class was two-fold. Firstly, it was a visual stimulus for speaking English, and secondly, it was an opportunity to collect research data. I took notes during the lesson when the participants (who had consented) were describing their language body portraits. Those participants who wished to share their drawings with me (by giving me the drawing or my taking a picture of it) for my research were asked to give their consent as part of the ethical review procedure.

I framed this dual-purpose methodological approach for the pedagogical setting by drawing from Buzan's (1974) account of learning based on the use of visual methods. Buzan encourages 'mind-mapping' as an educational data-collection method to record ideas and make connections between them. The models used in my classroom differed from Buzan's original mind-mapping method as the objective was not for the participants to remember nor was it presented as an alternative to linear note-taking. The visual approach used during the classroom research in this study was a means to studying identity in relation to language use (Reynolds 2015).

Although there is an amount of pressure associated with creating 'a work of art' in a public space, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages when assessing how it can facilitate further talk about identity and language (Hogan and Pink 2012: 230). Talking about learner identity within a classroom setting has been discussed in the literature as enabling learners to see themselves as legitimate speakers of an L2 (for example Norton 2000). I also drew on from Kehrwald (2014), who describes visual concept-mapping in the form of 'language learning histories' as an aid to encouraging participants to talk about their present, past and future L2 learner identities. Kehrwald's studies were also

dual-purpose, as they formed a component of a language course for L2 learners of English in Australia, who were tasked with creating visual data relating to their language learner identity. This technique is useful for an L2 learning context because it initially avoids the more complex grammatical and syntactical challenges of a second language.

Omoniyi's (2006) hierarchy of identity (HOI) model predicts that people will make salient choices about themselves and the world around them, and then categorise them from most relevant to least relevant. This subdivision is transposable to visual identity mapping that I propose, which can include 'labelled concepts, linking words, and clear hierarchies' (Wheeldon and Faubert 2009: 69). Depending on the immediate, socially-interactive, context, the participants will represent social identification by categorising these elements from most to least relevant (Blommaert 2005, 2007, 2010). How the participants visually organise what they wish to show to their peers and to the researcher is at the heart of studying identity through visualisation.

Further details of the specificities of the visual methods used will be described in the data presentation section (section 4.3).

#### **3.4.4 EMI Classroom observations**

English as a medium of instruction (EMI) classroom observations were based on a series of science classes taught in English at Nantes University. Three university lecturers volunteered to be observed during their Biochemistry, Electronics and Physics classes respectively. The biochemistry classes took place in a laboratory in the science faculty<sup>72</sup> and the electronics and physics classes took place in a seminar room at the engineering faculty<sup>73</sup>. The classroom observations were preceded and followed by semi-structured interviews with the EMI teachers (English as a Medium of Instruction is discussed in chapter 2). Further interviews, emails and phone calls were maintained until the end of the study. The purpose of repeated interviews with the EMI teacher participants was to give the participants the opportunity of framing longer-term

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<sup>72</sup> UFR Sciences et Techniques.

<sup>73</sup> Polytech

impressions of their teaching experience (Cahour 2006, Lemke 2008). By having regular contact with the EMI teachers throughout the duration of the study, we were able to shift in perspective, gain in experience and modify our accounts of the EMI classes.

Using classroom observation as a methodology to observe academics using English in a professional context was an opportunity to combine identity work *in situ*, as it is perceived to be enacted and felt, with how it is then reported and interpreted in hindsight. This is because identity is taken to be 'a construction, a process never completed, always in process' (Hall 1996: 2). Cumulative identity is enacted in the present (the moment of the classroom) but also incorporates past identities (Lemke 2008, Hall 1996, Giddens 1991). Classroom observation incorporates both obvious (such as the audible interactions between the teacher and students) and discrete variables (such as the quiet reflections of the participants) which make up the teaching-learning event (Cahour 2006). During my own observation of the classroom, my notes concerned listening out for who led the talk, what languages were used and how. I noticed other things which I had not anticipated, such as how the students would sit together according to shared L1 languages for example. My observations focused on how the EMI teacher managed and adapted to the EMI classroom. I listened to how the students decided to interact with the teacher and what language they chose to speak together.

To supplement the field notes, the teachers were given ethnographic diaries to report on how they had experienced EMI teaching. The observations of the classroom events, in combination with the research notes written during the observation, as well as the pre- and post-interviews with the teachers, were used comparatively to identify both short-term and long-term impressions. The successive interviews were in line with Cahour's 'auto-confrontational' approach to ethnographic study (my translation of the original French term 'auto-confrontationnel' (Cahour 2006) and Harvey's repeated member-checking approach (2009). While 'member-checking' refers to sharing data, such as interview transcripts and initial analyses with participants, 'confrontational' asks the participants to critically assess their own performance as teachers (for example when reviewing a video tape or remembering a teaching interaction in which the researcher and

the participant were both present). These approaches enabled the participants to comment on and especially review their previous positions.

The theoretical frameworks for classroom observation were based on the impact of the teacher and peers on a community of learning (Winchester 2012, Richards 2006, Wenger 1999). The elements of my observations which were based on physical data could only be based on the observable and actively participative elements of the classroom, but not the unobservable identity work which occurs in a learning context (Farrell 2011, Cahour 2006, Wenger 1999). The complex 'performance element' of both teaching and interacting in the classroom (Butler 1988, Goffman 1959) was something to continually bear in mind during data collection and analysis, as was the impact of a third party observer (myself).

The EMI classes were observed in the light of how people exchange knowledge in a classroom situation where identities are performed (Preisler 2014, Mondada 2013a, Goffman 1959). One of the hypotheses of this study was that the participants may have a heightened reflexivity of the teaching act because of the integration of an L2. This heightened reflexivity could be based on the fact that the participants were doing something 'unusual' and because they needed to adjust their teaching methods due to the presence of two languages in the room (Lewis et al. 2012). In terms of the content input of the class, I was particularly alert to the methods the teacher used to present and organise the classroom activities. I listened out for the pedagogical prompts used to check whether the students had understood, and/or to encourage them to interact. I noted the different types of interactivity and extent of interactivity between the teacher and students (see Richards 2006, and Luoma 2004 on differences between conversational and informative interaction). Interaction could occur both during lecture-type segments of the class, or when checking protocols (instructions for carrying out experiments) or when inviting students to complete sentences or mathematical equations which the teacher has started to write on the board.

The classroom context also enabled me to observe how English and French was used in the classroom especially with regard to code-switching between French and English (Rampton 1995, Lewis et al 2012). The active combination of French and English to highlight and exchange content was explored for its translanguaging qualities.

Translanguaging being an active space created by specific bilingual communities, including code-switching within full-range linguistic and ideological repertoires (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Lewis et al. 2012, Li Wei 2011a, discussed in chapter 2). Such a bilingual educational classroom enabled me to explore how language(s) may impact on identity and to what extent the teachers were 'being English teachers' and/or 'being science teachers' (Richards 2006). Although I was interested in the exchange of interactions, and not language competence *per se*, all three teachers asked me to note down any 'mistakes' they made regarding pronunciation, grammar or syntax. I studied and included these requests as part of the larger qualitative observations collected regarding attitudes to English and questions regarding perceived competence.

The observation of EMI classes combined research on interactive exchanges (between the teacher and the students) and research on teacher identity. This was achieved via pre and post interviews with the teachers as well as the observation of a teaching event. The interviews explored the teacher's motivations for embarking on EMI, and how they positioned themselves to other teachers who did or did not teach in English. Their accounts were studied as narratives of lived experience in which they positioned themselves to their colleagues. They were asked to report on their past and present teaching experiences, in both English and French and how these different experiences were similar or different because of the language. The objective was to gain a holistic view of how the participants reported an EMI experience to me (in terms of personal and professional identity). Through the observation of the interactions in the EMI classroom, the analysis focused on the exchanges, the direction of the exchanges and the languages chosen for these exchanges within the classroom. The objective was to create both an ethnographic account (involving their impressions but also my own observation) of how the participants negotiated content through languages in a teaching context (by recording, transcribing and reproducing extracts of the classroom exchanges). The aim was to achieve a better understanding of how EMI classes combine situated identities through language work, and therefore to identify what elements are specific to an EMI teaching situation.

As part of my own professional work also involved EMI teacher-training, I also used the class observation data to assess which methods would be best suited to preparing future teachers for this type of EMI teaching. The classroom observations and the

interviews were analysed for the interactive and code-switching features of an EMI classroom. Having reflected on the terminology used to describe teaching in an L2 (such as EFL, ESP), these classroom observations were a route to exploring whether the terminology already in use (such as EMI and CLIL) was applicable to the situations I observed.

### **3.4.5 Pilot study: Anticipating EMI student responses through the creation of self-reporting questionnaires for EMI student participants**

At the end of the academic year 2013-14, a self-reporting online questionnaire was sent to 58 students who had attended two of the three EMI science classes which I had observed. 36 of the participants had attended EMI classes taught by the bio-chemistry teacher and 22 had attended EMI classes taught by the electronics teacher. In total 39<sup>74</sup> (67%) students responded to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was created to supplement the data that I had collected whilst observing these classes earlier on in the academic year. During the design of the questionnaire the lecturers were invited to voice hypotheses about their students' possible reactions to having had one of their science modules taught in English. This meant that the questionnaire could be used for both research and pedagogical aims. By preparing the questionnaire and asking for feedback from the teachers, I was able to explore how the teachers defined an EMI experience.

The main objective was to solicit questions which the teachers would want to ask their students about their EMI experience. Both the design and the reading of the results served as a talking point during our subsequent interviews. I anonymised the students' responses, shared them with the teachers, and then met with the teachers for further discussion. The teachers also used the responses to create their own reports about their EMI experience, which they sent out to their colleagues so that they could anticipate subsequent EMI teaching in following years. The resulting data could be used in further mixed method studies where the different variables of the classroom would be used to compare how the different classrooms may impact on the outcome of the student

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<sup>74</sup> 24 Biochemistry students and 13 Electronics students.



responses<sup>75</sup>. Wider, non-statistical and qualitative methods (based on discourse analysis) were used to compare the teacher's hypotheses with those of the students' responses to the class.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.5 Research notes, audio recording and transcriptions

The interviews were transcribed using *soundscriber* and *media player* which slows down the audio file to assist transcription. I sent each of the participants a copy of the interview audio file, so that he or she could comment on them if they so wished. The participants thanked me for the audio but tended to comment on the form (in terms of the sound quality of their voices) rather than on the content of the recordings.

The transcription conventions were adapted from Rapley (2007), and ESTER2<sup>77</sup> (2008) which could be used to convey both French and English speech. The transcription is 'basic' in keeping with the level of technical detail which I felt best represented the words that were spoken alongside who spoke them (Rapley 2007: 52). The transcription is orthographic in nature and is designed to illustrate the audio file which can be read as phrases in the written transcription:

La transcription enrichie a donc pour but d'obtenir une transcription lisible d'une part et, d'autre part, une représentation structurée du document à des fins d'extraction d'informations.

(ESTER2 2008, avant-propos)

[Translation: On the one hand, enriched transcription aims to obtain a readable transcript, on the other hand, it aims to give a structured representation of the document from which information can be extracted]

<sup>75</sup> The statistical tool which could be used for this is the t-chi square test used in statistical quantitative approaches to classroom variables.

<sup>76</sup> Getting students to fill in a pre and post EMI questionnaire in the future could explore student attitudes before and after an EMI experience.

<sup>77</sup> Évaluation des systèmes de transcription enrichie d'émissions radiophoniques financées par le Ministère de la Recherche pour le [Technolanguage](#) project led by the [Association Francophone de la Communication Parlée](#), du [Centre d'Expertise Parisien de la Délégation Générale de l'Armement](#) and the [ELDA](#) (Evaluations and Language resources Distribution Agency).

The objective was to give the reader readable access to the data that I was able to witness and participate in firsthand (Rapley 2007: 52).

ESTER is an enriched transcription method which includes information which can be taken into account for analytical purposes. Punctuation marks found in written texts, such as commas, are used to reflect common features of speech, such as elision. However, the transcript was not tidied up and the syntactical ordering of the words and the grammar have been represented as they would be said orally (for example ‘je sais pas’, instead of ‘je ne sais pas’). Capitals were reserved for proper nouns such as people’s names and the words English and French which featured throughout the interviews.

Transcription symbol	Explanation
,	Denotes a short pause (of less than one and a half seconds)
?	Indicates the end of a question
Capital letter (i.e. <i>English</i> )	Used to indicate proper nouns
“ ”	Quotation marks indicate reported speech
!	Indicates the end of an exclamation
-	Compound nouns and question forms (in French) retain hyphen, i.e. ‘c’est-à-dire’ and ‘est-il’ to aid comprehension
hum (English) bah, ben, euh (French)	Indicates hesitation <sup>78</sup>
hm hm (English and French) yeah (English)	Indicates agreement
( )	Truncation (unclear content) at the start or the end of a word i.e. tr(avail), vou(lais). If the word is understandable

<sup>78</sup> For a more complete list of French onomatopoeias and interjections such as *bah*; *bé*; *bof*; *hein*; *hm*, and *zut* see convention 2.6 ESTER2 (2008: 13).

	from the context then the full word is written between the parentheses.
[laughter]	Square brackets indicates transcriber's descriptions

Table 6 Transcription conventions<sup>79</sup>.

Once I had transcribed the audio-files, I imported the text files into the AntConc<sup>80</sup> concordance tool, which sorts the words into wordlists. The AntConc tool was used to study the corpus representative of the bounded case of Nantes science faculty participants where textual analysis was used in conjunction with the ethnographic context of the study which included research notes, interviews and observation. Without therefore focusing on corpus linguistics as a single tool for analysing the data (McEnery and Hardie 2011), I did nevertheless use word search functions as a supplementary tool or initial step to explore the key themes through wordlists which emerged before, during and after the narratives of the interviews (Ryan and Bernard in Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 780).

Although I filmed some of the participants who agreed be filmed, it was the audio transcript of the interview, in association with the notes I took during the interview that served the analytical process best. This was because all of the interviews were audio recorded, yet only some were filmed. The initial analysis of the videos did not reveal more than the close analysis of the co-constructed discourse which ensued.

### 3.6 Ethical considerations

Prior to the recorded exchange, the participants were invited to read the participation information sheet describing my research and student status (appendices 4 and 5). The participation sheet and consent form were reviewed and accepted by the University of Sussex Ethics Committee prior to the data collection. Participants could choose whether

<sup>79</sup> Adapted from Rapley (2007), and ESTER2 (2008).

<sup>80</sup> Anthony, L. (2014). AntConc (Version 3.4.0) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/>

they were recorded and whether they wished to draw during the interview. If they so wished, they could give me the drawing for the purposes of my research and for reproduction (see participation sheet and consent form in the appendix). Concerning the EMI classroom contexts, the students were informed about the ethical procedure and asked to consent to being observed and audio-taped. When filming took place, only the teachers were filmed in the classroom.

The identities of the participants were stored separately from the data and pseudonyms were provided for each participant. Given the nature the ethnographic study, including my own involvement as an employee at Nantes Univesity, it was agreed with the Sussex Ethics Committee that the identity of the institution would not be anonymised. The participants were told that Nantes University would be mentioned as the institution under study.

### **3.7 Data reliability and generalisability**

The types of data collected varied depending on the context of the exchange; be it an interview with myself in which I asked questions and the participant responded, or a classroom situation where I was the teacher leading a group activity followed by an open discussion. As my data collection progressed, I became increasingly aware that the professional relationship between me and the participants would impact significantly on the needs of both the participants and the researcher.

Carrying out a research project within my own workplace where I was employed in a different department (to my participants who worked in scientific departments) meant that I was carrying out a research project among my colleagues. This local, ethnographic approach to data collection came with its advantages and disadvantages. It meant that I had the opportunity of having regular and long-term contact with my participants. However, my status as 'English teacher' within this institution may have impacted on who was drawn to take part in my research project. In the same way, talking to someone employed by the same institution would also shape the information the participant wished to share with me. Issues of keeping face within professional identity would therefore be different to studies carried out outside of the workplace.

This however, is part of how I interpret all interactions involving status and knowledge exchange (Mondada 2013, Zimmerman 1998).

The value of collecting visual data, within a learning context, has meant that I have been able to create an archive of academic maps, diagrams and portraits as represented by the participants themselves which are relevant to a specific time-frame and context in French academia.

In the data collection process which involved observing others in an interactive situation (the science EMI classroom) my presence may have impacted on the outcome of the data in a different way. Classroom observation can be unsettling for the teacher and for the students, even more so when the observant is deemed to be an L1 speaker of the teacher's and students' L2 performance. My presence within the classroom is likely to have impacted on how the participants 'performed' their lesson to a third-party observer. It was for this reason that I also audio-recorded EMI classes (leaving the audio-recorder with the teachers) where I was not present. However devoid of all the other communicative aids (eye-contact, body language), it was difficult for me to make sense of the events that had occurred when I had not been present in the room.

As Cahour (2006) points out, all those who did not actively perform were nevertheless also sentient participants whose experiences may not be directly obvious at all, or whose reactions are only partially visible through visual or video observation (Mondada 2013a, 2013b). The non-actively participant members (Wenger 1999) were nevertheless invited to express post-hoc impressions via an online feedback form. The student-teacher status relationship was also part of the limitations of sending out a feedback form via their classroom teacher. Although the online feedback form was anonymous, the students were nevertheless responding to questions which their teacher would, in turn, respond to positively or negatively to. The repeated interviews I had with the teachers took place over the longer timescale of the three year period we met. Our mutual impressions and discussions concerning EMI teaching were dynamically influential on both my data analysis approach and to their own teaching methods. The different types of researcher-participant exchanges in this study, as well as their different contexts have been taken into account in the discussion of the results.

As a resource, the present case study of Nantes University could serve as a basis from which to compare and contrast with other Higher Education institutions which use English for professional purposes. Focusing on a local institution was in keeping with Doiz et al.'s (2012) and Ammon and McConnell's (2002) recommendations for focusing on the specificities of different Higher Education institutions in Europe in relation to their uses of English.

The present ethnographic study, involving close researcher involvement in the field, makes it specific to this case. Nevertheless, the participants had all worked at other universities and were not representative of a 'Nantais'<sup>81</sup> point of view. As well-travelled and experienced researchers, it can be argued that the accounts in the present study are representative of French academic speakers of English who are currently working at Nantes University.

The present study recommends that other studies adopt a similar investment in the research site, with prolonged access to the community under investigation to achieve an in-depth account of how academics position themselves to the use of English professionally.

### **3.8 Summary**

Chapter three gave an overview of the methods used in this qualitative research study of 164 academics working at Nantes University, France. The approach was broadly ethnographic in this study of individuals involved in second language use, in this case English for academic uses in France. The variety of complementary methods collated for triangulation purposes were a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and visual creations made by the participants. The approach to the study as well as the analysis were in keeping with definitions of identity which are capable of hindsight but with a view that identity will vary and be constructed and negotiated, including at those moments when the data collection was carried out. My own position as English teacher and colleague among the scientific community under observation has been assessed as being impactful on the data collection process.

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<sup>81</sup> A person born in Nantes or who identifies him or herself as being 'someone from the town of Nantes'.

## **Chapter 4: Results and Analysis**

Chapter four is the longest chapter of this thesis. As a whole it aims to show the variety and breadth of the present ethnographic case study. Chapter four has been clearly divided into four distinct data-sets to address the specificities of each data collection method (4.1 Self-reporting questionnaires, 4.2 Semi-structured interviews, 4.3 Visual representations of language and 4.4 EMI classroom observations).

The questionnaire (section 4.1) offered the opportunity of identifying the areas in which 118 participants used English and their attitudinal responses to using English professionally.

The interviews (section 4.2), which were held with 20 of the participants who had completed the questionnaire, enabled further in-depth study of this core group of participants. The aim was to explore how these participants positioned themselves in relation to using English as members of an English-speaking scientific community.

The visuals (section 4.3) drawn by the core group of interview participants and by my own EMI trainees, were used as both a pedagogical and research tool. The drawings produced by the participants were used as an aid to further talk about academic identity in relation to language use.

The EMI classroom observations (section 4.4) enabled another perspective on English as an academic language. By observing how three academics used English (and French) with their students, pedagogical practice could be compared to the attitudes and beliefs held by the academic participants.

The discussion and concluding chapters bring together the main findings which were subsequently drawn from the complete data set.

## 4.1 Self reporting questionnaires: results and analysis

### 4.1.1 Introduction

The questionnaire was designed on the hypothesis that English is used extensively for scientific purposes - based on Flowerdew (2001) and Ferguson et al. (2011). It was assumed that English language usage was a pre-requisite for academics working in France, who work in Science education and who wish to engage in research (as it is for scientists worldwide, Montgomery 2013). On this basis, a questionnaire was administered to the 328 registered academic participants at Nantes science faculty. The main aim of the questionnaire was therefore to confirm that the participants used English professionally and to gain further knowledge regarding the attitudes to using English in different academic contexts (i.e. conferences, article writing, emails and meetings)<sup>82</sup>. The subsequent 118 participants' responses confirmed the hypothesis that the participants used English extensively for professional purposes.

Considering the extent to which they used English, the questionnaire aimed to investigate whether the participants felt they were 'obliged' to use English and how such a sense of obligation could be interpreted from the results. As academics, professional success was linked to research dissemination and peer recognition through written and oral communication. To gain insight on whether the participants would position themselves differently to using English outside of the workplace, the questionnaire also aimed to explore language domains (such as personal and professional uses of English). The participants made distinctions between different domains of usage, as is confirmed in section 4.3 where the participants visually represented the distinctions between professional and personal uses of English.

The questionnaire obtained demographic information about the participants such as gender, and age (presented in section 3.4.1). The following analyses are based on the responses of 34 female and 84 male respondents who largely fell under the category of active civil service (64% were aged 25-60).

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<sup>82</sup> The specific questions can be found in the appendix and are referred to in italics throughout this section.



The questionnaire participants were numbered (1) to (118) and are presented to the left of citations. The open responses to the questionnaire are presented as they were written by the participants themselves (including their own emphases). Unless otherwise specified, in-text translations are presented in italicised form. My own emphases are presented in bold character or underlined.

#### **4.1.2 Professional areas in which English was used**

The professional areas in which the participants used English revealed that 96.6 % (114/118 responses) of the academics used English for writing research articles in English. This result showed that the community under investigation was both actively involved in research and that this professional activity was carried out in English. The extent to which the participants published in French was explored via email discussion (January 2016) with the participants who had responded to the questionnaire and who had subsequently come to interview. The participants reported using French for non-peer reviewed journals or for conference proceedings. The publications in French represented less than 5% of their complete written research output. Respondents participated widely in research communication in English, both in written form, through research publication, and in oral conference presentations. Other written and oral professional forms of communication, such as email and meetings also involved the use of English.

<b>Professional uses of English<sup>83</sup></b>		
	Number of responses	%
Research articles	114	96.6
Email correspondence	104	88.1
Meetings in France	62	52.5
Conferences in France	65	55.0
Conferences abroad	107	90.6
Meeting and exchanges abroad	102	86.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	

#### 4.1.3 English as an obligation

The study explored the extent to which the participants would report feeling obliged to use English at work. Considering the amount of research work and the number of communicative activities the participants engaged in using English, one of the hypotheses of this study was that the participants would feel that they were under institutional pressure to use English at work. The response to the question: ‘*Do you feel obliged to use English at work?*’ revealed that 85 out of the 118 participants felt that they were obliged to use English compared to 33 who did not see English as an obligation.

<b>Do you feel obliged to use English at work?</b>		
	Number of responses	%
Yes	59	50
A little	26	28
No	33	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>100 %</b>

<sup>83</sup> The sum of percentages is not equal to 100 due to the possibility of multiple responses.

Without further qualitative enquiry, the questionnaire responses to the question of English as an obligation would reveal little about how the participants defined 'obligation'. The extent to which they found this obligation burdensome was therefore explored in the open responses where the participants positioned themselves to English as a stipulation of their working conditions. Building on the literature on 'identity' (see chapter 2.2), the initial responses framed around obligation in the questionnaire, which were further explored in the interviews, showed that obligation was understood in relation to the self and others and to ideological beliefs about the English language itself – and more particularly to its function as a working tool above all. Where representations of the self coincided with what the participants believed was expected of them as academics, then the equilibrium between professional identity (including obligation) and professional ideology could be expected (see figure 16 for positioning in relation to perceived institutional demands in chapter 5).

The function of English as a practical 'tool' (*'un outil', 'utilitaire'*), rather than as 'a language' was in keeping with appellations such as English as a *medium* of Instruction (EMI). In this way English was described as a necessary or obligatory tool, rather than as an identity trait, including emotion: *'an obligatory language of work - no feelings'*<sup>84</sup> (84<sup>85</sup>). The English 'tool' was described as a 'technique' which needed to be mastered<sup>86</sup> in relation to 'research'<sup>87</sup>. The degree to which English was referred to as a professional tool also meant that some participants did not associate English with other (personal) domains:

(112) La langue anglaise est la langue du travail je n'aime pas l'utiliser en dehors de ce contexte.

[Translation:

*English is the language of work; I don't like using it outside of this context.*]

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<sup>84</sup> In the original: 'une langue de travail obligée - sans état d'âme'.

<sup>85</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the number allocated to anonymise each participant. For example '(84)' refers to participant 84.

<sup>86</sup> In the original: 'une technique à maîtriser' (37).

<sup>87</sup> In the original: 'lecture de documentation technique' (48) and 'c'est une langue que j'utilise en recherche' (67).

The integrative relationship between English and personal and professional identity domains was discussed by the participants. Participant 33 felt that English was not part of her job description and that English was the role of '*English language professionals in my profession*'. She described feeling obliged to master English although she did not believe this to be part of her job description.

- (33) J'aimerais faire appel systématiquement à des professionnels de langue anglaise dans mon métier. Le problème est le manque de financement pour ce genre de **tâches**. Les enseignants-chercheurs sont censés maîtriser l'anglais à la perfection, ce qui est finalement rarement vrai.

[Translation:

*I would like to be able to systematically call upon English language professionals in my work. The problem is the lack of funding for this type of task. Academics are supposed to master English to perfection, which is rarely the case in the end. ]*

This academic felt under real or imagined institutional pressure to '*master English to perfection*', and she included both herself and her community in not meeting this 'standard'. She also criticised the institution for 'the lack of funding for this type of task'. The French word 'tâche' highlights the wearing and demanding relationship to a task which needs to be carried out, which is more neutral in the English translation 'task'. To counter participant 33's position, participant 91 described himself as being 'enough' of a linguist, or at least being interested enough in English to claim an identity as a scientist: '*[I have] sufficient interest [in English] to make it [science] my profession*' (91)<sup>88</sup>. The participant's comment signaled that he had identified 'English' as being part of his job description.

The issue of obligation was further explored when participants responded to whether English could be perceived as oppressive both in terms of time or additional emotional stress for example. Firstly, the respondents commented on whether the amount of

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<sup>88</sup> In the original: 'suffisamment d'intérêt pour en faire mon métier'.

English they used was ‘appropriate’ by responding to a question which asked them to loosely quantify the amount of English they used as ‘not enough’, ‘enough’, or ‘too much’. Notions of sufficiency and appropriateness (expressed through ‘enough’) in relation to second language use at work were therefore explored in the data. In a context where individuals use English for professional purposes, such as this one, but where bilingualism does not necessarily feature as part of their identities outside of the workplace, it was valuable to explore whether second language use was perceived as integral to their professional identities or whether there could be resistance to English, expressed as an extra professional ‘load’ to carry.

<b>Do you feel that you use English:</b>	No.	%
Too much	9	07.6
Enough	76	64.4
Not enough	33	28
<b>Total</b>	118	100%

The results showed that 64.4% of the questionnaire participants reported using English ‘enough’ so that they could perform their professional activities within the requirements of English as a lingua franca for science (English as a lingua franca is discussed in 2.1.3). The questionnaire was based on the assumption that the participants would clearly dissociate between time spent using English and time using French. Where the data pointed to English encroaching into other domains outside of research such as teaching, the results showed that the boundaries between the two languages could become blurred (see sections 2.1.7 and 4.4).

Accordingly, the answers to impressions of ‘sufficiency’ may have been framed within perceived institutional demands or affective ‘overload’. The question of ‘sufficiency’ also included notions of use related to competence (i.e. *I don’t use it enough because my English isn’t good enough*) and the notions of burden (i.e. *I’ve had enough of having to use English at work*). The quantification of the use of a language, as perceived by the participants, was a theme which was discussed throughout this study, both in the questionnaire, during the interactive interview and through visual methods. The

participants were able to relay quantitative impressions of language use with a qualitative impression of language as a 'load'. This showed that perceptions of 'work-loads' were linked to whether the participants believed English to be adding to, rather than part of, their professional tasks. The broad mid-way position (~60%) of accepting English as a professional language may have reflected strategic attitudes to accepting work conditions on the whole (of which English is a part).

#### **4.1.4 English as a route to professional success**

Success can be understood in terms of professional development (in terms of personal achievement and satisfaction, professional status, professional title, financial gain or multiple criteria associated with well-being within the community). The response to the question '*Do you feel that you would be more successful at your work if you were better at English?*' revealed that only 2.5% of the participants reported that English was not necessary for being successful in their work, showing the integral relationship between English and a scientific career in academia. A small majority (59.3%) of the participants believed that (better) competence in English would help them towards achieving professional success and also signaled that they may also appreciate additional opportunities to improve their English to this end (i.e. through specific English training, in relation to their professional development projects, which their institution could make available to them). This was also confirmed by 39% of the respondents reporting that they had decided to answer the questionnaire in English '*to practice their English*'. Whilst 13% responded that they preferred to use English for professional purposes (including answering the present questionnaire).

<b>English proficiency in relation to professional 'success'</b>		
	No.	%
Yes, I feel that I would succeed better at my work if my English were better.	70	59.3
No, I don't need to be good at English to be successful at my work.	3	2.5
No, my English is already good enough to ensure my professional success.	37	31.3
None of the above, for other reasons.	7	5.9
No response	1	0.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>100 %</b>

Through the open responses, the participants were asked to expand on the relationship between using English and perceived professional success. The participants reported on the extent to which English was a deciding factor for a successful scientific career. English was described as a 'facilitator' in ensuring a successful career (participant 67) and a help in ensuring a more 'comfortable' scientific career (participant 62 and 101).

(67) Maitriser l'anglais facilite les collaborations internationales.

[Translation:

*Being good at English helps with international collaborations. ]*

(101) Dans l'ensemble, je pense maitriser suffisamment bien l'anglais pour mon travail. Simplement, pour pallier les manques signalés auparavant, une plus grande maitrise me procurerait un supplément de "confort" en quelques occasions.

[Translation:

*On the whole I think I'm good enough at English for my work. Put simply, to make up for the gaps that I mentioned, a greater mastery would make it easier for me on some occasions. ]*

The participants showed that being good at English helped them to participate in and succeed in '*international collaborations*' (67), to communicate with '*researchers from*

*different countries'* (60). Although English was described by some as a '*barrier*'<sup>89</sup> (56) , '*block*', '*blockage*'<sup>90</sup> (42 and 102) , '*hindrance*'<sup>91</sup> (62), English was not described as impeding a successful career, and could best be described as a hurdle rather than as a stumbling block:

- (62) Il y a de nombreux facteurs qui ralentissent une carrière scientifique. Parmi ces critères, le principal est certainement le partage du temps entre l'enseignement et la recherche. Il faut être touché à tout dans notre métier. L'anglais est un autre facteur, mais à un ordre de grandeur beaucoup moins prononcé. Je dirais donc qu'une meilleure maîtrise de l'anglais pourrait m'apporter un confort dans mon travail, **mais ce n'est pas un frein majeur dans ma carrière.**

[Translation:

*There are numerous factors which slow down a scientific career. Among these criteria, the main one is certainly the distribution of time between teaching and research. You have to be a jack of all trades in our profession. English is another factor, but it isn't as pronounced as the other factors. I would therefore say that a better mastery of English could add to a degree of comfort in my work, **but English isn't a major hindrance to my career.** ]*

(my emphasis in bold)

In answer to the question '*Do you feel that you would be more successful at your work if you were better at English?*' 31 % of the participants reported that their English was 'already good enough' to ensure a potential for professional success. Chaplier (2013) criticised English proficiency in terms of self-assessments of English sufficiency in her report of EMI teachers at Toulouse university who justified their staff's English as 'good enough to teach in English'<sup>92</sup> (Chaplier 2013: 64). The results of this study challenge Chaplier's criticisms of self-assessment accounts because the results reveal that

<sup>89</sup> In the original: '*barrière*'.

<sup>90</sup> In the original: '*barrage*' and '*bloquage*'.

<sup>91</sup> In the original: '*frein*'.

<sup>92</sup> In original: '*être capable de communiquer, de se débrouiller*' (italics in original).



impressions of being 'good enough' to work in English were linked to accounts of self-worth, impressions of being successful and seeing language as being 'in progress' rather than at a fixed level of English. Not being competent 'enough' at English was nevertheless identified as a factor which would slow down the progression to a successful career.

Other factors, apart from English, were reported as contributing to or limiting a successful career, such as having a heavy teaching load<sup>93</sup>, or being too specialised, or not being sufficiently versatile. When participants defined 'success', they framed their answers in relation to research, rather than to teaching. English was understood to be a necessary tool through which to communicate research (although English was not necessarily the language through which the initial research was conducted at a local level<sup>94</sup>). Success at being a 'researcher' was referred to in relation to social concepts of recognition within a specialised and valued field of intellectual enquiry.

Despite the difficulties that the participants reported, either in stalling at or getting over 'the language barrier' (4 responses), the 96% positive response to '*Do you feel that you belong to an international scientific community?*' revealed that most of the participants (including those who struggled with having to use English at work) felt that they belonged to a scientific community. The term 'international' in the question signalled that the participants were involved in multilingual contexts which served a common scientific purpose using English. Given this result, it was worth exploring what reasons would be given by those who did not feel that they belonged to an international scientific community, albeit the 'minority' (7 participants). Interestingly, English was effectively a stumbling block for three participants who referred to their own (poor) level of English as the 'barrier' to a sense of belonging (participants 13, 42, 102). The scientific community seemed to be understood in relation to research (rather than to teaching) as four of the participants felt that not being sufficiently involved in research was the reason for feeling that they did not belong to a scientific community (participants 100, 106, 108, 118). Participant 106 felt that she was '*too young to have a good enough international network to be known as a name in my area of research*'

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<sup>93</sup> In French: 'une charge d'enseignement'.

<sup>94</sup> Participant Emma from the wider data sets reported that the local technicians at Nantes science faculty did not generally speak English and that laboratory work was carried out in French before research publication.

(translated response, participant 106, age group 25-45). This response coincided with 'success' as being understood as recognition (having a name) in an international community. The participant, who referred to the issue of being 'too young', also highlighted the problem of defining 'success' which requires a degree of retrospective evaluation. Nevertheless the construction of professional identity can be considered as an ongoing continuous re-interpretation of experiences and encounters in the workplace (Canrinus et al. 2011: 595).

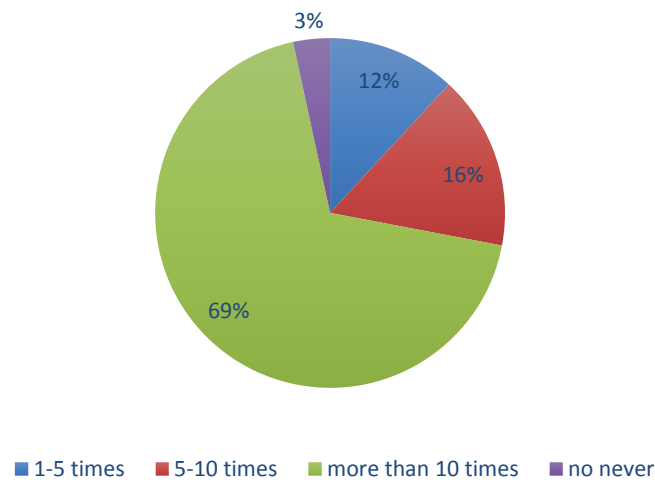
An initial picture of the professional profiles of the academic staff of this study shows that English is used extensively by academics for research purposes, in a mainly male dominated research site which is Nantes science faculty. The results show that the academics were generally accepting of English as a working condition and reported that an ability to use English for research would enable faster professional success. The following sections will delve deeper into how the participants dealt with the challenges of writing in English and presenting themselves in English during conference meetings.

#### **4.1.5 Writing research papers in L2 English**

The questionnaire indicates that 97% of the participants had experienced writing research papers in English. Although most of the participants had published papers in English, the process prior to publication in English varied. For example, 31% of the participants reported using either a translator or proofreader as part of this process.

Writing in another language was a key part of the participants' academic identities. It was when the participants reported such performance-based tasks such as writing, that they described themselves to be linguists as well as scientists.

**97% participants had written articles in English  
69% had written more than 10 articles in English**



#### **4.1.5.1 The challenges of structuring thought in another language**

It emerged that 69% of the published authors wrote their research papers directly in L2 English. When the participants reported writing their articles directly in English, they described the process as a difficulty or as a challenge. Coinciding with their general response to having to use English for general professional purposes, they generally did not report being deterred by it. This showed that language issues were secondary to their desires to publish research. The reasons 69% of the participants gave for writing directly in English, instead of using a translator, were based on the belief that their English was ‘good enough’ to enable a first draft with subsequent editing from someone (usually a second author or member of their lab) whom they believed to be better at English than they were. Another reason which was given for writing directly in English was that they were (sometimes more) familiar with the scientific terminology of their domain in English (rather than in French) because they read other scientific papers in English.

