

Preface

The use of languages in tertiary education and university research has been discussed at many conferences by linguists, educators, and language planners in the several decades since English has increasingly been used as medium of instruction and publication in institutions of higher education in non-Anglophone European countries. This development has also been discussed in EFNIL at various occasions. Thus, the 2014 EFNIL annual conference aspired to provide the participants and the interested public with a detailed picture of the current linguistic situation of tertiary education and university research in various European countries. The conference was held at the venerable Accademia della Crusca in Florence, the oldest language academy in Europe. This academy was run by Francesco Sabatini, its president at the time and one of members who founded EFNIL in 2003.

This publication renders the written versions of the conference contributions. The presentations by the official representatives of different European institutions do not only stress the importance of the conference topic but can also be considered a form of encouragement for the EFNIL activities in the interest of European multilingualism. From these contributions we can learn about the initiatives of the European Commission and corresponding programmes to enhance multilingualism, especially in the field of education within the states of the Union. Several of the expert speakers also describe and discuss the current use of languages in academia from a historical point of view. Their articles are followed by detailed reports on current language use at several European universities. A comprehensive account of the contributions to a lively panel discussion on a desirable future of language use in university teaching and research concludes the main part of the book.

An additional result of the EFNIL conference in Florence is the “Resolution concerning language use in university teaching and research”. It is an appeal to the universities and policy makers to promote the use of the various national languages besides English and possibly other languages. The appendix presents this resolution in 25 European languages. Similar to previous volumes, the list of the current EFNIL member institutions is also included. This list shows that the official languages of all states of the Union and several other European countries are represented by competent institutions in this European linguistic network.

We would like to thank Ulrich Ammon and his colleagues for accepting this volume as the 8th publication in their series. We would also like to thank Joachim Hohwieler and Sarah Signer for their efficient help in preparing the book for publication.

Prefazione

Il crescente uso dell'inglese per l'insegnamento nelle istituzioni di istruzione superiore e per le pubblicazioni scientifiche anche in paesi europei non anglofoni ha fatto sì che l'uso delle lingue nell'istruzione superiore e nella ricerca universitaria sia diventato da alcuni decenni un argomento di discussione, e anche tema di convegno, per linguisti, educatori e pianificatori linguistici. Anche l'EFNIL ha affrontato in più occasioni la questione.

Il convegno dell'EFNIL che si è tenuto nel 2014 nella prestigiosa Accademia della Crusca, la più antica accademia linguistica d'Europa, ha cercato di fornire ai partecipanti un quadro particolareggiato della situazione linguistica relativa all'istruzione superiore e alla ricerca universitaria in atto nei diversi paesi europei.

Questo volume contiene i testi dei contributi presentati al convegno. Gli indirizzi di saluto dei rappresentanti ufficiali delle diverse istituzioni europee sottolineano l'importanza del tema centrale del convegno e rappresentano al contempo un segno di apprezzamento per le attività che l'EFNIL svolge nell'interesse del multilinguismo europeo. Essi ci forniscono anche informazioni sulle iniziative della Commissione europea e sui relativi programmi per rafforzare il multilinguismo, specialmente nel campo dell'educazione, negli stati dell'Unione europea. Gli interventi degli esperti che sono stati invitati al convegno affrontano e discutono l'uso delle lingue all'interno dell'accademia anche da un punto di vista storico. Ad essi fanno seguito i rapporti dettagliati sull'uso attuale delle lingue nelle università di alcuni paesi europei. Un ampio rendiconto degli interventi alla vivace tavola rotonda finale sul possibile uso, in futuro, delle lingue nella didattica e nella ricerca universitaria chiude il volume.

Agli atti del convegno EFNIL che si è tenuto a Firenze si aggiunge, in appendice, la *Dichiarazione sull'uso delle lingue nella didattica e nella ricerca universitaria*. Si tratta di un invito rivolto alle università e ai rappresentanti della politica universitaria a promuovere l'uso di altre lingue nazionali oltre all'inglese. La *Dichiarazione* è pubblicata nelle 25 lingue ufficiali dell'Unione. Come nei precedenti volumi, viene pubblicata anche la lista delle istituzioni che attualmente fanno parte dell'EFNIL, dalla quale risulta che in questa rete linguistica europea le lingue ufficiali di tutti i paesi dell'Unione europea e di altri paesi europei sono rappresentate dalle loro istituzioni di riferimento.

Siamo grati a Ulrich Ammon e ai suoi colleghi per aver accettato questo volume come 8° pubblicazione della loro serie. Grazie a Joachim Hohwieler e a Sarah Signer per il loro contributo nella preparazione per la stampa.

Vorwort

Der Sprachgebrauch in der Hochschulbildung und universitären Forschung wird seit mehreren Jahrzehnten auf vielen Tagungen von Linguisten, Pädagogen und Sprachplanern diskutiert, seitdem Englisch in den wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen auch nichtenglisch- sprachiger Ländern zunehmend als Lehr- und Publikationsmedium verwendet wird. Diese Entwicklung ist auch bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten von EFNIL diskutiert worden. Die Jahrestagung 2014 von EFNIL war deshalb bemüht, den Teilnehmern und der interessierte Öffentlichkeit ein detailliertes Bild der sprachlichen Situation in der tertiären Bildung und universitären Forschung mehrerer europäischer Länder zu vermitteln. Die Tagung fand an der ehrwürdigen Accademia della Crusca statt, der ältesten Sprachakademie in Europa. Diese Akademie war 2003 unter ihrem damaligen Direktor Francesco Sabatini eines der Gründungsmitglieder von EFNIL.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung bietet die schriftlichen Fassungen der Beiträge zu dieser Konferenz. Die Ansprachen der offiziellen Vertreter verschiedener Institutionen der Europäischen Union betonen nicht nur die Bedeutung des Tagungsthemas, sondern können auch von EFNIL als Ermutigung für seine Aktivitäten im Interesse der europäischen Vielsprachigkeit verstanden werden. Wir erfahren aus diesen Beiträgen auch von den Initiativen der Europäischen Kommission und entsprechender Programme zur Verstärkung der Mehrsprachigkeit besonders im Bereich der Bildung in den Staaten der Union. Mehrere eingeladene Experten beschreiben und erörtern den derzeitigen Sprachgebrauch in der akademischen Welt auch von einem historischen Gesichtspunkt aus. Auf ihre Artikel folgen detaillierte Berichte über den gegenwärtigen Sprachgebrauch an den Universitäten mehrerer europäischer Länder. Eine Zusammenfassung der Beiträge zu einer lebhaften Podiumsdiskussion über den künftigen Sprachgebrauch in akademischer Lehre und Forschung beschließt den Hauptteil des Buches.