The affective responses to writing an article directly in another language were reported in the responses to the open question ‘*How did you feel when you were writing and preparing your article in English?*’ In response, about a third of the participants (32

participants) chose to frame their affective responses in terms of a ‘problem’ which they had to deal with or even tackle (expressed in the choice of the term ‘wrestle’ below).

For example:

- (4) Frustration de chercher son anglais !

[Translation:

*Frustration at having to search for one’s English! ]*

- (44) I was wrestling with the English dictionaries most of the time.

- (62) Le sentiment que je suis désavantagé par rapport à un natif.

[Translation:

*The feeling that I am at a disadvantage compared to a native speaker. ]*

The attitudes to the problem of writing directly in English were focused on two key beliefs: a) beliefs about ‘sound’ knowledge structures being fundamentally weakened by their transformation into an L2, and b) beliefs that certain types of English were better (than their own), namely those that have been idealised as ‘native-speakers’ (Wei 2011, Davies 2011).

Sound ‘scientific knowledge’ was reported as being challenged by writing in an L2, which did not do justice to ‘fine and complex argumentation’ (translation, participant 33), confirmed by participants who referred to both the impoverishment of English and the impoverishment of research:

- (31) Formulation des idées dans un anglais pauvre.

[Translation:

*Formulating ideas in poor English. ]*

- (12) Appauvrissement de la recherche au dépend de l’anglais.

[Translation:

*Impoverishment of research because of the English language. ]*

References were made to ‘structuring ideas’ (translation, participant 8 and participant 50) and ‘expressing notions’ (participant 22), which signalled that the authors struggled to construct coherent language which would best represent their ideas. In Bernstein’s terms, there is a misalignment between what can be referred to as ‘vertical knowledge’ (conceptual knowledge), and horizontal knowledge (language knowledge expressed through logical associations) (Bernstein 1999). In this way, the participants are commenting how L2 language is an impediment to effectively communicating conceptual scientific knowledge (which they already have).

The collocations of the words ‘difficulty’ or ‘lack of’ in relation to words such as ‘nuance’, ‘structure’, ‘formulation’, ‘discussion’ and ‘ideas’ found using the AntConc concordancer revealed that 25 participants reported that L2 language limited ‘thought’ or ‘ideas’. In this case, it was not the language that was poorly reflecting solid knowledge foundations, but the English which rendered knowledge ‘poor’ (translation, participant 31):

- (23) Parfois nous sommes contraints à formuler nos pensées en fonction de notre connaissance de l'anglais.

[Translation:

*Sometimes we are obliged to formulate our thoughts according to our knowledge of English. ]*

- (33) Mon expression est moins précise qu'en français, il est difficile d'avoir une argumentation fine et complexe.

[Translation:

*My expression is less precise than in French, it is difficult to achieve precise and complex argumentation. ]*

- (8) C'est dur de structurer ses idées dans une langue qui n'est pas la nôtre.

[Translation:

*It is hard to structure one's ideas in a language which is not our own. ]*

- (22) Difficulté à exprimer des notions dans une autre langue.

[Translation:

*It is difficult to express concepts in another language. ]*

- (25) Manque de vocabulaire pour la discussion, peu de nuances.

[Translation:

*Lack of vocabulary for discussion, few nuances. ]*

The English language as an insufficient vector for 'sounder' more 'solid' thought was reported as resulting in 'approximation'<sup>95</sup> (1, 12). 'Approximation' (33) was described as being inferior to precision, having an 'impact'<sup>96</sup> (12), or finesse and complexity (33). This approximation was also referred to as a lack of mastery<sup>97</sup> (42, 27). Being speakers of 'another language' which was therefore not their own, implied inferiority both in terms of perceptions of competence and legitimacy as speakers of English. The relationship between language and thought<sup>98</sup> was in keeping with beliefs that L1 was most appropriate for constructing 'thoughts' and that French had certain intrinsic qualities for such a process to happen. Diderot, for example, argued that 'French is unique among languages in the degree to which the order of words corresponds to the natural order of thoughts and ideas' (Chomsky 1965:7 referring to Diderot 1751). The linguistic relativity debate has been taken up in relation to the use of L2 for academia in Europe, where it can be debated whether thought can be expressed through other languages (including English) (Ammon and McConnell 2002).

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<sup>95</sup> In the original: 'pas le même niveau de justesse'.

<sup>96</sup> In the original: 'percutant'.

<sup>97</sup> In the original: 'maîtrise'.

<sup>98</sup> The linguistic relativity debate concerns the relationship between L1 and thought (see Boroditsky 2001, discussing Slobin 1987, 1996 and Whorf 1956).

In keeping with the responses to the group who had used translators and proof-readers, these results confirm that L2 authors reported having insufficient horizontal discourse structures at their disposal in the L2 (Bernstein 1999). This lack was expressed as a lack of vocabulary, 'difficulty with verbs' (36), 'lack of nuance' (25), and 'doubts about syntax' (20, 23). These difficulties were said to impact on their workload in terms of time (28, 37) because these handicaps were time consuming. Greater time spent on language also meant that they produced less (in quantity) and therefore wrote fewer articles than they would have, had they been able to write them in French (8).

The participants were aware that a shift in their attitude could occur over time with respect to their attitude to writing in English: 'with time we improve'<sup>99</sup> (1), 'it's better now'<sup>100</sup> (16), 'routine maintenant' (34). 'Maintenant' (now) is used to contrast with 'avant' (before) which suggests that the respondents are signalling the difficult process which they have come through. Publishing a scientific paper in French in the mid-21<sup>st</sup> century will perhaps become more of a challenge than writing a paper in English. This hypothesis seems confirmed by participant 51, age group 25-45, who admits (using a confessional and exclamatory turn of phrase which suggests a 'guilty secret') that he prefers writing articles in English:

(51) À vrai dire, je préfère même rédiger un article scientifique en anglais qu'en français!

[Translation:

*To tell the truth, I even prefer writing a scientific article in English rather than in French! ]*

Being more familiar with writing articles in English confirms the results of Soren's (2013) study where researchers described using English to such an extent that they would find it difficult to write a scientific paper in Danish. Soren's participants did not frame their answers apologetically, which perhaps showed that they felt less 'guilty' about admitting this (Soren 2013: 120-121). There are many explanations to this apparent guilt in relation to speaking English in France. Firstly at the time when the participants were formally educated, learner identity was based on a monolingual

<sup>99</sup> In the original: 'avec le temps, on s'améliore'

<sup>100</sup> In the original: 'cela se fait bien maintenant'

French culture. English was perceived as a foreign language which encroached into the sphere of French culture, as was presented by the French Minister for Culture, Toubon, as ‘the threat which weighs upon the integrity of our language’ (Toubon speaking at the Assemblée Nationale, 1993).

Although French language policy concerning English has shifted from being coercive in the 1990s to suggestive in the 2000s, the attitudes to the role of English, to the detriment of local languages remains problematic (McGrath 2014, Cots et al 2014, Pauwels 2007). It should therefore be expected that academics who have observed a change in the language practices in French Higher Education during their own life times may have both a critical and ambiguous relationship to English when it is placed in Toubon’s terms as oppositional to French.

Participant 14, on the other hand, sees the general challenges of writing an article as related to language rather than languages. When considering writing an article she acknowledges that article writing is a highly specialised activity, even in an L1, and prefers not to put the blame on ‘English’:

- (14) Ecrire un article est un exercice difficile en soi. Ça n'est pas dû à l'usage de l'anglais.

[Translation:

*Writing an article is a difficult exercise in itself. It is not because of having to use English. ]*

#### **4.1.5.2 Attitudes to translation**

The results concerning how the participants worked with translators to transform L1 French text into L2 English show that they reported this process as both a relief and as loss (in terms of authorship, control and identity). The results showed that the participants were concerned about letting another person translate what they viewed as an important piece of writing with implications for their professional development. These concerns involving trust, which were raised by the participants who had used translators, can be summarised as follows. The participants voiced concerns about whether the translator would do justice to their authorship (and hence their identities as authors). The participants were concerned that they would not be able to assess the



quality of the final English document (because English was not their L1). Finally the participants voiced concerns regarding the translators' aptitude to understand, (and hence best translate) the scientific content of their articles. Quotations to highlight these positions are presented throughout this section.

These concerns are well researched in the field of translation studies and are not specific to this study only (Gambier and Doorslaer 2010, Kelly 1979, Mounin 1955). The participants' concerns have been addressed in the translation literature as specific to the art of translation itself including the issues related to copying original works of art. Mounier (1955) sums up the key problems of translation as:

Tous les arguments contre la traduction se résument en un seul: elle n'est pas l'original.

(Mounin 1955: 7)

[Translation:

All the arguments against translation can be summed up as follows: a translation isn't the original.]

The reasons given for using a proof-reader in the open responses signalled beliefs about an edited text as being better in 'quality' for submission to a journal. 'Quality' was referred to in association with what they believed an edited text could achieve in terms of a more polished style.

- (21) Une relecture professionnelle améliore grandement la qualité de rédaction. Cela en améliore grandement la reconnaissance et la visibilité.

[Translation:

*Professional editing really improves the quality of the writing. It really improves its value and visibility.]*

For the 31% of the participants who had used a 'translator, interpreter or proofreader', passing the language 'barrier' of the journal reviewers was referred to as a reason for using external language help. Working with someone with different skills could also be

perceived as going beyond disciplinary ‘barriers’. For example, working with a translator was described as a mutual learning experience for both the author and translator:

- (57) Les échanges avec le traducteur m'ont aidé à mieux comprendre l'anglais écrit. De son côté le traducteur m'a signalé sa satisfaction liée à l'apprentissage d'éléments de langage technique.

[Translation:

*The exchanges with the translator helped me to understand written English better. From his point of view, the translator pointed out that he enjoyed learning new technical terminology. ]*

If English was a problem for the scientific authors, ‘technical language’ was believed to be a problem for the translator or editor to get over (‘*once the barrier of the technical language had been overcome*’ (1)) and that it was preferable for the translator to have the right (technical) profile for translating scientific texts: ‘*A good match between the subject and the translator's profile is needed*’<sup>101</sup> (52).

- (1) Positif car apport au niveau des tournures de phrase, une fois franchie la barrière des termes techniques’.

[Translation:

*[My experience of using a translator] was positive as it improved the turns of phrase, once the barrier of the technical language had been overcome. ]*

#### 4.1.5.3 Participant attitudes to the final (edited or translated) paper

The main objective of writing a paper in English is presumed to be to achieve publication in an English language peer-reviewed journal. The participants therefore had to align their own written productions in terms of both content and style with what they believed the journals to want. In this section, the beliefs of the participants are

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<sup>101</sup> In the original: ‘Bonne adéquation du profil du traducteur par rapport au sujet’.

studied in relation to Flowerdew's 1999 and 2001 studies of the attitudes of authors and journal editors to non-native speaker contributions.

Two of the participants were disappointed with the editing process because the reviewers still deemed the English of their papers to be insufficient, even after they had been edited:

- (61) Un papier corrigé considéré comme pas très bien écrit dans les reviews.

[Translation:

*An edited paper was considered as not very well written by the reviewers. ]*

- (66) I'm using a proof-reader before submitting a paper. But most of the time, reviewers don't feel good about the English.

One participant was disappointed with the final result and deemed '*the result [as not being] amazing*'<sup>102</sup> (67) suggesting that she was expecting more of a spectacular transformation of her original work. Editing is also referred to as 'polishing' in English, which expresses the idea that authors may view editing as being capable of improving on the original. However, 89.2% of participants who had worked with translators or proof-readers reported being generally satisfied with the transformation of their original French text into English which they described as a 'neutral to positive' experience, with no 'negative' experiences.

Publication in peer-reviewed journals was described as being the source of gaining 'reconnaissance' and 'visibilité' for research work (21). The criteria which were referred to as ensuring 'better quality' to achieve visibility and recognition were 'native English style', a 'shorter' text, and English 'turns of phrase'<sup>103</sup> (8 occurrences):

- (112) Cela m'a permis d'utiliser des tournures de phrase plus 'anglaises', du moins je l'espère.

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<sup>102</sup> In original: 'le résultat n'est pas formidable'.

<sup>103</sup> In original: 'tournure de phrase'.

[Translation:

*It enabled me to use more 'English'<sup>104</sup> turns of phrase, or at least I hope so. ]*

- (1) Positif car apport au niveau des tournures de phrase, une fois franchie la barrière des termes techniques.

[Translation:

*[My experience of using a translator] was positive as it improved the turns of phrase, once the barrier of the technical language had been overcome. ]*

These authors, who wrote in L2 English, widely held that ‘correct English’<sup>105</sup>(1) seemed to be reserved for the ‘native speaker’ (natif/ve, 23 hits). The participants reported that it was the ‘reviewers’ (4 hits) ‘editors or journals’ (2 hits) and ‘comité de lecture’ (1 occurrence) of the articles they submitted to who decided what ‘correct English’ was:

- (11) Eviter d'avoir un commentaire des reviewers sur la qualité de l'anglais.

[Translation:

*It's best to avoid getting comments from the reviewers about the quality of the English. ]*

The journal reviewers were also criticised as being ‘intolerant’ of even ‘the most benign of errors’ (translation, participant 40). This finding is in keeping with Flowerdew’s survey of non-native speakers (henceforth NNS) academics in Hong Kong where nearly a third of the NNS respondents felt that prejudice by referees, editors and publishers put them at a disadvantage compared to native-speakers (henceforth NS) (Flowerdew 2001). The journal reviewers were believed to belong to the ‘native speaker model group’ which some participants believed to be different to their own group because ‘it is not our language’ (participant 8). These findings were not in keeping with Flowerdew’s subsequent 2001 survey of journal editors who had ‘NNS, bilinguals, or both as

<sup>104</sup> Participant 112 used quotations marks around the word ‘English’. This suggests that he had doubts about what qualifies as ‘English’, which was reinforced by the lack of confidence expressed in ‘at least I hope so’.

<sup>105</sup> In the original: ‘un anglais correct’.

members of their editorial boards’ and who were more concerned with achieving the publication of worthwhile research and referred to ‘language expertise’ rather than the NS/NNS distinction (Flowerdew 2001: 128-131).

The beliefs the participants of this study voiced about reviewers’ attitudes to NNS did not coincide with Flowerdew’s 2001 study of the views of journal editors. Although Flowerdew’s editor-participants did recognise NNS as a category which could be identified, they were aware that distinguishing between native speakers and NNS was ‘tough on several dimensions’ (Editor 4 in Flowerdew 2001: 128). The editors were aware that many faculty staff were NNS of their employing university country, but also widely published in English. Being also probably aware of the difficulties associated with writing in an L2, they were ‘sympathetic’ and ‘more supportive’ towards this difficulty of NN writers when they felt that the research was worth publishing (Flowerdew 2001: 129). Unlike the attitudes voiced by the participants of this present study, the editors wished to publish ‘quality work by anyone’ (ibid) and that from their point of view, accepting only NS articles would reduce the international outlook and credibility of their journal. As Editor number 5 stated:

‘I think, as a board, we feel strongly that we want to get more voices from outside the U.S., UK, and Canada. I mean, if we are truly an international journal, we have just got to broaden that’.

(Flowerdew 2001: 130)

If this study has revealed a discrepancy between the beliefs of editors and those of L2 authors in France, then further studies may be useful in how journal mission statements could best be represented in the guidelines for authors and how reviewers’ comments are received by the authors. Montgomery (2013) contemplates that editorial committees either need to re-evaluate their language standards (p.178), but more importantly how they are presented to the authors. However, it is debatable that publications that adapt English as a lingua franca ‘will emerge as the most successful’ (Montgomery 2013: 178).

The present study reveals that, on the whole, participants did not believe that they had a claim to ownership of the English language. Instead the participants referred to English

as ‘another language’ which was not ‘their own’ in association with comments which referred to British, American and native speaker English. Distance was highlighted by the use of ‘that language’, or ‘a language’:

- (8) **Une langue** qui n'est pas la nôtre.

[Translation:

*A **language** which isn't our own. ]*

- (51) C'est **une langue** que je ne maîtrise pas parfaitement.

[Translation:

*It's **a language** that we don't perfectly master. ]*

- (1) Cela reste **la langue** non maternelle.

[Translation:

*It remains as **the non-native language**. ]*

- (42) Une non maîtrise de **la langue**.

[Translation:

*A **language** which isn't mastered. ]*

Despite extended use of English in both oral and written productions, the participants were hesitant to see ‘this language’ as part of their own rightful, intrinsic identities (in opposition to ‘*ma langue maternelle*’<sup>106</sup> which would signal ownership).

These results concerning the experiences of the processes towards writing a paper in English revealed that the native-speaker model is still believed to be preferable by L2 speakers of English (Jenkins 2007), but that there was a clear division between what the authors believed to be ‘technical language’ (their realm of expertise) and ‘idiomatic language’ (the translator’s and editor’s realm of expertise) which is in keeping with the beliefs concerning distinct knowledge structures between the ‘Sciences’ (vertical knowledge structure) and the ‘Arts’ (horizontal knowledge structure) (Bernstein 1999). It would appear that the specialised discourse associated with ‘technical language’ was

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<sup>106</sup> Translation: *my mother tongue*.

believed to be a means to access scientific content more readily than other forms of discourse.

#### 4.1.6 Oral communication in L2 English

To address attitudes to oral communication in English for academic purposes, questions were designed to measure the attitudes to speaking and presenting research orally in English. The results confirmed that the participants were experienced in presenting in English: 95.6 % (112/118) of the participants had already presented a paper at a conference, and of these 50% (59/118) had presented more than 10 times.

The open question *'How did you feel during these presentations in English?'* inspired detailed and lengthy responses in the questionnaire. This showed that the participants felt affected by having presented in English and wanted to share this experience. Affective responses to giving a formal, professional presentation in another language drew from degrees of emotions to describe the experience of: stress (8/118), 'aise' / 'aisance'/'ease' (74/118), 'apprehension' (2/118), or 'horreur' (1/118). Although the broad categorisation of answers which were either framed positively or negatively was equally distributed between the two (49.5 % broadly negative reports to 50.5% broadly positive reports), it was the negative emotional responses to oral presentations which were more richly elaborated on. When English was not considered to be a major problem, then it was responded to briefly, albeit around the central axis of 'problem' i.e. 'no problem for me'. Those respondents who felt 'at ease' with English, or thought that English was not 'a problem' (6 hits) or 'difficult' (5 hits) did not detail any positive affective response, or simply stated RAS<sup>107</sup> (5 hits) as if only negative affective responses were worth mentioning. This was in keeping with L2 usage being responded to as either 'natural', hence 'neutral', or 'unnatural' and hence 'upsetting'.

Notions of 'ease' ('aisance') (74 hits) are in keeping with notions of 'authenticity' and 'being natural' in one's own language (Preisler 2014). Impressions of being 'natural/naturel' were collocated with causal and temporal processes associated with an

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<sup>107</sup> RAS (Rien à Signaler), translation: Nothing to declare.

identity shift (naturel + *vient* (rank 1), naturel + *devient* (rank 5) and, naturel + *moi* (rank 9). A process of feeling more and more 'natural' when speaking in English<sup>108</sup> (participant 11) was described when the L2 became less distant to the L1 identity. In such cases, the L2 becomes less alien and is described as becoming part of the participant's 'natural' identity, no longer an uncomfortable displacement of identity. 'Ease' was also referred to in relation to being more or less fluent ('fluidité' 5 hits), and to degrees of 'nuance' (2 hits) and 'complexity' ('richesse' 1 hit):

The following 12 examples (of the 74 occurrences of 'ease/aisance) show how these participants framed their answers in degrees of feeling 'at ease' (aise/aisance) with L2 English:

- (22) Peu **à l'aise**, notamment pendant la phase des questions.

[Translation:

*Not very at ease, especially during question time. ]*

- (32) **mal à l'aise** mon expression est moins précise qu'en français.

[Translation:

*not at ease my expressions are less precise than in French. ]*

- (34) je suis **moins à l'aise**.

[Translation:

*I'm less at ease. ]*

- (46) j'étais **moins bien à l'aise** qu'en Français.

[Translation:

*I was less at ease than in French. ]*

- (41) **pas très à l'aise !**

[Translation:

*not very at ease! ]*

- (110) Bon, mais beaucoup de travail amont **pour être suffisamment à l'aise**.

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<sup>108</sup> In the original: Parler anglais devient de plus en plus naturel.



[Translation:

*Good, but a lot of work beforehand to be sufficiently at ease. ]*

- (14) **A l'aise** pendant la présentation et un peu moins pendant la séance de questions.

[Translation:

*At ease during the presentation and a little less during question time. ]*

- (91) **Pas d'aisance.**

[Translation:

*No ease. ]*

- (87) **Perfectly at ease.**

- (89) **rather at ease.**

- (107) I'm not **at ease**, except in my job!

- (44) I can manage to make myself understood. However, **I do not feel much at ease** since I am not a native speaker.

When the participants decided to respond to the questionnaire in English, they tended to use the word 'ease' in a positive way. Nine out of the ten occurrences of the word 'ease' were used in a positive sense (i.e. 'perfectly at ease') apart from participant 107 who used it to express unease: 'I'm not at ease' (107). However the wider context of the whole sentence, (which was 'I'm not at ease, except in my job!' (107)) highlighted the result that the participants of this study felt that professional English domain usage was distinguishable from personal English domain usage. The participants made distinctions between scientific English and general English and preferred to give little detail about how they used English outside of work (see sections 4.1.8, and 4.3.2).

#### 4.1.7 Identity and 'voice'

Impressions of being understood, or not being understood, were referred to throughout the questionnaire open responses. Bahktin (1986) and Blommaert (2005) understand such impressions through the analysis of 'voice' in discourse which is 'the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so' (Blommaert

2005: 4). A lack of ‘voice’ is an issue that can be understood as linguistic inequality signalling other forms of inequality in contemporary societies where it is through voice that other wider inequalities are expressed (Blommaert 2005:4). In keeping with Blommaert’s understanding of ‘voice’ as being allowed to speak, being heard, and being subsequently listened to and understood, the participants of this study signalled loss of voice or degrees of being (not) understood which can be understood as a loss of status within their own scientific communities. The following results show that the causes of an impression ‘loss of voice’ are complex: involving how an L2 modifies the capacity to have access to ‘voice’ and interacting with other English speakers highlights differences which may not be as apparent in a shared L1 context.

The responses indicated that 66.9 % of the participants believed that they were in some way different when they presented themselves in English during official conference presentations (instead of French). To investigate this point further in terms of identity shift, the participants who had responded positively to *'Do you have the impression that you are in some way different when speaking in English? (either in your behaviour, attitude, or voice for example)'* were then asked to give a self-reflexive report of how they felt different when speaking in English (either in behaviour, attitude or voice for example). The question: *'How are you different when you present in English?'* invited the participants to position themselves in relation to a more stable conception of L1 identity. This resulted in participants framing perceptions of difference according to being ‘more’ or ‘less’ of themselves. Speaking in an L2 may be perceived as a loss of the L1 identity (Davies 2011: 27) which is unsettling when there is a belief that L1 (monolingual) language ensures ‘authentic’ and ‘integral’ identity (Preisler 2014). Credibility loss, for example, was described by participant 104 as a return to infancy:

(104) Moins on contrôle une langue, plus on sent s'exprimer comme un enfant qui cherche à construire son discours.

[Translation:

*The less one controls a language, the more one expresses oneself like a child struggling to construct a discourse. ]*

The shift from notions of a more stable L1 ‘core’ self was qualified as '*not natural*'<sup>109</sup> (102), or '*not sure of myself*'<sup>110</sup> (4). Through the study of negative expressions such as ‘lack of/ less of’, and in collocation with the word ‘natural’, a broad definition of what the participants meant by 'being natural' was found. Through negation therefore, ‘natural’ was defined by the participants as capable of being ‘spontaneous’, ‘capable of improvisation’, being ‘funny’, being ‘verbose’ and being ‘light’ (in opposition to the image of 'carrying a ball and chain around'<sup>111</sup> (48).

The following data show the frequencies of ‘plus’ (more) and ‘moins’ (less) with their collocates. These collocations show the key themes which were explored as being ‘departures’ from the participants’ identities as French L1 speakers:

<i>Plus / More</i>	Frequency of collocation	<i>Moins / Less</i>	Frequency of collocation
<b>difficile (<i>difficult</i>)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>spontanéité/spontané (<i>spontaneous</i>)</b>	<b>7</b>
précis ( <i>precise</i> )	2	à l’aise /aisance ( <i>at ease</i> )	4
artificielle ( <i>artificial</i> )	1	assurance ( <i>self-confidence</i> )	3
chantant ( <i>tuneful</i> )	1	bavard (e) ( <i>talkative</i> )	3
guidé ( <i>upright</i> )	1	sûr (sûr de moi, ton sûr) ( <i>confident, steady tone</i> )	3
grave ( <i>deeper</i> )	1	charisme ( <i>charisma</i> )	1
à l’essentiel ( <i>to the point</i> )	1	facilité ( <i>ease</i> )	1
réservée ( <i>reserved</i> )	1	riche ( <i>complex</i> )	1
posée ( <i>calm</i> )	1	recherché ( <i>researched</i> )	1
nervous	1	précis ( <i>precise</i> )	1
lent ( <i>slow</i> )	1	de contrôle ( <i>control</i> )	1
confident	1	confident	1
concise	1	cautious	1
aïgue ( <i>high pitched</i> )	1	d’improvisation ( <i>improvisation</i> )	1

The participants either decided to focus on what they believed to be the sound of their voices in English (i.e. *plus aïgue, plus grave, plus chantant, plus artificielle*<sup>112</sup>) or on how they believed their identities changed when they spoke in English (i.e. *nervous*,

<sup>109</sup> In the original: ‘manque de naturel’.

<sup>110</sup> In the original: ‘pas sûr de moi’.

<sup>111</sup> In the original: ‘trainant un boulet’.

<sup>112</sup> higher, deeper, more tuneful, more artificial.

*guidé, moins sûr de moi, moins de charisme, plus artificiel*<sup>113</sup>). In terms of being able to adapt to a performed speaking situation, their communicative strategies could also be perceived as different (i.e. *lent, moins spontané, moins précis, moins de charisme, moins de controle, more cautious*<sup>114</sup>), which also meant that they spoke less often than if they were speaking in French (*moins bavard*<sup>115</sup>). The choice of the term ‘less’ in terms of oral identity suggests that speaking in English is subtractive, or a loss. Such impressions are confirmed by the use of words such as loss of ‘assurance’ and ‘control’, and that speaking in L2 can be associated to ‘unease’. Being in control was associated with being able to be ‘spontaneous’ and ‘improvise’ which was associated with a perception of ‘charisma’ and ‘confidence’.

The areas which categorised voice quality such as ‘artificial’ or less ‘charismatic’ could also be associated with the ‘artificial’ or less ‘charismatic’ attitude of the speaker. These attitudes showed that impressions of voice quality were related to self-perceptions of identity. The frequency of ‘more’ (22 hits) with ‘difficult’ (10 collocations) shows that these participants reported finding it harder to present in English than in French. However, considering that these participants are increasingly presenting at conferences in English only, the attitudes to what it may be like to present in French may soon become an idealised concept.

Beliefs about idealised (native) speaker models were expressed when the participants referred to having the wrong ‘accent’, which was qualified as being ‘not English enough’):

- (20) Effort de développer un accent qui "ressemble"<sup>116</sup> à un bon accent anglais ou américain mais pas toujours à propos’.

[Translation:

*I try to develop an accent which 'resembles' a good English or American accent but I don't always get it right. ]*

<sup>113</sup> nervous, uptight, less sure of myself, less charisma, more artificial.

<sup>114</sup> slow, less spontaneous, less precise, less charisma, less control, more cautious.

<sup>115</sup> less chatty.

<sup>116</sup> The quotation marks to highlight 'resemble' suggest that the participant has little confidence in such a resemblance ever occurring.

- (108) Mon accent n'est pas "anglais" du tout, et j'ai un peu "honte"<sup>117</sup> de m'exprimer dans cette langue'.

[Translation:

*My accent is not at all 'English', I'm a little 'ashamed' of expressing myself in this language. ]*

Having the wrong accent was associated to accounts of voice pitch being perceived as too 'high' (5, 51) or too 'low' (30). The overall effect seemed to be a sound which was deemed 'artificial' or 'contrived'<sup>118</sup> (40, 57) which was in keeping with impressions of departures from a more 'natural' L1 speaker.

#### 4.1.7.1 Using English is time consuming

Having to take more time to prepare an oral communication in English was reported by the following participants as a drawback to professional efficiency. This result coincided with the references to the 'extra work' (qualified using 'beaucoup'<sup>119</sup>) referred to by the participants when they described writing their articles in English:

- (31) **Beaucoup** de travail de préparation.

[Translation:

*A lot of preparation time. ]*

- (38) Cela demande **beaucoup** de travail pour leur préparation.

[Translation:

*It requires as lot of preparation time. ]*

- (109) Bon, mais **beaucoup** de travail amont pour être suffisamment à l'aise.

[Translation:

*Good, but a lot of work beforehand so as to be sufficiently at ease. ]*

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<sup>117</sup> The use of quotation marks is again significant. The participant signals a hesitation about what 'English' is. The use of quotation marks around 'honte/shame' suggests that the participant is aware that the term is too strong to qualify her form of English, which she has reduced by using the adverb 'un peu/ a little'.

<sup>118</sup> In the original: 'guindée'.

<sup>119</sup> 'A lot'.

Which coincided with the references to time (temps) in the open responses to writing articles in English (see section 4.1.5):

- (56) La barrière de la langue est un handicap et fait perdre **beaucoup** de temps.

[Translation:

*The language barrier is a handicap and makes [us] waste a lot of time. ]*

- (85) Cela me demande **beaucoup** de temps.

[Translation:

*[Writing in English] requires a lot of time. ]*

- (116) La barrière de la langue est une réelle difficulté qui augmente **beaucoup** le temps nécessaire à la rédaction d'un article.

[Translation:

*The language barrier is a real difficulty which really adds to the amount of time required to write an article. ]*

Nevertheless, it could be argued that this ‘extra time spent on language’ may have had some positive consequences. When preparing for talks in English the participants described taking longer to prepare (even if they believed this to be negatively time consuming), being more organised, being more familiar with the content of their presentation slides and the transitions between them. They took more care about respecting the length of their presentations and, more importantly, they thought more carefully about the audience that they were presenting to, especially in terms of their L2 English profile (reported as audiences speaking ‘continental English’ (101), ‘Japanese English’ (105) or ‘native speaker English’ (28 occurrences).

An appreciation of how the participants positioned themselves in terms of loss and gain was summed up in the following way by participant 13: ‘*Not as at ease, but more to the point*’<sup>120</sup>. Being less comfortable about the form, they perhaps focused more carefully on the ‘essential’ message that they wished to communicate. An impression of loss of

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<sup>120</sup> In the original: ‘Moins à l’aise, plus à l’essentiel’.

‘voice’ meant that when the participants did take to the floor they took more time in anticipating how they would not be heard: anticipating a reduced impact on their audience.

#### **4.1.7.2 Beliefs about intrinsic properties of French and English**

When referring to their own presentation as speakers of English, the participants expressed ideological beliefs about the English language itself. The English language which was qualified as being more to the point, more casual (participant 92) and less funny (participant 92)<sup>121</sup>. English was referred to as having intrinsic attributes which were best suited to ‘science’:

(87) English is a far more clear, precise and concise language than French. It is by far more efficient for communicating scientific messages.

Participant 87’s ideological beliefs about English surpassed his own impressions of whether his own English production may or may not have been ‘more precise and concise’. His belief signalled that because he was using English, he was confident that his English presentation would be intrinsically better than if he presented in French.

English was described as being ‘more precise’ (26) and ‘a rational pragmatic language’ (87). Nevertheless, because of the difficulties associated with irregular spelling and pronunciation<sup>122</sup> (88), and with irregular verb forms, English was described as being ‘inefficient’ (88) and not the best candidate for an international lingua franca. French, on the other hand, was described as ‘heavy’<sup>123</sup> (26) but more ‘emotional and poetic’ (87). With respect to English for scientific communication, English was described as ‘indispensable’ (114) and ‘necessary for one universal language’ (87). The objectification of ‘English’ resulted in some participants referring to ‘English’ through metaphorical constructions, such as English having ‘a character’<sup>124</sup> (114) or being

<sup>121</sup> In keeping with Preisler’s (2014) argument for loss of humorous pragmatic effect when communicating in an L2 (discussed in section 2.1.5).

<sup>122</sup> In the original: ‘grande distance entre prononciation et graphie’.

<sup>123</sup> In the original: ‘lourd’.

<sup>124</sup> In the original: ‘un caractère’.

described as '*a little like a car, which enables me to go from one place to another more efficiently*'<sup>125</sup> (62).

If such beliefs about English's intrinsic quality as a language of science can be recorded in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this has not always been the case. Chomsky cites Diderot writing about the most appropriate languages for science in the 18<sup>th</sup> century:

According to Diderot, French is appropriate for the sciences, whereas Greek, Latin, Italian and English "sont plus avantageuse pour les lettres"<sup>126</sup>.

(Chomsky 1965:7 citing Diderot 1751: 372)

#### 4.1.7.3 Taking a stance towards English as a lingua franca for science

The participants were asked to give general attitudinal responses to using English. The question (*How do feel about using English in general?*<sup>127</sup>) invited the participants to position themselves in relation to English usage as an external object of enquiry, and with which they had to consider a relationship. Positioning can be understood both as a discursive practice of personal stories but also as a relationship to 'thing-like substances' located in space and time (Harré and Langegrove 1991: 215-217).

The participants expressed opinions about a general impression of English and related this to their own uses of English. To do this they either framed their answers by stating beliefs about the English language, for example: '*something we like* (65)<sup>128</sup>, '*a working language* (112)<sup>129</sup>, 'this is a language I like' (98). This type of attitude to language showed how the participants perceived identity and language in terms of a relationship. In this way the English language was personified as someone/thing to 'get on with' in an affective relationship. In turn, the relationship was reported as being, for example: ranging from '*excellent*', '*très bon rapport*', '*trés bien*', '*bien*', '*bon*', '*neutral*', '*RAS*'<sup>130</sup>, '*OK*', '*penible*', '*peur*', '*difficile*', to '*negatif*'.

<sup>125</sup> In the original: 'Un peu comme une voiture qui m'offre la possibilité de me déplacer de manière efficace d'un lieu à l'autre'.

<sup>126</sup> 'are better for the Arts' (my translation).

<sup>127</sup> In the French version of the questionnaire: *Quel est votre rapport avec l'anglais?*

<sup>128</sup> In the original: 'un être qu'on aime bien'. The use of 'être' (being) suggests a personification of the English language, taking on an embodied character which could also be translated as 'someone'.

<sup>129</sup> In the original: 'une langue de travail'.

<sup>130</sup> RAS: Rien A Signaler (nothing to declare).



Self-reflexions about how the participants used English as part of their identity were sometimes expressed without stating any attitude to the language. In this case, the responses focused on how the participants positioned their own (identity) performance as English language users to the language itself, for example: *'I am trying to improve'*<sup>131</sup> (1), *'I think I can be better than I am'* (39), *'not very at ease'*<sup>132</sup> (41), *'I get by'*<sup>133</sup> (110), *'It is not a problem for me'* (105), *'confident'* (44, 79).

When attitudes to language and attitudes to self were expressed together, the participants stated an attitude to 'English' as an external object. They then qualified the initial statement, by positioning themselves to this object (conjunct underlined to show the modification of the first clause). Where the participants decided to combine attitude and self, the overall results showed that when an initial positive impression of 'the English language' was given it was qualified by how the individual felt he/she either succeeded or failed to meet the initial standard, for example:

In the following examples, participants 20, 24, 30, 39, 107 used a conjunct 'mais', 'but', or 'however' (underlined) to position their identities (**bold**) to a general attitudinal response to the English language itself (*italics*):

(20) *bon mais à améliorer*

[Translation:

**good but needs improving]**

(24) *I enjoy using english, however, I have a STRONG French accent*

(30) *J'adore, mais toujours le sentiment de pas assez bien la maitriser*

[Translation:

*I love it but I still have the feeling that I don't master it enough]*

(39) *good but I think I can be better than I am !!!*

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<sup>131</sup> In the original: 'j'essaie de m'améliorer'.

<sup>132</sup> In the original: 'pas très à l'aise'.

<sup>133</sup> In the original: 'je me débrouille'.

(107) *I like this language but I am more familiar with technical or scientific English than with every day's English, then in general I am not at ease, except in my job, of course.*

A third of the participants (39/118) framed their responses around being 'not good enough' or 'needing to improve'<sup>134</sup> (participant 20) rather than expressing attitudes to a possible English lingua franca which should meet or adapt itself to their own uses and needs. These 39 participants positioned themselves negatively to an idealised representation of the English language, which showed that they believed that they should adapt to the language, rather than vice versa. English as a lingua franca was referred to indirectly as being '*practical for conversing and communicating with colleagues of all nationalities as is the common practice in the scientific community*' (translation, participant 41). Nevertheless, in keeping with the belief that 'we belong to an international community of scientists' (91%), the participants claimed 'sound knowledge structures' and 'scientific English' as part of their professional identities (which they believed non-scientists did not 'own', participants 23, 25). This suggests that the participants believed that they had ownership of and rights to a lingua franca for science. Although English was repeatedly referred to as the preferred lingua franca (due to ideological beliefs about English as a lingua franca for scientific communication), one participant reported being 'troubled' by its hegemony<sup>135</sup> (113).

The attitude to English as a utilitarian lingua franca was more specific to the results concerning English for teaching purposes, where English was considered as a tool or medium, as is expressed in the term currently in use, English as a medium of instruction (see section 4.4). Where teaching was concerned, the participants argued that the language was at their disposal rather than the other way round.

A greater balance between language attitude and positive self-assessment was found in a third of the participants who used conjunctions such as AND rather than BUT to relay attitudes to English and to their own identity. These participants referred to change over

<sup>134</sup> In the original: 'pas assez bien', 'je dois m'améliorer'.

<sup>135</sup> In the original: 'géné par son hégémonie'.

time: 'L'anglais me vient de plus en plus naturel' (*'English comes to me more and more naturally'*, participant 11), repetition, and immersion (participant 16).

In the following examples, participants 5,16, 86, 116 used the conjunct 'et'/'and'(underlined) which revealed greater equity between an attitude to language and self-positioning (**bold**) to the English language (*italics*):

- (5) *J'adore l'anglais, et je l'utilise tous les jours (encadrement d'étudiants non francophones au laboratoire)*

[Translation:

*I love English and I use it every day (supervision of non-francophone students in the laboratory) ]*

- (16) *je sens qu'avec plus de pratique et une immersion, cela irait beaucoup mieux.*

[Translation:

*I feel that with more practice and immersion, it will get much better]*

- (86) *J'ai toujours aimé l'anglais et j'aimerais pouvoir le pratiquer plus afin de ne pas perdre mes acquis et éventuellement me perfectionner*

[Translation:

*I've always liked English and I'd like to be able to practice more so that I don't lose what I've learnt and to also maybe to improve]*

- (116) *j'ai fait quelques progrès qui me permettent d'assurer le minimum et je fais apprécier les occasions de pratiquer cette langue à l'oral*

[Translation:

*I've made some progress which enables me to do ensure a minimum and I appreciate the moments when I can practice this language orally. ]*

The question 'How do you feel about English in general?' positioned language use and identity in the form of a relationship. The answers were in turn framed along a

‘love/hate’ continuum<sup>136</sup> (40) or expressed in degrees of attraction and resistance. The attitudes to English expressed by the participants have been used to inform how members of the academic community in France may position themselves in relation to English in French Higher Education in relation to the oppositional pulls of both ‘attractivité<sup>137</sup>, (‘attractivity’ is key term used in legislation referring to the internationalisation of Higher Education in France and ‘resistance’). Here positioning operates to inform the attitudes which ensue the linguist practise of English usage. If positioning is understood as a stance to another object (Harré and Langenhove 1994, Ochs 1993), then various positions for or against English as a language of Higher Education are possible.



Figure 7 Positioning between resistance and attraction towards using English as a lingua academia.

<sup>136</sup> In the original: ‘amour/haine’.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Pour l’attractivité de l’université en France’<sup>137</sup> (Senatorial white paper February 2013)

#### 4.1.8 Personal domains of English

The question '*How and when do you use English outside of work ?*'<sup>138</sup> was asked to gain some perspective on how the use of professional English may differ to other domains in which the participants used English. The data showed that the participants did not appear to be as impacted by the use of English in non-professional contexts. The responses to this question lacked detail in comparison to their other answers in the questionnaire. The participants wrote less in terms of quantity (624 total word tokens to this response)<sup>139</sup> and the responses contained little emotional qualification (minimal adjectives or adverbs, and use of simple clauses).

Various language domains emerged as belonging to the category of 'personal' uses of English (outside of work). These were travel (45 hits), speaking with friends (20 hits), listening to English in aural media (11 hits)<sup>140</sup>, reading (10 hits), using the internet<sup>141</sup> (6 hits) and teaching their own children at home (4 hits).

The questionnaire indicated that 63% of the participants reported using English for personal uses when they travelled abroad on holiday. The participants used the broad category 'abroad' without going into more detail about the languages used in the countries they visited. It was therefore hard to tell whether the countries they visited used English as 'inner circle' (or as 'native' speakers), 'outer circle' users of English as a second official language, or whether English was used as a lingua franca in 'the expanding circle', (Jenkins 2015, Saraceni 2010, Kachru 1982). More information about speaking in English was given by the participants when they described the other main category of English usage outside of work, for example 'speaking with friends'. Twenty participants described using English with friends who could speak English. The English-speaking friends were described as being either 'non-French speakers' (2 hits), of 'different nationalities' (1 hit), foreign/étranger (6 hits) anglophone (2 hits), or

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<sup>138</sup> In the French version of the questionnaire: '*Dans quelles circonstances utilisez-vous l'anglais en dehors de votre travail?*'

<sup>139</sup> The word counts to the questions relating to the use of English professionally were higher. For example, there were 1224 word tokens in the responses to writing articles in English.

<sup>140</sup> In 'aural media' I have grouped the responses 'listening to music', 'TV', 'watching movies', and 'watching series'.

<sup>141</sup> Internet usage includes both passive and active usage, described as 'visitor' and 'resident' usage of the internet for personal and work related domains (White 2013).

'English speakers' (3 hits). On the whole, what the participants meant by 'English speaker' was that they believed English to be their L1. The results show that when the participants referred to 'English speakers' this did not include people with whom they used English as a *de facto* lingua franca. Confirming the beliefs that despite being prolific authors and proficient speakers, the participants still held that only 'inner circle' speakers could be labelled as 'English speakers'.

English was used for leisure activities such as 'watching movies or series', 'reading', and 'listening to music with English lyrics'. The reading activities involved searching for specialist information concerning hobbies (i.e. woodworking, and electronics (29), hard rock (5), reading novels (60, 62, 63, 30) and reading newspapers (44). Participant 60 referred to '*trying* to read books in English' which was one of the rare affective responses to using English outside of the workplace. The use of the verb *trying* suggests both difficulty and a self-improvement exercise rather than a pleasurable leisure activity. In this case, English was described in a similar way as to when it was described as a necessary chore for professional advancement.

Four of the participants reported using English in the personal domain to help their children learn English. This finding supported diglossic studies such as Broudic's (2013) in Brittany, who has shown that Higher and Lower varieties of language are reinforced by parents. Broudic argues that Breton started to become an endangered language when parents in the 1950s encouraged their children to value L2 French above that of the family's L1 Breton to ensure that their children had greater access to 'power' (in terms of professional and educational recognition). In Bourdieu's (1984) terms the parents gave greater 'symbolic value' to French than they did to Breton. Nevertheless, the responses to this present study gave little detail as to *why* they used English with their children. This is perhaps because the value of learning English as a second language at school was seen to be self-evident by the participants, in the same vein as English seems to have been accepted as the mandatory language of research publication. Only participant 62 chose to give a more detailed (emotional) response to using English in all domains of his life. In his response he referred to the omnipresence of English in 'our' lives, (including his French-speaking peers in his worldview), to which he had consequently ('therefore') positioned ('adapted') himself ('I') to:

- (62) L'anglais est omniprésent dans nos vies. Je considère donc ne pas avoir le choix et je me suis adapté à cette situation'.

[Translation:

*English is omnipresent in our lives. I therefore consider that I don't have a choice and I have adapted to this situation. ]*

The brevity in the other 70 responses concerning the personal domain usage of English can be explained by the phrasing of the question, which did not ask for an emotional response to the use of English outside of work. The lack of detail in the participants' responses also nevertheless reveals that English usage outside of work may not emotionally impact on the participants to the same extent as English use professionally. This result was confirmed by the visual representations of how the participants used English for professional and personal purposes in section 4.3.2. This difference in how the participants decided to respond to English usage outside of work indicates that there was considerably less at stake for participants when reporting English usage outside of the professional domain.

#### **4.1.9 Summary**

The main aim of the questionnaire was to identify the extent to which English language usage was a part of the participants' professional identities. Having addressed the specific areas in which they used English (mainly article writing, and conference communication), the participants were then invited to give attitudinal responses to using English. Given the extent to which they used English, the participants confirmed that the use of English was felt to be an 'obligatory' element of their professional job description. A model of how a sense of obligation relates to attitudes to English is provided in the discussion (chapter 5).

The analysis of the questionnaire results showed that the participants used English extensively for research communication. English was believed to be a necessary language for scientific research and the participants acknowledged that they had to use English if they wished to further their research careers. The participants described the

various methods they used to produce scientific papers in English (either by writing directly in English or by using proof-readers and translators). To this end, they used whatever means they had at their disposal to achieve positive reviews from journal editing committees. Translation from one language to another was described as being difficult and time-consuming. The participants were experienced at explaining content in another language and were used to working collaboratively to reach a better explanation of the research they wished to communicate to others in English. 'Difficulty' was defined by the participants as being 'less at ease' (than in French) and 'slower'. Being a competent English user was reported as being beneficial to a scientific career, especially in terms of efficiency and time management. The participants nevertheless held that they belonged to an English-speaking international scientific community, despite the difficulties associated with using English as a second language. Although the international scientific community clearly comprises NNS in their own rights, the participants had not developed the self-assurance of their L2 language identities in relation to a minority of L1 English speakers.

The participants, who were members of an experienced and widely published community of English language researchers, reported that they lacked 'credibility' (Soren 2013, Preisler 2014) when compared to 'native speakers of English'. As expert and experienced learners of both English and of their specialist subjects, the participants focused more on their 'lack' and less on their competence as multilingual speakers. The participants, who had turned to English *because of* and *for* their work, described in detail how they used English at work and how they believed the 'scientific' English they mastered differed from other kinds of English.



## 4.2 Semi-structured interviews: results and analysis

### 4.2.1 Introduction

This section presents an analysis of the data collected from the semi-structured interviews I held with the participants between May to June 2013, after the respondents had completed the questionnaire (discussed in 4.1). The participants' responses, along with the interview schedule, were used to inform the structured parts of each interview.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 20 participants who worked in the disciplines associated with the science faculty, Nantes. These 20 participants had volunteered to take part in an interview via the last response of the questionnaire which invited them to take part in this second stage of the study. The interview schedule (see appendix) invited the participants to talk about how they used English for their research (publication and presentations), professional interactions (such as meetings and emails) and for teaching. Although I asked the participants to speak about their own uses of English, the participants did not fail to discuss how other people they knew or met were using English and how they compared themselves to others in relation to the use of English. This result showed that the study of language use is necessarily associated with issues of social identity and that individuals will frame their attitudes in relation to others (Coffey 2013, Simmel 1950).

This section addresses how the participants framed their attitudes to using English as members of an academic community in Nantes. Their attitudes and positioning in relation to having to use English obligatorily in French academia were constructed in accordance with or counter to what they believed their colleagues' attitudes to English were. When positioning themselves in relation to the attitudes of their community, the participants referred to other L1 French-speaking colleagues in their local professional community. As members of wider L1 French-speaking communities, locally, nationally and internationally, the participants expressed attitudes towards French speakers of English (section 4.2.2). As the participants of this study also regularly came into contact with those they believed to be 'native speakers of English', (during conference meetings and through the reviews of the articles they submitted to journals), they

positioned themselves in relation to such 'native speakers of English'<sup>142</sup> (section 4.2.2.3). The comparison of their own form of English to other types of English led to discussions about the extent to which the participants still believed themselves to be 'learners of English'. Within such a context of shared English language usage for scientific communication, the participants expressed ideological beliefs about the appropriateness of what they referred to as 'a common language' for scientific research (see section 4.2.4).

The chosen period for the interviews undoubtedly had an impact on the data. The Fioraso Law was being debated in the *Assemblée Générale* and commented on in the media (from March to July 2013). The passing of the Fioraso Law meant that French was no longer obligatorily the sole language of instruction in French Higher Education. Its subsequent adoption, in July 2013, and implementation in September 2013 was a matter of considerable interest to the study participants. This meant that the Fioraso Law<sup>143</sup> was discussed during the interview, and was either introduced by myself or by the participants. The Fioraso Law was proposed in March 2013, after the first set of data from this study had been collected from the questionnaire. The present study therefore took institutional language policy change into account once the initial data collection process had started. The parts of the interview concerned with the Fioraso Law (discussed in section 4.2.6) were specifically related to the following items: i) what the participants thought of the law, ii) whether the participants had already taught in English and if they had not taught in English, iii) whether they foresaw themselves teaching in English in the future.

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<sup>142</sup> Including possibly myself, the interviewer.

<sup>143</sup> Changes to be expected were the creation of new modules, the possibility of teaching modules in English, administrative staff having to welcome students from abroad, and the creation of documents (such as exams and certificates) in English. (For the impact of the internationalisation of Higher Education for administrative staff see Diaz et al. 2013 and Cots et al. 2014).

Table 7 Information about the interviewed academic participants

Pseudonym/gender	Age bracket	Academic Discipline	Language (s) chosen by the participant for interview
Albert/M	46-60	Physics	FR/EN
Ben/M	25-45	Marine biology	FR
Brieuc/M	25-45	Cardiology	FR
David/M	25-45	Computer science	EN
Emma/F	25-45	Bio-chemistry	FR/EN
Erwan/M	46-60	Physics	FR
Francois/M	46-60	Computer science	FR/EN
Henry/M	25-45	Physics	FR
Julia/F	25-45	Maths	EN
Jean-Paul	46-60	Electronical Physics	EN
Larry/M	46-60	Neuro-biology	FR/EN
Max/M	46-60	Maths	EN
Mickael/M	46-60	Molecular biology	FR
Miriam/F	25-45	Biology	FR
Paul/M	25-45	Geology	EN
Philbert/M	25-45	Environmental science	EN
Philippe/M	25-45	Analytical chemistry	EN
Stephanie/M	46-60	Biology	FR/EN
Thierry	46-60	Electronical Physics	EN/FR
Vera/F	25-45	Marine-biology	FR

The participants were representative of the broad disciplines of the science departments of the University of Nantes. The disciplines have been cited to show that the participants came from different departments. Neither the age, gender nor academic discipline revealed a trend in what views the participants expressed about using English. Although some participants such as David thought that older people would be more reticent about using English, the attitudes of the older participants towards English did not confirm this. The specificities of the participants' own stories of English created a unique combination of variables which resulted in different stances towards English. The analysis has therefore focused on how the participants decided to portray the key moments in their stories of English and their own attitudes to their present and past selves as users of English. The choice of language for interview did correlate to views expressed in the interview, however. Those who decided to hold the interview in

French only (7 out of 20) generally were more affected by English as a burden or wished to convey the problems they faced with English either today or in the past.

As is evident in the extracts of the interviews, it was necessary to take into account how the conversation was co-constructed by myself and the interviewees. We brought our identities (as PhD student and willing participant among many others) along to the interview and subsequently negotiated the identities which we created during the moment of the interview (Stake 2005: 461, Zimmerman 1998). The resultant analysis is reflective in nature (also called 'interpretative', Denzin and Lincoln 2000) where the 'researcher digs into meanings, working to relate them to contexts and experience. In each instance the work is reflective' (Stake 2005: 450). The objective was to show 'how' the participants positioned themselves to the use of English and 'who' they included and excluded in these accounts. The framework for positioning used in the analysis of the interviews (discussed in section 2.2.3.1) was based on oral interaction read as narrative, where at least two people are present (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, De Fina 2003, 2013, Bamberg 1997). This allowed the interviews to be read as connecting local identity constructions but also to perceptions of macro social processes such as the institutional context. Within these discourses, the speakers positioned themselves to the other speakers, sometimes taking on dominant roles which can be attributed or avowed, and positions to what is believed to be master narratives. In this context master narratives are understood to be projections of ideological discourse as a perception of institutional agency (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008, Archer 2003).

Throughout this chapter, extracts of the interviews are used to highlight the themes which emerged through the analysis. These excerpts give the reader access to the moment of interaction (Rapley 2007) which includes examples of how the participants reacted to questions and comments from myself but also how we negotiated and contested our positions in the dialogue.

The excerpts<sup>144</sup> are designed to capture the themes and content of the interview and exclude detail relating to intonation, or the exact emphasis of the moment of overlap between the two speakers. Paralinguistic details are included, such as laughter, because such features indicate speaker intent and its effect on the interpersonal interaction which

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<sup>144</sup> Translations of French speech are given in italics below the excerpts.

needed to be made visible to the reader (Lawson 2015: 194). Reported speech has been labelled to help the reader identify when the participants were referring, quoting or paraphrasing other colleagues or voicing ideological beliefs. The transcription conventions are given in section 3.5 of the methods chapter. Pseudonyms are used for the participants and ‘AR’ refers to me, the interviewer.

#### 4.2.2 The French ‘problem’ with English: positioning the Other

The interview format (see appendix for the complete interview schedule<sup>145</sup>) consisted of starting the interview with asking the participants to describe what their work consisted of. All the participants gave me detailed accounts of their research fields and related teaching activities. Of the 13 out of the 20 participants who chose to speak to me in English, their accounts revealed that they were very familiar with talking about their research in English. Subsequent to this first question, I asked them how they used English within the domain they had just described and more importantly how they felt about using English as part of their profession. The objective of these first questions was to focus the participants’ attention on their professional identities and relate this early on to an attitudinal response to using English professionally. The initial request concerning how the participants felt about using English was positioned in relation to whether the participants believed themselves to be similar or dissimilar to other colleagues. A belief which emerged early on was that *English was referred to as a problem* and that when the participants positioned themselves to me as an L1 English speaker (the positioning of our roles within the conversation) they referred to how they believed other people positioned themselves to this problem. Unlike the other data sets, the interviews brought national identity discourse to the foreground. This can be explained by how the participants chose to describe their own attitudes to using English in relation to their local, national and international peers, who were identified and positioned in relation to their national identities.

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<sup>145</sup> Each interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes.

#### 4.2.2.1 Other French-speaking colleagues in the scientific community

When voicing attitudes to using English for professional purposes, the participants either included or excluded other colleagues in their own worldview. Including ‘the Other’ early on to express positioning highlights the relevance of an understanding of the self in relation to other individuals (Coffey 2013, Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Ochs 1993). The two main positions in relation to other French-speaking colleagues were as follows: either the participants held that they ‘got on well with English’ whereas their other colleagues did not, or the participants held that English was a problem for them, and that this was also the case for their colleagues. For example, when the participants were asked: ‘*how do you feel about using English for your work?*’ the responses fell into two main categories, as follows:

‘For me it [English] is ok, but for my colleagues it isn’t’.

(12 participants: Albert, David, Emma, François, Jean-Paul, Larry, Max, Paul, Philbert, Philippe, Stéphanie, and Thierry held this view).

In this case the participants described positive attitudes to English usage, and they commented on being ‘different’ to the other members of their scientific community.

Or

‘On est plusieurs à avoir ce type de problème avec l’anglais<sup>146</sup>’.

(8 participants: Ben, Brieuc, Erwan, Henry, Julia, Mickael, Miriam, and Vera)

The main categories the participants had chosen to include or exclude themselves from were reinforced by subsequent uses of pronouns such as ‘on’ and ‘nous’ [we/us] when stating a personal opinion. ‘On’ and ‘nous’ were used in a colloquial sense to give greater credit to an opinion by extending its validity to be beyond ‘je’(I). Exclusion focused on how the participants considered themselves to be different to other colleagues of the same scientific community. Such positioning in relation to other members of the scientific community therefore included beliefs about English which coincided with a deontological view of what an academic *should* do as part of his or her job description (discussed by Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009 as an ideal self). During the

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<sup>146</sup> Translation: ‘Many of us have this type of problem with English’.

context of the interview the participants also positioned me as an L1 speaker of English. The participants believed that I belonged to the category of speaker who ‘does not have problems with English’ and therefore also positioned themselves in relation to a category that they believed I was either part of or excluded from (i.e. I did not belong to the category of science academic).

Philippe referred to the colleagues whom he described as having ‘problems with English’, by identifying them as being a majority group to which he differed from. I asked Philippe to explain what he meant by ‘not being ok with English’:

Philippe: for most of my colleagues it [English] is not ok

AR: why do you think that is?

Philippe: they are maybe too shy, I don’t know, they don’t want to speak English, they think that their English level is too low, which sometimes is true, but sometimes it’s not, but they don’t want to make the effort

An attitude in relation to how others failed ‘to make an effort’ was a means to signal an ideological position regarding the use of English as firstly a language which required the ‘right’ kind of approach (effort). Secondly the use of the word ‘effort’ suggested a difficulty which some participants had overcome and others had not. Referring to ‘lack of effort’ suggests that Philippe believes that these issues would be resolved given the right amount of hard work. However, his reference to his colleagues’ ‘shyness’ suggests that problems with speaking English may be more intrinsic to either a personality trait (‘shy’) or to concern about performing in front of peers than to a question of motivation (Dörnyei 2009, Ryan 2008). In this way, for those who felt confident about their own level of English, ‘exclusion’ took the form of differentiating themselves from colleagues who ‘don’t speak English’ (Paul) or to those who ‘don’t make the effort to speak English’ (Philippe). The use of ‘don’t’, as opposed to ‘don’t make the effort’ reveals different types of criticism. Not speaking English may be suggestive of volition, i.e. some people may not want to speak English. Some colleagues may not speak English because they have not had the same opportunities. The use of ‘don’t make the effort’, on the other hand, is a direct criticism by someone who *has* made the effort and who believes that others *should* do the same.

Paul's criticism of other French-speaking colleagues stems from disappointment when he compares his colleagues' English language skills with those of his Dutch colleagues when he lived in the Netherlands. He was impressed and touched by his Dutch colleagues' linguistic flexibility and humility:

Paul: I've been living in the Netherlands one year and a half and I've been impressed by the way they immediately switch to English, when they, when just one person is not speaking Dutch, that was so impressive to me, I went to many meetings, I was the only foreigner and they were, I don't know, twenty, forty Dutch people, immediately they switch to English, I would like to see this in France

Beyond the question of competence, Paul returns to the belief of 'making an effort' but here in terms of politeness. In the above example, his Dutch colleagues supposedly switched to English because Paul did not speak Dutch and they wanted to include him. Paul was touched by this accommodating approach to 'the foreigner'.

In other cases, however, such as switch from one language could be perceived negatively. For example, François told me the story of the time in Germany when his German colleague criticised him for wanting to speak German when 'we all speak English around here'. François reported being disappointed about feeling he was not encouraged to speak German because it was perceived as being inferior to his colleagues' English.

The participants highlighted the 'problem with English' in France by referring to other French L2 speakers of English such as the Dutch, the Danes and the Germans. Some of the participants were under the impression that there was a French problem with English which other countries did not have:

Julia: but I don't know if similar studies exist in other countries, because I think it's sort of, I don't know, if it's something really specific to France, I did a lot of conferences with German people and they really don't seem to have the same problem with English

Max explains the 'problem' with speaking English for French people as being one of language history, and because he believes that there are different families of languages which are closer or more distant from one another:



- Max: that's a big difference for Danish people, first of all, very few quantity of people is speaking Danish, it's really different, millions of people are speaking French, in Africa, Danish people has to speak English, no other possibility, and second, I don't know about Danish but I was talking about English with a colleague who was Dutch and, in fact, Dutch is a sort of mix between German and English, and it's very easy for a Dutch people to learn English, it's easy for French people to learn Spanish or Italian but not English, so it's different
- AR: they have to make more of an effort?
- Max: yes, it's very difficult for French people to speak English

Max voices beliefs about which languages are easier to learn, depending on what a speaker's L1 is. According to Max, it is more difficult for French people to learn English because he believes that English is more dissimilar to French than it is to Dutch in terms of language morphology and etymology. He refers to the socio-political history of France and Denmark and relates them to the reasons why he believes certain nations speak second languages.

Julia, Brieuc, Vera and Ben's accounts coincided with the questionnaire responses which had referred to the problems the academic participants faced when presenting papers during conferences. They approached this task by often rote learning conference papers but reported having difficulty in answering questions, or being fearful of not being able to understand a question. On the other hand, Larry refers to the same issue of conference presentations and differentiates himself from this group. Larry offers an interesting perspective of being able to recount what he had observed first hand, and critically evaluating his role of observer and actor. In the following extract he suggests that his colleagues learn a scripted text by rote because they are nervous, and unsure of themselves. Those who read from a text are also those who are reported as being 'unable to answer questions', according to Larry. It is at this point that Larry is no longer observing, but intervening as the expert 'from the same lab', who can step in (in an improvised manner) to answer the questions his colleagues are not able to answer (in English). He presents himself as having and using his (English) language advantage over his colleagues (which is reinforced by my own comment below):

- Larry: it's why most of the people are stress to do English communication and so the they learned by heart, you know some of the French as, you see, and they have some, a piece of paper and what they read, and when they have

- done, five minutes of questions, so it's not long at all, and most of them are unable to answer the questions
- AR: uhum
- Larry: because they are repeating what they said, and obviously the guy which has asked the question wants more
- AR: uhum uhum
- Larry: and he doesn't get it, so sometimes somebody else from the same la(b) same lab who knows a little bit more, somebody like me answers
- AR: so you, you have a definite advantage?
- Larry: oh yeah

During the course of the interview, Larry was able to give reasons as to why he thought his colleagues had failed where he had succeeded. He sees the origin of the problem being in how his colleagues chose to learn English. He bases his own account of how he learnt English through immersion into American life during his post-doctoral studies. French colleagues who had carried out post-doctoral research in English-speaking countries were criticised by Larry for not 'making an effort' to detach themselves from their French peers when they were abroad:

- Larry: they were two years in the US or in England they should be able to, if everytime, everyday you shut English life and you speak French with French people, you need to be totally immerse, and it's after months of immersion that you can really have an idea, "yes I like it", "no I don't like it", but most of them you know, they have to go abroad, they have to go, they don't want to go, they have to go, and they want to do their best but, if they can go, some of them, they're trying to go with the boyfriend and girlfriend, so every time in the evening its French French French

Here Larry is referring to the belief that it is important to learn English to succeed in science, which is confirmed by the questionnaire and the other interviewed participants who all recognised that they 'had to use English'. However, Larry is signalling that the problem (for others) lies in not aligning obligation with volition expressed in the 'they have to go, but they don't want to go'. Larry's uses of 'should' and 'have to' signal his beliefs concerning the importance of travel abroad and immersion in locations where the target language is an L1 language (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009, MacIntyre et al. 1997). However, unlike himself, he describes young researchers as '[not getting] the idea' which shows that, unlike him, they haven't grasped the key to language success. Larry

is critical of young researchers following ‘the boyfriend or girlfriend’. He travelled alone to America to isolate himself from other French speakers because this is how he believed he could achieve English competence. Larry also refers to the socio-economic constraints that the post-doctoral students may have to face. He is aware that travelling to work abroad is both socially and economically challenging and seems concerned that material hurdles, such as money issues are not the only thing prospective scientists should consider. In Larry’s opinion, their attitude and approach to learning English is wrong from the outset and it is for this reason that they don’t succeed. His own beliefs about English for science and about how best to learn English (‘be immerse [sic]’) are in alignment and therefore result in what he believes to be his own success as an English speaker.

Julia, who also carried out the interview with me in both English and French offers a different explanation for the type of (failed) interaction that Larry had observed at a conference. Coinciding with Philippe’s impression that ‘French people are shy about speaking in English’ (Philippe), Jenny sees the cause of the problem for her to be the presence of someone like Larry at conference events. She therefore seemed more at ease to talk in English with someone, such as myself, whom she did not consider as ‘French’. She revisited impressions of feeling uncomfortable, especially when she is speaking English in front of other French colleagues, which she does not experience when using English outside of the workplace:

- Julia:        yeah, yeah, of course, euh, I know that, ok I'm not a person that asks a lot of questions in conferences in general, but I think that in English it's worse, and especially when I'm with French colleagues I think, I think if I'm with foreign colleagues I'm really more, comfortable in speaking English, yeah that's some euh
- AR:            so more comf(ortable), is it something about being with other colleagues, do they speak better English than you, do you feel, or why is it?
- Julia:        oh yeah, most of the time but I think it's the same in my private life too, you know if, when I'm only with American or, English or Australian people than when I'm also with French friends or, so
- AR:            do you know why?
- Julia:        I yeah maybe the euh, implicit, fear to be judged or I, I can, or maybe because when I'm, also with French people, I say to me that, I can ask them or, I don't know because I kind of like speaking English, and, but, yeah I I think that, if, I am with only foreign colleagues or people in my private life, I don't have the choice so I, have to speak English, euh I don't know if that's a reaction you find euh in, other euh?

The participants are providing different complex reasons to the problems they have identified relating to English. Larry sees the issue of language competence being a hindrance to effective communication. Julia provides the relevance of ‘emotional tension’ (MacIntyre et al. 1997: 268) when interacting with other people, especially when they are deemed L1 speakers of English. She is uncomfortable about speaking English in front of French speakers of English because she feels that she will be judged. Having discussed how the participants used English in both their professional and private lives (see section 4.3.2), Julia returns to this theme by admitting that she prefers to speak English in her personal life and especially when not performing at a conference. Julia hedges her affective position to using English (‘I kind of like speaking English’) which echoes the ambiguity of both her identity as an English speaker and how she chooses to modify her assessment of her experience of speaking English depending on the context.

On two occasions during the interview Julia asked me if her account coincided with what the other participants had said. I hesitated about giving a definitive answer to this type of question for two reasons. Firstly during this stage of the study, the themes were still emerging. My study was still underway at the time I was conducting the interviews and I certainly was not in a position to provide Julia with an overview of the results of the interviews. It was also my belief that there was no definite single position, but that my aim was on the contrary to assemble a variety of accounts. Julia’s interest in whether her own experience coincided with that of her community nevertheless reinforced the literature which present professional identity as situated and positioned in relation to other people. Julia was gauging how her own position fitted in with the professional community with respect to the perceived institutional demands concerning English (see ‘Positioning in relation to perceived institutional demands’ model in section 5.2). In keeping with ethnographic interviews, however, the degree the interview swayed from the interview schedule depended on each unique interaction (Hammersley and Atkinson 2004).

In the concluding stages of the interview, all the participants told me that they would be interested in being informed of the results of the study and to find out what ‘scientists in

France think about English'<sup>147</sup>. The interest in positioning one's own account in relation to other members of a community shows that people care about what other people do and think. If they find that other people share the same attitudes towards English, then they may be more secure in their position and worldview. It is intended that the variety of the results and positions show that each account reflects the unique identities of each participant. The participants nevertheless highlighted issues which were often referred to as 'problems' related to English. The different reasons behind such problems have been provided by the participants and myself through a reflective approach to the problems we have identified.

On the whole, being a competent or confident user of English was portrayed by the participants as being unusual (by both the confident and less confident users of English) within the French scientific community. This was highlighted by participants who compared French speakers of English to other speakers of English from European countries. The study showed that those participants who referred to other Europeans, believed that other Europeans were more competent at English than they were.

#### **4.2.2.2 Other French speakers in general (beyond the scientific community)**

There appeared to be identity issues concerned with aligning personal language use with that of the immediate or wider community of French speakers of English. Some of the participants were critical of other French speakers of English in general for various reasons. Some were 'upset by the level of the French people in English' (Paul). As Paul nevertheless identified himself as 'French', the result was that he stated that 'I am ashamed to be French'. Paul signalled alienation from other speakers of French because he felt French people's English skills to be poor. Taking into account that he was speaking to me as an English speaker and in English, he may have also chosen to frame his position differently had he been speaking to someone else. Nevertheless, Paul was signalling that he would like to be proud of being French, and that he wished other French speakers could compete with his experience in the Netherlands. By stating that

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<sup>147</sup> Given the high involvement of the participants in this study, it is my intention to share the thesis with them.

he was 'ashamed' he signalled that a better French national identity trait would be to speak better English.

Paul was critical of the French school education system which he described as 'absurd', 'completely stupid' and ineffective. He gave a lively and evocative account of his school days where he was encouraged to drill out-of-context expressions such as 'look your racket is on the fridge!' (Paul). In addition, Paul accused other French native speakers of being 'too proud'. He sums up the interview and his overall position as in opposition to 'other French people'.

AR: so to finish, I'd like to ask you why you, why you, decided to take part in this study and what attracted you to, to come to meet me today?

Paul: because, what can I answer to this, because I like a lot English, as I said before, and also because I'm ashamed to be French when I have to speak, when I go to England, or to various countries, I'm not ashamed, yeah, ashamed, everybody has learned English at school fourteen years in France and nobody is able to say hello to, in English, how could we change the English teaching in France?, to help people be better in English, French people are too proud of the French culture and if we speak English we lose some part of ourselves,

AR: you are in great disagreement with this?

Paul: with most of French people yeah

Asking the participants to give reasons for having come to interview was a valuable question. It helped to bring to the forefront any issues which the questions had not been able to address. It invited the participants to summarise their position to the use of English prior to the interview and subsequent to the half hour we had spent discussing this topic. In short the interview itself was a site which brought together older identities (Lemke 2008, Blommaert 2005, Zimmerman 1998) but where the interaction was a moment of identity making (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 583).

In this instance, Paul's confessional 'I'm ashamed to be French' is based on both a sense of alienation from French national identity and because he believes French people should be able speak more than French. Paul's motivation seems to stem from an idealised possible French identity, where he projects his own but also other's 'ought-to-selves' which concerns 'the attributes that one believes one *ought to* possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes' (Dorneyei and Ushioda 2009:

29). His hesitations over whether he should consider himself as French (when he uses 'we') are repeatedly put into opposition with 'French people' (i.e. 'French people are too proud of the French culture and if *we* speak English we lose some part of ourselves').

The use of the indefinite pronoun in 'nobody is able to say hello in English' is revealing of his disappointment at what he describes as 'not being good enough' rather than a reflection of what French people can in effect do or not do in English. Anderson (2006) highlights that such beliefs concerning national identity are not based on grounded evidence of what other people do, can do or will do, but on what Paul imagines to be common national identity trait.

Paul's ideology is based on his own position of being concerned, which he relays to me as a plea for help addressed directly at me as an 'English teacher' ('how could we change the English teaching in France?'). Perhaps Paul hopes that I may be able to present a solution. However, during our discussion Paul answers some of his concerns himself: 'French people are too proud of the French culture and if we speak English we lose some part of ourselves'. His use of the pronoun 'we' shows that he includes himself in the group 'French speaker' and is appealing to the ties between L1 language and L1 identity. However, his criticism of French people being 'too proud' to speak English signals that Paul does not believe that speaking more than one language is a hindrance to identity (also described in section 2.1.8 as a loss of identity in subtractive bilingualism, Garcia 2009, or loss of L1 identity, Davies 2011). His own position stands against a monolingual worldview, but as an emerging bilingual speaker, there is a conflict when he both includes and excludes himself in the 'we'.

Larry's discourse pattern, fluctuating between 'we' and 'they' to both include and exclude himself from what he believes to be the French worldview is almost identical to that of Paul's:

Larry:       and the French, the French are special because they like what we are, but we are never in agreement with other people, we think that we are the best and we know better than the others

Larry who had the opportunity of travelling back and forth between France and the US for many years, framed his beliefs about 'being French' and 'being American' in terms of national identity. Subsequent to his own experience of living in the US he believed Americans to be superficially more open, but less likely to become your 'best buddies'. This suggested that he felt in some way alienated or different to others when he was in America. Alienation and self-distancing combine in Larry's discourse about his relationship to his scientific community in France. As with the participant Pascal in Busch's study of bilingual speakers, Larry's discourse looks at others 'always with the other eye'<sup>148</sup>, perhaps feeling, like some other bilingual speakers, that he belongs nowhere (Busch 2012: 513). Paul and Larry can claim a French nationality as a place of birth, (when including themselves in the 'we') but create some distance in the 'the French worldview' they have presented (when speaking about language and education). Both Paul and Larry seem to hold on to a belief about a French national identity trait of being 'proud' (Paul) or 'the best' or 'better than others' (Larry). These beliefs are strongly rooted in beliefs about national identity. Larry and Paul are representative of their own stereotype to the extent that they are also proud because they want French values to include excellence in the domain of English language proficiency. To some extent they are critical of proud nationalistic world views, but at the same time they are validating these worldviews by categorising people as having national personality traits.

In these extracts, Paul and Larry are 'imagining' a national identity trait (being 'poor at English') in a way which is in keeping with Anderson's definition of national identity as based on an imagined group of people rather than as an actual inherent identity trait (Anderson 2006: 6, discussed in chapter 2). The issues relating to belonging, non-belonging and self-distancing are key to this study of language attitudes and how speakers of English in France and elsewhere may have to reconsider identity perceptions rooted in monolingual education and beliefs.

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<sup>148</sup> For Pascal's full citation accompanied by an example of a visual representation of bilingual identity see section 3.4.3.



#### 4.2.2.3 'Native speakers of English'

As was seen with the questionnaire results (see section 4.1), those speakers who the participants believed to be 'native' were considered to have a linguistic advantage over the participants in this study. This is why the participants reported that they needed to use native speakers to edit and or translate their scientific articles. The participants were also aware that the editorial committees of the journals they submitted their articles to required the linguistic quality of their texts to be in alignment with what they believed to be 'native English' competency. When referring to their own oral and written skills the participants therefore positioned themselves in relation to this 'native speaker' ideal:

Philbert: you can see the river of language between an article written by non English people, and people who are, who are speaking better English

Such a fatalist attitude to the insurmountable gap (a 'river') between what Philbert could produce as NNS and what could be produced by NS was not confirmed by Flowerdew's 2001 study of journal editors. Focusing on NNS and NS difference was considered as 'a gross oversimplification' for variations in language expertise (Flowerdew 2001: 128) and was rejected as a selection procedure by Editor 11:

E11: Our journal is looking for quality work by anyone. It doesn't matter if it is written by a NS or NNS. I think such a classification implies that NNS can't compete with NS, and that has not been the case with us at all.