Ein weiteres Ergebnis der Tagung von EFNIL in Florenz ist eine „Resolution zum Sprachgebrauch in der akademischen Lehre und Forschung“. Es ist ein Appell an die Universitäten und Kulturpolitiker, den Gebrauch der verschiedenen Nationalsprachen neben Englisch und möglicher anderer Sprachen zu fördern. Der Anhang bietet diese Resolution in 25 europäischen Sprachen. Wie in den früheren Bänden ist auch ein Verzeichnis der Mitgliedsinstitutionen von EFNIL hinzugefügt. Diese Liste zeigt, dass die offiziellen Sprachen aller Mitgliedsstaaten der Union und weiterer europäischer Länder durch kompetente Institutionen in diesem europäischen Netzwerk vertreten sind.

Wir danken Ulrich Ammon und seinen Kollegen für die Aufnahme dieses Bandes als 8. Veröffentlichung in ihrer Reihe. Und wir danken Joachim Hohwieler und Sarah Signer für ihre tatkräftige Hilfe bei der Vorbereitung des Buchs für den Druck.

Firenze/Mannheim

Cecilia Robustelli/Gerhard Stickel

Contents

Opening

Claudio Marazzini

Saluto del Presidente dell'Accademia della Crusca.....17

Marco Benedetti

Discorso21

Pierre Mairesse

Allocution d'ouverture25

Pinuccia Contino

Discorso/Address29

Susanna Slivensky/Margit Huber

Greetings from the European Centre for Modern Languages
of the Council of Europe (ECML)33

Gerhard Stickel

Introduction/Einführung/Introduzione.....39

General reflections and views

Rita Librandi

Le lingue delle università italiane nel passato.....47

Ulrich Ammon

Deutsch und Englisch in Forschung und Lehre an deutschen Universitäten:
Geschichte, gegenwärtige Situation und Zukunftsperspektiven59

Jan-Ola Östman

Language use in academia in the Nordic countries –
with special reference to Finland.....85

François Grin

Managing languages in academia: Pointers from education
economics and language economics99

Reports on different countries

Cecilia Robustelli

L'uso delle lingue nelle università italiane oggi..... 121

Guðrún Kvaran

The use of foreign languages at Icelandic universities..... 137

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen

Language use in university teaching and research in Denmark..... 145

Birute Klaas-Lang/Helle Metslang

Language policy and sustainability of Estonian in higher education..... 161

Jean-François Baldi

Le français dans l'enseignement supérieur: le débat en France 179

Nathalie Marchal

L'usage des langues dans les universités en Belgique francophone..... 187

*Marilena Karyolemou*Language use in university teaching and research – past, present and future
Language use in higher education in Cyprus: National aspirations, language ideology and economic development..... 205*Simona Bergoč*

The language of instruction at universities between internationalization and sustainable language policy: The case of Slovenia 219

Władysław T. Miodunka

The use of languages in university teaching and research in Poland..... 233

Johan Van Hoorde

Dutch or English? English and Dutch! The language shift in tertiary education and science in the Dutch language area 245

Panel discussion

*John Simpson (Moderation)/Ina Druviete/Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen/
Francesco Sabatini/Gerhard Stickel*

Panel discussion: Language use in university teaching and research:
What future do we want?..... 263

The Florence Resolution

The Resolution of Florence concerning Language Use in University
Teaching and Research (in 26 European languages) 279

European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL):
Members, associate member institutions and observer 333

Opening

Claudio Marazzini

Saluto del Presidente dell'Accademia della Crusca

Abstract

As the President of Accademia della Crusca, the oldest of the Italian institutions for the Italian language, founded in 1582 in Florence, I am delighted to welcome you all to Villa Castello. The Villa houses the Accademia and its library, which includes the first edition (1612) of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the first official dictionary of a European language which also served as the model for similar works in French, Spanish, German and English. Since its foundation, the Accademia has gone beyond its national borders to promote the Italian language internationally. Nowadays, however, all the national languages of Europe need to discuss and, possibly, to sort out any issues together, as this conference demonstrates. Its central theme, the use of languages in academic teaching and research, today constitutes a central question in Italy as well as in all other European countries. Therefore, I believe that it will be addressed by all speakers in the most interesting and stimulating way. I am looking forward to listening to your constructive and sensible proposals and I am ready to take due account of the reports being discussed here today.

I also hope you enjoy this medicean Villa Castello and its “giardino all’italiana”, which has been visited by politicians, intellectuals, artists through the centuries. Botticelli’s two famous paintings, *La nascita di Venere* and *La primavera*, which nowadays are kept at the Galleria degli Uffizi, were originally designed for the Villa itself. The values of the past and the hopes for the future are intertwined here, as in Italy, beauty is not confined to a museum but frames our everyday life. Therefore I hope you will enjoy a most fruitful and pleasant time at the Accademia della Crusca.

È per me un grande onore dare il benvenuto qui a Firenze, nella bella sede della nostra Accademia, ai partecipanti del convegno EFNIL, un’organizzazione alla quale la Crusca ha espresso il suo consenso e appoggio fin dalla nascita, per merito prima di tutto del prof. Francesco Sabatini. La Crusca è un’accademia a vocazione nazionale, perché nel quadro italiano l’attenzione per la nostra lingua oltre i confini è da più di un secolo legata all’opera di un altro ente, la Società Dante Alighieri. Tuttavia, fin dalle sue origini l’Accademia della Crusca ha mostrato una notevole capacità di stringere rapporti con altre nazioni. Basti pensare che la prima edizione del Vocabolario del 1612 porta la dedica a un personaggio italiano illustre (per quanto un po’ discutibile!) che operava a Parigi, Concino Concini, senza contare il fatto che altre grandi accademie nazionali, in particolare la REA, la

Reale Accademia Spagnola, sono nate guardando al modello della Crusca. Quindi fin dall'origine il gruppo di persone che decise di dar vita al primo grande vocabolario italiano, al tempo stesso primo grande vocabolario europeo, fu capace di andare al di là dei confini nazionali, tanto da produrre una visione internazionale del destino della lingua italiana, in rapporto agli altri idiomi d'Europa.