(Flowerdew 2001: 129)

Journal editors should therefore make this more explicitly clear to potential authors, as was flagged by Editor 5 of Flowerdew's study who suggested that the current guidelines were perhaps misleading (as is implied by Editor 5's use of 'should' below):

E5: Instead of saying you are a NNS, we *should* say, and "What is your area of expertise in the English language?"

(Flowerdew 2001: 128 my emphasis)

During this present study, however, the interviewees continued to position themselves, most often negatively, in relation to what they felt to be a better type of English. The accounts of how they described their own English (i.e. 'my accent is bad') were

therefore directly positioned against an idealised model. The participants often described feeling inadequate about their own English. Many of the participants were highly critical of their own 'forms' of English, such as Max saying 'I don't think I'm good in English' or Brieuc's comical description of his own French accent:

Brieuc: j'ai un accent français à couper au couteau qui est formidable ah oui, pire que ça même, je sais qu'il y a des fautes de temps que je fais, qui font saigner les oreilles

[Translation:

Brieuc: *my French accent is so thick, you could cut it with a knife, ah yes, even worse than that, I know I make tense mistakes which are bad enough to make your ears bleed ]*

Brieuc uses humorous imagery which is not uncommon in French discourse about competence in English. One of the most popular being 'Je parle l'anglais comme une vache espagnol' ('I speak English like a Spanish cow'). The image of a listeners' ears bleeding in pain at hearing the 'wrong' type of English, or expressing the likelihood of speaking good English as being as likely as a cow speaking with a British (rather than Spanish) accent are manoeuvres to lighten responsibility in front of a comical *fait accompli*. Having claimed an identity as a poor English speaker, Brieuc's categorisation is a safe position from which he can position himself in this interaction with someone whom he defers to as a more competent English speaker. As the other participants, Brieuc knew me to be a bilingual speaker of French and English, who was also an English teacher and who was carrying out a research project as a 'native speaker' at Sussex University. When discussing his own proficiency, Brieuc decided to compare himself to me:

Brieuc: à part l'accent on entend pas que c'est pas votre langue natale enfin, je veux dire, c'est c'est pas la langue d'origine mais, je veux dire vous parlez fr(ançais) enfin je veux dire, il y a pas de faute de français il a pas de, moi je sais qu'il y en a des fautes de français de, d'anglais, quand je parle parce que que voilà voil(à)

AR: hm hm

Brieuc: ça a pas é(tait) enfin, disons que j'ai pas fait de mon métier, parler l'anglais, je l'utilise parce que euh j'en ai besoin et puis j() faut communiquer donc c'est, c'est un moyen,

AR: hm hm

Brieuc: de communiquer quoi

[Translation:

*Brieuc: apart from the accent we can't hear that it isn't your native language well I mean, that that it isn't the original language, but what I mean is that you speak Fr(ench) what I mean is that there are no French mistakes there are not, me I know that there are French mistakes, English [mistakes], when I speak because there it's*

*AR: hm hm*

*Brieuc: well it wasn't, let's say I didn't make it my job to speak English, I use it because euh I need it and then I() must communicate so it's, it's a way*

*AR: hm hm*

*Brieuc: to communicate]*

Returning to the theme of whether English was or was not part of a scientist's job description (explored in the questionnaire in 4.1), Brieuc's account suggests that he believes speaking a language correctly means not making any mistakes (by which he means mistakes in grammar, syntax and pronunciation). Nevertheless, he avows himself (by using 'let's say') as being a scientist above all ('let's say that I didn't make it my job to speak English'). This proclaimed identity is positioned in relation to someone such as myself (a linguist). Brieuc does not seem to include 'to communicate' in his definition of competence. Brieuc bases his definition of competence in terms of what a speaker can potentially do with a language. In Chomsky's terms, Brieuc is making a fundamental distinction between '*competence* (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations)' (Chomsky's emphasis, 1965:4). However, this is an idealised position involving an 'ideal speaker-listener' situation. Such an idealised speaker of English for example[...] speaks in a:

completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

(Chomsky 1965:3)

Brieuc, for example, spent much of the interview focusing on the grammatical errors he made and on his poor French accent. He introduced this topic early on in the interview which was confirmed and acknowledged by me in the interview when I asked him why he had written 'I HAVE A STRONG FRENCH ACCENT' in capitals in his questionnaire response. He said that his French accent had caused him problems when speaking to native speakers of English, on the phone or at conferences. However on further enquiry the problem seemed to lie more in the camp of those 'native (monolingual) speakers':

Brieuc: ils vont vraiment poser la question euh, ils vont vomir la question qu'ils vont pas essayer de nous aider à comprendre, ça ça arrive alors ça m'est jamais arrivé mais,

AR: hm hm

Brieuc: je sais que c'est arrivé à, à des collègues à moi qui() sont dans la même situation, et un un Américain qui pose sa question sans faire d'effort de, parler un peu plus lentement ou de prononciation ou de choses comme ça, et puis la la personne se retrouve à pas comprendre la question parce que, ça a été dit trop vite quoi c'est un peu, ça ça arrive des fois, ça c'est désagréable, mais bon après je pense que, c'est pas très grave

AR: donc c'est un non respect euh

Brieuc: il y a une forme de non respect pour moi c'est, on fait l'effort quand même, de parler en anglais finalement, c'est comme, de dire comme vous vous faites l'effort de parler en français actuellement, enfin c'est plus un effort j'imagine pour vous mais mais on fait l'effort de communiquer en anglais je veux dire on, oui la commun(auté) la, communauté communique en anglais mais d'un autre côté c'est pas notre langue natale donc euh, on on est pas euh, enfin c'est pas systématique pour nous et puis ça, enfin je veux dire ça se voit que c'est pas notre langue

[Translation:

Brieuc: *they will really ask the question euh, they will vomit the question they will not try to help us to understand, it happens so it's never happened to me but,*

AR: *hm hm*

Brieuc: *I know that it has happened, to some colleagues of mine who () are in the same situation as me, and an an American who asks a question without making the effort, to speak a little slower or with the pronunciation or something like that and the person finds themselves not understanding the question because, it was said too fast well it's a bit, it it happens*

*sometimes, it's unpleasant, but well after all I think, that it's not such a big deal*

AR: *so it's a type of disrespect euh*

Brieuc: *there is a kind of disrespect for me it's, we make the effort after all, to speak in English in the end, it's like, let's say like you you make the effort to speak in French right now, well it's no longer an effort for you I imagine but we make the effort to communicate in English, what I want to say we, yes the community the, community communicates in English but on the other hand it isn't our native language so, euh, we we are not euh, well it's not systematic for us to do that and then it, well what I want to say is that you can tell that it isn't our language]*

In the above extract, Brieuc is critical of native speakers of English who do not accommodate to the fact that they are speaking to non-native speakers. Due to the lack of accommodation, Brieuc therefore takes this as a signal that they are not showing enough 'respect' towards other French speakers he refers to in his account. This also shows that there is a perceived power imbalance between those who are authorities on English and those who are minorities. Norton (2000) and De Fina (2013) refer to this power imbalance where L2 speakers become disempowered in the L2 situations they are involved in. By referring to both himself and his colleagues 'who have also experienced this', Brieuc's discourse includes himself in the category of 'L2 English speaker victim' which he has evoked in his narrative of the dominant L1 English speaker group (De Fina 2013):

Another common schema in these stories is that narrators of these stories position themselves as victims of unreasonable attacks.

(De Fina 2013: 55)

It is perhaps surprising to read victim discourse in academic narratives. This can be explained in terms of Bourdieu's (1984) symbolic capital, where academics attending conferences were not being given what they would deem to be appropriate recognition for their status as scientists and for their status as L2 English speakers. The contexts the participants are describing are those stripped of the social resources related to honour and prestige. Instead, the symbolic capital they believed secure through hard work and achievement has shifted in an L2 context.

The 'victims' are those who Brieuc describes as being unfairly treated by the dominant L1 group. Although he does not describe the L1 speakers of his wider narrative as being openly critical or expressing discontent, he nevertheless has interpreted the L1 speakers' attitude as an indication that they are hostile towards him ('not happy' in citation below).

Brieuc:      oui, bah, de toute façon c'est pas ma langue natale donc si il y a quelqu'un qui est pas content il a qu'à parler français

[Translation:

*Brieuc:      well, yes, in any case it isn't my native tongue, so if someone isn't happy they can just [try and\*] speak in French]*

'try and'\* is my paraphrased emphasis of implied meaning of 'il na qu'à'

His retaliation reveals that he is nevertheless aware that where language flexibility is concerned, his (French and English) linguistic arsenal is greater than that of a monolingual English speaker (Gumperz 1982).

The participants who commented on their own perceived lack of competence (Ben, Vera, Julia, Miriam, Marc, and Henry) also referred to the incompetence of the monolingual 'native English' speakers they met at conferences, meetings or on the phone. The criticisms directed against 'native English speakers' were generally categorised as 'not making an effort' to speak a form of English which would be comprehensible to non-native speakers of English. Here the criticism of 'not making an effort' was directed at monolingual speakers of English. The criticisms made towards native speakers were that they 'lacked respect' towards non-native speakers of English. This lack of respect was described as making 'no effort' to articulate or to speak slowly, or as Brieuc put it: 'Americans vomit their questions at you' (at conferences). 'Lack of respect' was also defined by some of the participants as not seeming to recognise (and signal this recognition) the effort and skill a person has to make to speak in another language.

This suggests that monolingual speakers lacked empathy for other speakers and that they were breaching what the participants of this study felt to be a politeness code in an English-speaking situation. Feelings of being excluded were described as not being

heard, or being 'left out'. Brieuc described Americans not wishing to speak to him on the phone for example, and Julia described not being given a little extra time before answering questions put to her at conferences. In Philbert's case, he refers to a combination of both a personality trait (not being talkative) with the added hindrance of being an L2 speaker of English. Philbert regretted that 'his voice was not heard' when he travelled to meetings of predominantly L1 speakers of English:

Philbert: the thing I regret is that, when I'm travelling abroad I sometimes find it difficult to give my points in big discussions, if I'm in the middle of people who are more talkative than I am

These results showed that the participants defined their own competence as L2 speakers as oppositional to those of L1 speakers of English (summarised in figure 1 in section 2.1.5). The participants distinguished between what can be referred as communicative competence in an ELF interaction (Canale and Swain 1980: 2) and grammatical competence. The ELF context can be described as the 'situational' context under discussion which in this case is a science congress held in English (Canale and Swain 1980: 2). Communicative competence was reported by the participants as the ability to switch from one language to another, showing patience when listening to other speakers, speaking slowly, and articulating. A focus on the 'grammatical' or 'formal' competence, (which the participants believed they did not have) can be understood in terms of generative grammar as a system of rules which provide structural descriptions of sentences (Chomsky 1965: 8). The difference in competencies between NNS and NS can sometimes be to the advantage of the NNS, in that NNS may have skills which are not as accessible to monolingual NS:

E5: Instead of saying you are a NNS, we should say, "what is your area of expertise in the English language?" because **there are some so-called NNS who are far more knowledgeable. And I don't just mean grammatical knowledge. I mean awareness of cross-cultural pragmatics and all kinds of others things that NS are just not aware of.**

(my emphasis, Flowerdew 2001: 128)

The participants made few references to their skills as multilingual speakers and tended to focus on how well or how badly they 'got on with English'. Nevertheless, the

participants did express attitudes about how 'monolingual L1 speakers of English' were lacking in a pragmatic understanding of the communicative skills needed in English as a lingua franca context (such as good listening skills, and adaptability to an English communicative context at an international conference). When comparing themselves to the 'L1 monolingual' group therefore, they did signal positive attitudes to their own competence as inter-cultural speakers. In more uncertain language territories, the participants' secure footings as prestigious scientists were disrupted. Nevertheless, newer, oppositional, identities were emerging where the symbolic capital of a French English-speaking scientist including skills in language pragmatics.

### 4.2.3 Life-long learners of English

Despite being actively involved in research, by both publishing and communicating in English, many of the participants still held a belief that they were 'learners of English'. The participants voiced ideological beliefs about what they believed to be 'a typical French' (Philippe) attitude to learning English:

- Philippe: they feel that they should be good in English and they have to learn because of their professional career, but those who I would say are good in English have other types of motivation which makes them like, in a family
- AR: what surprised me is, although some people can study English for many years, fifteen years, and still have no personal relationship with the language or, still consider themselves to be beginners
- Philippe: this is typically French I think,
- AR: oh really?
- Philippe: I don't know, I think that French people are always devaluating themselves in terms of English level, I think that we French people here when somebody from the UK is speaking French with an accent we found it lovely but we think that when we speak English with a French accent the other one is not going to like it, no, it's a kind of paradox

Being able to write research papers in English, present papers at conferences and carry out a full-length interview in English was evidence that the participants were not 'beginners' at English. I volunteered comments and opinions on the label of 'beginner'



which influenced the interview proceedings. I challenged this position and as is seen in the above excerpt, tried to discover more about why the participants were devaluing themselves. Philippe's answer shows that this attitude stemmed from a heightened sense of difference to other speakers. The most visible sense of difference was referred to as having an accent, which made a speaker identifiable as being 'a non-native'. In terms of belonging as a feature of social identity, then on this occasion it was *form* (in terms of accent) instead of *content* (in terms of accuracy) which made them feel that they did not belong to the group of expert speakers of English. In the above extract Philipp is also imagining how his identity will be interpreted by other speakers: 'when we speak English with a French accent the other one is not going to like it'. Here accent is perceived to be an identifying feature, signifying difference, and hence a potential reason for being excluded from other communities of English speakers.

The status of 'learner of English' was one that was adhered to by the participants of this study, although how they appraised this position differed. The main reason the interviewees gave for feeling that the 'learner' status was applicable to themselves was because they believed English was not their 'native tongue'. With such a discrepancy between being a 'beginner' and being a 'native' then what room for manoeuvre was there for these academics' language identities? On the one hand, the learner status was perceived negatively when it was used as a criticism against others. Such criticisms were levelled at French speakers of English (see section 4.2.2) who were described as 'not making an effort' to speak English or because of personality traits such as being 'too shy', or 'lacking in confidence'. On the other hand, having had the right life chances was also acknowledged as making a difference to how comfortable people felt about being L2 speakers of English<sup>149</sup>. Motivation was a feature which distinguished those who labelled themselves as 'learners' but who 'enjoyed the L2 learning experience' (point 3<sup>150</sup> of Dörnyei's three-point L2 motivational self system 2009: 29). In motivational theory terms, these participants enjoyed learning for learning's sake, but especially when they were in direct contact with the language (integrative motivation<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> which Larry reported as being the case for people who had not been 'as lucky' as he had been.

<sup>150</sup> Point 1) being the projection of an 'ideal L2 self' and point 2) an 'ought-to L2 self, including social responsibility.

<sup>151</sup> Integrative motivation can be understood beyond simply wanting to access an L2 target language community. It can include a genuine interest in a community, and/or the attitudes to the language itself (Dörnyei 2009, MacIntyre et al. 2009, Gardner and Lambert 1967).

is combined with Dörnyei's motivational model by MacIntyre et al. 2009<sup>152</sup>).

Stephanie, Philippe, Larry, David and Paul appeared to have a playful attitude to learning English. Like enthusiastic ethnologists they reported enjoying 'taking' and 'grabbing' elements of the language and its environment:

AR: so do you, would you consider yourself as an English speaker or as a learner of English?

Stephanie: it's both because I speak English so, I guess I always try to get more English language habits of structure and expressions, so when I hear a new expression or something, I try to take it to myself to use it

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AR: would you consider yourself as a native speaker?

David : no

AR: as a fluent speaker of English, or how would you, what is your status? are you a learner, are you a fluent speaker, are you?

David : I'm a learner

AR : oh you're a learner

David : yeah I'm a learner because I() still need to improve myself [edited cut of transcription]

David: I need to exchange with people, I need to just grab something everytime I can, I try to grab something

Thirteen participants carried out the interview with me in English to 'practise their English' which was also the reason that 38% of the respondents had given for answering the questionnaire in English. Participants such as Julia wanted to have the opportunity of attending English lessons; some of the participants mentioned having private English lessons (Ben and Brieuc) and many watched films and listened to music to 'keep the language going' (Larry, Paul). This attitude to the English language needing to be 'kept up' can be explained because the participants engaged in L2 English for professional uses, and not as an official second language. Like actors, they needed to perform English at conferences, or in the classroom, and needed to keep the 'L2 persona' in training.

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<sup>152</sup> In Dörnyei (2009).

#### 4.2.4 English as a lingua franca for science

The beliefs that the participants voiced about English as a mandatory language for science were correlated to beliefs relating to the following ideologies: languages have 'essential attributes' (i.e. 'English is more precise and to the point', David), and there is a need for a lingua franca during international meetings. The participants then positioned themselves in relation to these ideologies with the starting premise that 'English' was presently the only lingua franca available to them. To address the concept of a lingua franca, the participants referred to 'a common language', 'research language', 'some language with a kind of universal', 'technical English', 'scientific English' and 'anglais scientifique'. In keeping with the use of the word 'international' within language policy, the term 'international English' was not used. The word 'international' seems to imply the use of English in an indirect way rather than being directly correlated to it.

The use of the word 'international' as an adjective was mainly used to describe oral interactive contexts, as is seen below in the greatest number of occurrences of the collocation (in parentheses) for 'conferences' and 'meetings' with 'international' in the texts of the interviews:

international *audience* (1), international *community* (2 ) international *conferences* (3), international *friends* (1), international *laws* (2), international *lawyer* (1), international *meetings* (4), international *program* (1), international *projects* ( 2).

Even if English was not directly collocated with international, it was nevertheless described as being the *de facto* language attribute of the nouns that were described as 'international'.

Emma: I think because the companies, they are international, they write in English

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Paul: yeah, and that's kind of strange because a few years ago it [referring to his work as a researcher] was very international, I was working with people in England, in the Netherlands, in Switzerland and the States

The higher occurrence of the use of term '*scientific English*' (30 hits) was however indicative that the participants identified this type of English as having certain attributes

which were meaningful to them (rather than to me for example). This was a language that they clearly identified as having a particular status and certain qualities and which differed to what some participants referred to as ‘*everyday English*’/‘*l’anglais de tous les jours*’ (Emma and Vera), ‘*current English*’ (Larry) or ‘*daily English*’ (Stéphanie). This distinction was highlighted further in the visual representations of the personal and professional uses of English drawn by the participants and discussed in section 4.3. English was categorised by the participants according to function (scientific English), L1 identity (‘native’ English), variety (American, English or British), and competence (‘*fluent English*’ and ‘*good English*’/‘*bon niveau d’anglais*’). The participants positioned themselves in relation to these groups, reporting being able to understand or master some types better than others.

The participants positioned themselves both positively and negatively towards having to use English for research communication. On the one hand, Brieuc described enjoying being able to communicate with ‘n’importe qui’ (‘anyone’) from around the world. A lingua franca was seen as being ‘convenient’ (Philbert). The choice of the word ‘convenient’ suggests that having interpreters or translators to communicate with people who spoke different languages would perhaps be inconvenient. In the extract below, Philbert also adds that such a lingua franca ‘could have been another language’, therefore highlighting that he is aware that the current use of English in academia is due to historical, social and economic factors. By suggesting the possibility of ‘another language’, he is also signalling that he does not see English’s position as a lingua franca as a stable one. But above all, he recognises that ‘it’s very convenient’ that the current language of science is English because he is himself a privileged speaker of English.

Philbert: no it’s ok for me it’s fine, I mean it’s very convenient to have a common language for a, as a community, so, research is performed by an international community, and it’s very convenient to have a common language, so, it could have been another language so it’s English, so it’s ok for me because I had the opportunity to practice it a lot during my stay abroad

In the above extract, Philbert also re-iterates the performative function of communication. When he says ‘*research is performed by an international community*’ he implies that the actual use of language in concrete situations is integral to an

understanding of language as a mutually acceptable form of interaction (Canale and Swain 1980: 3 and Chomsky 1965: 4).

Max reiterated the fact that he was 'happy to talk with everyone' in a lingua franca. When I asked him how he felt about the lingua franca being 'English', after he had mentioned the possibility of Chinese becoming a lingua franca he also found it to be convenient that it was English because it happened to be a language he mastered:

Max:        ah, in English? in comparison with German or Chinese? I don't know German, and I don't know Chinese so, English is certainly the only language I can use

Neither Max nor Philbert suggested that they had learned English because of its function as a lingua franca. Although they had said that they used English because it was a necessity of their profession, they nevertheless preferred to present their English language skills as being in alignment with the current lingua franca, rather than being products of it. In other words, they did not identify themselves as the products of a system which created 'English-speaking scientists', but rather as having the necessary English language skills for the current professional needs and context. On the other hand, David aligned himself with the needs of the community first, and to the lingua franca second. In the following extract he is quite prepared to change to another lingua franca for the good of the scientific community:

David:        maybe, I don't know, in 25 years, we will have to be Chinese but you have to adapt yourself to the scientific community

The subtleties of why the participants spoke English and to what ends were closely entwined with their professional identities. English was in many respects part of who they were as academics. It was when they spoke about scientists in the making (i.e. their students) that their discourses became more marked as to why English, rather than another language, had to be learned at school and university (academic discourse about students is explored in section 4.2.6). To this end, ideological positions in relation to English were more clearly stated when the participants could apply them to a third party. When referring to their students, the participants were more definite and the ideologies were framed as 'rules' of scientific conduct. For example, when Emma

spoke about the reasons why her students should learn and study in English, her position to the lingua franca was framed as follows:

Emma: quand on fait des sciences il faut avoir un bon niveau d'anglais

[Translation:

*Emma: when one does science one needs to have a good level of English]*

However much the participants appreciated having a common language of communication, some nevertheless regretted not being as 'expert' English speakers as they were 'expert' French speakers:

Julia: yeah, I think it's a good thing to have some language which is, kind of universal, but I think it's, also annoying because, when you work, especially in science it is really harder to be precise in another language

The participants reported feeling more stressed when they had to present in English at conferences (than if they had to present in French). In support of their questionnaire responses (see section 4.1), they reported being less likely to be able to improvise or be 'funny':

Philippe: if I speak French I will make a lot of jokes and if I speak English I will be a bit more serious because the jokes are not going to come automatically, that's the main difference

Even those who felt confident about using English, nevertheless reiterated that having to use English was 'how things were' and that they had 'no choice':

Emma: quand on tape sur les moteurs de recherche en français, on trouve pas forcément, on a souvent plus de résultats en anglais, donc je l'utilise pour la recherche sur Internet, et je m'en sers pour lire des publications, puisque elles sont toutes en anglais

[Translation:

*Emma: when you type in searches on the internet in French, you don't necessarily get anything, you're more likely to get results in English, so I use English for research on the internet and I use it for reading publications as they are all in English]*

In the above extract Emma suggests that French is failing to compete with English as a language through which to conduct scientific research<sup>153</sup>. For the purposes of both written and scientific communication, French was seen as 'not available' or 'a non-existent repertoire' for discussing specific research fields which used English only vocabulary:

Philbert: but when we are only French people, we also are speaking in French but, we also use English in the way we do science, some of the terms are, we don't use in French or any other language anymore to design very specific scientific words

This suggests that Philbert had forgotten or did not know the French words to designate scientific objects. When referring to the loss of 'any other language' he is referring to Latin which was previously used in his domain of biology.

What then were the domains which French were reserved for, or where English could not compete with French? The visual data (section 4.3) showed that French was the language of local professional interaction and interaction at home. French was also the language of teaching. After a long description of how Philippe used English for almost all of his written tasks, I felt I needed to ask him whether, therefore, he used any French at all:

AR: do you actually use French for writing at all, much in your life?

Philippe: well actually yes, for writing postcards [laughter] no no no, when we have, sometimes we have projects to write with French, or when we have to communicate with the university or and also for teaching, for writing my courses

The fact that he jokingly refers to using French only for writing postcards is acknowledging the implication that French has become what could be referred to as a Low(er) variety in French scientific contexts (Viah 2007, Fishman 1967, Ferguson 1959 discussed in 'emerging diglossia and bilingualism', section 2.1.9). More seriously (introduced by [laughter] 'no no no'), and to give more value to the French language which he has just demoted, Philippe then feels he needs to re-instate the French

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<sup>153</sup> Ammon and McConnell (2002) show the decline in French and German citations post 1900s (p.17)

language by listing how French *is* used in French academia. The areas he associated with French in his professional life were national projects, communicating within the Université de Nantes and teaching. Later in the interview, his surprise at the suggestion of teaching in English (see section 4.2.6 for attitudes to institutional language policy) was therefore more marked as his professional *teaching* identity was securely founded in French. The participants were used to carrying out research in English and were familiar with a language domain (research) which they already associated with English. It was the idea of a shift from a language domain previously associated with a French (teaching) which was more unsettling for those participants who had not envisaged this possibility prior to the interview.

In keeping with the questionnaire results (section 4.1.7.2), French was also described as having certain intrinsic qualities which differentiated it in form and function to English. David described the French language as more likely (than English) to contain metaphors and which would use more words to say what may have been expressed more succinctly in English. Metaphor and length were described as being attributes of what David described as 'beautiful'. The implication was that the French language was believed to be focused on aesthetic form, whereas English was devoid of flourishes but intrinsically better suited for conveying content effectively. Such an attitude was at odds with the questionnaire responses regarding writing scientific papers in English (see section 4.1.5) where French was reported as being more appropriate for constructing 'thoughts' because it was the participants' L1. However, the attitude that English was more appropriate for scientific communication in general English coincided to the questionnaire responses describing as being 'more precise' (participant 26) and 'a rational pragmatic language' (participant 87), section 4.1.7.2.

Indeed, French being beautiful in form was referred to as the main objective of the French education system in respects to L1 instruction:

Stéphanie: I mean it's the goal, when we learn French in school, the goal is to have beautiful French language

The French education system was described as focusing on spelling and handwriting so that the French form would be 'beautiful'. The belief that the French language is beautiful is held both within and outside of France. Beliefs about the beauty of the



French language can be explained by France's cultural, literary (especially poetic and philosophical) heritage where identification with the French language differs between written (upheld as being complex, grammatical and verbose) and spoken French. As a first language, French was nevertheless described as 'not being fun', simply because it was a first language (Emma, Stephanie and David).

In contrast to French, the status of English as a lingua franca for science was accepted to such an extent that it was described as 'a universal language' (Brieuc, Philbert and David), as if this quality of English was intrinsic to its essential properties (confirmed in the questionnaire 4.1.7 ii). English was reported by some of the participants as having intrinsic qualities which were best suited to 'scientific disciplines' because it was 'shorter' and 'to the point' (David and François).

David: I mean, making everything in English is like a very elegant shortcut, because instead of explaining something in French, it's not very elegant at all to talk about science in the French, so, in my opinion French is not made for science, it's made for, I would say something more like, maybe more the literature or something else

The English language that the participants used was referred to as a 'tool' and a necessary 'medium' of communication. The reason for the type of English they used being described as something other than a language, is perhaps explained by David:

David: science is a more or less uncultural society, (be)cause if you just meet people from everywhere, so it's a melting pot of culture

David seems to suggest that the scientific community of practice is 'uncultural' because there are too many cultures interacting to give the community a definite flavour. His use of the term 'uncultural' nevertheless seems to refer to language boundaries and nationalities 'melting away' in the 'melting pot' he describes. What David seems to be implying is that science, and in turn the English used in scientific communication, is a neutral ground for exchange. It is therefore the language which is 'uncultural', and not the people. In terms of best practice for research publication and oral communication, then surely the culture of English language is a dominant one. From his account emerges beliefs about the culture of scientific practice he belongs to. Without being prompted, David tried to define the form of English that 'goes on' during international

meetings, saying that 'maybe this is not English anymore'. He described this emergent type of English as 'something that is, maybe, *poor*, compared to the *right* English' (David). David, like many of the other participants, still adhered to the belief that the English he spoke was a departure from what he believed to be a more 'perfect' model of English. In this case he attributed greater value to the grammatical approach to language than to the communicative approach (Canale and Swain 1980:2).

The participants spoke of various communicative situations which could be described as involving English as a lingua franca. The most positive accounts of English usage described interactions with their own PhD students<sup>154</sup> or when 'native speakers' of English were not present. The participants referred to 'native speakers of English' when referring to people whom they believed used English as an L1 (be they British or American for example). The term 'English speaker' was used interchangeably to designate someone who used English as an L1 and had little to do with a geographical or national identification of 'English', 'Englishness' or being 'British'. Whether the situations the participants participated in constitute ELF or not is debatable (Jenkins 2015, Gazzola and Grin 2013). The criterion for English to be labelled as ELF seems to be one where people interact using English as a second language:

English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages.

(Jenkins 2009, 2015)

This begs the question of the extent to which such interactions vary from a norm which could be granted the status of 'English'. In the example below, an ELF context where English native speakers are not present is described as preferable. The accounts in this study indicate that those speakers who could be categorised as 'monolingual ELF speakers' (Jenkins 2015) may unwittingly be considered as being judgmental and incomprehensible:

Max:       at the contrary I can exchange ideas with colleagues, it's much easier when they are not English, it is English people who are more difficult for me, because of their accent

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<sup>154</sup> The PhD students which were referred to were 'outer circle' speakers of English (Jenkins 2015, Kachru 1983).

### 4.2.5 Linguistic diversity and translanguaging competence

During the course of the interview, those participants who decided to speak in English and French, made full use of their translanguaging skills by code-switching when they felt it to be necessary for the mutual comprehension of the conversation. The initial choice of language was a way of establishing an identity stance. The speakers had to negotiate which language identity to take on first in relation to the bilingual situation (Li Wei 2011a, Ochs 1993). When the participants decided to speak in French and English we had to decide which language we would start in and then it was left to me to decide when the shift to the other language would occur. At other times, it was the participant who decided to switch. For example, François who was interested in hearing what my French was like used the opportunity of a switch to evaluate my own language competence:

AR:           if you have any questions for me, because they can be interesting as well,  
                  but you might not,

François:   sure I will have questions, er, vous avez appris le français en venant en  
                  France ou vous le connaissez déjà un peu avant?

[Translation from switch to French :

*did you learn French by coming to France or did you speak it a little before?]*

This brought to light the agency of the researched because François was negotiating power relations at an interpersonal level.

During such a code-switched moment of our interview, David referred to a shared cultural analogy of a 'millefeuille' cake. He used the French word, which we both knew and which was the quickest and most effective way of conveying his image. He compared his research as a 'millefeuille' to describe the multiple layers of biological systems, but which could also be simultaneously extracted in one slice (an image associated with the computerised models in his research):

David:       so my, my research is how we can, put everything all together, so for me  
                  it's like, I like to use this example, for me it's like a millefeuille, a millefeuille  
                  cake, it's like every,

AR:           hmm, hmm.

David: every biological case is one layer



Figure 8 A millefeuille cake<sup>155</sup>.

The interfaces he described between biology, and ecology are analogous to bilingual identity. Being able to switch from one language to another or to 'use' one language or another was described as a routine 'slice' of these participants' professional lives. The participants were capable of doing a multitude of tasks, both in the written and spoken form in English or French, or both. As competent bilinguals, the participants used the languages at their disposal, without necessarily acknowledging or describing themselves as 'skillful' bilinguals. Bilinguals not believing themselves to be 'bilinguals' has been identified by Grosjean as a feature of bilingual identity. When judging their own language competence: 'bilinguals themselves rarely evaluate their language competencies as adequate' (Grosjean 2010: 21).

The extensive use of English for research publication and for presentations could have suggested that the participants were suffering from L1 language loss (Preisler 2014, Cook 2003), also described as subtractive bilingualism by Garcia (2009: 116). For example, Philbert had referred to using English terms in his research because the French ones were never used when he was talking about environmental science. Emma had commented on the fact that protocols were not available in French<sup>156</sup>. Such examples

<sup>155</sup> David uses the image of a millefeuille cake to illustrate layers in biological systems  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6b/Mille-feuille\\_20100916.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6b/Mille-feuille_20100916.jpg)

<sup>156</sup> 'core repositories of contemporary technical knowledge [major research institutes, international patents, organisations, statistical and data archives] around the globe –have turned to English' (Montgomery 2013: 4).

suggest that one language dominated to the detriment of the other. Other examples, however, showed that knowledge of another language was mutually beneficial to both languages.

David highlighted the benefits of working in both French and in English by making a convincing case for what can be referred to as additive bilingualism (Garcia 2009:116, discussed in section 2.1.9). David's argument, when I asked him if he felt he was 'losing' some of his French with such an extensive use of English was that, not only was he adding to his linguistic repertoire, but that one language was also improving the other. He argued that, on the contrary, being able to write in English had made his writing in French better:

AR : do you feel that the more you progress in English, the more you lose perhaps your proficiency, you know, the beauty of your French?

David : no it's the reverse

AR : it's the reverse?

David : yeah it's the reverse, it's totally the reverse, it's like because I'm writing in English I'm getting better in French, because I know it's weird,

AR : good, that's very interesting,

David : again, because in English you have to go straight to the point I try to do the same in French, it's like my writing is a little dryer and I think it's for the best, and I think the French people used to have a lot of, I don't know if I can say that, a wording diarrhea, it's like they put too much words because you have to make it like you're smart, it's a fake and I think because I'm practicing in English I'm getting better at drying<sup>157</sup> my French writing, so yeah yeah maybe I'm better in French, and also I love the fact that as you take a word in French and take it to English and people take it back to French like "barbecue", the name "barbecue" that came from the old French, then came to English, then came back, I like this ping pong effect from different culture

Such a permutation of one language to another has been described as 'dynamic bilingualism':

A dynamic theoretical framework of bilingualism allows the simultaneous co-existence of different languages in communication, accepts

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<sup>157</sup> By 'drying out his French' David refers to making his French less verbose and more to the point.

translanguaging and supports the development of multiple linguistic identities.

(Garcia 2009: 119).

David used the techniques he had learnt in article writing to improve his style when writing in French. Such an improvement was described as being 'to the point', and 'less verbose'. His translanguaging skills were not necessarily reserved for when he was speaking to other multilinguals. When describing speaking to monolingual Americans during a conference, he described enjoying playing 'ping pong between French and English' which was another way of referring to his translanguaging competence:

David: sometimes when I don't have a clue of the word in English I need, I use the French one, and most of the time it's working

As he enjoyed using languages as a bilingual, his impression of the effect it had on other (monolingual) L1 speakers was therefore more positive:

David: in the US, people think you're really smart because you use old [French and English] words

Unlike Philippe, who had focused on how being different was an issue associated with the form of the language, (Philippe: 'when we speak English with a French accent the other one is not going to like it') here David is using his difference (to his monolingual audience) to project a positive identity (despite his French accent). The difference in David's case was unique in the study because he focuses on his difference in a positive way, and claimed it as part of his L2 identity. David was the only participant to describe bilingualism as being mutually beneficial in terms of improved language competence only. As a speaker of English and French he feels he is better (than a monolingual speaker of English) at drawing from a wider linguistic repertoire in terms of content. As content is also referred to as knowledge, then he is 'smarter' than the monolinguals he is speaking to. David's use of 'they think you're really smart' highlights their linguistic deficit in favour of his linguistic advantage in terms of repertoire.

Emma also signalled her translanguaging competence by being able to look at documents in 'all' the languages she knew to help her prepare for experiments.

Emma: il faut avoir un bon niveau d'anglais si on veut être au courant de ce qui passe, ben, avoir accès à **tous** les protocoles en ligne, **toutes les infos elles sont souvent** en anglais donc c'est vraiment important si ils veulent pouvoir communiquer

[Translation:

Emma: *one needs to have a good level of English if you want to keep up with what's happening, well, have to **all** the protocols on line, **all the information is often in English**, so it is really important if they want to be able to communicate]*

The 'all' (my emphasis) is significant here as it refers to how being able to read both French and English documents may be useful to a scientist. It shows that when Emma is starting to talk about communication in general, then all the language tools 'scientists' have are an asset. However, the 'all' is placed alongside the 'often', and French reverts to its lower variety (in terms of how parallel languages may be considered as higher or lower varieties in hierarchical diglossic contexts, Ferguson 1959) when she concludes with 'all the information is *often* in English'.

Brieuc described his ideal model of an English speaker when he referred to a colleague of his whom he described as having a 'strong French accent', but whom he considered as 'fluent' and 'bilingual'. Brieuc had described his own English as containing elements of a strong French accent and being 'good enough to be understood'. Although his description of himself as an English speaker coincided with his 'ideal' model, he was still critical of himself as an L2 speaker of English. Nevertheless, his most positive accounts of being a (competent) bilingual speaker related to a context where translanguaging competence<sup>158</sup> was readily put into practice:

Brieuc: au Québec, ils passent tous du français à l'anglais ou de l'anglais au français, instantanément, dans la même phrase, ils peuvent commencer en anglais et puis finir en français, parce qu'ils se rendent compte qu'ils

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<sup>158</sup> Brieuc's example illustrates translanguaging competence as being accommodating to others by switching from one language to another.

parlent à un interlocuteur qui est français donc ils vont commencer en anglais et puis "ah bah non c'est en français" donc ils vont continuer en français, ça arrive, régulièrement, donc pour moi s'il faut parler en anglais je vais passer en anglais et puis voilà, sinon, je vais parler en français

[Translation:

*Brieuc: in Quebec, they all switch from French to English or from English to French in an instant, in the same sentence, they can start in English and finish in French, because they become aware that they are speaking to a French speaker so they are going to start in English and then "ah, so now it's in French" so they carry on in French, it happens, often, so for me if I have to speak in English I will switch to English, and there you go, otherwise I will speak in French]*

Brieuc describing his experience of working in Quebec.