Oggi le cose sono molto mutate. I rapporti tra le nazioni si sono fatti più stretti, molti aspetti del nostro destino sono ormai caratterizzati da scelte obbligate e i problemi che possono essere affrontati e risolti solo in comune. Voi siete qui riuniti per parlare delle lingue nell'insegnamento, nell'Europa del passato, del presente e anche del futuro. In Italia, negli ultimi anni, si è discusso molto su questo tema. Anzi, la diversità di opinioni in proposito ha prodotto persino il ricorso alla giustizia, perché in questo momento pende una causa relativa alla legittimità dell'imposizione forzosa dell'inglese nei corsi universitari italiani di livello avanzato. Da una parte c'è chi vanta la funzione internazionale dell'inglese nella ricerca e aspira a eliminare o limitare molto la funzione della lingua nazionale, dall'altra c'è chi insiste sulla necessità di una circolazione della conoscenza all'interno della nazione, valutando il danno che deriverebbe alla lingua nazionale se le fossero sottratti interi settori del sapere. Il dialogo non è facile tra questi due diversi partiti, tanto è vero che è stato richiesto l'intervento della magistratura, e si attende la sentenza definitiva (in primo grado di giudizio hanno dovuto soccombere i fautori dell'esclusività autoritaria dell'inglese). So che in alcune relazioni di questo vostro convegno toccherete anche il tema del rapporto tra inglese e lingua nazionali in stati dell'Unione Europea diversi dall'Italia. Staremo ad ascoltare con grande interesse quello che si dirà a questo proposito e faremo tesoro di quanto potremo imparare dalle vostre esperienze, in un confronto costruttivo e razionale.

Siamo certi che il confronto, in questa materia così come in altre, sia il segno di una maturità civile propria della cittadinanza europea che dobbiamo ancora costruire nella sua pienezza, proprio per avere il senso della cittadinanza vera, in un'Europa non solo di banchieri e di finanzieri. Siamo proprio noi che operiamo nel campo della cultura e dell'educazione i responsabili di questo necessario ampliamento della coscienza civile e sociale del nostro continente.

Non mi resta dunque che augurarvi buon lavoro, invitandovi al tempo stesso a utilizzare i momenti liberi del convegno per visitare alcune bellezze che ci circondano. Come avete visto, qui non siamo ne centro della città medicea, ma in una zona al confine con Sesto Fiorentino, ai limiti del territorio comunale di Firenze. Siamo in una delle Ville medicee recentemente dichiarate patrimonio dell'Umanità. A poca distanza potrete vedere un'altra bellissima villa, quella della Petraia, che fu sede della corte piemontese quando la capitale d'Italia fu trasferita qui da

Torino. Il giardini delle due ville, la Petraia e la nostra Villa Reale di Castello, sono entrambi di grande valore artistico e culturale. In particolare quello della villa di Castello, che vedete dalle finestre alla mie spalle, è il prototipo storico del giardino all'italiana. Nella Villa ebbero collocazione i due celebri capolavori di Botticelli, la *Primavera* e la *Nascita di Venere*. Il contesto si presta dunque alla straordinaria partecipazione tra i valori del passato e le speranze per il futuro, come spesso nelle località d'arte italiane, dove il bello non ha un valore soltanto museale, ma diventa la cornice viva per le attività della vita moderna. Sono dunque molto lieto di avervi qui, graditissimi ospiti, e spero di potervi offrire uno spazio confortevole per le vostre giornate di lavoro, con l'augurio che siano proficue e che ne serbiarete a lungo memoria, come di un'occasione positiva e utile.

Buon lavoro, dunque.

Marco Benedetti

Discorso

Signore e signori,

Sono lieto di essere ancora una volta fra voi e di intervenire in questo consesso portando il punto di vista della mia istituzione ad un dibattito sempre utile e prezioso sul ruolo delle nostre lingue nazionali e sulla loro funzione nel delicato ecosistema del multilinguismo europeo.

Ecosistema è forse proprio la parola giusta per definire un ambiente fragilissimo dove il minimo cambiamento ne suscita altri a catena le cui conseguenze non sono mai prevedibili. Se è vero che le lingue sono molto di più che un semplice strumento di comunicazione e che a parlare di lingue si fa politica, è altrettanto vero che in campo linguistico nulla può essere imposto se non è largamente condiviso.

Lo abbiamo visto in passato nelle costruzioni linguistiche delle grandi dittature. Appena abbattuto il despota, ogni popolo si è riappropriato della sua lingua, lasciando cadere le lingue imposte, prime fra tutte le lingue artificiali.

Lo vediamo ancora oggi negli sforzi spesso inutili delle accademie di incoraggiare usi corretti o neologismi coerenti. La lingua va dove vuole, dove trova una sua convenienza ed efficacia, risponde a meccanismi e logiche che non sono politiche, talvolta neppure linguistiche ma puramente funzionali ed efficaci anche se spesso legate a fenomeni di pura apparenza o di percezione astratta.

Per questo non si può combattere a priori la supremazia dell'inglese e il suo dilagare nelle nostre università. Per quanto inopportuno e dissennato sia, ormai molte università europee impartiscono insegnamento in inglese utilizzando insegnanti che non sono neppure di madre lingua, talvolta a malapena competenti, e in questo modo impoveriscono sia il loro ateneo che i loro allievi. Perché non vi è trasmissione di cultura quando non vi è chiarezza di lingua. Concetti e idee non si consolidano, non creano altro pensiero se non sono espressi nei contorni ben definiti del sistema logico di cui ogni nostra lingua è l'espressione. Ma le mode sono potenti e il miraggio di universalità e soprattutto di successo che l'inglese offre è irresistibile. In più entra in gioco l'aura di prestigio che l'inglese offre ad una maggioranza di persone spesso disinformate. Questi elementi assolutamente irrazionali costituiscono purtroppo lo scenario in cui noi dobbiamo giocare la nostra impari gara di multilinguismo con l'inglese o meglio con le sue forme mimetiche fra loro incomprensibili spesso anche per un madre lingua. L'unica

strategia utile in questa prospettiva è quindi quella di adottare noi un approccio razionale a sostegno di un multilinguismo sostenibile e cercare innanzitutto di informare la società civile sui rischi del monolinguisimo. Tenendo anche presente che la realtà sul campo è caratterizzata da molte sfumature e che questo almeno ci lascia spazio di intervento. Nelle università europee oggi molti studenti vengono chiaramente ingannati dalla falsa promessa di internazionalità che una sommaria istruzione in inglese offre e la disonestà degli istituti che operano in questo modo a dir poco spregiudicato dovrebbe essere denunciata. Ma molti altri vi trovano un loro tornaconto ed effettivamente riescono ad aprirsi percorsi che in fin dei conti divengono virtuosi.

L'inglese è innegabilmente una risorsa, anche nelle condizioni e nei modi approssimativi in cui viene usato come lingua di insegnamento. È in atto una sua supremazia, che spesso più che linguistica vera e propria è in prevalenza di immagine, ma che condiziona comunque il panorama linguistico mondiale. Anche qui dobbiamo tenere presente il fatto che misure estreme, di divieto o di limitazione d'uso sono assolutamente controproducenti e contrarie allo spirito delle nostre tradizioni culturali. Cito fra tutte la più recente, il divieto imposto dal nuovo governo indiano dell'uso dell'inglese nell'amministrazione pubblica. Una decisione che sicuramente si ritorcerà contro chi l'ha ideata, perché l'inglese d'India è un inglese legittimo. Svolgeva un suo ruolo, senza nulla più togliere all'identità indiana che anche su di esso si è costruita negli anni. Spesso nella storia dell'umanità una lingua venuta per invadere è stata poi convertita in lingua autoctona. Del resto troviamo nella nostra storia recente esempi molto simili di supremazia linguistica. Non dimentichiamo che fino al 1700 l'Europa colta studiava in latino e che i risultati di molte grandi scoperte scientifiche furono pubblicati in una lingua che era morta da secoli, a cominciare da quelle di Newton. Ma questo non ha impedito, proprio in quei secoli, il fiorire delle nostre tradizioni letterarie nazionali.

La nostra risposta al dilagare dell'insegnamento in inglese e alla sua supremazia non deve quindi essere di totale chiusura e condanna, ma modulata a seconda dei casi.

In fin dei conti, un inglese anche impoverito e usato come linguaggio Morse non toglie nulla alle lingue nazionali se queste restano al centro delle nostre culture. Semplicemente, esso svolgerà una funzione diversa, lasciando alle nostre lingue il compito più delicato e fondamentale che è quello dell'elaborazione del pensiero. Per questo noi dobbiamo oggi investire sempre di più nell'insegnamento delle lingue nazionali fin dall'età prescolare, anche inventando nuove modalità e strategie. Un terreno di espansione è rappresentato dall'immigrazione, dove è forte il bisogno di competenza linguistica ai fini dell'integrazione. Questa è sicuramente

una delle componenti più importanti della strategia europea per il multilinguismo. La competenza linguistica è per l'immigrato il primo livello di cittadinanza, il raggiungimento di uno status e la capacità di usare uno strumento essenziale per migliorare la propria condizione. L'apprendimento della lingua nazionale gli garantisce anche un percorso di riscatto della propria storia personale e di inserimento positivo nella nuova società. Per lui l'inglese verrà molto dopo e se ne ha già una primitiva competenza, non gli sarà immediatamente utile per l'integrazione. Sta all'apparato educativo dei nostri paesi offrirgli in potente alternativa la lingua nazionale e rendergliela attrattiva.

In questo quadro non dobbiamo però trascurare un altro aspetto, ugualmente importante. L'inglese oggi viene percepito come lingua aggressiva che si insidia ovunque e scalza le nostre lingue nazionali. Pochi però sono consapevoli del fatto che l'inglese in questo modo si espone potentemente alla corruzione e all'abuso. L'inglese lingua di tutti finisce per non essere più lingua di nessuno. Perché tutti si sentono liberi di cambiarla, di deformarla, in un certo modo di personalizzarla. Scrive il linguista inglese David Crystal: "Language is an immensely democratizing institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it. You may add to it, modify it, play with it, create in it, ignore bits of it, as you will".

Proprio questo sta accadendo all'inglese. In verità, dietro alla provocazione c'è l'ovvietà linguistica del fatto che l'inglese si sta moltiplicando in diverse varianti. In altre parole, stanno nascendo tanti nuovi inglesi, come un tempo ci furono tanti nuovi latini che alla fine divennero lingue a sé stanti. Perché preoccuparci dunque dell'inglese? Ci sono altri fenomeni che oggi dovrebbero invece attirare la nostra vigilanza.

I giovani oggi corrono il rischio di una dealfabetizzazione, soprattutto a causa dell'uso linguistico che caratterizza i media sociali. Qui si prospetta una necessità di intervento volta a valorizzare la lettura, in tutte le sue forme, digitale o cartacea. E direi quasi che su questo fronte sono necessarie grandi manovre, perché solo la lettura dà una conoscenza ramificata della lingua, un apparato di vocabolario ricco ed efficace e soprattutto esercita alla capacità di astrazione che è la molla dell'elaborazione di idee e primo motore della creatività. Il recupero della lingua madre è sicuramente un altro aspetto dove dovrebbe svilupparsi la strategia del multilinguismo.

Pure essendo il rappresentante di una categoria professionale incentrata sulla parola orale e sulla sua volatilità, sento come un'urgenza il recupero della parola scritta nella forma della lettura. Senza nulla togliere all'efficacia delle nuove tecnologie e alle grandi prospettive che esse ci aprono, se non interveniamo a sostegno della lettura, corriamo il rischio di erodere le fondamenta su cui si regge tutto

il nostro sapere. Del resto, anche nel mestiere dell'interprete la competenza si acquisisce in gran parte attraverso la lettura. Non sono elenchi di parole che un interprete può imparare ma incastri di contesti che gli danno una solida maglia su cui tessere il suo sapere.