#### 4.2.6 Attitudes to institutional language policy

The participants who expressed what they thought about their own English and those of other L2 and L1 speakers of English, also expressed their attitudes as teachers within a process of the 'internationalisation' of Higher Education in France. During the interviews I asked the participants to voice their reaction to the Fioraso Law debate (which was being presented in the Assemblée Générale during the interviews held between March and July 2013). The aspect of the law relating to modifications in Higher Education policy related to the possibility of expanding the number of courses which would be taught in English. Some of the participants were aware of the law as it was being discussed in the press at that time. However, some were not aware of the new proposal which meant that they were responding to a surprise and had not had as long to think about the issue. Such participants were typified by Philippe, who did not know that EMI classes existed at the University of Nantes<sup>159</sup>.

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<sup>159</sup> EMI classes started at Nantes Science faculty in 2010, three years prior to the Fioraso law (2013). The Advanced Biology Training BSc course started in 2010 and the MSc in Optimization in



On the whole, the participants framed their responses according to how they believed other people would respond to the suggestion of having English taught programs. The participants were aware that a teaching event involves not only the teacher, but also the students and the academic team. Teaching in English was something unusual and which made the participants reflect on how such a change could impact on the whole of the community. Teaching in English would require the consent of all those involved. When answering the question: *'What do you think about the possibility of you teaching in English?'* the participants therefore understood the word 'teaching' to involve 'others' (here other teachers and students).

Discussing the Fioraso Law gave the participants the opportunity to imagine future professional selves within a time of shifting working conditions. Within the L2 motivational self system (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009), being able to foresee oneself as English medium teacher would therefore impact on their professional motivation to be English medium teachers. In contrast to motivation being based on having access to a target language group (Mc Intyre et al. 2009) or to an idealised model of an English speaker (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009), the new positioned identities could be closer to home than they had hitherto been before. The parts of the interview which discussed the possibility of teaching in English were also the ones where students were mentioned. It was when discussing the Fioraso Law that the participants voiced beliefs about how the students would react to having EMI teaching and whether such a change would be beneficial for their students. The teachers were particularly altruistic when considering the possibility of teaching in English. Their main concerns were for their students. Firstly, how would the students react to growing numbers of courses taught in English and secondly, would their own English language skills be good enough to provide quality teaching in English?

None of the participants were against the principle of students being taught in English. There was a belief that having courses in English would be beneficial for the students. Students would have to, like themselves, use English both to study and to understand scientific protocols and articles. If students wished to pursue a successful career, in science or elsewhere, English competence was believed to be beneficial to professional

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Operations Research was advertised as being EMI from 2008 but only ran in English on the condition of a least one 'native' speaker attending the course.

success. However, when I asked the participants if *they* would be prepared to teach in English themselves, they accepted or rejected the proposal by framing their answers according to what they believed to be 'the greater good' (deontological justification) or in accordance to what they believed 'others thought' (epistemological justification). On the whole, the deontological justification of what 'the greater good' was then reinforced with an epistemological justification involving positions to what other students or staff thought, and to what students and other colleagues were capable of doing. Although participants such as Brieuc, Vera, Miriam and Ben believed that EMI teaching would be beneficial for the students, they nevertheless felt that they themselves were not 'good enough models of English' for their French students. They believed that they would teach their students 'a poor form of English' that the students would then reproduce. In this case they justified their position in relation to what they believed would be best for their students. Brieuc, for example, believed that an EMI teacher needn't necessarily be 'native' but at least 'bilingual'. Brieuc did not align himself with bilingual models, (despite my suggesting that he was bilingual) and he did not feel that his English would improve in an EMI context.

The participants changed their minds throughout the discussion about the possibility of teaching EMI courses. Although some believed that they would be poor models of English, they were nevertheless confident that they were the best candidates for teaching the 'content' of such courses and that 'being masters of content' was what mattered most for both their own teacher integrity and for those of their students. They believed that they were the 'right person for the job', above any other teacher, even if they had to teach the course in English.

Those participants who were enthusiastic about the idea of teaching in English (such as Paul and Philippe) were nevertheless convinced that 'many of [their] colleagues wouldn't like it' (Paul) or that the students 'wouldn't like it':

- AR:           okay, right, and what do you think about the new law, the law called Fioraso, which says that in the future maybe you'll have to teach geology in English, how do you feel about that?
- Paul:         I would like it, I'm always upset by the level of French people in English and that would be good, to my opinion, it would be good if we could teach some of the courses in English, to help the students practise more and be, just improve their level in English,
- AR:           you say you would be prepared to do that yourself?

Paul: yeah, tomorrow, I can start tomorrow, no problem

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Philippe: I think my students would not appreciate it if they heard that I was teaching in English, they are not very friends with English

Philippe believed that his students wouldn't like being taught in English because he believed that the students felt that their own English language skills were insufficient, and in turn were alienated from it as learners. Unlike his own attitude to English, Philippe considers that his students and colleagues are 'not friends' with English. As was explored in the questionnaire, the participants were asked to frame a general picture of their 'relationship' with English. Here Philippe is returning to an affective relationship to a language. In colloquial French this is also referred to as 'une langue du coeur' (a language of the heart), which was highlighted in the visual representations drawn by the participants who participated in my EMI workshops (see section 4.3). Philippe's positive attitude to English was a result of his personal use of English. Philippe's view of what his colleagues thought was based on his previous suggestion of holding a summer school in English which had been rejected by his colleagues. However, as he was unaware that EMI courses were already underway at Nantes University, he did not know about those students who 'did want it' and who had decided to enrol onto the Advanced Biology Training undergraduate course taught in English, for example.

Although the present study is concerned with how professionally employed academics used English, I nevertheless had daily contact with the same students my academic participants were referring to (who attended Nantes Science faculty and who studied English with me as their teacher). When I asked them to explore the possibility of being taught in English, those who voiced opinions on the matter said that it would be hard, but that it would be 'good for them' (echoing their teachers' deontological position, such as Emma's and Paul's). The fact that there are teachers who based their own positions on what they thought their students' positions to be was confirmed by Riley's study of EMI in Italy (2013).

In the years that have passed since these interviews in 2013, many things have changed. In 2016, Philippe's colleagues would not think he 'were crazy' to teach in English.

Subsequent to the passing of the Fioraso Law there was a greater demand for staff training in English at Nantes University. These requests were sent to the University of Nantes' language center (*Mission Langues*) which reported a 40% increase in demand for teacher training from 2013 to 2014. Prior to 2013 the language courses had been available for students only. My role as researcher impacted on Nantes University's association with EMI in France in particular. I acted on what the academics had requested during the interviews and subsequently created, managed and taught EMI courses for academics from the western universities group (Université Bretagne Loire), and received Erasmus funding to establish the first EMI certification in France.

During the interviews, the participants were nevertheless concerned about what EMI would imply for both the academics and the students. Philippe and Julia were worried that their students were already struggling to understand the content of the courses in their L1 French and that L2 English would make the courses even harder for them ('It's really hard for them to get the subject we teach in their native tongue', Jenny).

Because Philippe believed that his colleagues and his students would be hostile to the idea of English classes, he did not want to 'fall out' with his community over this sensitive issue. As a consequence, only a more directive, institutional approach (in the form of an instruction from the Dean) would encourage Philippe to 'come out' as a willing EMI teacher:

- Philippe: I think my students would not appreciate if they heard I teach in English, they are not very friends with English, I would like to but they would not, from my personal point of view I would love it, but the problem that my students, I mean the student in general sometimes they always have some difficulties to understand what you say in French, I mean when it's come to complicated concept, so if I should do it in English, I didn't ask my student but I know what the answer would be
- AR: they wouldn't want it [to have courses in English]?
- Philippe: no, I mean maybe a few of them but most of them, the student wouldn't want and I know that all my colleagues would say that I'm crazy basically,
- AR: all right, so you aren't open to the possibility, you are?
- Philippe: I'm open but I mean, I'm almost sure, I don't know but I'm almost sure that I would get some remarks from my colleagues or from the colleagues who are in charge of the, for example in charge of the master, or in charge of the studies or, I'm almost sure that I will get some remarks
- AR: some universities in Europe teach already half in English and half in their

Philippe: in Europe and in France?

AR: and in France at the moment more and more yes now it is on the increase

Philippe: actually I mean is there is some, if I get some I mean, If I get some, I don't know, if I get something from the dean for example, saying that he encourages teaching in English OK I will do it, but I mean it should not be a personal initiative, it will be something more global

In January 2016 I asked Philippe to review his position in view of the shifts in language policy and practice. I asked him to read the above excerpt and to tell me if his colleagues would still think he were 'crazy':

Things are changing pretty quickly. When we mention the possibility of teaching in English, there are much less negative reactions, Still, some of them are afraid that it would be very difficult for the numerous [overseas] students, whose English level is extremely low.

(Philippe, email response)

Philippe's answer shows that he is aware of a shift, but not a reversal: 'much less negative reactions' and not 'none'. The shift has also included a new student audience, where the student public has grown to include overseas students who had not been mentioned in the 2013 interviews. In the light of these changes, academic discourse about EMI were framed on 'imagined' notions of overseas students' language competence in English (Anderson 2006).

The participants agreed that teaching in English should be a choice, rather than an obligation (referred to as '*facultatif*<sup>160</sup>, 'optional', 'not mandatory'). In contrast, receiving tuition in English was thought beneficial and preferable for both their students and themselves. Although it was generally believed that the students would struggle with having classes in English, there was nevertheless a belief that 'it would be good for them'. The participants who did not teach EMI tended to believe that 'Masters' or 'advanced' students would be the best candidates for EMI. This was not the opinion of the bio-chemistry department (represented by Emma in the study) which has been teaching EMI at undergraduate level since 2012. The objective of EMI in such contexts was to start early on in improving their student's life-chances in the competition for

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<sup>160</sup> Translation: 'optional'.

English language competence (Van Parijs 2007). In 2013 Emma echoed her bio-chemistry's colleagues' attitudes to her students' English being inadequate and framed her discourse according to what she felt to be the 'best' for her undergraduate students:

Emma: ils ont pas forcément tous un très bon niveau d'anglais, et quand on fait des sciences il faut avoir un bon niveau d'anglais

[Translation

Emma: *they don't necessarily have a very good level of English, and when one does science one needs to have a good level of English]*

This attitude towards her students' level of English, however, shifted during the course of the study. In 2016 she believed her students' English proficiency to have improved. This was perhaps due to the selection process which chose the highest achieving students to attend EMI courses. The agency of the researcher undoubtedly had an impact on how she subsequently came to view herself increasingly as a bilingual speaker. Regularly presented with the data of her own EMI classrooms, she later acknowledged that she was participating and leading a bilingual classroom.

The teachers' patronising attitude (in terms of authority) to their students' levels of English, and to what was 'best for them' in terms of language instruction was in keeping with diglossic studies where H-igher language practices are re-inforced by parents and teachers (Ferguson 1959, Broudic 2013).

#### **4.2.7 Summary**

The results of the interviews showed that the participants of this study framed language attitudes based on attitudes which they believed to be held by their colleagues and fellow French speakers. Such hypothetical positioning in relation to other people highlights an ambiguous investment in the professional community of English language users. There was nevertheless consensus in the community that English was a 'problem' for French speakers either because of motivation, confidence or poor education. How the participants positioned themselves in relation to this ideology was individualistic in the following ways. Language use, and language competence were viewed strategically as a means to professional ends in research. The participants positioned themselves in

relation to this ideology either by adopting it or rejecting it, giving themselves 'outsider' status.

The English language as a form was described in opposition to the French language as a form. Both languages were described as having 'essential' properties which were different but could also be complementary in the context of code-switched interactions, and for those who saw the benefits of an emerging bilingual linguistic repertoire. The participants acknowledged that English was currently the common language of communication for scientific research and considered it essential to working as a researcher in Higher Education. English was reported as being appropriate as a professional lingua franca either because it was considered to be appropriate as a form or simply convenient because English happened to be an L2 language that the participants could speak.

The participants, speaking from the experience of interacting with L1 English speakers during conference meetings, reported that monolingual speakers lacked communicative pragmatic competence when English was used as a shared lingua franca (i.e. at conferences). The participants gave greater symbolic capital to the L1 'native English' model, which the participants reinforced by believing in it. Despite the L1 native English speaker holding greater status (than their own form of English) the participants nevertheless signalled that speaking another language for professional purposes gave them greater socio-pragmatic awareness of the issues related to L2 communication.

Within the context of the Fioraso Law, the participants were concerned with how their colleagues would react to the having more English-taught courses in French Higher Education. The starting ideological premise of the participants was that there would be resistance from both the staff and the students to EMI. This finding is in keeping with Solomone's (2015) study of the Milan Politecnico court case which started in 2013. This present study does not predict such a firm reaction against EMI in Nantes, unless EMI is presented as an imposition (as it was in Milan) rather than a choice. EMI courses were described as being beneficial for students embarking on scientific careers, although the participants also acknowledged that the staff and students would find a turn to EMI a challenge to their current working conditions. The participants' beliefs about appropriate EMI teacher models coincided with their beliefs about native and non-

native speaker models. Their attitudes to teaching in English in their own workplace departed from the native and non-native speaker models in a significant way. Within such a context, *'content knowledge' was believed to be of higher credibility and value than 'English language knowledge'*. This ideology, which the participants were able to frame within the context of this study, revealed that the following conditions needed to be met for participants to actively participate as members of their international scientific communities, either as researchers or as EMI teachers:

- i) perceived scientific expertise,
- ii) confidence and willingness to communicate in English as French speakers of English, and
- iii) perceived English language skills.

The belief that general English competence was necessary for a career in science, including academia coincided with the results of the questionnaire (see section 4.1). The necessity of English for either participating in successful interactions with other researchers (in English) or for achieving publication showed that English was emerging as a H-igher diglossic variety within French academia participating in fields traditionally associated to the sciences.



### **4.3 Visual representations of language**

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

This section presents the analysis of the visuals created by the participants during the semi-structured interviews held between March and July 2013 (discussed in section 4.2) and the classroom interactions 2013-15 held with academics where I was their teacher. The value of visual representations is that they give the participants to opportunity to explore a theme (here language use) using their own terms to describe their own images. The visual data is used as additional aid to talk because of its conceptual and analytic possibilities (Knowles and Sweetman 2004: 6). It is what the speakers ‘make of the images that counts [rather than the status] of the image itself’ (ibid). The final artifact is a third party object or ‘prop’ which the participant has created. As owner of the visual artifact, the participant can frame experience in ways which would be different if they were being interviewed only (Wheeldon and Faubert 2009: 69). In Busch's studies (2012, 2014) of bilingual visual representations, bilingual speakers visually represented multilingualism in all aspects of their lives with a significant degree of crossing that has also been described in translanguaging educational settings (such as Lewis et al. 2012).

The visuals the participants were asked to create in this study also encouraged them to associate languages in one overall representation of identity (in the body portraits mentioned below). The visual methods in association with non-directive interviewing (most often associated with ethnography) have therefore been referred to as ‘social knowing in auto/biography’ (Knowles and Sweetman 2004: 2) within a field defined by Pink (2012) as ‘visual ethnography’. When confronted with the possibility of differentiating between different domains of identity (personal and professional) the study of the visuals, in association with the joint comments, could offer further perspectives on how and why the participants may wish to make such distinctions, or not.

#### **4.3.2 Professional and personal domains of English**

During the semi-structured interviews, the participants (see participant profiles in section 4.2.1) were asked to visually represent (either in the form of a mind map,

diagram or pie chart) how they used English for professional and personal uses. The objective was to study how professional uses of English could be perceived to be different to other uses. The schematic representation of such differences, along with the commentary provided by the participants revealed differences between the academics and differences between how these divisions coincided with affective responses to using English. Busch's studies (2012, 2014), which focused on visual representations of language as well as linguistic repertoire, had demonstrated that there would be some permeation between language domain boundaries in those speakers who had experienced speaking more than one language. The present study nevertheless revealed that that permeation between language domains did not occur on the basis of using two languages alone. For permeation to occur through the personal and professional domains, the participants had to identify themselves as being bilingual speakers.

The visual representations reveal how the participants differentiated between the personal and professional uses of English for example. How the participants decided to visually highlight different types of identity was then interpreted in addition to the written and oral data that they had already contributed to the study. Visual representations of the use of English also gave participants the opportunity of having a quiet moment to reflect on all the different areas in which they used English. By asking participants to distinguish between personal and professional uses of English, the study determined whether such distinctions were possible or even pertinent. For triangulation purposes, the visuals were read in parallel with what the participants had written in the questionnaire responses and how they decided to describe their visual representations to me during the interview.

Although all of the participants of this study could be categorised as being bilingual according to Garcia's definition of bilingualism in educational settings<sup>161</sup>, the study revealed that only 20% of the participants of the study identified themselves as being bilingual. The visual representations of this minority group revealed that they equally distributed (through visual means) personal and professional uses of English or they represented one domain impacting or merging with another. Those other participants who emphasised the professional description of English only can be viewed as

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<sup>161</sup> 'the ability to use more than one language' (Garcia 2009: 44 discussed in section 2.1.9)

academics who viewed English as a strategic tool rather than an identifying feature that they wished to claim for themselves outside of the workplace.

The following quote from participant 28 in the questionnaire responses highlights how English was used in both the professional and personal identity domains. In the personal domain English is described as ‘very pleasant’ whereas an opposing sensation of ‘frustration’ is described in the professional domain because she is not ascribed the ‘right’ (native) identity:

‘[Mon rapport avec l’anglais est] très agréable dans le cadre individuel, entraîne des frustrations dans le cadre professionnel car **non English native**’ (participant 28).

*‘[My relationship to English] is very pleasant from an individual point of view, but leads to frustrations in my professional domain as **I am a non English native**’.*

The extent to which the English language could be seen to be linked to ‘cold professionalism’ in some cases yet also be associated to ‘pleasure’ (*agréable*) in others was worth exploring to understand attitudes to language domain. Participant 28 clearly divides the personal and professional spheres of English. She code-switches to English to signal reported speech which voices what she has either read as feedback to a journal she has submitted to, or an exact phrase that she has heard her colleagues using to signal outsider status to the ‘native speaker’ group.

The main finding was that the participants, both visually and orally, made deliberate distinctions between their professional and personal uses of English. The greater weight given to professional uses of English was in keeping with the lack of quantitative and qualitative detail given in the written open responses to the question: *‘How and when do you use English outside of work?’* discussed in the analysis of the questionnaire responses (section 4.1.8).

The visual data therefore clearly divided the professional and the personal uses of English but also included far greater detail as to how English was used in the professional domain. For example, Miriam’s mindmap shows perceived quantities of how much she uses English for ‘pro’ (professional) and ‘perso’ (personal) uses.

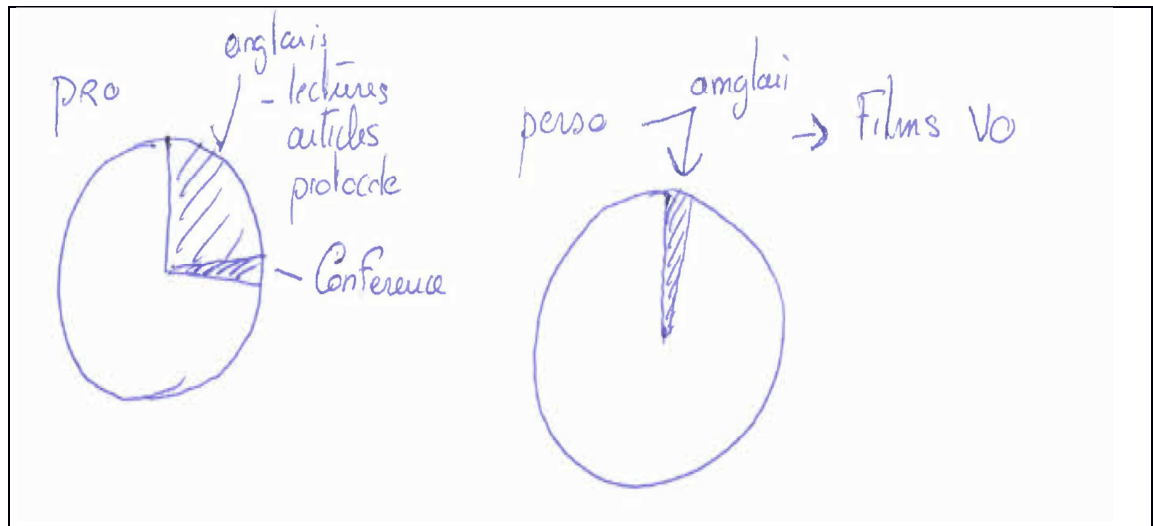


Figure 9 Miriam's mindmap.

The participants briefly mentioned the areas in which they used English outside of work (such as for travel, watching English films in their original version 'VO') and then focused on detailing the different ways in which they used English professionally (such as for writing articles, reading articles, writing emails, talking on the phone, and going to meetings). This can be explained by the fact that the focus of the interview was the use of professional English in general. As was confirmed throughout the questionnaire responses and the interviews, many of the participants had more experience in talking about English usage in their work than elsewhere. As experts in their research fields, they were also keen to discuss their work. This was because much of their research was conducted in English, and the present study gave them an opportunity to give details about this aspect of their lives. It also showed correlations between how greater emotional response could be visually represented as a greater or smaller quantity depending on how great or small a burden English usage was felt to be on the participant.

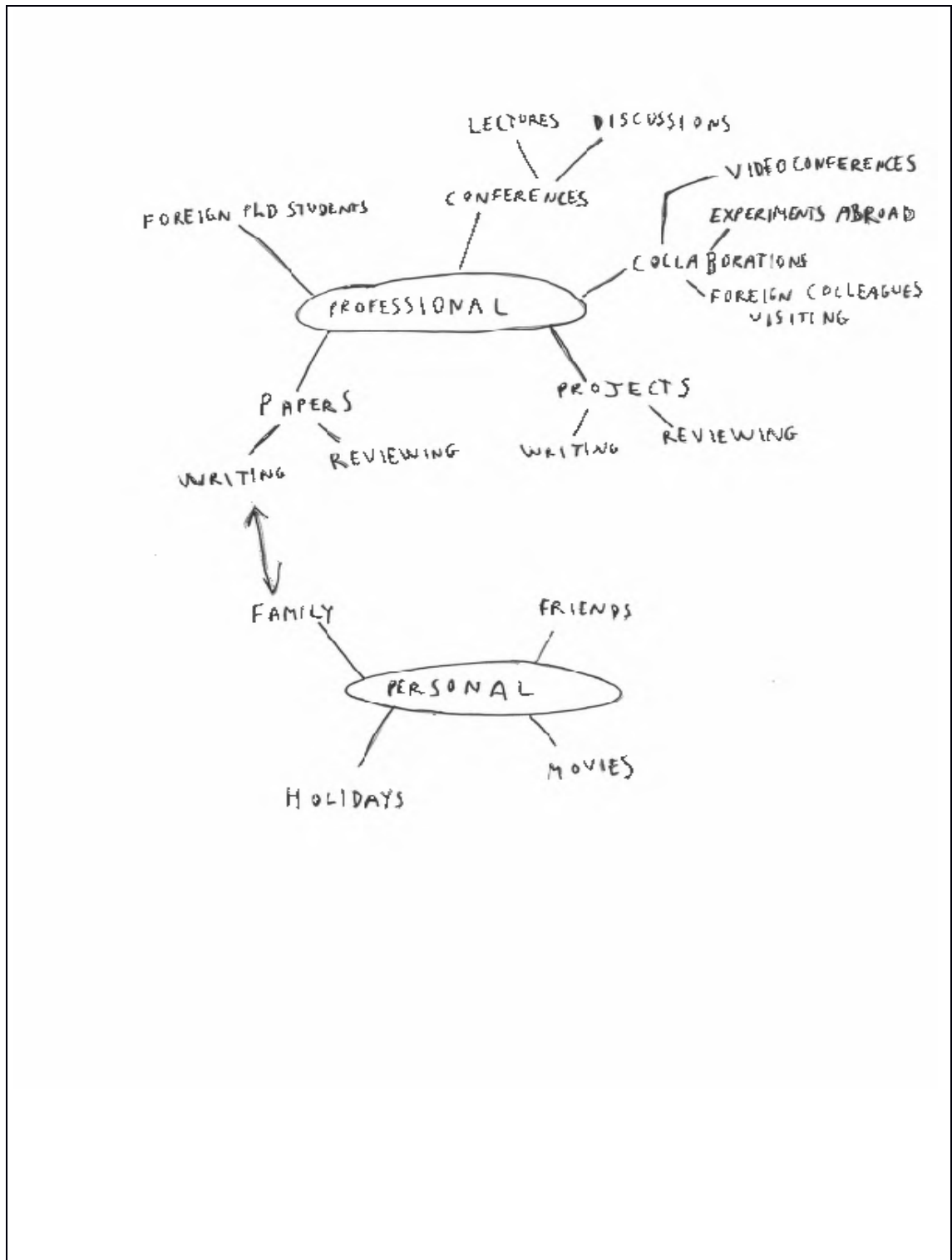


Figure 10 Philippe's mindmap.

Philippe's mind map shows greater detail for the use of English in the professional sphere. The link between his professional sphere and his personal uses of English is 'writing' because his father and partner help him to proofread his research papers.

The participants who did not give more weighting to professional English usage were Emma, Paul, David and Larry. They had chosen to study in English-speaking countries and used English outside of work. During the course of their interviews, they also explicitly stated that 'English' was part of who they were:

Larry: I was immersed in English, I'm never without English, so English is part of me

Paul who was critical of 'social scientists and their mind maps', felt that he didn't need to do a drawing to tell me: 'So this means that English is quite a big part of me, that answers your questions without any drawing'.

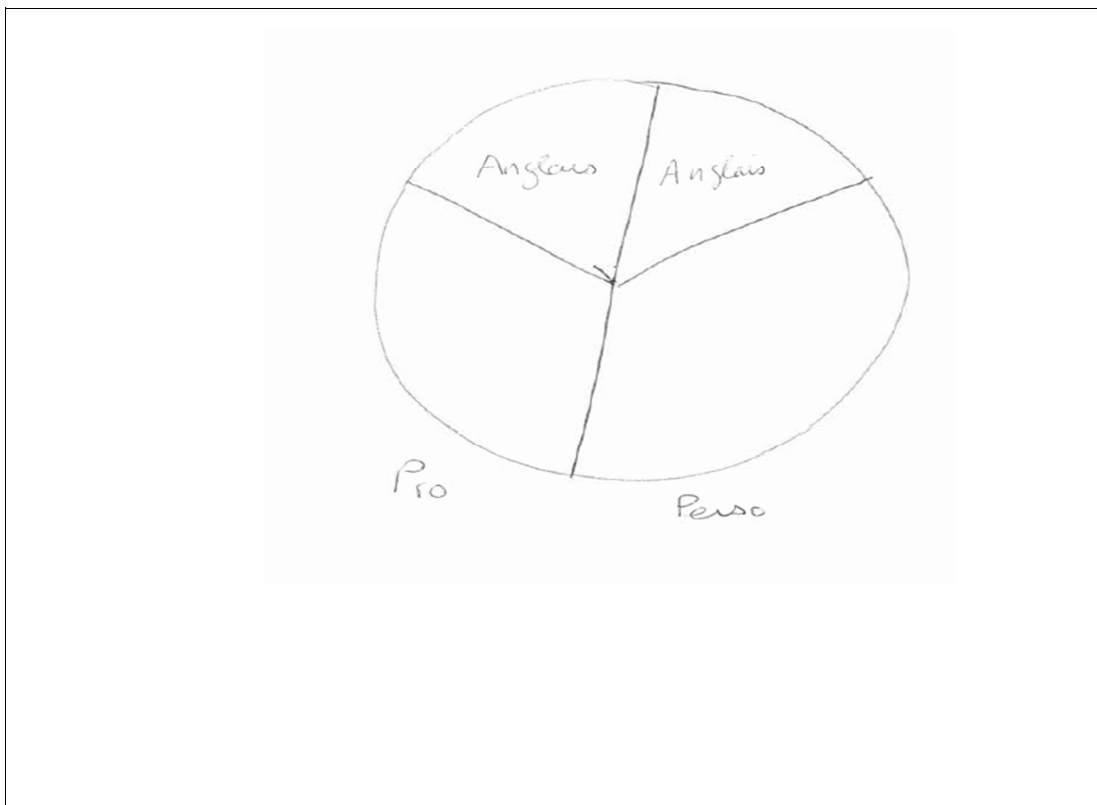


Figure 11 Emma's mindmap.

On looking at the balance between Emma's '(perso)nal' and '(pro)fessional' uses of English in her drawing, my first reaction was to ask Emma if she considered herself to be as much of an English speaker as a French speaker, in other words, bilingual. Her response shows that language status (in terms of being monolingual or bilingual for example) is not static. Depending on context and also motivation, the balance between the languages at our disposal can shift:

AR:           so, uhum, in this pie chart that you've drawn, I'd say that looking at this, that this circle looks like a third almost, of you speaking English, do you feel English in some way or an English speaker?

Emma:       not as much as I'd like to, it depends, probably, perhaps less and less because I spent two years in London, at that time it was very important, and also an old relationship I had, so now that I'm in France I've had less contact with the people there, I think it's more what I'd like to be, to use English a bit more perhaps

Larry, Emma, David and Paul's accounts and drawings show balance or permeation between how they chose to visually represent personal and professional uses of English. These are indicative of the 'emergent bilinguals' or bilingual profiles of Garcia's (2009) and Busch's (2012) studies. Larry, who had spent five years working in the USA, said that an extended stay in an English-speaking country had had an effect on what he referred to as his initial 'French' self. Larry's drawing evokes an approach to identity which can be described as starting with a core or essentialist identity. However, his immersion into L2 life permeated into his initial 'L1 French identity', which was subsequently inherently altered by the experience. Larry's mindmap shows 'French' at the core. The 'cells' around his French core are his contacts with Americans. The arrows pointing both inside and out show that he believed he was influenced by Americans but that he also believed he influenced them.

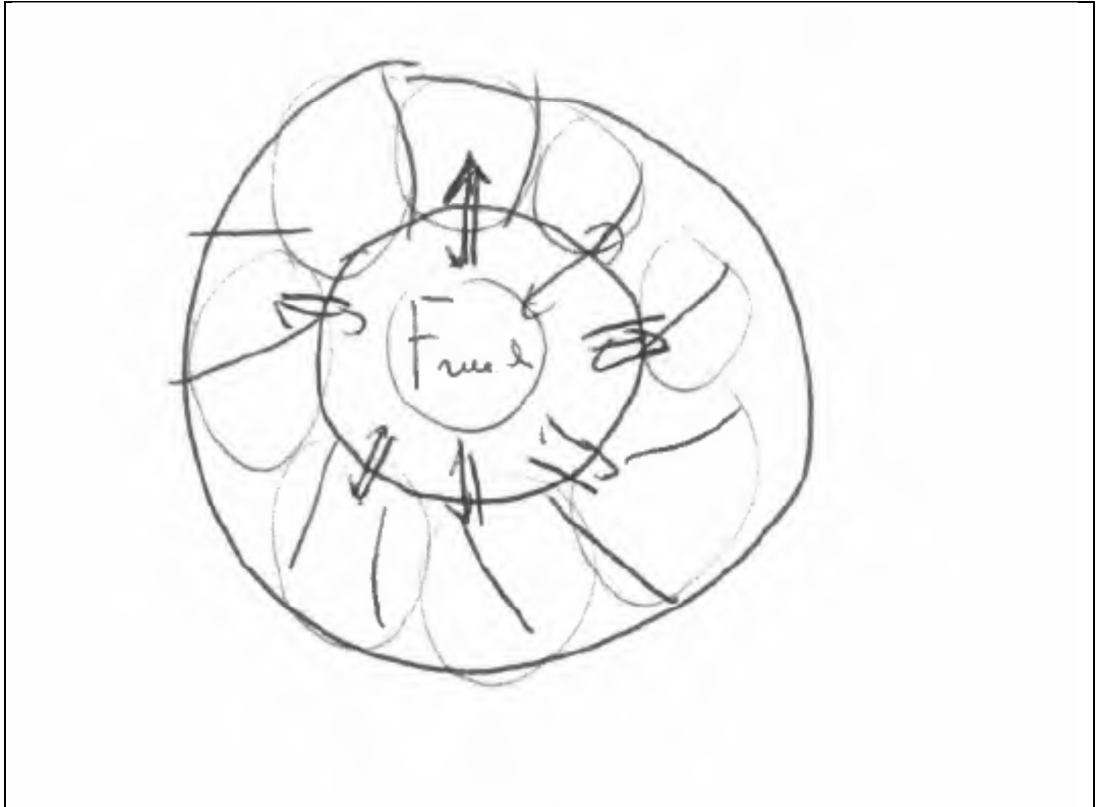


Figure 12 Larry's mindmap<sup>162</sup>

Other participants, who did not portray themselves as belonging to a category which could be interpreted as bilingual, were on the contrary both detached and remarkably flexible in their relationship to language use. On the one hand, although proficient and prolific users of English, their discourses signaled detachment to the English language as an identity which they chose not to associate with themselves. On the other hand, as multilingual speakers, these participants were open to the possibility of adopting another lingua franca for scientific research, for example 'Chinese' (Brieuc, Max) or 'German' (Julia) or 'Latin' (Julia) despite years of intense language use and training in English. These attitudes signaled both detachment and confidence in their own capacities as scientists and linguists. If they could learn English, they could learn another language.

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<sup>162</sup> Showing 'French' at the core.



### 4.3.3 'We speak and understand scientific English'

During the interviews the personal and professional domains of English were discussed in association with how participants perceived the differences between the two spheres they had drawn. During the creation of the visual representations of English we discussed the amounts of English used for professional purposes and outside. The participants also chose to distinguish between speaking, writing and reading for example. Differences in English domain were particularly referred to when the participants discussed how they made distinctions between 'scientific' English (the professional English they were used to using) and 'everyday English' (the type of English 'native' speakers used and in which they felt less competent). In this case, attitudes to the English language were not related to national identity but to a community of practice.

These distinctions were associated with differences in form but also with differences between what the participants referred to as language which expressed 'feelings' and 'neutral' language. Affect-rich language which was associated with the personal (or social) sphere of identity and neutral to affect-poor language was associated with the professional sphere. In terms of how English was divided between these two spheres, the participants were distinguishing between ESP (English for Specific Purposes); or what they referred to as 'scientific English' and 'general English'.

Zhang's (2007) study of how affect-rich and affect-poor language impacts on the form of professional and personal spheres of English confirm that there is a difference in style. For example, Zhang refers to the dichotomy between how language changes depending on the professional or personal context (which he refers to as 'everyday life world'). On a purely semantic scale, the vocabulary used for 'general English' will differ from vocabulary used to refer to the workplace including verbal choices where

The processes are more action-oriented in the business world (e.g. sell, manage, manufacture, deliver, confirm) than in the everyday life world (e.g. know, see, pray, feel, die, lie, marry). The goings-on of the two worlds are essentially different.

(Zhang, 2007: 403-4)

However, a difference in style does not necessarily entail that professional identity is devoid of affect. Beliefs about 'appropriate conduct' and 'appropriate language' within a

professional community will perhaps avoid words such as 'feel', however, this does not mean that there are no feelings expressed during professional interactions. Giving a paper in English can be a very stressful and emotional experience, however well the speaker masters 'the technical language'. In keeping with Soren's (2013) study of academics in Denmark, the participants spoke about feeling uneasy at conference dinners or coffee breaks. Some participants associated this activity with what they believed to be 'a personal sphere of English' which they had little practice in and which they felt they had not mastered. They believed this type of English to be more difficult because they were less familiar with its code and form.

During the interviews I asked the participants whether they believed in differences between different types of English, such as scientific English or business English and other forms of English, such as 'everyday English' or 'General English', for example:

AR: do you make a distinction between what some people call scientific English or business English, and other types of English? can you make a distinction? have you done that before in your work?

Stephanie: in the vocabulary, it's a little bit different, it's more technique or specialised, and also, there is not all the language habits I like in the daily language, so it's more, it's like, there is some rules in professional English, there are specific words, and it must be clearer than daily English

AR: you think that's the difference?

Stephanie: yes

The technical nature of scientific English gave rise to what all the participants described as specialist terminology which they were familiar with. This was evident when the participants who spoke to me in English gave me very detailed descriptions of their research areas.