In questo quadro di forte mutevolezza del panorama linguistico si innesta la politica del multilinguismo dell'Unione europea. Essa dispone di tutti gli strumenti e contenuti per rendere credibile e sostenibile una vera diversità linguistica e potrà in futuro opportunamente orientare il proprio sforzo anche nelle direzioni cui ho accennato nel mio intervento. La politica del multilinguismo dell'Unione europea, pur favorendo ogni comunicazione linguistica che vada nel senso dell'integrazione europea, si pone chiaramente in una prospettiva di valorizzazione delle lingue nazionali. Essa ne favorisce l'insegnamento, dà loro prestigio e diffusione, e al tempo stesso offre al cittadino un apparato amministrativo capace di tradurre da tutte le lingue ufficiali. Questo approccio, oltre ad avere un'ovvia coerenza strategica per un'organizzazione che riunisce Stati sovrani, non toglie nulla al ruolo svolto dalle lingue internazionali. Ben venga per noi una lingua che serva da tramite e da primo strumento di comunicazione fra locutori di lingua diversa. Il suo uso non si sostituisce a quello delle lingue nazionali, ma anzi lo integra, di fatto mette in evidenza la necessità di un'ulteriore competenza linguistica, quella delle lingue madre, che restano il nostro inesauribile serbatoio di pensiero e spina dorsale delle nostre identità. Non a caso lo scrittore rumeno Emile Cioran ha detto: "Non si abita un paese ma una lingua; una patria è questo e nient'altro."

Pierre Mairese

Allocution d'ouverture

C'est un grand honneur pour moi, et pour la Commission européenne que je représente ici, de vous présenter les perspectives européennes en matière d'apprentissage des langues. C'est encore un plus grand honneur que de le faire dans cette "Accademia della Crusca".

Dans la stratégie Europe 2020 pour la croissance et l'emploi, l'emploi des jeunes est la priorité des priorités pour l'Union Européenne. Les enjeux sont considérables:

- 1) 25% des enfants scolarisés en Europe ont des problèmes de lecture.
- 2) Les jeunes sont trop nombreux à arrêter leurs études sans aucune qualification.
- 3) Le nombre de jeunes disposant d'un niveau de qualification intermédiaire est assez élevé, mais bien souvent, ces qualifications ne correspondent pas aux attentes du marché du travail.
- 4) 37% des jeunes Européens possèdent un diplôme de niveau universitaire (contre 40% aux États-Unis et plus de 50% au Japon).
- 5) Les universités européennes ne figurent pas en bonne place dans les classements mondiaux: seules deux d'entre elles figurent parmi les vingt meilleures universités mondiales.

Il y a deux objectifs principaux dans la stratégie Europe 2020 qui sont liés à l'éducation:

- 1) L'abaissement du taux de décrochage précoce du système scolaire à moins de 10%.
- 2) un diplôme de l'enseignement supérieur pour au moins 40% de la population âgée de 30 à 34 ans.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, La Commission européenne travaille à plusieurs niveaux. Par exemple, elle met en œuvre la recommandation sur les compétences clés de 2006 qui a pour but de préparer les jeunes aux études supérieures ainsi qu'au monde du travail.

Ceci concerne aussi le multilinguisme qui devrait être un atout de premier plan pour l'Europe, face à la concurrence mondiale. Communiquer dans une langue étrangère tient une place importante parmi ces compétences, à côté bien entendu d'une solide maîtrise de la langue maternelle.

Il convient de noter, de façon plus générale, que les résultats de PISA pour les jeunes européens sont inquiétants. Pour les trois compétences évaluées par l'OCDE, à savoir les mathématiques, la compréhension de l'écrit et les sciences, les Etats Membres de l'Union Européenne ont des résultats inférieurs à la Chine (aussi bien Hong Kong que Shanghai), Singapour, la Corée ou le Japon.

En ce qui concerne les langues étrangères, l'enquête européenne de 2012 nous a montré que les résultats de l'apprentissage des langues ne sont pas satisfaisants:

- 1) A peine la moitié des jeunes de 15 ans atteignent le niveau d'utilisateur indépendant (défini comme B1 selon le CEFRL) pour leur première langue étrangère.
- 2) Moins de deux tiers apprennent une deuxième langue étrangère.

Le Conseil Européen des Ministres de l'éducation en a tiré les conclusions en mai dernier. Les Etats Membres de l'Union Européenne se sont engagés à mieux évaluer les compétences linguistiques à l'école, et à le faire de façon à ce que les résultats soient comparables au niveau européen. Voilà pourquoi nous allons lancer une étude sur les méthodes d'évaluation des compétences linguistiques en Europe. Elle sera basée sur les données fournies par Eurydice. EFNIL, avec ses ressources scientifiques appréciables, pourra fournir des données intéressantes dans le contexte de cette étude.

En ce qui concerne les co-financements, nous avons soutenu des projets et des partenariats très intéressants dans le domaine de l'apprentissage de langues dans le passé et nous continuerons à le faire à travers le programme Erasmus+. J'aimerais vous en donner deux exemples:

- 1) Nous allons donner un soutien linguistique aux étudiants qui partent à l'étranger pour une période de plusieurs mois. L'évaluation des compétences linguistiques avant et après le séjour à l'étranger sera désormais obligatoire. Pour ceux qui ont besoin d'un cours de perfectionnement dans la langue d'instruction ou de travail, il sera offert gratuitement. Cette possibilité sera ouverte à partir d'octobre 2014 pour l'anglais, l'allemand, le français, l'espagnol, le néerlandais et l'italien. D'autres langues vont suivre.
- 2) Nous lançons un programme d'expérimentations dans le cadre du soutien aux réformes politiques. Au début de cette année, nous avons lancé un appel à propositions, auprès des autorités des Etats Membres de l'Union Européenne. Un des thèmes pour lesquels les Etats Membres pouvaient soumettre des projets d'expérimentation était l'évaluation des compétences transversales y compris les compétences linguistiques.

Comme cette conférence vise surtout les institutions académiques, j'aimerais aussi rappeler les possibilités de soutien à la recherche à travers les actions Marie

Sklodowska Curie, qui font partie du programme Horizon 2020. Les bourses sont disponibles pour toutes sortes de projets de recherche, y compris bien sûr dans le domaine linguistique.

Je suis certain que toutes ces initiatives vont contribuer au renforcement du multilinguisme au sein de l'UE et nous rapprocher de l'objectif qui vise à ce que chaque citoyen de l'Europe maîtrise trois langues.

Je vous remercie de votre attention.

Pinuccia Contino

Discorso/Address

Egredi membri della federazione EFNIL e rappresentanti degli istituti nazionali di lingua, è per me un grande onore potermi esprimere in questa sede venerabile, che veglia sulle sorti dell'italiano da più di 400 anni e sta alla lingua italiana come il teatro alla Scala sta all'opera. Inoltre il congresso EFNIL conclude degnamente la tre giorni del multilinguismo che si è svolta quest'anno a Firenze, in occasione della presidenza italiana dell'Unione europea.

Sono lieta di portarvi il saluto del mio Direttore generale, Rytis Martikonis, che tiene molto alla collaborazione con l'EFNIL. Questa collaborazione può essere definita strategica. Perché?

Io rappresento oggi la Direzione generale della Traduzione della Commissione europea, perno del multilinguismo in Europa, senza il quale la democrazia europea non può esistere; voi tutti preservate e promuovete la vitalità delle lingue ufficiali dell'Unione, con la loro storia e la loro visione del mondo, unica e insostituibile. Il nostro punto d'incontro e pilastro comune è l'importanza della lingua madre. In effetti, se parliamo di plurilinguismo e multilinguismo, non possiamo prescindere da una perfetta padronanza della lingua materna, indispensabile per imparare e utilizzare al meglio le altre lingue, imparate successivamente.

Ora, in conclusione dei dibattiti che si sono tenuti in questi ultimi giorni a Palazzo Vecchio, l'importanza dell'insegnamento e del consolidamento della lingua madre in Europa diventa sempre più chiara alla luce della mobilità, professionale e no, e dei flussi migratori che ormai investono tutti gli Stati membri dell'Unione. Per molti cittadini di fresca data, le lingue ufficiali europee, che sono la vostra priorità, spesso non coincidono con la lingua madre, ma costituiscono la seconda o terza lingua. E' quindi fondamentale promuovere il multilinguismo a tutti i livelli, nell'insegnamento come nella ricerca interdisciplinare. Gli istituti che fanno parte dell'EFNIL hanno un ruolo essenziale da svolgere a questo riguardo.

Attiro la vostra attenzione anche sulle possibilità offerte da Erasmus +, come ha spiegato Pierre Mairesse, per sviluppare nuovi progetti in partenariato con la scuola, le università e gli operatori economici. Si possono concepire progetti che permettano di far avanzare in parallelo la padronanza della lingua madre e l'apprendimento delle altre lingue, connubio indispensabile tanto sul piano economico che sociale, e quindi di portata politica. Marco Benedetti diceva poco fa che a parlar di lingue si fa politica; mi piace ricordare che voi siete gli unici a poter

legittimamente proporre soluzioni linguistiche che siano al contempo scientificamente corrette e politicamente accettabili. Penso ad esempio al lavoro esemplare svolto dalla professoressa Robustelli per dare risposte linguisticamente adeguate alla sfida che l'uguaglianza di genere rappresenta per l'italiano.

Mi fermo qui, auspicando che la collaborazione tra la Commissione e l'EFNIL continui, si sviluppi e permetta a tanti progetti utili di concretizzarsi.

Translation into English

Dear members of the EFNIL federation and representatives of the National Language Institutes, I consider it a great honour to address you here in this venerable institution, which has been watching over the fate of Italian for more than 400 years and is to the Italian language what the opera house "La Scala" is to opera. In addition, the EFNIL conference appropriately concludes the three days of multilingual events which, this year, were held in Florence, during the Italian Presidency of the European Union. I am pleased to extend my Director-General, Rytis Martikonis' greetings. He attaches great importance to our cooperation with EFNIL and defines this collaboration as strategic. Why?

Today, I represent the Directorate-General for Translation of the European Commission, the heart of multilingualism in Europe, without which our European democracy could not exist; you all preserve and promote the vitality of the official languages of the Union, with their history and their unique and irreplaceable vision of the world. Our meeting point and common pillar is the importance of the mother tongue. In fact, if we talk about plurilingualism and multilingualism, we cannot disregard a perfect mastery of the mother tongue, which is essential for learning and using of other languages learnt later in life.

To conclude the debates that have been held this week in the Palazzo Vecchio, the importance of education and the consolidation of the native language in Europe is becoming increasingly clear in the light of professional and social mobility, as well as migration which plays an important role for all member states of the Union. For many who have only recently become EU citizens, the official European languages, which are EFNIL's priority, often do not coincide with their mother tongue, but are their second or third language. It is therefore essential to promote multilingualism at all levels, in teaching as well as in interdisciplinary research. In this regard, institutions that are members of EFNIL have an essential role to play.

I would also like to draw your attention to the possibilities offered by Erasmus +, as explained by Pierre Mairesse, to develop new projects in partnership with schools, universities and businesses. You can conceive projects that allow

learners to improve their foreign language skills while at the same time mastering their mother tongue, which is indispensable both economically and socially, and therefore bears political significance. Marco Benedetti said earlier that when you speak about languages, you are influencing politics; I like to keep in mind that you are the only ones who can legitimately propose language solutions that are both scientifically sound and politically acceptable. I refer to the exemplary work conducted by Professor Robustelli to give linguistically appropriate answers to the challenge that gender equality represents for the Italian language.

I will stop here and hope that cooperation between the Commission and EFNIL continues, develops and creates many useful projects.

Susanna Slivensky/Margit Huber

Greetings from the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML)

1. EFNIL-ECML partnership

In 2014 EFNIL and the ECML formally agreed on closer cooperation, in order to benefit from synergies created through the pursuit of common goals. This article aims to point out some common goals as presented in the mission statements of both organisations. It will also identify in more concrete terms possible areas for developing synergies.