Many of the participants believed that 'scientific English' was easier than other types of English. Philbert describes this type of English as being easier to learn by heart, and limited in size:

Philbert: so there is different kind of scientific English, but scientific English can be a very basic step and you don't need to speak English currently or to understand English currently to be able to read a paper, just need to know maybe hundreds of terms and your basic rules and then you can do it

Philippe, Max and Emma refer to the terminology which is similar in French and English, for example:

Philippe: yes, there is [a difference between scientific English and other types of English] because I would say that the scientific English is the easiest part because you're going to use some words that you always read in papers and that can be very similar to French and for example I'm working on "Résonnance magnétique nucléaire", "nuclear magnetic resonance" so it's very similar

The following extract of my interview with Vera, reveals that she makes a similar distinction between what she deems to be scientific English and social English:

Vera: et c'est vrai il y a l'anglais scientifique, qui est plus professionnel et l'anglais, je dirais plus communicatif, de convivialité je dirais

AR: c'est très différent pour vous ?

Vera: ah oui, tout à fait, Je n'ai pas de difficulté avec l'anglais scientifique à l'oral, et par contre pour l'anglais convivial, là j'ai vraiment du mal, dans l'anglais scientifique il n'y a pas de ressentis, c'est très objectif, l'anglais scientifique c'est sujet verbe complément, point barre, alors que l'anglais convivial, où l'on veut faire passer des ressentis, des émotions, des sentiments, je n'ai pas le vocabulaire

[Translation:

Vera: *and it's true, there is scientific English, which is more professional, and English which is, I would say, more communicative, for socialising I would say*

AR: *these are very different for you?*

Vera: *well, yes, they really are. I don't have any problems with scientific English orally, but for social English I really have a problem there, in scientific English it's subject, verb, object, and that's it, whereas in social English, where we want to express feelings, emotions and sentiments, I don't have the vocabulary for that]*

Vera expresses that she feels competent at scientific English but that she does not have 'the vocabulary' in Zhang's terms, to describe 'feelings, emotions or sentiments'. Later in this turn, Vera spoke about colleagues she had met at conference dinners who later became what she described as 'friends she emailed'. Although this suggests that she is competent at social English, she still does not feel that she masters it as well as what she

describes as 'scientific English'. With an impression of competence (at scientific English) comes an impression of power, which Philippe refers to when he describes feeling in control:

Philippe: that's for example the difference between scientific and non-scientific English, if I go to a conference, even if the accent is strong, you have the power, and you know what the guy's talking about

For Larry, his impression of power as an English speaker is expressed when he describes being good at both 'scientific English' and 'general English'. Although Larry also believed in the different forms of English, he nevertheless explained to me how 'all the forms of English' were necessary for formal communications of English. He feels more powerful than some of his other colleagues because he can go beyond 'scientific English'.

Larry: yes, there's a scientific English, but when the questions are coming. You stop speaking the one percent of scientific English, because you need to find ways of making the sentence, ways of explaining what you did

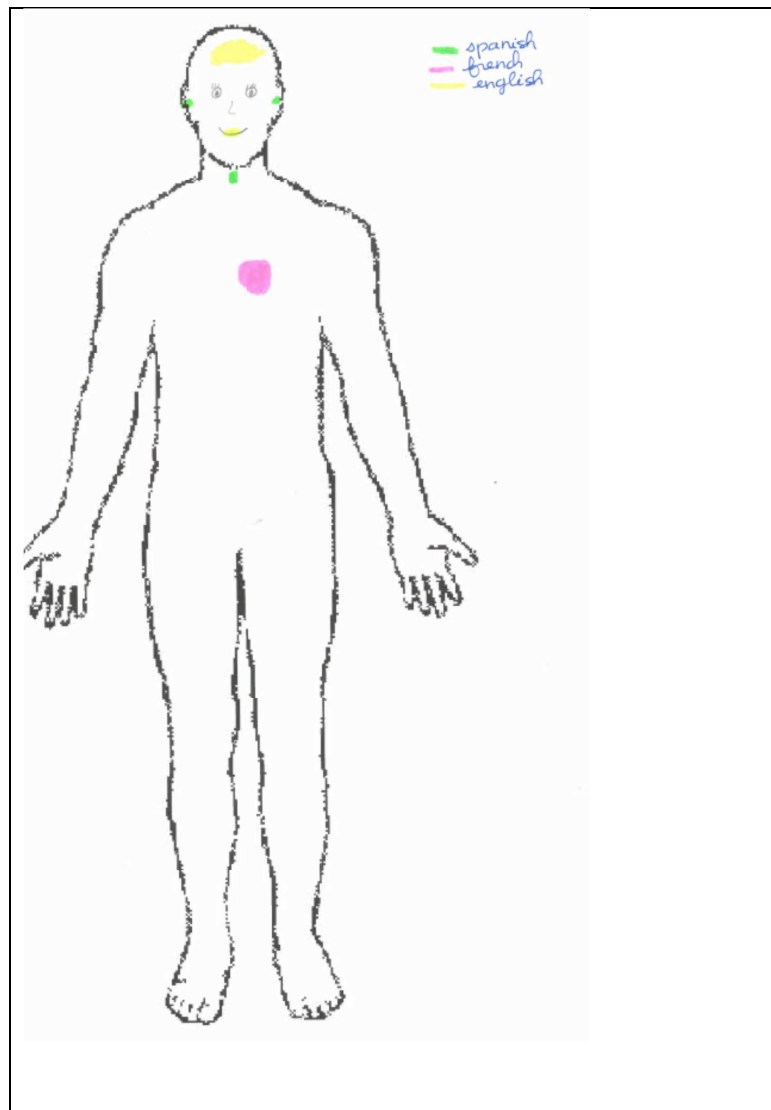
#### **4.3.4 Language portraits**

The language portraits were drawn by academic participants who attended 'how to teach in English' and 'how to present your research in English' workshops held in 2013-15 where I was the teacher. Using Busch's (2012) visual method of portraying languages on a self-portrait (described in chapter 3), 25 participants were asked to visually represent, using coloured pens, *all* the languages they could speak on a blank outline representing their own body. The pedagogical aim of this activity was therefore to give recognition to all the language tools available to the trainees as competent multilingual speakers. The drawings were then used for an open discussion (in English) about all the languages at our disposal. This project was useful for my own study of how the participants could represent themselves as multilingual speakers. The interactions were not recorded and those who so wished gave me the copyright of their images.

The participants represented the different languages they used using different colours or flags. As in Busch's (2012) study, the head, hands and upper body were the areas which were used to represent the languages currently in use or studied. The languages represented around the area of the head showed the 'immediacy' of the intellectual processes associated with language learning or intense use (the context of the learning situation which was our workshop). The languages which were represented lower down in the body (legs, feet, and heel) were generally reported as being weak, rarely used or forgotten. The heart, traditionally associated with 'love' and 'emotion' was also the area which the participants used to signal the languages which they liked the most ('la langue du coeur'), or which they associated with (a) particular speaker(s) they liked.

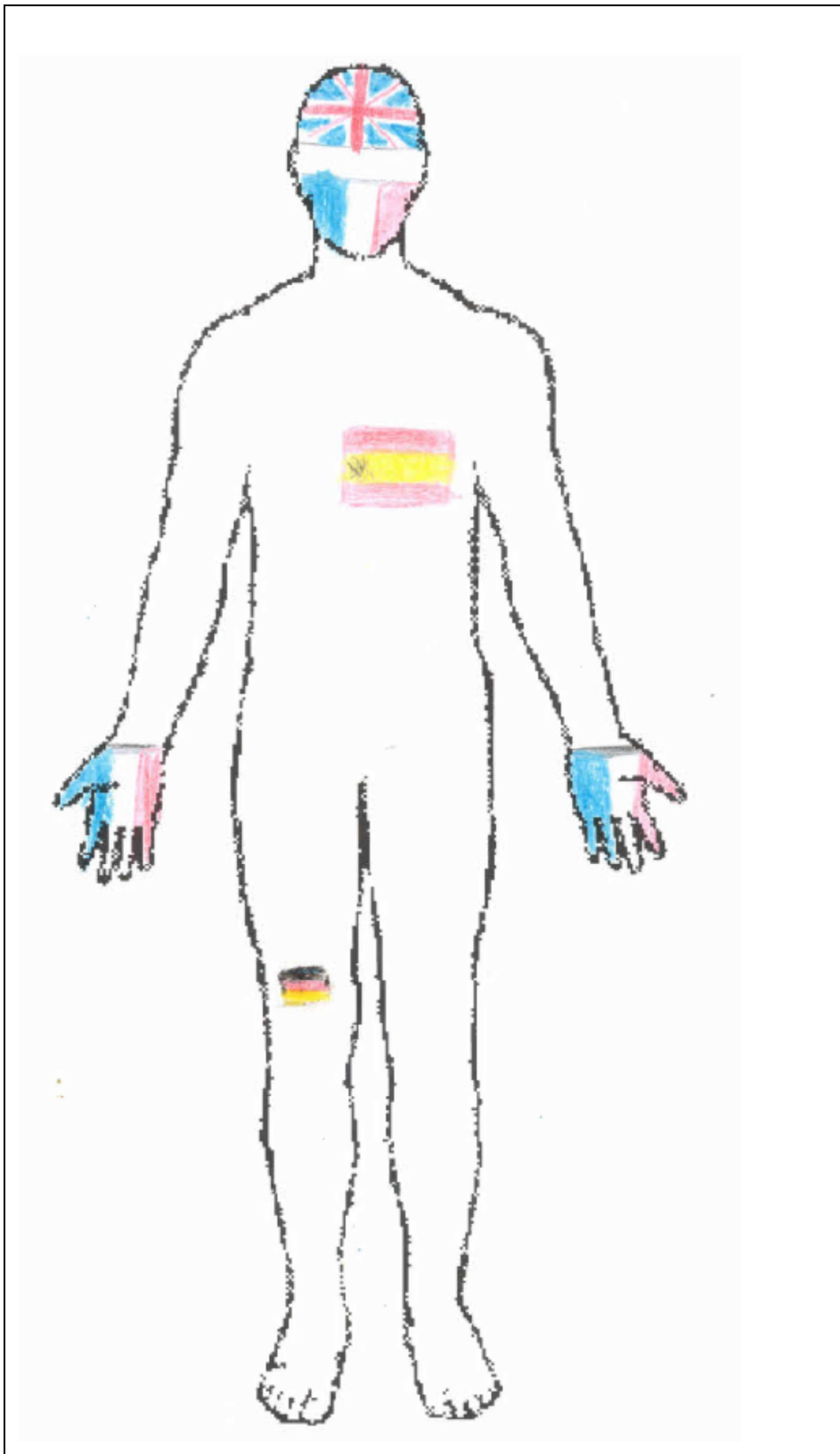
The following examples illustrate both the method and the results of body language portraits:

Figure 13 Aurelie's language portrait



Aurelie (figure 13) represents her L1 French as the language of 'the heart', Spanish as a language which she understands (ears) but does not speak and English which she is learning and using for research communication (mouth).

Figure 14 Lise's language portrait

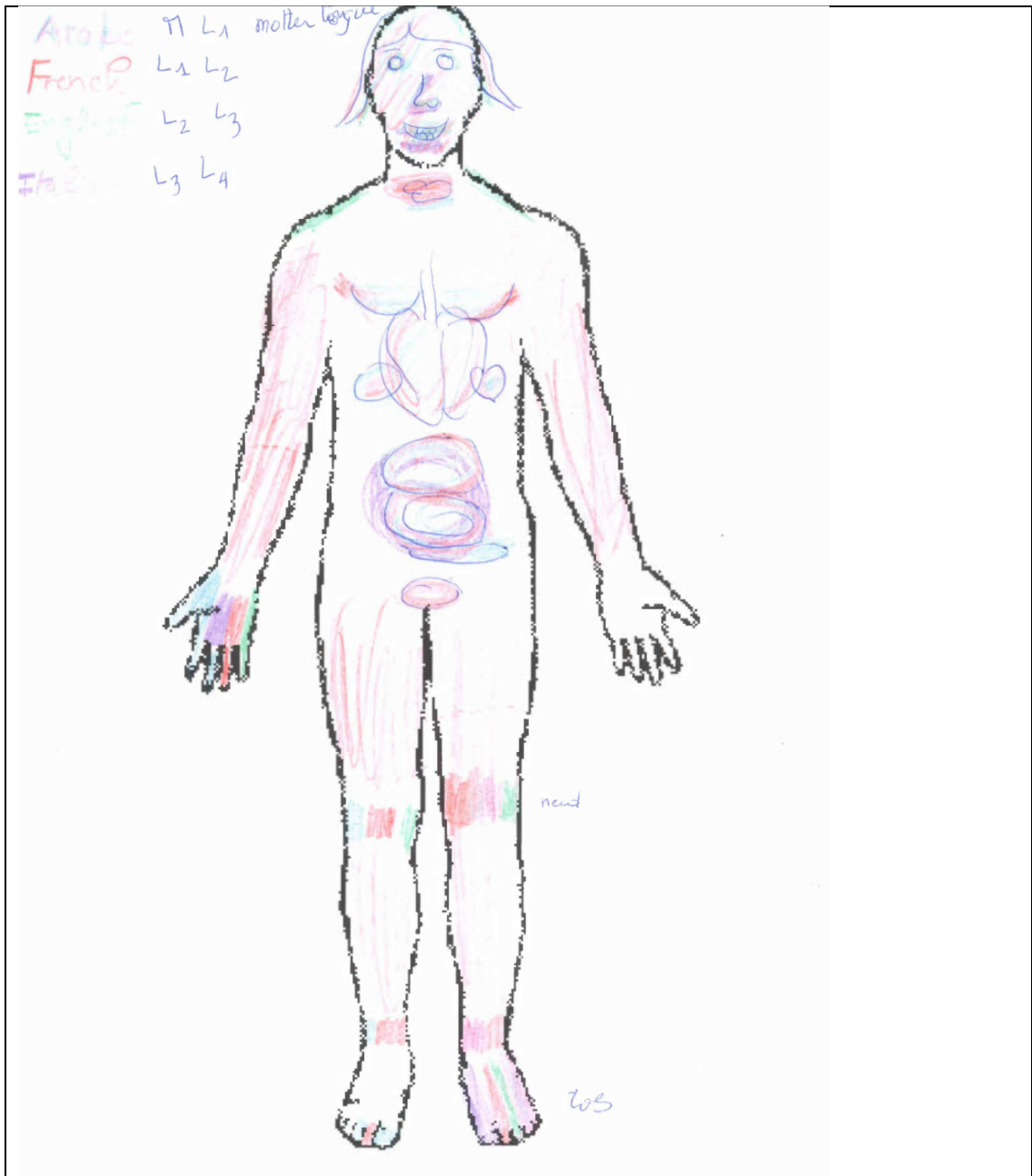


Lise's language portrait (figure 14) represents L1 French as her main language of oral and gestural communication (mouth and hands). Her mind is currently focused on

improving her English for research. Her best friend lives in Spain (affection situated at the heart). German was learnt at school and isn't being maintained or improved (knee). Her eyes are left blank, which as she explained was the way she had decided to represent the open window of experience and learning.



Figure 15 Amel's language portrait.



Amel (figure 15), who speaks Arabic, French, Italian and English, chose to highlight the parts of the body in accordance to whether she knew how to say the anatomic name for each part of the body in each of her four languages. She described knowing more vocabulary concerning the stomach and eating in Arabic and French, and knowing how to describe the sexual organs only in French. English, in green, was represented mainly on the peripheries of her body as a learning language rather than as an acquired one. As

in Busch's (2012) language portrait drawn by participant 'Pascal', all the language tools she has at her disposal for communication are represented in her hand.

#### **4.4.4 Summary**

The results of the language portraits were in keeping with models of identity which acknowledged the immediacy of certain prioritised or salient identities which can later shift (Blommaert 2007). Certain learning contexts and extensive uses of languages such as English for academia show that English can be prioritised for certain contexts then put aside for other (less immediate) uses (Omoniyi 2006). For example, within the context of the English language classroom, participants would focus more on English language use (head area) and in relation to my status as their English language teacher and to their colleagues whom they were presenting to. The body language portrait is a method which can impact on the data itself as it asks the participants to portray themselves as multilinguals. When describing their portraits they are asked to critically assess the relationship between these languages. The participants focused on wider communicative practices which go beyond the scope of this present study (such as body language, gender and sexual identity).

The value of visual ethnography (Pink 2012), in association with an interactive situation is multiple. Asking a participant to frame an answer to a question using visual methods may solicit responses which may have not been found using other methods. Asking the participants to visually represent their own identities in relation to English was also a means to asking the participants to make a choice about how to best represent themselves during a one-to-one or in a group interactive context. The visual data created are therefore a link to a past interactive event (as is photography) and are salient representations of those specific moments. The visuals in this study encouraged the participants to decide where to situate English in different areas of their lives and to compare English to the other languages which they spoke with respect to their language identities. The visuals revealed that English was very much on the participants' minds (depicted in the head area) in the professional contexts in which they were drawn. When choosing to give less detail to the personal domain uses of English, this did not mean that they did not use English outside of the workplace. By focusing on the

professional uses of English, the participants were showing that the strategies and stakes involved in professional English usage were higher than when they used English in other contexts. The participants were confirming, through the visuals data they created, that for all of the participants involved, English was a medium of academic identity.

## 4.4 EMI Classroom observations

### 4.4.1 Introduction

This classroom observation study was based on a series of science classes taught in English at Nantes University between 2013 and 2014. Three university lecturers volunteered to be observed during their biochemistry, electronics and physics classes respectively. The small number of participants was due to the small number of science classes taught in English at Nantes University at that time<sup>163</sup>. The choice of classroom contexts was another setting in which to study attitudes to the use of English within science disciplines at Nantes University. The bio-chemistry class took place in a laboratory in the Science faculty (*UFR Sciences et Techniques*) and the electronics and physics classes took place in the Engineering faculty (*Polytech*).

These classes were taught in English because they had been designed by the course organisers (including the teacher participants of this study) as English medium modules within the context of the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education in Europe (see chapter 2). A course defined as using EMI (English as a medium of instruction) is one where the main discipline under study is not English but where part or the entire course is taught in English. In France, English is used as a medium of instruction for two main reasons: either to include students who speak English from other countries, or to prepare L1 French-speaking students for an international scientific career.

The EMI classroom observations were preceded and succeeded by semi-structured interviews (from 2013-16) in accordance with an auto-confrontational methodological approach (Cahour 2006) which gave the participants the opportunity to reflect on their teaching experiences within a wider time-frame (Lemke 2008).

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<sup>163</sup> Approximately 5% in 2013. The exact number of science courses taught in English at Nantes University and elsewhere has been difficult to establish. Some courses are advertised as being taught in English, but are taught in French when no visiting students are present (such as the *Optimisation en Recherche Opérationnelle (ORO)* Masters course). Other teachers, such as in the Information Technology and Maths departments, teach some parts of their course in English. Although some course designers wish to signal EMI, other teachers prefer to be more discreet about the languages which are being used in their classrooms. In addition, the distinction between what constitutes ‘English’ and what constitutes ‘French’ has been recognised as problematic in French language legislation (discussed in chapter 2).

The research questions (see table 4 section 3.1) I wished to address via the observation of EMI classes were concerned with performance, learning and agency in an interactive context (Block 2007, Bucholtz 2005, Norton, 2000, Butler 1998, Goffman 1959). More specifically I was interested in finding out how the participants self-reported an EMI experience in terms of personal and professional identity (Zhang 2007, Lamote and Englels 2010, Zimmerman 1998). I was interested to study how both English and French languages would be used by both the teachers and students in a teaching context where the goals were announced by the participants as being the learning of scientific concepts and learning (or practising) speaking in English. I wanted to be able to define, post-observation and analysis what made these EMI classes specific to both the local language context (France) and the subject matters which were being taught. To do this, I planned to investigate what went on linguistically in an EMI classroom in terms of language teaching and content exchange. This data collection method combined both the specificities of teacher interviews with third-party observations of a live, multi-participant interaction. This gave me the opportunity to study parallel language work<sup>164</sup>, such as code-switching and translanguaging spaces (Preisler 2014, Lewis et al. 2012, Wei 2011, Rampton 1995), in more depth.

McGrath's analysis of parallel language use in Sweden, for example, explores 'to what extent parallel language use is an ideological goal or a professional reality for academics' (McGrath 2014: 6). Although 'parallel language use' can be referred to as a feature of language policy, it nevertheless reveals little about how the policy is interpreted at the level of classroom interactions.

The following findings concerning EMI at the University of Nantes are the result of interviews, email exchanges, and classroom observations of the three participants.

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<sup>164</sup> The term 'parallel language use', discussed in 2.1.7, is used by Bolton, K., and Kuteeva, M. (2012), Borg, S. (2009), Cots, J. M., Llorca, E., and Garrett, P. (2014), Kling, J., and Stæhr, L. S. (2012), McGrath 2014, Preisler, B. (2014), Shaw, P. (2013), Tange, H. (2010), Werther, C., Denver, L., Jensen, C., and Mees, I. M. (2014).

#### 4.4.2 The EMI teacher participants

I met each of the three teacher participants; Emma, Jean-Paul and Albert (pseudonyms), in different contexts and this has been taken into account in the analysis. Emma responded to stage one of the data collection process (self-reporting questionnaire) in 2013 and then volunteered to be interviewed (stage two). During the interview, she described her concern and excitement about embarking on a career as an EMI teacher. She later contacted me by email to invite me to observe her class. She also wanted me to provide her with some learning games to help her students acquire laboratory vocabulary. The initial incentive came from Emma and resulted in further teaching collaboration and exchange. I met Jean-Paul outside of the initial data collection procedure within the context of a staff training programme (January to April 2014) for which I was the English teacher and Jean-Paul my trainee-colleague. During the first sessions of the staff training programme, I discovered that some of my trainee-students were EMI teachers and I asked my trainees if they would be willing to accept me as an observer in their classes. Albert was introduced to me in June 2014 by Jean-Paul who spoke to his colleagues about my research and asked around for volunteer EMI teacher participants on my behalf.

The table below shows the specificities of the three EMI classes which I observed. In keeping with the focus of my teacher identity study, the table focuses firstly on the teachers and then on the variables concerning the classroom context, their students, and the languages spoken by all the participants. The different variables of these EMI classes were divided into two broad sections represented in two colours in Table 8. This was to distinguish between the variables which concerned the teacher (such as teaching experience) and the variables which concerned the class (such as student year group):

<b>Teachers</b>	<b>Emma</b>	<b>Jean-Paul</b>	<b>Albert</b>
<b>L1 language of teacher</b>	French	French	French
<b>Academic status</b>	<i>Maître de conférence</i> (Lecturer)	<i>Professeur agrégé</i> (Teaching fellow)	<i>Professeur d'université</i> (Professor)
<b>Faculty</b>	<i>UFR Sciences et techniques</i> , Nantes university	<i>Polytech</i> , Nantes university	<i>Polytech</i> , Nantes university
<b>Total number of years of teaching experience</b>	5 years	20 years	20 years
<b>Number of years of teaching in English</b>	2 years	2 years	4 years
<b>Subject taught</b>	Biochemistry	Electronics	Physics
<b>Year of study of student programme</b>	Year 2	Masters (Year 2)	Masters (Year 1)
<b>N° of students taught</b>	2 x 18	22	22
<b>Lesson type</b>	Lab class ( <i>Travaux Pratiques</i> )	Seminar ( <i>Travaux Dirigés</i> )	Seminar ( <i>Travaux Dirigés</i> )
<b>L1 language(s) of student cohort</b>	French	French, Lebanese, Iranian, Chinese	French, Chinese, Pakistani, Malaysian
<b>Percentage of English medium instruction for entire academic year</b>	25%	31%	31% <sup>165</sup>

Table 8 The EMI classroom.<sup>166</sup>

The variables which impacted on the classroom interaction were those which related to

<sup>165</sup> Jean-Paul: 'The 4th year students you met last year only have their tutorials (TDs =152h) taught in English. Lectures (=128h) and labs (=200h) remain in French. So it's approximately one third in English' Email response, 24.02.2016.

<sup>166</sup> Teacher participant details (in blue) and the EMI classroom variables related to the EMI classroom observation sequences (in grey).

the teacher histories and performances themselves, but also to the teaching context and to the student cohort. The teachers' statuses and titles had an impact on how they viewed using English for their careers and for teaching. Albert, as a professor, was highly active in research, both in terms of extensive publications in English and frequent trips abroad for conferences and international collaborative projects. He had 15 years of experience in supervising PhD students, one of which he had supervised in English. His desire to embark on EMI teaching, as was the case for Emma, was consistent with his own research work and he was comfortable presenting his work and subject area in English. Jean-Paul's status, was not research-based as his status title (*Professeur agrégé, Teaching Fellow*) meant that he did not have to carry out research for his work. His experience and active participation in the electronics department nevertheless meant that he was involved in collaborative research projects. In terms of teaching experience and status, the length of teaching experience meant that Jean-Paul and Albert (in their 50s) had spent most of their teaching careers teaching in French, whereas Emma (in her 30s), who was starting out in her teaching career, can be identified as an EMI teacher right from the start of her career.

#### **4.4.3 EMI teaching: attitudes to the institution and other colleagues**

As the current demand for EMI in French Higher Education is on the increase but not on a par with the significant amount of EMI teaching in some other European countries such as Sweden or Denmark, the EMI classes that I observed could be labelled as pioneer EMI courses in France. Such a situation marks these participants as being in a minority and therefore different to the communities within which they work. All three participants either volunteered or created their own EMI courses. They felt confident about their competence as L2 English speakers and described their main motivation for doing EMI teaching as an opportunity to maintain and practise their English. This distinguishes this Nantes study from Werther et al.'s (2014) study of 17 EMI teachers in Denmark who reported feeling compelled to be EMI teachers and who were identified as having weaker English language skills (following a self-assessment survey) than their peers (Werther et al. 2014:12). In contrast to Werther et al.'s Danish study, the 20 interviewed participants in this Nantes study (section 4.2) did not report to feeling compelled (in 2013-4) to teach in English.



Unlike the participants in Soren's (2013) and Werther et al.'s (2014) studies, the EMI teachers who participated in the present study expected no support from their peers or from the institution, either financially or in terms of English language training, nor were they were critical of the institution's management of EMI. Werther et al.'s EMI teachers in Denmark felt that they had been let down by not having been provided with 'brush up weekend courses for teachers who are going to teach through English' including compensation for 'extra time for preparing' (Werther et al. 2014: 458). This is in keeping with Airey's EMI teacher study in Sweden where the participants voiced strong criticism such as: 'I'm stunned by the fact you are expected to teach in English, without any support from your employer' (Airey 2012: 44).

Integrative motivation (discussed in Dörnyei 2009, Yashima and Zenuk-Nishide 2008, Waage 2007, Gardner and Lambert 1972) for choosing to do EMI teaching, rather than being compelled to do it by the institution, for example, was key to the attitudes expressed by these three teachers. Where motivation theories are used to explain and perhaps predict behaviour (Waage 2007: 379) integrative motivation has been referred to as a personal desire to learn a language (which can be driven by wanting to access a target culture (Gardner and Lambert 1972), and can be compatible with wanting to be another 'possible self' (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009). Extrinsic motivation, however, has been described as occurring in situations where a person feels socially compelled to pursue an activity (Waage 2007). In the present study because 'the [EMI teachers] perceive themselves as the origin of the behaviour, they have an internal perceived locus of causality' (Waage 2007: 381).

The attitudes to the degree of support the participants got from both the institution and from their peers tended to be coherent with that of other EMI studies (Werther et al. 2014, Airey 2012). Werther et al.(2014) define 'support' as a perception of how EMI is managed by the institution, and what help the lecturers could have been given or could have wished for (Werther et al. 2014: 456). Like the teachers in Werther et al.'s (2014) and Airey's (2012) studies, the Nantes participants had no support from their institutions for the extra workload, especially for the extra preparation time that EMI involves. Prior to the study, the Nantes participants received no training in EMI teaching, and no language training prior to their EMI teaching experience. The teachers prepared their courses on their own and were not aware for instance, of the terms EMI, CLIL, DNL or

EMILE<sup>167</sup> despite the fact that CLIL has been identified in both French and English literature as necessitating and accounting for different pedagogical tools to teaching in L1 (APLIUT 2013, Meyer 2010). An introduction to these concepts, prior to embarking on an English taught programme, could have helped them to define for themselves the extent to which they would be concerned with integrating language and content learning (CLIL) or whether work on English language skills would be secondary (which seems to be a current understanding of EMI). Two years into their experience as EMI teachers, Emma and Jean-Paul did nevertheless choose to take part in an EMI course where I was their trainer. They justified wanting to attend these courses because they wanted to meet other EMI or potential EMI teachers to share best practices. All three participants took an active interest in EMI projects and continue to promote EMI at both higher and secondary school education in Nantes.

Subsequently, the participants did refer to an improvement in terms of in-group recognition. Even if this was related to the fact that being EMI teachers distinguished them as having greater symbolic capital than the other members of their community:

Emma: I don't think my status has improved, but some colleagues have said to me that they are impressed by what I do, I try to encourage them to do the same

Albert goes further in expressing an opinion about his colleagues who did not wish to do EMI teaching. He signals himself out as being different, 'accepting' of others:

Albert: We do it because we like it, but if others don't want to do it, we accept that

(Albert speaking on behalf of his own 'special' group membership with Jean-Paul who also teaches EMI)

Nevertheless, Albert's attitude could be interpreted as identifying the EMI membership group as being preferable to that of the non-EMI group. This attitude is highlighted by Emma's report of her colleagues being 'impressed' by her EMI teacher-status. Instead of

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<sup>167</sup> English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Discipline Non Linguistique (DNL) and Enseignement d'une Matière par l'Intégration d'une Langue Etrangère (EMILE).

expecting support from her institution, she takes her EMI role as being that of an instigator of EMI where it is up to her to reinforce and expand her EMI membership group. Subsequent to the repeated interviews I had with the participants, I therefore labelled the attitudes of my study group regarding the motivation for embarking on EMI teaching as being 'pioneer'. Although they did not use this term themselves, they signalled the concept indirectly by referring to being 'the first', and 'different' in their discourses. Confident of both their acquired skills and their ability to adapt to new challenges, as innovators, the Nantes academics in this study did not expect any help from their community or employer. They were aware that they had differentiated themselves from their colleagues and expected their practices to be commented on positively.

#### **4.4.4 Teacher attitudes to students and EMI**

Although the participants ascribed their own motivation for wanting to teach in English to personal interests, when it came to why they believed their French-speaking students 'should' take part in their English medium courses, their discourses made reference to wider institutional and global attitudes to English as the language of 'professional success'.

Regarding Emma's attitude to why she felt that her students should embark on EMI and why it would be 'good' for them, her discourse echoed that of a wider institutional discourse of English being the language of science, and subsequently, if one does not speak English, one cannot succeed at 'being' a 'good' scientist.

Emma:      moi je trouve ça bien et de forcer, enfin de donner opportunités, je trouve ça hyper-important, je les ai vus en ABT [Advanced Biology Training] ils ont pas forcément tous un très bon niveau d'anglais et quand on fait des sciences il faut avoir un bon niveau d'anglais si on veut être au courant de ce qui passe, ben, avoir accès à tous les protocoles en ligne, toutes les infos elles sont souvent en anglais donc c'est vraiment important si ils veulent pouvoir communiquer

[Translation:

*I think it is good to force, well to give opportunities, I find it really important, I have seen them in ABT [Advanced Biology Training] they don't*

*necessarily have a very good level of English and when one does science one needs to have a good level of English, if we want to know what is going on, to have access to all the protocols on line, all the information is often in English, so it is really important if they want to be able to communicate]*

(pre-classroom observation interview with Emma, 23.05.2013).

Emma's alternates between the words 'force', 'give opportunities', 'oblige', show that her *I-teacher* account (Birello et al. 2011) explores and hesitates over the appropriate labels to describe 'the English medicine' which she is recommending. She also shifts between what she may feel is appropriate within teacher discourse concerning the degrees to which she should merely *encourage*, or *compel* her students to improve their English language skills. In contrast to the attitudes she expressed concerning her own use of English for research purposes, which were consistently modulated by 'I don't mind having to use English' (Reynolds 2014), Emma asserts her attitude more when referring to her students' need to master English: 'c'est hyper important' [*it's extremely important*], 'c'est vraiment important', [*it's really important*].

Her attitudes are more definitive when expressing her beliefs about her students' education in the domain of science. She claims that the students who study Biology in English in the Advanced Biology Training course do not have a 'good enough level of English' to be 'scientists'. Here she is referring to her own membership categorisation of what a 'scientist' is, and how the students have not yet achieved all the skills necessary (including speaking English and French) to be scientists. ('when you do science you need a good level of English').

#### **4.4.5 'I don't teach English'**

Emma, Jean-Paul and Albert claimed that they were not 'doing English teaching', echoing Airey's (2012) paper on physics lecturers in Sweden entitled 'I don't teach language'. In short they claimed they were engaging in what the literature refers to as English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and not CLIL (Content and Language

Integrated learning)<sup>168</sup> as defined by Shaw (2013). Shaw highlights the difference between these two terms, where the linguistic 'intent' of the course organisers and teachers is different. In EMI, which Soren (2013) also refers to as *English as a Lingua Franca* teaching, English is considered as an exchange tool but not as a language that needs to be perfected, or modelled on a restricted 'native speaker model' (Kachru 1990, Jenkins 2007). Courses which are defined as CLIL have the objective of improving both knowledge skills and linguistic skills. My observations of the classroom interactions nevertheless revealed that the participants of my study were actively engaging in bilingual language work.

In the following extract, for the benefit of both myself as observer, and for her students, Emma checks whether her students have understood what is happening to the pH levels at this point in the experiment. At the same time, however, she checks and reformulates her students' responses in English throughout her exchange with them:

Emma: what will happen to the pH?

Student: it will fall down

Emma: it will decrease

Emma: how do you write the equation?

Student: pH égal

Emma: yes, the pH *equals*

(Observation of the *Buffer Solutions* lesson taught in English by Emma 13.09.13)

During the follow-up interviews with Emma I commented on her method of offering the 'correct' English expression when a French one had been given. To me this was a sign of L2 linguistic work associated with CLIL. Emma was being an English, not just a biochemistry teacher (Richards 2006). The above extract would not occur in the equivalent French *Buffer solutions* lesson. It is unique to a *French* biochemistry class being taught in English. Although the students have provided the 'correct' answers in terms of content, these have not been given in English. Emma corrects her students'

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<sup>168</sup> The differences of approach between CLIL and EMI are discussed in the literature review in chapter 1.

linguistic output as she is concerned that they should acquire the appropriate linguistic skills in English. In the above extract, her concern for the linguistic L2 output of her students surpasses those of content knowledge, which the students had already acquired in their L1.

The amount of incidental and intentional English language work that Emma was doing in her EMI class was therefore contested by the EMI teacher and the researcher. During our 'auto-confrontational' and 'constructive member-checking' meetings<sup>169</sup> (Cahour 2006, Harvey 2014), Emma continued to argue that she was not an English teacher, despite admitting that she was 'happy' about being able to give her students English language, as well as scientific tools, to increase their opportunity to familiarise themselves with the necessary linguistic tools for both scientific and professional success (as she defined it). In her defence, Emma could argue that a focus on L2 language skills would perhaps approach these 'errors' differently. With regards to the above extract, an English teacher might have highlighted explicitly the issues concerning translation, phrasal verbs, or the shared etymology of some English and French words. In the science class, Emma quickly and implicitly replaced the French terms with new English ones. No comments were made about their linguistic capital or history. Emma's pedagogical approach was in keeping with the objectives of a task-based CLIL classroom, through which language knowledge may occur implicitly (Meyer 2010).

If Emma's pedagogical objective was to engage in EMI for biochemistry, as she claims, she could have presented her class in English and would have perhaps been justified in not concerning herself with whether her students were acquiring, or even understanding, new vocabulary. In the first part of the extract below, Emma asks for a definition: 'So what is the definition of a physiological solution?', but does not pause to wait for an answer from her students. Although the question has a rhetorical effect of attracting her students' attention to the topic of the class, Emma also claimed that she did not expect her students to be able to formulate such a complex answer in English.

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<sup>169</sup> I was drawn to using longer-term methods of exchange with my participants which would enable them to correct and comment on the data.

The following extract, which is a transcription of the beginning of Emma's physiological solutions lab class, shows that Emma starts out as an EMI teacher, but progressively and increasingly switches to CLIL. The following interaction shows that Emma is spending time on checking whether her students understand new key words in English, by asking for translations in French. I have highlighted the parts where Emma starts to announce and check for comprehension of her English by asking for the French equivalent (in bold):

Emma: so today you are going to prepare a physiological solution which is complex, ok? so it means that it contains lots of different things, so you are supposed to, you're supposed to have done the calculations, I will check with you later that you have the right values, ok? so you can, ok, you can come closer if you need to see, so what is the definition of a physiological solution? so you have it here, it's, er, so a physiological solution is a liquid presenting the same osmolarity as the main body fluids, in particular blood which is about 300 milliosmoles per litre, so that's the unit of osmolarity for a mammal in most of the earth and fresh water animals, **so fresh water is eaux douce, ok?** and about 1000 milliosmoles per litre for some sea animals because they live in water with salt, so they live in a different medium, so they have different needs so they will adjust osmolarity in their body, we have a few examples here, the humans as I told you, it's 300 milliosmoles per litre, ok? alligator, **grasshopper, do you know what is grasshopper?**

Students: sauterelle

Emma: **sauterelle, yeah, lobster, do you know lobster?**

Student 1: homard

Emma: **homard, yeah, and jellyfish?**

Student 2: méduse

Emma: **méduse**, yes, so these two live in the sea so you see they have a different osmolarity, it's higher, ok?