It seems to be a very promising way forward to be able to benefit from each other's expertise and networks for at least two reasons: stakeholders and members of our organisations partially overlap and they therefore rightly expect fruitful cooperation to serve them effectively. Secondly, Europe needs strong partnerships in order to effectively communicate the vital role of quality language policies and education to decision-makers. This will help ensure a productive and peaceful environment for the next generation.

For the ECML, the partnership with EFNIL is situated within a wider framework for cooperation: the "Professional Network Forum" of the ECML (www.ecml.at/Aboutus/professionalnetworkforum). This Forum was established in 2011 and involves 15 European and global associations and institutions¹ that all share common values. They also have overlapping expertise in the field of languages. Under

1 American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), International Association of Applied Linguists (AILA), Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE), European Confederation of Language Centres in Higher Education (CercleS), European Association for Language Testing and Assessment (EALTA), European Association for Quality Language Services (EAQUALS), European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML), European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL), Conseil européen pour les langues/European Language Council (CEL/ELC), European Parents Association (EPA), European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), World Federation of Modern Language Associations (FIPLV), International Association for Multilingualism (IAM), International Certificate Conference (ICC), Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute (OLBI)/University of Ottawa.

the auspices of the ECML, the members of the Forum have committed themselves to regularly exchanging information on areas of common interest in the service of language education. Members of the Professional Network Forum meet once a year in Graz at the ECML to discuss issues of common concern and to explore possible areas for joint action. As a concrete example, participants at the 2015 meeting discussed if and in which way their current work takes account of the priorities of ECML member states in language education, priorities identified through a consultation process with national representatives in 2014. As a result it was concluded that all members of the Forum not only see their activities, projects and events as being clearly linked to national priorities in language education but also recognise the potential to work even more effectively and efficiently by pooling expertise in a more coherent manner in the context of the Professional Network Forum.

2. Work of the ECML

The following overview presents the context, key values and examples of topics and projects of the ECML. The role of national languages within the Centre's approaches and activities will receive special attention. This will serve as a precursor for addressing common aims of ECML and EFNIL.

The European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML) is an institution whose mission is to encourage excellence and innovation in language learning and teaching. The Centre works with representatives of ministries of education, policy- and decision-makers and language experts. The ECML's role is to help its member states² bridge the gap between policies and practice in language education. The overall aim is to enhance quality in language education in Europe for the benefit of learners.

The work of the ECML is based on the underlying values of the Council of Europe and its pioneering work in cultural cooperation and language education. The European Cultural Convention, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Recommendations of the Council of Europe's committee of ministers on ensuring quality education³ and on the importance of language(s) for schooling,⁴ as well as both the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and the European Language Portfolio, are just some of the Council

2 See www.ecml.at/memberstates.

3 Council of Europe, Recommendation CM/Rec(2012)13E of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on ensuring quality education, 2012.

4 Council of Europe, Recommendation CM/Rec(2014)5 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on the importance of competences in the

of Europe's policy reference documents and instruments in the area of language education. The Council's vision is a Europe committed to linguistic and cultural diversity, where the key role of quality language education for intercultural dialogue, democratic citizenship and social cohesion is recognised and supported.

The ECML organises four-year programmes consisting of projects, workshops and conferences to which participants from member states are invited. ECML programmes support the philosophy of the CEFR, emphasising that human beings do “not keep [...] languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather build [...] up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact”.⁵ The ECML promotes the challenging shift from a comparatively narrow focus on the learning of a particular language in isolation to:

- a more comprehensive approach to language learning in all formal and informal/non-formal contexts;
- always incorporating language learning in the mother tongue of the learner;
- and in any other language of the learner's repertoire.

A characteristic feature of all ECML projects is the focus on the integration of all languages and on the links and synergies between them, rather than on the teaching and learning of individual languages in isolation. This approach has proved to be highly effective in facilitating communication and professional cooperation between different linguistic and educational cultures and communities it means, for example, that teachers of French in France would cooperate with teachers of Spanish, Chinese and Catalan and find it beneficial to establish working relationships with teachers from other countries engaged in teaching other languages. This scenario works well at a policy and theoretical level– but unfortunately it rarely exists in practice.

2.1 Learning through languages – the ECML programme 2012–2015

The ECML programme “LEARNING THROUGH LANGUAGES” promotes the use of inclusive, plurilingual and intercultural pedagogic approaches which reach beyond the foreign language classroom. They encompass all the linguistic abilities and needs of all groups of learners in a lifelong-learning process (in-school and

language(s) of schooling for equity and quality in education and for educational success, 2014.

5 Council of Europe (2001): *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching and assessment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4.

out-of-school). The programme addresses not only the foreign language classroom but also teaching the schooling language, teaching other languages present in the educational environment (e.g. regional languages, sign languages) and also the language(s) used in subject teaching. Some projects also focus on informal and non-formal language learning and on the dialogue with stakeholders involved in the education process (mediation).

In the context of this programme, national languages, central to the work of EFNIL, play an important role. The ongoing project work reveals that terminology used for these languages in the educational context is still evolving, e.g. official or national language, language of education, language of schooling, language of instruction, majority language, mother tongue or first language. The labels used often reflect traditional perspectives and are sometimes politically sensitive; they differ from country to country and from one educational context to another. Literal translations of these terms from one language into another or into many other languages are rarely unambiguous. Therefore the ECML often explains by way of example which languages are meant (e.g. “Polish in Poland, English in the UK etc.”).

The ECML seeks to highlight the pivotal role these languages have in schooling, tertiary education, and beyond in society. Ongoing projects focus on questions like how to ensure the development of relevant language competences of students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (see for example: www.ecml.at/language-descriptors), or whether the traditional monolingual approach to teaching the language of schooling/the national language(s) suits the needs of the learners from a wide range of linguistic backgrounds (<http://maledive.ecml.at>).⁶

3. What EFNIL and ECML have in common

EFNIL encourages the study of the official European languages. This aim fully coincides with the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe; a unique international treaty ratified by 50 countries which encourages the study of the languages of the contracting parties, by its own nationals.⁷ EFNIL's constitution highlights the need to both preserve linguistic diversity within Europe as well as to promote plurilingualism amongst citizens of the EU member states.