(Transcript of the introduction of the *Buffer Solutions* lesson taught in English by Emma 13.09.13)

I asked Emma how she decided on which words to translate. She told me that she chose the words that she had not known herself in the recent past. As an L2 learner herself, and more specifically, an L1 French-speaker, Emma was able to anticipate the needs that her L1 French speakers may have had, basing that linguistic knowledge on her own

experience as an L1 French speaker of L2 English. Sharing a common L1 and L2 language can be used as an argument in favour of ‘non-native’ teacher models in English taught programs in L2 contexts (Preisler 2014, Dimova et al.2015). Emma acknowledges that she is two-steps ahead of her students in terms of linguistic competence and is therefore anticipating, and accommodating to, their needs.

Albert's and Jean-Paul's integration of English language work revealed some differences at *Polytech*. Firstly this can be explained because their students did not all share the same L1 French. During the academic years 2013-4 and 2014-5 approximately 25% of the final year engineering students at *Polytech*, were overseas students<sup>170</sup>. Secondly their students were more experienced, both in age and year of study (Masters level). Jean-Paul's teaching style was based on a series of questions he addressed to his students. He either asked the students to confirm what they had done in the previous session (i.e. ‘did we introduce a clock?’ and ‘did we sample it?’) or to check whether his students had understood the new term and function (i.e. ‘so far it is a permanent function, ok?’). Jean-Paul did not stop to do explicit vocabulary work which he assumed his students already knew. The extract below gives an impression of how Jean-Paul checked for comprehension without explicitly working on English language skills:

Jean-Paul: trolley speed control [JP draws a trolley speed control on the whiteboard whilst saying it out loud], do I need to draw it completely? did we introduce a clock? yes we did? yes um um, did we choose to use only one clock or, or only one clock for each function? only one clock? one clock for this function? yes? [Murmured acquiescence from students] so we can call it H speed control and what about this function, did we sample it? [Murmured acquiescence from students] so, ok, so far it is a permanent function, ok?

(Observation of the *Embedded Systems Design* lesson taught in English by Jean-Paul 26.02.14)

Unlike Emma's physiological solutions class, this teaching segment could suggest that

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<sup>170</sup> See table 8 for the L1 languages of Jean-Paul and Albert's classes.



Jean-Paul's class consisted of interactions in English only. Nevertheless, the bilingualism of Jean-Paul's class would be apparent at other moments. In this following extract, the specificity of an L1-L2 teaching context is highlighted when Jean-Paul has observed uncertainty in one of his students (S4) (by responding to her facial expression):

Jean-Paul: and here we have only one relation, the speed-set point, yes?

Jean-Paul: is it clear enough now?

[students whisper to each other in French student interjects and asks]:

S1: if we are in parameters we must do this?

Jean-Paul: yes, that's right

S2: then it's running

S3: it's not running, it's *run*

Jean-Paul: ok a problem? [pause, and prolonged eye contact established with student S4]

You can ask me in French if you want.

S4: j'ai du mal à voir ce que c'est 'macro state'<sup>171</sup>.

(Observation of the *Embedded Systems Design* lesson taught in English by Jean-Paul 26.02.14)

In the above 'macro state' extract, it is not clear whether student S4 is having trouble understanding what a macro state is because the course is in English, or because she does not understand the concept of 'macro state'. Jean Paul later told me that S4's question was not related to the English, but to the student not understanding what a 'macro state' entailed. Jean Paul was nevertheless aware of a problem and he felt that he could address it better if they switched to L1 French.

Lewis et al.'s (2012) account for translation of this kind within translanguaging educational contents is as follows: the weaker academic language (e.g. English) which is used for content can be translated into the student's stronger (e.g. French) language to ensure understanding (Lewis et al. 2012: 659). Lewis et al. (2012) identify three levels of translation in an L1-L2 classroom:

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<sup>171</sup> 'I don't really understand what a 'macro state' is'.

- **(i) Translation (for the whole class)**, the teacher switches from one language selectively during instruction to explain subject content. The aim is to ensure understanding of content among all pupils but not necessarily strict 50:50 translation.
- **(ii) Translation for L2 learner**, includes responsible code-switching when the teacher explains aspects of the lesson to some pupils in their first language which is different from the intended language medium of the lesson.
- **(iii) Translation of subject-related terminology**, which can be identified as a scaffolding approach to help pupils complete tasks undertaken in the classroom.

(Adapted from Lewis et al. 2012: 659)

In the ‘macro state’ extract in Jean-Paul’s embedded system’s design class, it can be observed how he uses type (ii) translation, focusing on the needs of one student. In Emma’s physiological solutions introduction, however, she was using a scaffolding technique by translating subject-related terminology (type iii).

Jean-Paul and Albert's EMI classes differed to Emma's in that the students were the instigators of most of the linguistic work that went on. In the ‘macro state’ extract, student S3 feels it necessary to correct student S4's English, even if both 'run' and 'running' could be used, depending on whether one is referring to the command called 'run' or to the system being in operation and therefore 'running'.

Jean-Paul did not provide any translations for the English terms he used, but he was willing to accommodate to the fact that some of his students might find it difficult to formulate complex questions in English. His pedagogical objective was that his students should be able to code their own electronic embedded systems and he did not want the English to be a linguistic barrier for learning (Cook 2003, Chaplier 2013). He showed greater concern about the linguistic aspect of his class when the students were directly interacting with him. Jean-Paul signals that English is a barrier to expressing (a lack of) understanding by explicitly stating that using French would help the students to gain greater clarity. In this case, Jean-Paul would answer a student’s question in French to

check that he/she had understood his explanation before moving on in English. He felt that switching to French and English was what was best for the students because of the parallel language policy<sup>172</sup> in operation at Polytech (i.e. all the lectures were taught in French):

Considering that the lecture language is French and that the lecture books are also written in French (even for these students attending English taught tutorials), sometimes I add a French version of my explanation, using the 'original' terms, so as to make it easier for the students to see some links I want them to set up.

(Jean-Paul, email correspondence, 29.06.2016).

Riley has reported on academics expressing concern about the 'cost to pay in terms of content' (2013:38). She explains that greater to lesser degrees of concern about students not understanding content may be related to wider approaches to pedagogy in general. Teachers who were more attached to knowledge-based approaches (Brady 2009) expressed greater concern about students losing out on what they believed to be essential concepts, whereas teachers who favoured an interactive approach were not only less concerned about this aspect, but more willing to embark on EMI teaching themselves (Riley 2013:38).

Albert decided to make use of my presence as an observer to check his English language skills openly in front of his students. Albert's speech acknowledges both his local students as well as the translanguaging space (Wei 2011, Busch 2014) he has created in this EMI classroom. He did this with both me and with those students whom he identified as having equal or superior English language skills to himself. He did this on his own terms and when it suited him, which highlighted his sense of confidence and self-esteem. At one point he asked me to check his pronunciation of 'criteria' and experimented with my pronunciation a few times before laughing and changing his sentence altogether. He drew from his wide linguistic repertoire and decided to say 'within this condition' instead. Albert perhaps felt that he needed to move on with the content of his micro-electronics class, and away from this digression into English

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<sup>172</sup> Parallel language policy (discussed in section 2.1.8) operates on languages, here French and English, being kept for separate classrooms, based on 'monolingual duality' educational models (discussed in Garcia 2009).

language, which was triggered by my presence:

- Albert: the flow of the water,[looking at me] is correct? yes? *Le débit?* in a pipe,  
 [Albert notices three students who are not listening]  
 hé ho! hey guys! [looking at 3 male students talking at the back]  
 you just have to fulfil [looking at me], right? [awaits acknowledgement] yes  
 fulfill the, criteria [looking at me] how do you pronounce it?
- AR: criteria, like cry, teria
- Albert: criteria, criteria
- AR: cry, teria
- Albert: criteria [laughs] well, within this condition

(Observation of *the micro-electronics* lesson taught in English by Albert 28.11.14)

During our follow-up interview he told me that he had liked the opportunity of asking me for 'corrections'; however, as can be seen in the above extract, my presence in Albert's classroom impacted significantly on the outcome of the event. Albert used me as a constant resource during his EMI classroom which meant that he would regularly address questions to me about his English pronunciation in particular. As other studies have shown, Albert was still drawn to the ideal of a more competent speaker of English (than himself) (Preisler 2014, Chaplier 2013, Jenkins 2007, Blair 2012). Having decided that I would be an additional resource for his classroom, (rather than as a silent observer), he occasionally addressed me to check or validate his own English productions. He may have also wished to check the 'authenticity'<sup>173</sup> of his language within the eyes of a model (native) speaker (Preisler 2008).

Chaplier's (2013) concerns about EMI instruction have focused on French-speaking academics' lack of expertise in English language skills. For Chaplier when EMI course designers at Toulouse University claimed that it was sufficient to 'get by in English' ('se débrouiller en anglais', Chaplier 2013:64) to teach a science class in English, it revealed an insufficient understanding of what a language is, including its associated culture, which she felt should also be an integral part of CLIL classes in Higher Education (Chaplier 2013:67). Chaplier's findings concerning insufficient language competence of

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<sup>173</sup> 'native speaker norms (however implicit) are both relevant and useful in face-to face lingua franca communication' (Preisler 2014: 223).

EMI teachers in Toulouse was not in keeping with the findings of this study. The EMI teachers who were observed and interviewed proved to be highly proficient English language users, in keeping with the European published levels of competence concerning EMI teacher proficiency (Soren 2013<sup>174</sup>, Werther et al. 2014). It is worth noting that Chaplier's 2013 study was based on interviews with heads of departments at Toulouse university (and not with the EMI teachers themselves) whose discourses echo both the ideologies and constraints of managers in general who see the necessity of 'getting by' for the members of, above all, operative organisations.

Preisler (2014) has studied the impact of EMI teaching on shared linguistic and cultural understanding in terms of both status authority and linguistic authority. His comparative study of the presence of humour in an L1 Danish lecture and the same lecturer teaching in English highlighted a deficit in a 'common [...] 'authentic' linguistic/pragmatic identity' (Preisler 2014: 226) in the EMI classroom. The multi-cultural and multilingual classroom is identified by Preisler as a problem for achieving both knowledge and community. My own study both confirms and challenges Preisler's conclusions. A context where all the participants share and communicate in an L1 will undoubtedly be different to a bilingual classroom (as confirmed by Preisler). However, multi-cultural, multilingual learning contexts will be different. In these contexts, the participants create new opportunities for translanguaging, including code-switching to establish a different community of learning. For example, at the start of Emma's physiological solutions class - in a very similar way to Preisler's example of an academic creating authenticity and maintaining status by starting with a joke in his Danish L1 (2014: 230-231) - Emma uses a shared, bilingual, repertoire to joke about the problems of direct translations from French into English.

Emma:      today we are going to talk about 'Physiological Solutions', in French, as you know, it's 'Solutions Tampons', but don't say that in English! people will think it is the other thing [laughs all round]

Preisler argues that EMI classes are lacking in 'shared norms and knowledge in lingua

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<sup>174</sup> Emma obtained the highest score in France in the Test of Oral Proficiency for Academic staff (TOEPAS) in December 2015 which was devised by Soren and the Centre for Internationalization and Parallel Language use (CIP), Copenhagen.

franca communication and may noticeably impede the effectiveness of certain otherwise well-functioning teaching strategies' (Preisler 2014: 224). On the contrary, Emma, Jean-Paul and Albert drew from both French and English norms and knowledge in their EMI classrooms; they did not draw from monolingual repertoires to make jokes, but from a 'translanguaging space to focus on multi-lingual speakers' creative and critical use of the full range of their socio-cultural resources' (Wei 2001: 1222).

In accordance with Preisler's (2014) argument that a teacher uses local, shared knowledge practises to authenticate and reinforce interactions with their co-L1 speaking students, Albert does attract his students attention by using a French interjection (hé ho!), followed by another more colloquial English interjection (hey guys!). Albert's EMI teaching acknowledges both his local students as well as the trans-linguistic space he has created in this EMI classroom (Preisler 2014).

The amount of language work differed between the three teachers, depending on their own needs and on what they thought their students needed. Emma was concerned that her second year undergraduates should acquire subject-related terminology, Jean-Paul appeared to not want to burden his students with having to formulate difficult questions in English, and Albert wanted to improve or confirm his own English language skills by exploring the linguistic repertoires of his colleague (me) and his students. He did this by checking and asking for confirmation about certain English words he was unsure of, either in terms of pronunciation or translation. The extent to which they focused on English language work (when they were under observation, or when they spoke to me about it subsequently through interview) was revealing of their own personal approaches to English as a medium of instruction.

According to Soren (2013), Airey (2009, 2012) and Kuteeva and Airey (2014) and Martin (2011) the epistemological beliefs about the nature of content exchange in the scientific disciplines may explain why EMI teachers may not equate 'science' with 'language'. Drawing from Bernstein's (1999) hierarchical knowledge structures, Soren describes scientific subjects as being constructed by the 'integration of existing knowledge in the process of constructing new knowledge' (Soren 2013: 28). In contrast, disciplines which are described by *horizontal knowledge structures* (Bernstein 1999), are based on the interpretation of texts, using more texts. Such a distinction between the

linguistic, linear nature of some literary disciplines, as opposed to scientific ones, may explain why French literature describes CLIL teaching as 'non-linguistic'. The French national diploma for secondary school teachers wishing to teach CLIL is called the 'certificat DNL' (*'Discipline Non-Linguistique'*). Although the choice of discipline through which EMI is used may have had an impact on what EMI teachers believed to be their role, my observations of EMI teaching at Nantes have led me to challenge the extent to which EMI classes, or indeed any discipline, can be labelled as 'non-linguistic'. No class in Nantes University is taught through miming or in silence. All classes are at taught using words and it is through these words that content (in the form of more words) is subsequently accessed.

#### **4.4.6 Shift in teacher linguistic status**

Both the observations and the self-reports of the EMI teachers revealed that teacher status in the EMI classroom was re-assessed in the course of a lesson by both the teachers themselves and the students. The shift occurred at the level of linguistic authority and not at the level of knowledge authority (Woods and Cakir 2011, Mondada 2013a, 2013b). During the classroom observations, the content authority of the teachers was not put into question by the teachers or the students. The teachers maintained the role of 'epistemic leader'<sup>175</sup> (Mondada 2013a), and dominated the classroom exchanges on the whole (Farrell 2011). Mondada (2013a, 2013b) shows that in a guided interactive context (such as business meetings or guided tours) the leader may struggle to maintain epistemological status within contexts where specialist knowledge is competed for. In the case of the present study, only 'linguistic authority' was negotiated and contested by all the participants in the classroom.

The shift of teacher-status within his-her own classroom is specific to EMI teaching itself or to ELF (English as a *Lingua Franca*) teaching as described by Soren (2013). EMI teachers in this study were open to a re-negotiation of what can be described as their (higher) teacher status because of the beliefs they had about their own teaching

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<sup>175</sup> In an interaction where there is an exchange of knowledge, especially in contexts where there is an 'expert' addressing others, one person will be identified by the group as the 'epistemic/knowledge' giver. This role can be accepted or challenged by the other members of the group.

competence, their professional identity, what they believed to be the main purpose of their teaching act and to their attitudes to English as a *lingua franca* in general. Firstly, this attitude was confirmed by their repeated affirmations that they were not 'language teachers' or 'teaching English'. All three teachers stated that there was a difference between teaching English and teaching *in* English. This attitude is confirmed by Airey's (2012) study of teachers' attitudes in Swedish Higher Education where he identified differences in teacher perceptions of disciplinary knowledge as opposed to linguistic knowledge.

The study nevertheless needed to consider what type(s) of English the participants believed they were engaging in. Both Albert and Emma told me that they used 'international English'. She defined 'international English' in the following way:

AR: What do you mean by 'international English'?

Emma: I don't speak British or American English, I've learned English with people from different countries, er, by exchanging with people from different countries, and by reading, and, watching movies, so different sources of English, in science I listen to people from different countries so they have different Englishes, so I guess that is international English

Emma believed that the class she taught was also held in 'international English' mainly because that was the kind of English she felt she spoke and because she was leading the event ('I do the class, so it's international English'). In keeping with the questionnaire and interview data, the participants referred to the type of English they used as being a strategic medium, rather than a variety (such as British English) which they referred to as 'scientific English' or 'technical English' as opposed to 'everyday English' which the wider participants of this data set felt that they either didn't master or rarely used:

'Since my EMI classes topic is very technical, the students and I mainly talk about technical aspects. I only speak English during my teaching activity, except for rare private conversations with anglophone friends. So I mainly use technical English'

(Jean-Paul, email 07.07.2016)

Drawing on theories of teacher professional identity, where 'teachers derive their professional identity from the ways they see themselves as subject matter experts,



didactical experts and pedagogical experts' (Beijaard et al. 2000: 751) but also as being based on 'their interpretation of their continuing interaction with their context' (Canrinus et al. 2011, Soren 2013), the EMI participants in my study were confident about their areas of expertise and were accustomed to using English for specific research contexts where English was not their own or their peer's L1. This is in accordance with attitudes to English as a *lingua franca* as discussed in Jenkins (2007) and Preisler (2014) where both the students and teachers feel that they are entitled to engage in the creation of English and wish to arrive at a consensus, even in an L2 situation, as to which term suits their needs most.

This study contrasts with Preisler's (2014) and Westbrook and Henriksen's (2011) studies which highlighted how some EMI teachers reported on a diminished sense of credibility, and 'self-doubt in relation to linguistic proficiency' (Soren 2013: 41). Although Jean-Paul's and Albert's classroom observations revealed 'irregularities of traditional teacher-student behaviour [where] professors<sup>176</sup> were interrupted and corrected, [and where] professors self-corrected' (Soren 2013: 41, describing House and Levy-Todter's 2009 study) which would not occur in an L1 classroom, they did not report a loss of status or face (Brown and Levinson 1987). Albert actively encouraged his students, as well as myself, to confirm his linguistic knowledge of English. His attitude during his class, as during his interviews with me, revealed that his hierarchical superiority in the university system was not only maintained, but improved by his EMI experience because of the increased symbolic capital it gave him.

#### 4.4.7 Student feedback results

The questions to the student survey were devised by both the EMI teachers (Emma and Jean-Paul) and myself so that we could explore the themes that interested us. By asking the EMI teachers to frame questions, I could learn more about what their expectations or apprehensions could be regarding EMI and their students. As participants in the EMI classroom, either as an observer or as a teacher, we were all confident, because of what we had observed and experienced, that the students' had found EMI interesting and beneficial. A summary of the results have been presented in the table below:

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<sup>176</sup> In this European context 'professor' means 'tutor' or 'teacher'.

Student responses	Biochemistry (66% response rate)	Electronics (68 % response rate)
My English improved.	24 / 24	13 / 15
I ask my teacher questions in English during the class.	16 / 24	12 / 15
I speak to my peers in French during class.	24 / 24	14 / 15
English is a handicap to my understanding content.	5 / 24	2 / 15
English has a positive impact on my understanding content.	5 / 24	5 / 15
I have pre-class anxiety because of English.	4 / 24	5 / 15
Both English language and CLIL classes are necessary.	21 / 24	8 / 15

Table 9 Student feedback to EMI classes.

The results of the student feedback survey confirmed what had been observed in class. The students would participate in the ‘performed English language’ class but would check information and interact with each other in French, including the overseas students present in the Electronics classroom. Students would also approach the teachers at the end of the class and ask questions in French. Overseas students would tend to sit together in the international Masters at Polytech (Jean-Paul’s and Albert’s classes) and it was observed that they would interact in whatever language they shared. Students choosing to switch to L1 French when not ‘performing’ in English appears therefore to be a feature of both EMI and EFL (English as a foreign language) classrooms. Although switching to L1 French can be perceived by the teacher as a sign of resistance, it can also be perceived as the common practice of bilinguals who will use whichever language is easier and most appropriate for that particular interaction (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Lewis et al. 2012, Li Wei 2011a, Garcia 2009).

I asked the EMI teachers to make hypotheses about some of the real and imagined criticisms which could be held against their own EMI module. Some of these hypotheses, (explored in section 2.1.5 of the literature review) were that L2 English would be a handicap to learning, or that communication in an L2 would create anxiety. The results however showed that the students did not consider English to be a handicap to understanding content and that they did not feel more anxious because they were learning in an L2. These responses did not surprise me or the teacher participants, as these responses were confirmed by the observation of students during the real-time teaching events. If English did not have a negative impact on learning content it did not have any particular positive impact on the students' responses either. This showed that the choice of language neither hindered nor improved content learning. Nevertheless, this result is partially contradicted by the students' reporting that their English language skills had improved (100% English language improvement for biochemistry students and 86.6% English language improvement for electronics students). This result shows that the students, like their teachers, dissociated content and language learning and they were suggesting that their English improved despite the content, rather than because of it. If the teachers claimed 'we don't teach English', then their students could be said to have responded 'we don't learn English but our English improves nevertheless': summed up by the following student:

(S.19) I don't think there's any disadvantages but there's no real advantages either.

My own hypothesis had been that the students would improve their English language skills during their EMI classes and it was for this reason that I formulated the question: *Do you think that it is better to learn English in a Science class (such as this one) than in an English class?* My own hypothesis was that the students may have thought that other types of traditional English language learning classes (the type I teach) would no longer be necessary. Emma did not agree with me and her students' affirmative response to the belief that both English language classes and CLIL were necessary confirmed their teachers' attitude to this question (21/24 positive responses). Jean Paul's international Master's group however, were divided. Approximately half of his group believed that English language classes were not necessary. This could be because they believed that their English was already good enough, especially the overseas students,

or that the English tuition they received in France was insufficient for their needs, or that a CLIL class could satisfy both their English language and engineering content needs. To access the types of motivation non-L1 French-speaking students had for wishing to learn English inside or outside of the EMI classroom in France would require further studies on the ‘international’ student cohort in France. On the whole, there tends to be a belief that non-French-speaking students would not need any English tuition, confirmed by the questionnaire results which showed that the academic participants believed French speakers of English to be less competent than other L2 speakers of English.

The students were asked to formulate open responses to their overall experience of EMI (including the benefits and drawbacks) and to comment on their teachers’ performance as an English speaker. 96% of the biochemistry students and 94% of the electronics students decided to respond in English. In answer to ‘*What observations can you make about your teacher's performance as an English-speaking Bio-chemistry [or Electronics]teacher?*’ 45% of Emma’s students (who were all L1 French speakers) decided to focus on Emma’s French ‘accent’ (11 hits) in their responses, such as:

(S.29) **Très bien**, sauf un accent qui pourrait être amélioré.

*Very good, except an accent which could be improved on.*

(S.4) Big French accent but **very brave** to speak English in front of a group of 18 students.

(S.22) **She speaks fluently English** but her accent still remains a little French.

(S.28) French accent, but which **is understandable**.

These responses may seem to be initially surprising because Emma’s English language skills by far surpassed that of her students’ (who could be evaluated at B1/B2 in the common European framework). Her students’ responses show that there is a misalignment between conceptions of being very good (**très bien**), **brave**, **fluent**, and **being understandable**. Student S.4 projects his or her impressions of the possibility of presenting in English as requiring bravery, which highlights how this student felt the idea to be daunting and that it was still unusual (in 2013-2016) to witness teachers teaching in a second language at Nantes university (unlike universities in Britain for example).

Having lived and worked in the UK, her English contained a varied and excellent range of both technical and idiomatic vocabulary which was evaluated as one of the top performances (a 50 out of 60 score) when she passed the Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff, TOEPAS. Her students' responses can be explained by the other results of this study which show that an EMI classroom is open to language negotiation: no one is the authority on English in the EMI classroom, but that the teacher remains 'content expert'. The French L1 students, like many of the teacher participants focused on 'accent' and deviation from 'native speaker' status when evaluating language skills.

A striking difference in Jean-Paul's student responses was that not one of his students referred to his French accent in their answers (no hits for 'accent'). This can perhaps be explained by the 'international' status of the older Master's group students. As an engineering school, the master's students were also expected to work at least three months abroad and they were more familiar with an international staff and student public. Jean-Paul's L1 French students appreciated his attempts to make his English understood, while his overseas students appreciated having classes in both English and French:

(S.8) As a foreigner student, it's more useful for me to study some part of the class in English and some (more, as we are in France) in French, in that way I can easily understand the technical (or special) words and terms which are used in both languages during the class. What I can mention in particular is his English grammar and right word choice which is really helpful for understanding the subjects.

(S.18) Le débit de paroles de M. {nom} est vraiment très agréable, n'ayant pas un très bon niveau.

*The pace of Mr. {name}'s speech is really very pleasant, as I don't have a very good level [of English].*

#### 4.4.8 An L2 performance from the EMI participants

The EMI classroom observations highlighted the performative nature of teaching in general and in this context using English as an L2 language of learning (Goffman 1959, Butler 1988, Richards 2006). The main actor, who also held the position of ‘knowledge holder’ (Mondada 2013a) in the interaction was the teacher, who led the event. As an observer, I was also a member of the audience. The EMI classroom was therefore on a par with other L2 English performative events, such as international conferences, with which these academics were familiar. During one-to-one interactions, the students would whisper or openly talk to each other in French, which they confirmed in their own responses to the post-EMI course questionnaire. They shaped the class as bilinguals involved in a translanguaging educational context. At the end of all the classes, it was observed that some students would approach their teacher and ask questions in French. The performed English class was now over, and outside of official EMI class time, the interactions were understood as being that of the national language of the country, French. Both L1 French-speaking and non-L1 French-speaking students would speak to each other and to the teacher in French after the class. This can be explained by the local French-speaking context which both teachers and students referred to as the local language of non-performative L2 exchanges. Albert asked me if we could switch to French as soon as the students had left the room. Like Emma, he described teaching in English as more mentally and physically tiring than when teaching in one language (French) only.

The EMI teachers seemed to be leading the English performance to which the students would step into and out of depending on whether their interactions were addressed out loud in the EMI classroom or whether the students had decided to speak to each in their L1. In the following extract student S5 switches from participating to not participating in the performed English classroom:

- Albert: S {name}, what do you do here? how could you do that?  
 S5: [mumbling] je ne sais pas, je ne suis pas sûr, c’est DUI sur DT [spoken very quietly]  
 Albert : it’s right, if only, er, the current flowing through the capacitor,  
 S5: so all the current goes in the,

- Albert: yes, so what about the VGS voltage?  
 S5: I don't understand why VDS isn't VDS1  
 Albert: yes of course, you're right

(Observation of *the micro-electronics* lesson taught in English by Albert 28.11.14)

The students would address questions in both French and English, stating their questions more openly (and loudly) when they wished to be actors in the EMI performance. In the above extract, S5 speaks in English when he is sure of himself and when he is right (followed by Albert's 'yes' and 'yes of course'). Translanguaging was activated by the separate parts of the classroom activity and the different interactions which occurred within it. Such switches from English to French could signal lack of confidence when the students were not sure of an answer to a question the teacher had asked. Switching to French could be interpreted as a form of resistance to the EMI classroom (even at the level of not keeping up with the English performance throughout). Nevertheless, because the students were not forbidden to speak French, the students' decision to speak French did not have repercussions on how their peers or how their teacher responded to them. The students chose to switch to French for a variety of complex reasons: as a way to express their identities as French speakers, to align themselves with their peers, or to ask for clarification quickly among bilinguals.

Comparing Emma teaching in English and teaching in French<sup>177</sup>, in conjunction with her diary entries<sup>178</sup>, revealed that she engaged with the performance element of language learning in general, where speaking an L2 is to be someone else (Wilson 2013). This is reiterated by Julia for example when she says 'Il est plus difficile pour moi d'être naturelle en anglais'<sup>179</sup> where the L2 is perceived as a subtraction of a perceived integrative self. In the French L1 classes, where only French was used, Emma did not include language games. She moved on with the classroom and made fewer stops to check whether the terms she used were understood by her students. She

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<sup>177</sup> I decided to observe Emma teaching in French to gain further understanding of how an L1 teaching context differed from the bilingual classrooms I observed.

<sup>178</sup> Jean-Paul and Albert preferred to chat to me on the phone, or over coffee than write a diary. The variety of comments were compiled into my own ethnographic field notes, which I used in conjunction with the computer files I compiled containing the mixed media for each participant.

<sup>179</sup> Translation: 'I find it harder to be natural in English' (Julia, interview section 4.2).

made monolingual jokes appropriate for a monolingual classroom (Preisler 2014).

Teaching the lesson in English was described as a game by both Emma and some of her students. Jean-Paul and Albert also referred to the ‘fun’ aspect of teaching in English, which was perhaps due to the relative novelty of EMI teaching in general, and to how the teachers enjoyed the special translanguaging space of the bilingual classroom. Indeed, Emma started her first lesson with a labelling game as she wanted the students to think that doing a lab class in English would be ‘fun’:

Ont eu l'air d'apprécier le jeu de recherche des objets à partir des cartes avec leur noms en anglais.

(Day 1, Emma's diary).<sup>180</sup>

Interestingly, this was not a concern of hers for the lessons she taught in French. Her diary entries reveal that she wanted to ‘lighten up’ the English lesson as she was concerned that the students would find it daunting. Emma's students reported (in the student feedback survey section 4.4.7) that they did not find her EMI classes daunting because they were held in English. The question to consider post hoc, is whether this was because Emma changed her methods to make her English lesson ‘more fun’ or whether EMI was not considered to be daunting in the first place<sup>181</sup>. She says little of her own affective response, apart from the physical toll teaching in English has on her (tiredness):

En fin de journée il est plus difficile de parler anglais à cause de la fatigue.

(Day 2, Emma's diary)<sup>182</sup>

#### 4.4.9 Summary

The EMI classroom observations in association with the interviews with the teacher participants and the student survey showed that the EMI experience was described as

<sup>180</sup> Translation: “They seem to have appreciated the name hunt where they had to find the lab objects corresponding to the English labels I had given them” (Day 1, Emma's diary).

<sup>181</sup> To check such an affective response, students could fill in a pre and post EMI questionnaire in future studies exploring student attitudes to an EMI experience (discussed in the methods 3.4.4).

<sup>182</sup> Translation: “At the end of the day, it is more difficult to speak in English because I am tired” (Day 2, Emma's diary).



generally positive by both the teachers and the students (who had all volunteered to take part in EMI). The EMI classes fell into two main categories: firstly classes taught in English with a view to both attract and label the Polytech Masters as ‘international’ (EMI objectives) and secondly biochemistry classes taught in English to improve French L1 speaker’s scientific language skills whilst learning content through laboratory task-based activities (CLIL objectives). Although the teachers believed that they were not teaching English, all the classes observed could nevertheless be defined as involving language learning by means of the constant reference to, and use of, bilingual language identities, and related skills of the participants. The observation and analysis of the teacher-led interactions revealed that they were in keeping with the translanguaging practices of bilinguals. In this context, translanguaging could be said to impact the bilingual identities of the participants (Li Wei 2011a), in contexts where the shared translanguaging knowledge and practices were also used by the teachers for pedagogical purposes (Lewis et al. 2012).

## Chapter 5: Discussion

### 5.1 An overview of the findings

The aims of this chapter are to give an overview of the findings in relation to the main research question which was explored through a variety of complementary research methods (a questionnaire, interviews, visual data and classroom observations).

The main research question was:

**To what extent can English be regarded as a medium of identity in the post-Fioraso Law (2013) period?**

To arrive at an answer, academics were asked to define their professional identities in relation to English.

The methods themselves impacted on the ways the participants responded, and therefore on the results. The different data sets revealed particularities specific to the method of collection whilst also providing a rich and varied sample for triangulation purposes which ensured that the research question had been explored from different angles. For example, the visual methods used to elicit the language identity of the participants primed them to see themselves as multilingual speakers (when they were asked to visually represent all the languages that they spoke). All the data sets were interpreted on different levels. Firstly the data was read *literally* for ‘the words and language used, the sequence of interaction, the form and structure of the dialogue and the literal content’ (Mason 2006: 149). Secondly the data was read *interpretatively* for further meaning which could be inferred from the data such as implicit references to language ideology or institutional structure. Finally the data was read *reflexively* (Mason 2006, Flowerdew 2001) through the acknowledgment that my own research interests as researcher influenced the subsequent data that was produced.

The results of the questionnaire and interview data sets showed that, in a mainly male-dominated area of academia (Science), English was used professionally for research publication (96%), conference presentations (90%) and teaching (5%). English was reported to be both an obligation and a necessity for ensuring a successful scientific career. Concepts of success were related to research recognition rather than to teaching.

Within the domain of research publication the academics believed themselves to be at a disadvantage to native speakers. The concerns were based on a belief that the English language would not do justice to the content of their research or that L2 language would impoverish their research.

The participants positioned themselves negatively in relation to native speakers of English in oral communicative contexts. Reports focused on an impression of the loss of symbolic value with respect to voice and recognition within the English-speaking scientific community. The contexts where the participants spoke English, regardless of the L1 of the interlocutors, revealed that the participants were concerned about how others would perceive them as L2 speakers of English. As a consequence, the participants preferred to refer to themselves as 'learners of English' rather than bilinguals, although more current definitions of bilinguals could be applied to the participant of this study. Such a definition of bilingualism, based on Garcia (2009) and Grosjean (2010) who define bilingualism as the use of two or more languages (Garcia) on a regular basis (Grosjean).

The justification for the participants choosing the status of language learner rather than language expert was based on a belief that non-native speakers were necessarily learners. As L2 speakers of English the participants nevertheless (indirectly) referred to their own language competence when describing having acquired greater pragmatic skills associated with understanding, and signalling an understanding of what it means (both epistemologically and emotionally) to speak another language.

The strategic importance of English language usage in the professional domain rather than in the personal domain was confirmed in both the questionnaire and visual data sets. When comparing English to the other languages the participants spoke, English was also visually represented as being at the forefront of the participants' professional and learning identities (in the body language portraits).

The classroom observations in association with the long-term (3 years) interviews with the teacher participants showed that the teachers embarked on being EMI teachers for personal reasons first, and for the good of their students and community second. As emergent bilinguals, their English-speaking identities spread to way beyond that of their professional identities. The EMI teachers described their identities as being different to that of their peers, including what could be described as elements of pioneering

discourse (my own term) which signalled that they were both convinced of their position and aware of the increased symbolic capital they had (resulting in the positive appraisals of their role within their professional community). The language practices of the teachers and the students in the EMI classroom revealed that translanguaging practices were in place, including code-switching and translation for pedagogical purposes. The teachers were prepared to negotiate their English language status with their students whilst maintaining the role of expert. For both the teachers and students involved in EMI practices in this study, the appraisals of EMI teaching were positive.

The Fioraso Law (2013), which marked the change in language policy concerning teaching in English, was responded to in the following ways. The participants believed tuition in English would be beneficial for the students because they believed that the students would need to speak and write in English for their future scientific careers. Nevertheless, doubts were voiced about both the staff's and students' competence at English which was deemed insufficient for EMI teaching. The participants referred to competence as being understood in relation to the Other, as a comparative feature of identity. Beliefs about competence in English were founded on ideological beliefs about French speakers of English being poor at English for historical, educational, and nationalistic reasons.

## **5.2 A discussion of the findings**

To better understand the attitudes expressed by the participants the themes relative to a study of individuals working amongst a specialised community (in this case academia) were as follows: identity, professional identity, and learner identity. These themes were studied in close alignment with the context of the participants' professional lives. It was necessary to explore factors which comprise identity and how this concept can be broken down into further concepts such as professional identity. The context of this study also meant that the participants were members of a learning community, which was (the community) actively involved in both research and teaching. Further insights into self-perceptions of competence were obtained through an understanding of identity as a categorizing and categorised feature of social identity.

The participants' self-proclaimed identities as 'learners' was a theme which was further challenged by the Fioraso Law (post-2013) context of the study. The context of the Fioraso Law enabled the participants to compare their own beliefs about English with what they believed to be the ideology of the institution. The institution was represented as Nantes University, or the French Ministry of Education. The literature pertaining to 'internationalisation' was studied in the literature published under the auspices of Nantes University, the COMUE<sup>183</sup> otherwise named as Université Bretagne Loire, and *LegiFrance* which publishes all French laws online. This study recognises that, in terms of language policy, the implied language of the 'internationalisation' process of Higher Education in France is English.

Working within a 'communities of practice' framework (Wenger 1999) was a route to understanding how individuals position themselves and others in relation to English and why the participants referred to themselves as learners rather than bilinguals. To this end, it was necessary to explore what the participants meant by 'English' and whether this coincided with the current debates relating to English competence and to English as a lingua franca (Jenkins 2015). The participants commented on what they believed to be appropriate language competence for teaching in English and more importantly, teaching Science in English. The participants who taught in English were also invited to define what kind of language was spoken in the classroom. This study, through the subsequent observations of the EMI classes revealed that there was a difference between what the teachers believed they were doing and what was actually happening in the classroom. Namely that the classes were conducted in both English and French and that the teachers were teaching specialist discourse within their fields.

The findings relating to what it means to work in English in French academia are summarised and discussed below:

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<sup>183</sup> 'La communauté d'universités et établissements est un établissement public à caractère scientifique, culturel et professionnel' [LOI n° 2014-1170 du 13 octobre 2014 - art. 65](#) .

**i) How do academics position themselves to the ‘internationalisation’ (or ‘Englishisation’) of Higher Education in France and elsewhere?**

The participants reported using English for research publication and conference presentations. In opposition to this initial identifying feature, came the claim made by the participants that they were ‘learners of English’, whereas from other perspectives, they could be considered as proficient and prolific users of English. This finding reveals that most of the academics of the study are participating in the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education without believing themselves to be either the leaders of this process or part of its identifying feature. This is why the EMI teacher participants of this study can be labelled as the ‘pioneers’ of this process. This is also why 90% of the participants reported that they felt they belonged to an international scientific community but that 60% also felt that they would be more successful at work if they were ‘better’ at English (questionnaire responses). The choice of the word ‘user’ or ‘learner’ rather than ‘speaker’ of English, reveals how most of the participants chose to represent English as a strategic tool for professional purposes rather than as a more integral feature of their own identities. The choice of the word ‘medium’ as an identifying feature of professional identity was therefore used to signal this issue in the title of the study.

**ii) How do the participants position their own identities as English speakers in relation to other speakers of English within the international community?**

Well aware that language use is a communicative exchange, the participants said much about interactions with other speakers of English. When referring to other French speakers, the participants could be either critical of their peers’ (poor) level of English or they perceived French speakers to be more critical (than native speakers) of their own form of English. In this latter case, they reported feeling more comfortable when speaking to other non-native speakers, or on a one-to-one basis with a ‘native speaker’ (such as myself, for example), when other colleagues were not present. The participants believed in a model which can be referred to as a ‘native speaker of English’. ‘Native speakers of English’ were believed to have an advantage over ‘non-native speakers’ in scientific research and during conference presentations. This advantage is described by

Van Parijs as the ‘anglophone’s free ride’ (2007). If the participants of this study described themselves as ‘learners of English’ it was because such an identity claim was necessarily opposed to the ‘native speaker’ group which was a category described as unattainable. Between the NS and NNS camps that were established, there was little room for the participants’ L2 identities to find firm footing.

Identity is understood to be a relationship between perceptions of the self and perceptions of the other. The complex interplay of how people position themselves and others along this continuum can signal both difference and complementarity. Professional identity is best understood when it is referred to as highlighting salient aspects of a person’s identity at specific moments. It is how a person perceives the differences which are relevant to this study. Within the context of this study, the participants defined themselves as ‘belonging to an international community of scientific research’ (section 4.1). This professional identity consisted of being a member of a community involved in research and interacting with its members in English. The members of this academic community teach subjects related to their area of research. English is understood to be the language of communication within the wider scientific community whilst French is the language of interaction between French speakers in France.

**iii) How do the participants perceive using English as either a benefit or an inconvenience to their own professional lives, and those of their students?**

The use of English for the participants’ professional lives proved to be a complex relationship between i) competence and ii) the perceived status of other speakers. Although studies have addressed what is deemed to be the ‘fallacy of linguistic injustice’ with regards to L2 usage and research publication (Hyland 2016) the impact of an idealised ‘native-speakerism’ (Holliday 2006) on the professional identity of the participants was persistent throughout the study. On the whole, if the participants believed themselves to be competent (enough) at English then they were accepting of English or even vigorously in favour of English being used in their professional domain. Those who perceived themselves to be ‘not good enough’ were more concerned about English devaluing the quality of their own research and teaching. This latter group,

which represented approximately two thirds of the participants, made identity claims which positioned them as being concerned about their own level of English, rather than making a stand against the ‘Englishisation’ of their profession. The academics in this study were already aware of the dominance of English for the research aspects of their professional lives. They recognised, by varying degrees of willingness (ranging from resigned acceptance to enthusiasm), that they ‘had’ to use English as part of their professional identities as scientists. A newer encroachment of English in the participants’ professional lives concerned teaching in English. The main concerns about EMI were about the language competence of EMI teachers and a concern about what other colleagues and students may think about this language change in French Higher Education.

**iv)      Balancing institutional ideology and English as an ‘obligatory’ professional language**

The use of English as an obligatory language for professional purposes could be perceived as being an unjust burden or a necessary tool for professional success. How the participants perceived their own competence as English speakers undoubtedly impacted on whether they represented English as either a ‘necessarily evil’ or as a ‘necessary good’ of their scientific community. Professional obligation is understood in Archer’s (2003) terms of a relationship between agency and perceived structure (structure is understood as an ideological and linguistic construction of social identity). The analysis of the data showed that individuals positioned themselves in relation to an idealised professional English profile. The positioning in relation to an idealised professional profile has been visually represented in the model below:



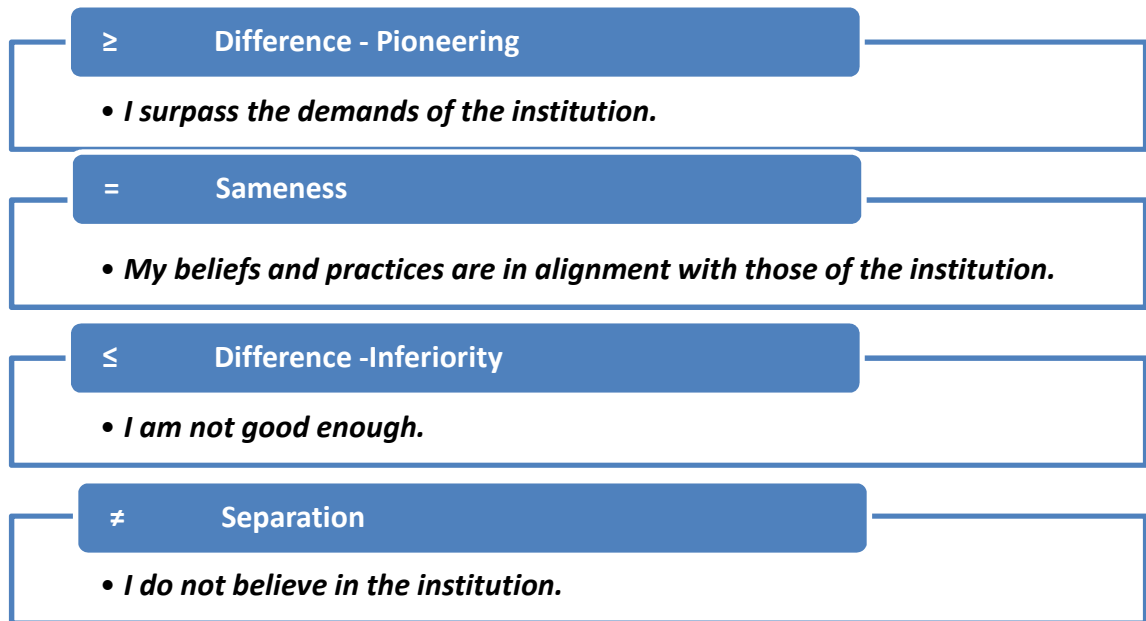


Figure 16 Positioning in relation to perceived institutional demands.

The participants could believe themselves to be in alignment with what they believed to be both the requirements and the necessities of an ideal English professional profile. In this case English as a professional obligation was accepted as part of a professional requirement (=). When participants felt that they were in misalignment with institutional requirements, they expressed this perceived misalignment as either a fault in the institution ( $\neq$ ) or a fault in their performance as workers ( $\leq$ ). When the self-representations were closely aligned with the believed demands of the institution, the participants could perceive themselves as successful (=). When participants surpassed what they believed to be the demands of the institution in terms of English usage, then participants perceived themselves to be pioneers, of EMI teaching for example ( $\geq$ ).

### 5.3 Implications for the professional development of academics in France

The findings, revealed what could be described in everyday terms as the ‘lack of confidence’ of the participants. To counter this, the findings of the present study have already been put into application through the development of EMI training for academic staff, courses which were put into operation by me in parallel with this research project.

Based on its findings, this study invites future EMI models and English training for academics in France to address the following points:

#### i) Academics participate in *bilingual* English medium contexts

During EMI and English training courses, the academic participants should be invited to define bilingualism and relate this definition to their own identities<sup>184</sup>. A more up to date definition of bilingualism such as: ‘Bilingualism is the ability to use more than one language’ (Garcia 2009: 44) could be used as an illustration. The review of the literature in conjunction with the study of how the participants defined themselves as speakers of English revealed an opportunity to present academics in France with another worldview of themselves as speakers of English. This worldview being that they are highly proficient emergent bilingual speakers of English and French. As bilinguals they should be asked to challenge the view that they are less ‘qualified’ than native speakers to teach in English. Monolingual English speakers could even be regarded as being at a disadvantage, having had little experience of what it means to teach or learn in a second language. The participants should be made aware that they are valid English-speaking members of an international community, both in terms of the research that they produce and in how they present it in English or in French.

Academics in France should be formally introduced to concepts such as English as a lingua franca and invited to consolidate this with their own beliefs about appropriate forms of English<sup>185</sup>. The participants of this study did not seem aware of the term English as a lingua franca. This revealed a need for researchers in France, such as

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<sup>184</sup> In keeping with Pauwel’s (1994) recommendation of ‘probing the participants’ views and understanding of language, communication and communication difficulties’ (p.208) during professional training programs.

<sup>185</sup> See Blair’s suggestions for and ‘ELF-aware’ teacher education model (2015).

myself, to share the research which has been carried out on ELF, including ELF in bilingual contexts, and how an alignment to idealised 'native speaker' models are not necessarily appropriate to education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This study reveals that EMI contexts, where academics and students are willing participants, are valid and useful bilingual classrooms. Critics of EMI such as Preisler (2014), Truchot (2008) and Chaplier (2013) wonder what 'can be done' with limited language competence in an L2. I suggest an approach based on 'what can be done with language', where both critics and promoters of EMI meet. In both cases language is viewed as a strategic 'tool' with which 'it is possible to do something'. The positions which draw on monolingual classroom settings as ideal educational settings are based on models of second language learning as subtractive to quality and authenticity. Authenticity can be interpreted as maintaining academic status in keeping with an idealised 'academic prototype' (Preisler 2014). Where there is a belief that authenticity and quality are different but also valid in a bilingual educational model, the language will also serve as a strategic tool, but to different ends. These ends view second language acquisition, including the means to the ends, as beneficial. In the findings of this study, the EMI classroom achieved authenticity (including bilingual humour) and in a different way to the monolingual classroom.

The variety of English that academics speak reveals their own individual stories of speakers of English and other languages. The label of 'native English' speaker has become an abstract ideal which is no longer appropriate to a global and mobile community of English speakers. Trainees should be presented with the varieties of English such as can be found at the International Dialects of English Archive (IDEA)<sup>186</sup> and be encouraged to include themselves within this category of rightful speakers of English.

## **ii) English as a medium of academic identity combines language and content**

English medium academics in France are members of a growing community of lecturers who teach in English. As teachers of a bilingual classroom, this study revealed that the

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<sup>186</sup> [www.dialectsarchive.co](http://www.dialectsarchive.co)

participants wore two hats, that of ‘the science teacher’ and that of the ‘English teacher’. The participants acknowledged that they were best qualified to teach their fields in English, which as they confirmed, they were experts at. They were formally introduced to concepts of English as a lingua franca and invited to consolidate this with their own beliefs about appropriate forms of English. This study revealed that the route to more positive attitudes towards a French speaker’s academic English stems from the sound basis of ‘content authority’. All the participants of this study were confident about their identities as authorities within their research areas. From this identification came other beliefs about their identities as linguists. When presented with alternative speaker-models to study or teach their areas, they were still confident that they, and not another speaker of English, were best for the job, despite the extra work this may involve in preparation time, for example. Those who had been teaching in English for more than two years maintained that they held on to the role of ‘content expert’ within their classroom but that ‘linguistic expertise in English’ was not how they presented themselves to their students. In this way, ‘language authority’ was negotiated by both students and teacher alike, whereas ‘content authority’ remained firmly in the camp of the teacher. The present study is in keeping with Soren’s (2013) assessment that the academics who were engaged in English as a medium of instruction in Denmark did not report on a sense of diminished credibility during teaching interactions.

As this study concerns attitudes to using English in academia more generally, including wider professional exchanges, such as conference meetings, the present study nevertheless identifies accounts of reduced credibility when the participants compare themselves to their immediate colleagues, and to the wider members of the idealised (international) scientific community. There is therefore a difference between speaking English in a local context and as an established authority feature (as a teacher) and speaking to other colleagues as a research peer.

When participating as members of the research community, as conference presenters for example, the participants ‘tackled’ language but were secure in their positions as authorities on Science. Such a position is indicative of how the participants reported that language needed to be worked on and practised. Where language issues were concerned, there was more uncertainty, resulting in negative feelings of apprehension

towards unprompted conversation. This result emphasises the need for future English training in France which needs to be tailored to helping academic participants to practice unscripted speech. Nevertheless, an overall position to using English within a scientific community confirmed that the participants presented themselves as valid authorities in their fields. Ideally, being recognised as a valid authority would involve talking to an international community of English speakers, who understand<sup>187</sup> what it means to negotiate content through another language.

If this study has revealed that impressions of difficulty stem from not believing oneself to be an authority, it therefore reinforces the argument that the academics in France could find alternative definitions for themselves which would put their linguistic status on firmer grounds. Such definitions would involve academics identifying themselves as bilingual speakers who are authorities on the types of English best suited to their professional needs. A lack of linguistic authority stems from the exclusionary function of the NS and NNS divide. From these poles, NNS French academics start from a position of non-belonging from the outset from which ensue further issues of knowledge authority. Davies (2011) makes an interesting distinction between native and non-native speakers in relation to community membership. For the native speaker, membership is automatic and will then determine behavior, whereas for the ‘outsider’, it is the behavior which may or may not determine subsequent membership (Davies 2011: 20). If beliefs persist that bilingualism is acquired in childhood and that an identity as an authority on a language can only be attained in childhood, then the exclusionary function of the NS and NNS (from both camps) will persist (Davies 2011: 21). When identity is positioned in relation to being a native and non-native speaker, the concept of native speaker is used as a benchmark of knowledge by excluding those who are not native speakers (Davies 2011: 18), but where NNS also exclude themselves.

The different methods used to address the research questions confirmed consistent positions which were maintained despite the different angles of enquiry. The positioning in relation to L2 English showed that there was a discrepancy between extensive English usage (mainly for research communication) which jarred with an

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<sup>187</sup> Highlighted by participant 108, writing about speaking at conferences in the questionnaire responses: ‘Finalement, les gens sont compréhensifs’ (*In the end, people are understanding*). When participants felt that people were ‘not understanding’ then this was seen as a breach of conduct in an English as a lingua franca context (see section 4.2.2.3).

identification as a bilingual speaker of French and English. This result shows that Grosjean's definition of a bilingual speaker (being defined as a person who uses the languages on a daily basis, Grosjean 2010) is perhaps not sufficient enough for an avowed bilingual identity. Researchers such as myself, Grosjean and Garcia (2009), however, may be more encouraging about ascribing bilingual identities to their participants.

English was very much on the participant's minds (highlighted by the visual and lengthy responses to the research questions in both the written and spoken form). English was a 'concern' both in terms of current usage and in terms of a cause for worry when professional practice and ideology were in disagreement. This is why English could be claimed as an academic identity which was not necessarily integrative to personal identity. Not wishing to identify as a 'native speaker' of English may be a choice where people 'may not even *want* to be mistaken for native speakers of a language' (Luoma 2004:10). Considering the amount of time and effort the participants dedicated to their professional lives as English speakers, the study contemplates that non-identification as an 'English speaker' is perhaps also an avowed identity choice rather than a reflection of either English proficiency or bilingual speaker status.

The findings reveal bilingual language practices<sup>188</sup> occurring at Nantes University, without the participants necessarily identifying themselves as bilinguals. Although the participants expressed confidence concerning their identities as specialists, they expressed more reticence regarding ownership of the English language. Such an attitude could be used to signal difference to an idealised model of the 'native speaker of English', or to claim that they were teaching in English rather than teaching English and Science, for example. English usage was presented as a welcome or unwelcome challenge which the participants took on as part of their professional identities as scientists working within the arena of international research and education.

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<sup>188</sup> Such as: presenting or discussing research in French and English both orally and in the written form, supervising PhD students in both French and English, teaching in both French and English and interacting with me, the researcher, in both French and English.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **6.1 Summary of the study**

This study highlights the attitudes to using English in an academic context during a key period of French Higher Education history (2013-2016). During this period there was a shift in language practice which would impact on the professional identities of academics whose L1 was French. Starting with the passing of the Fioraso Law in 2013, this allowed other languages to be used for teaching purposes in French Higher Education. The ‘other languages’ cited in the Fioraso Law are in fact ‘English’. Within such a context of a changing language landscape for educational purposes, which was already well under way prior to 2013 in Higher Education in Europe, this study aimed to assess how L1 French-speaking academics in France positioned themselves in relation to what has been described as the ‘internationalisation’ of Higher Education. Through the development of a variety of complementary qualitative methods (questionnaires, interviews, visual reports and classroom observations), 164 academic participants from Nantes University science faculty gave written, oral and visual reports of how they perceived using English as an identifying feature of their professional lives. The study showed that defining academia in terms of English language usage involved complex issues relating to perceived competence, related to finding recognition in the scientific community as a French speaker of English. With respect to the growing trend in EMI in French Higher Education, the study offers a two-point model emphasising the bilingual aspects of the EMI classroom.

### **6.2 English as a medium of academic identity**

This study confirmed the hypothesis that English is a medium of academic identity for academics working in scientific disciplines in French Higher Education. The term ‘medium’ was chosen in the title of this thesis to echo the growing push towards EMI programs. The present study encourages the languages and the identities of those involved to be taken into account in EMI programs. This study therefore aimed to convey both the attitudes and the identities of the participants who use English for

research (and increasingly for teaching) because they wish to be included in an English-speaking scientific and academic community.

The observations of the classroom interactions revealed that the EMI teachers spent time discussing translations with their students as well as switching from one language to another. In spite of this result, the EMI teachers held on to the belief that they were teaching *in* English rather than teaching English, confirming Airey's study entitled 'I don't teach language' (2012). Airey's study of university teachers in Sweden reported that they claimed to not 'teach language'. Defining English as *medium* rather than as a *language* reflected the attitudes of the participants who, on the whole, saw themselves as scientists first and linguists second. This result has been confirmed in the present study of attitudes to communicating in English for teaching and research purposes.

Moreover, they and their students participated in crossings and translations between English and French, which has been clearly defined as the practice of bilinguals (Creese and Blackledge 2015, Lewis, et al., 2012, Li Wei 2011a, Garcia 2009). The study showed that EMI is insufficiently descriptive of the bilingual features which were observed during this study. Most of the academic participants were widely published (more than 10 publications of various type) and had presented at conferences in English (more than 10 times) but still considered themselves to be learners of English rather than as experts or even bilinguals. Although the participants were aware of what they described as 'international English', they did not claim any rights to owning the English language. Nevertheless, because the participants made a distinction between what they viewed as 'everyday' English and 'scientific English', they did claim to owning the type of English they needed for professional purposes. They referred to a group which they identified as 'native speakers' and believed 'native speaker' English to be better (in terms of competence) than their own types of English. In terms of research publication they believed themselves to be at a disadvantage to 'native speakers' whom they felt were more likely to achieve publication. Flowerdew (2001) has highlighted the discrepancies between journal editor's attitudes to native and non-native contributions and those of their contributing authors. The contributing authors of this study believed that journal editors positively favoured native speaker contributors which was directly at odds with the claims made by the editors in Flowerdew's study, who claimed to adopt 'positive discrimination' towards non-native contributors (Flowerdew 2001:131). The



editors' arguments for apparently welcoming non-native contributors was to encourage international recognition and credibility by publishing papers from wider circles, hoping to represent a wider variety of studies from different areas in the world. The non-native speaker's arguments were based on the feedback they received from the editors who demanded their papers read more like those of a 'native-speaker'.

### 6.3 Contributions of the study

The study adds to the existing teacher identity literature within the 'internationalisation' process of Higher Education in Europe (Werther et al. 2014, Cots et al. 2014, Soren 2013, Tange 2010). The particularity of this study is that it focuses on the context of France and academics working within disciplines traditionally associated with science, which is a domain already well accustomed to English usage for research purposes. The study investigated the early impact of the Fioraso Law (post 2013) which marked the turn to EMI in French Higher Education, starting with the scientific disciplines in which the participants of this study work. Furthermore, the study makes a contribution to the field of ethnography characterised by the active involvement of the researcher in the research site, where she lives and works alongside the community she is studying. This ethnographic study is in keeping with approaches which involve the participants in the research project. The participants were invited to modify and re-define their own positions throughout the study (Harvey 2014, Cahour 2006).

The present study additionally identified issues related to the current terminology in use, notably EMI. The term can be misleading because it does not best illustrate the kinds of English which may be in use and the bilingual educational contexts in which EMI occurs. The study has found that the EMI classroom heightens the use of English as a performative language<sup>189</sup>, in association with different pedagogical objectives depending on the context. The study found that both English and French were used in the EMI classroom, as were other languages if more than one speaker of that language was present in the classroom. The EMI settings at Nantes University are indicative of bilingual education in which the participants are involved in the translanguaging

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<sup>189</sup> Performative communication sees interaction as the adoption, attribution and negotiation of speaker roles (Butler 1988, Goffman 1959).

practices of bilinguals. Subsequent to these findings a two-point model was proposed for future EMI programs emphasising the bilingual context of the EMI classroom and how language is used actively to access content. Firstly EMI training and teaching should be presented as *bilingual* educational contexts. This is because the EMI contexts of the present study revealed that the participants were participating in bilingual interactions. Secondly academic identity combines language and content learning through specialist discourse and it is because of this that academics need to recognise that they *are* doing language work in the EMI classroom (Airey 2012).

This study contributes to the body of discourse which represents English as a medium of academic identity. This study found that English as an identifying feature of academic identity can be accessed through academics' attitudes to English and French. To this end, the study both defines and identifies English as a medium of academic identity in French Higher Education from 2013 to 2016.

The study had a direct impact on the EMI practices of Nantes University first, and subsequently on the Université Bretagne Loire group, leading to further collaborations with the Ecoles des Mines<sup>190</sup> staff at Alès and St Etienne. The results of the study were used to inform the 'French case' for the Centre for Research and Development on English Medium Instruction at Oxford University. The results have been used to inform my colleagues' awareness of EMI practices in Europe. The study acted on the aftermath of the Fioraso Law by anticipating and responding to the needs of academic staff in terms of professional academic identity. The review of the literature clearly showed a lead in EMI practice in Denmark and Sweden. The study therefore identified a need to build from longer standing experience in EMI through collaborative teacher-training projects which were developed in parallel with the University of Copenhagen from 2013-6 first, and then Oxford University and Turin University from 2016 that were also developing research into EMI contexts. As a result of this study, Nantes University became the first EMI testing centre in France in association with the creation of EMI teacher training programs.

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<sup>190</sup> Higher education establishments for teaching and research in engineering.

## 6.4 Further directions for research

The study identified that the ownership of English continues to be problematic both in terms of resource and academic recognition. Further studies into how English language usage can best represent the identities of all the English speakers involved may serve to explain the continuing discrepancies between privileged and non-privileged English speakers (Jenkins 2015, Gazzola and Grin 2013, Salomone 2015, Van Parijs 2007). Although a study of competence was not the objective of this study, the repeated references to perceived competence show that this issue needs exploring further, especially in relation to the anxiety related to speaking in an L2 (MacIntyre 1997). A study of journal reviewers' comments concerning language feedback to article submissions may also serve to assess why the participants felt that their non-native status was especially at issue when submitting research papers. To this end, the comments made by the authors in the present study concerning editors' reviews could be compared to the written comments that they receive from editors.

There is further need to explore what goes on in the EMI language classroom, although access to such closed contexts may be difficult. Within this context, the scope of the study needs to be widened to include the students. To this end, student responses to whether they wish to be taught in English in France could be compared to the claims made by their teachers. Studies which include the attitudes of academics to EMI, like the present, have shown that academics justify their own attitudes by claiming to speak on behalf of the students (Preisler 2014, Riley 2013, Solomone 2015). For those students already involved in EMI, further insights could be gained into why they believed language (English or French) to have had no impact on how well they acquired content (result of pilot survey sent to 58 students in 2014).

Visual methods were used to portray identity in relation to second language use both during an interview context and in the classroom. Mind maps, hierarchical word sorting, body portraits and language histories have the benefit of being reproducible templates in educational settings where two languages are in use. Further experimentation in the domain of visuals could be envisaged, including the growing digital media available to learners. To this end, this study encourages further studies in academic identity to be driven by the field of education.

The study will be used to inform further English language training and services within French Higher Education. In accordance with Montgomery's recommendations, English language training, for both staff and students, 'needs to be considered as a core subject, similar to mathematics or other fundamental parts of training' (Montgomery 2013: 179). The study recommends that higher education institutions provide better translation and editing services for the academic staff working within French Higher Education<sup>191</sup>. Secondly training courses for EMI teacher trainers and future EMI teachers will be constructed from the two recommendations for future EMI developed in this study, namely:

- i) the recognition that EMI constitutes a bilingual educational context, and
- ii) that an EMI context combines content and language without challenging the 'content authority' of the teacher, but where language may be contested and negotiated more than in a monolingual classroom.

This study aimed to give an overview of the different areas in which the participants used English in their professional lives. The attitudes to using English as an aspect of professional identity showed an ambiguous relationship to a second language which was also an integral aspect of the participants' professional identities as researchers. The study predicts that the next stages of the 'internationalisation process' will involve paths where academics in France continue to redefine their language identities.

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<sup>191</sup> The present study responded to the participants' requests for language help for article writing (section 4.1) by suggesting a 'translation and editing' service which culminated in the recent (2015) collaboration with Université Bretagne Sud (2015) translation-editing service which now offers services to Nantes University academics.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix 1: Copy of online questionnaire sent to academic participants (English text format version):**

Text of principal landing web page (from emailed link) published online on 17/12/2012.

Introduction and greeting:

*Dear colleague,*

*I am carrying out a research enquiry about the use of English within your scientific community. How you feel about using English in your workplace is of real importance and interest to me. I hope you will find the time to complete this short questionnaire, either in English or in French.*

*This survey is carried out on an anonymity basis. However, if you would like to be interviewed on a one-to-one basis, you can leave me your name and email. Thank you for participating.*

*Alexandra Reynolds*

*(Service Langues- Language Centre)*

*Faculty of Science, Nantes, France*

*PhD student at Sussex University, Brighton, UK*

*Chers-Chères collègues,*

*Je mène une enquête sur la manière dont les enseignants-chercheurs utilisent l'anglais au travail. Mon enquête se base tout particulièrement sur les enseignants-chercheurs-chercheuses scientifiques. Votre vécu et vos réponses m'intéressent. Si vous avez quelques minutes à m'accorder, vous pouvez répondre à ce questionnaire en français ou en anglais!*

*Ce sondage est anonyme, mais vous pouvez compléter ce questionnaire par un entretien individuel si vous le souhaitez.*



*Merci de votre participation!*

**English text format version of the bilingual (English-French) questionnaire.**

Underlined questions indicate questions requiring an open written response. Responses marked with an \* triggered a further question requiring an open written response.

**1. How do you use English at work?**

To write articles

To send emails

During meetings in France

During conferences in France

During conferences abroad

During meetings or exchanges abroad

**2. What is your gender?**

Male

Female

**3. How old are you?**

under 25

25-45

46-60

more than 60

**4. What is your job title and description?**

**5. Where you do work? In which laboratories?**

**6. Do you use English at work?**

Yes: every day

Yes: once a week

Yes: once a month

Yes: a few times a year

Never\*

**\*If you don't use English, why not?**

**7. Do you feel that you use English:**

Too much

Enough

Not enough

**8. Do you feel that you are obliged to use English in your work?**

Yes

No

A little

**9. Have you ever used a translator, an interpreter or proof-reader?**

Yes

No

**10. If you have already worked with a translator, interpreter or proof-reader, would you qualify the experience as:**

Positive\*

Negative\*

Neutral\*

**\*Please give more details about how you felt when working with a translator, interpreter or proof-reader.**

**11. Have you ever presented a paper in English at a conference?**

no never

1-5 times\*

5-10 times\*

more than 10 times\*

**\*How did you feel during these presentations in English?**

**12. Have you ever written an article in English?**

no never

1-5 times\*

5-10 times\*

more than 10 times\*

**\*How did you feel when you were writing and preparing the article?**

**13. Do you have the impression that you are in someway different when you are speaking in English? (either in your behaviour, attitude, or voice, for example)**

Yes\*

No

**\*If yes, how are you different?**

**14. Do you feel that you belong to an international scientific community?**

Yes\*

No\*

**Why do you feel that you belong to an international scientific community?\***

**Why do you feel that you do not belong to an international scientific community?\***

**15. Do you feel that you would be more successful at your work if you were better at English?**

Yes, I feel that I would succeed better at my work.\*

No, I don't need to be good at English to be successful at my work.\*

No, my English is already good enough.\*

None of the above, for other reasons.\*

**\*What are the other reasons for your answer to the above question?**

**16. Do you use English outside of work?**

Yes\*

No

**\*How and when do you use English outside of work?**

**17. How do you feel about English in general?**

**18. Why did you choose to answer this questionnaire in English/French?**

To practice my English/French

I prefer to work in English/French even if English/French is my mother tongue

It is my mother tongue

My English/French is better than my English/French

For other reasons\*

**\*What are the other reasons for you choosing to answer this questionnaire in English/French?**

**19. Would you be willing to be interviewed on a one-to-one basis?**

Yes\*

No

**\*Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. Please leave me your name and email.**

## **Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview schedule**

Material: 2 digital voice recorders, video camera, blank paper, pens, print-out of participant's questionnaire responses.

### **Establishing the professional profiles of the interviewees:**

1. First of all, I'd like you to tell me what your work involves and how you use English in your work.
2. How important is it to be good at reading or speaking English in your work?
3. How does using English impact on your professional life?
4. What are your feelings about using English professionally?
5. Do you feel that you are English in anyway, or do you identify yourself as an English speaker?
6. Do you consider yourself to be a learner of English?
7. Do you make a distinction between scientific English and other types of English?
8. Do you use English outside of work?

### **Mind mapping professional and personal identity:**

Visual data instructions: *'I'd like you to visually represent (in the form of a mind map, pie-chart or list) all the different areas in which you use English in your professional life (i.e. meetings, article writing, or conference presentations). Next to that, I would like you to visually represent the areas in which you use English outside of work (i.e. travel, or reading).'*

1. So tell me about your mind-map, pie-chart or list.
2. Is it possible to distinguish between the English you use at work and the English you use outside of work?

**Language of teaching and reactions to the Fioraso Law (March 2013)**

1. What do you think about the new Fioraso Law? The one that refers to the possibility of teaching in English.
2. Have you ever taught in English?
3. Do you think it is a good idea for students to be taught in English?
4. Would you like to teach in English?

**Concluding the interview:**

1. Why did you decide to take part in this study?
2. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

### **Appendix 3: Copy of online questionnaire sent to EMI student participants (English-only text format version):**

Introduction and greeting:

*Content and Language Integrated Classes for Biology/(Electronics)*

*Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a rich domain for linguistic research in France and elsewhere. We are interested in finding out how you have felt about learning Bio-chemistry<sup>192</sup> in English. We would be grateful if you could take the time to complete this short questionnaire. You may answer in French or in English, or both.*

*Thanking you in advance.*

*Alexandra Reynolds and teacher participant (their teacher's full name in the original)*

**1. Do you feel that your English has improved overall because you had Bio-chemistry classes in English?**

No, not at all

Moderately

Yes, very much

**2. Compared to the beginning of the academic year, do you interact with your Bio-chemistry teacher, in English**

Less?

No change?

More?

**3. Tick the language which you use the most to ask your teacher questions:**

French

English

---

<sup>192</sup> 'Electronics' for students studying Electronics.

**3b. Are you more willing to communicate with your teacher in English during the Bio-chemistry classes than you were at the beginning of the academic year?**

Less willing

No change

More willing

**4. Tick the language which you use the most to speak to your peers:**

English

French

**5. Are you more willing to communicate with your peers in English during the Bio-chemistry classes than you were at the beginning of the academic year?**

Less willing

No change

More willing

**6. In what way(s) did you personally benefit from having your class taught in English?**

**7. Describe one or more disadvantages of having the class in English?**

**8. What observations can you make about your teacher's performance as an English-speaking Bio-chemistry teacher?**

**9. Would you like to have more Bio-chemistry classes in English?**

Yes

No

Unsure

**\*10. Explain your answer to 'Would you like to have more Bio-chemistry classes in English?'**

**11. Do you feel that having the class in English has had an impact on your ability**

**to understand the subject of the class (Bio-chemistry)?**

Negative impact

No impact

Positive impact

**12. Do you apprehend having your Bio-chemistry classes in English (rather than in French?)**

Yes, I feel more apprehensive when I have a Biochemistry class in English.

No, I don't feel apprehensive when I have a class in English.

No, I feel more apprehensive when I have a class in French.

No, there is no difference to how I feel when I have a class in French or in English.

**13. Do you think that it is better to learn English in a Science class (such as this one) than in a English class?**

Yes

No

Unsure

Both types of class are necessary

**14. What other English language skills do you still feel you need to improve on?**

**15. Do you have any other comments you would like to share about having Bio-chemistry classes in English?**



## Appendix 4: Interview consent form



University of Sussex

### **PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

A complete assignment of copyright and all other rights in the contributor's performance.

(Agreement for Use of Contribution)

**Researcher:** Alexandra Reynolds.

### **Researcher's work Address/Telephone No**

Services Langues, Faculté des Sciences de Nantes, 2 rue de la Houssinière, BP92208. 44322 Nantes  
CEDEX 3 France, Tel +3351455229

### **Programme's Working Title**

PG Research in *English as a medium of academic identity: attitudes to language in French Higher Education* under the supervision of Jules Winchester and Roberta Piazza, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RH, United Kingdom.

### **Description of Contribution [Please tick the types of contribution(s) you would like make]**

- Non recorded interviews
- Audio recorded interviews
- Video recorded interviews
- Written personal statements
- Drawing
- Images

### **Contributor Name**

### **Contributor's work Address/Telephone No.**

Thank you for agreeing to contribute to the above programme. It is my intention that the programme will be used for my empirical research as part of a PhD at Sussex University.

This Agreement allows the Researcher the right to use the whole or part of your contributions in all media and formats throughout the world. I very much hope to use your contribution, but I cannot guarantee to do so. If I do use your contribution, I will not use your real name.

You hereby agree as follows:

You consent to contributing to the Programme, the nature of which has been fully explained to you in the *participation information sheet*.

You assign to the Researcher the copyright, performance rights and all other rights in your contributions for use in all media and formats, now known or which may be

developed in future, for the full period of copyright and any extensions and renewals throughout the world and you agree that the Researcher may assign such rights to third parties.

You agree that your contribution will be subject to the editorial control of the Researcher and that the Researcher may edit, adapt, or translate your contributions. You waive irrevocably any "moral rights" you may have in your contribution under the Copyright and Related Rights Act 2000. You understand that the Researcher reserves the right to use or not use your contribution as she sees fit.

You confirm that your contributions will not infringe the rights, including the copyright, of any third party. Without limiting the foregoing you agree that your contributions will not bring the Researcher into disrepute or be defamatory.

If you agree with the terms set out above please sign the form below and return it. A copy is attached for you to keep. If you are unsure of the meaning of any of the conditions set out above, the Researcher will be able to explain them to you.

Thank you once again for your assistance.

I agree to the terms set out above:

Signed ..... Date .....

## Appendix 5: Interview information sheet



### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

**Contact No: 0033616606259**

**E-mail: [a.reynolds@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:a.reynolds@sussex.ac.uk) (Alexandra Reynolds)**

What are the attitudes of French-speaking academics to using English for professional purposes?

You are being invited to contribute to a research study. Before you decide whether or not to give permission for allowing your data to be used, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and to understand what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of the study is to identify the attitudes of academics, such as yourself, towards using English for professional purposes.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been chosen to take part in this study because I have identified you as a member of the academic scientific community who engages with English on a daily to weekly basis.

Do I have to take part?

Whether to take part or not is entirely your decision. If you change your mind about taking part, once interviews are underway, please notify me by email if you would like me to withdraw any data which relates to your previous participation.

Do I have to take part in all the research, or can I choose which parts to take part in?

You can choose to take part in all, some or none of the research programme. Some activities could involve audio and video recording. If you do not wish to partake in recorded interviews, please leave those boxes blank on the consent form.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Essentially, there are no disadvantages or risks with taking part,

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your contribution will be useful to me as it will help me to understand perceptions about English language use. Once my thesis is finished, I will share the findings with you by sending you a copy of the thesis. It is my objective that this study should be useful for you as an academic who uses English.

Will my information/data be kept confidential?

All the information and data provided in this study will be kept strictly confidential. I will only take note your specialist area and will assign pseudonyms to each individual.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research will be used for my PhD in Linguistics, at the School of English at Sussex University.

Who is organising and funding the research?

I am organising the research as a PhD student of the School of English at the University of Sussex which will be approved by the Sussex University ethical review process.

Contact for Further Information

If you have any concerns about the nature of the study or the way in which the study will be conducted, please feel free to contact:

[a.reynolds@ac.sussex.uk](mailto:a.reynolds@ac.sussex.uk) (Alexandra Reynolds, the researcher)

Project supervisors: [jules.Winchester@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:jules.Winchester@sussex.ac.uk), [roberta.piazza@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:roberta.piazza@sussex.ac.uk)

Thank you for taking your time to read the information sheet.

Date

20 October 2012