The ECML, whose membership is not identical to that of the EU, works within the framework of cultural co-operation and in respect of the rich linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe. Its mission is the implementation of language policies as well as the promotion of innovative approaches to learning and teaching languages.

6 Details on all current projects can be found at www.ecml.at/learningthroughlanguages.

7 Article 2 of the European Cultural Convention.

It is evident that there is a strong common interest based on mutual respect for Europe's languages, including sign languages and regional and minority languages. The promotion of plurilingualism represents both concrete tasks and a longer-term objective. The tasks at hand are manifold, including making parents aware of the fact that language learning is key to educational success; working towards high-quality language teacher education, and also convincing policy-makers to invest in plurilingual and intercultural education. The longer-term objectives come back to the question that both EFNIL and the ECML can respond to, namely: Why is it important for Europe to insist on valuing linguistic and cultural diversity? One possible answer is that managing diversity is key to successfully addressing the challenges which societies face today and will also face in the future. Maybe valuing all languages (and the people who speak these languages) is more of a vision than an objective, but EFNIL and the ECML nonetheless demonstrate that they support diversity through relevant activities which work towards such a vision.

In terms of concrete actions, a wide range of smaller and larger-scale projects as well as publications that recognise the vital role of the national language in education and in professional careers, are presented on EFNIL's and the ECML's websites. At a strategic level, both organisations use the power of networking and collaboration with partners beyond membership and direct stakeholders. The ability to recognise and exploit the potential of networking with new partners should be considered a strength for any organisation. Also, given the tight and even diminishing resources available, it is worth exploring how to make effective use of each other's expertise and readiness to collaborate. Two benefits of the new ECML-EFNIL partnership can already be put forward:

- The ECML Call for submissions for its programme 2016–2019 is promoted on the EFNIL website and thus reaches out to an audience the ECML might not otherwise reach with its own website.
- The partnership with the ECML opens the door for EFNIL to the Professional Network Forum, bringing together 15 key associations/institutions in language policy, education and assessment (see above). Access to their expertise and to their vast membership is an asset with the potential for powerful joint ventures.

4. Ideas for collaboration

Given these converging interests, there is quite a lot of common ground for cooperative activities. From the ECML's standpoint, its programme 2016–2019 provides an ideal context to further explore possibilities for cooperation at the content level.

At the core of the Call for submissions for this programme lies the interrelationship between quality education and quality language education. Language is at the root of all learning: all teachers, irrespective of sector or subject area, have a role to play in developing the linguistic and intercultural repertoires of their learners. This is reflected in the title: *LANGUAGES AT THE HEART OF LEARNING*. Teachers, and parties involved in teacher education and policy-making for the national language, are considered an important target audience of this programme.

EFNIL could make valuable contributions as a partner in ECML project teams and/or as a participant in ECML programme events. All ECML activities are published on its website www.ecml.at. The EFNIL membership is cordially invited to make contact with the ECML secretariat for further information.

In conclusion, the ECML is confident that the envisaged exchange of information and expertise and mutual attendance at each other's events, with a view to seeking collaboration, will generate innovative and creative thinking. Plans and projects resulting from this process might pave the way for implementing our common vision for Europe.

Gerhard Stickel

Introduction/Einführung/Introduzione

Signor Presidente dell'Accademia, rappresentanti della Commissione Europea, gentili ospiti, cari colleghi e colleghe,

Tredici anni fa, nel 2001, rappresentanti di prestigiose istituzioni linguistiche di dieci paesi europei convennero in questa sala dietro invito di Francesco Sabatini, allora presidente dell'Accademia della Crusca. Si trattava del secondo convegno preparatorio alla fondazione della *Federazione Europea delle Istituzioni Linguistiche Nazionali* (EFNIL). Sono molto lieto che oggi la EFNIL possa di nuovo riunirsi in questa bella sala. Furono frutto del convegno del 2001 le *Raccomandazioni di Mannheim-Firenze per la promozione delle lingue nazionali/ufficiali d'Europa*, che videro la luce nelle dieci lingue dei partecipanti. Nel documento si proclama la convinzione che “la ricchezza culturale dell'Europa, sulla quale si fonda l'identità europea, può essere salvaguardata solo mantenendo la diversità linguistica del continente e quindi curando lo sviluppo delle singole lingue e il loro adattamento ai bisogni di comunicazione del mondo moderno”. Nello stesso documento si raccomanda l'istituzione di un consiglio permanente per le istituzioni linguistiche nazionali. A questa raccomandazione ha dato seguito il convegno inaugurale di Stoccolma del 2003.

Desidero ringraziare per la cordiale accoglienza il presidente Marazzini. Per il loro contributo all'apertura del convegno ringrazio poi i rappresentanti della Commissione europea. Il direttore generale Benedetti è un amico di vecchia data della EFNIL, che ci ha dato il suo appoggio fin dai primi incontri. Le gentili e informative interviste del direttore Mairesse e la signora Contino trasmettono sostegno e incoraggiamento a continuare il nostro lavoro. Un sentito ringraziamento alla vicedirettrice dello *European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe* (ECML), la dottoressa Slivensky, per averci presentato la sua istituzione.¹

1 Thirteen years ago in 2001, representatives of important language institutions from ten European countries met in this hall as guests of Francesco Sabatini, then the president of the Accademia della Crusca. It was the second of the preparatory conferences that led to the foundation of the *European Federation of National Institutions for Language* (EFNIL). I am very glad that EFNIL can meet today again in this beautiful hall. Results of 2001 were among others the *Mannheim-Florence Recommendations for Promoting European Standard (or National) Languages* that were published in the ten languages of the participants. This document presents the conviction that “With the maintenance

(Se mi è consentito, passerei ora a parlare in una lingua che mi è un poco più familiare.)

At our founding conference in Stockholm 2003, we discussed already the use of languages in the field of tertiary education. In their presentations, the participating members singled out the domains of higher education and research as the realm with an increasing use of English beside or instead of the individual national languages. Then, most of the participants considered this development as a danger or disadvantage for their native languages. Only one of our colleagues² warned us of premature alarmism. Since then, the discussion concerning the linguistic media of instruction and research has not ended. The General Assembly of EFNIL, therefore, decided at last year's conference in Vilnius to propose "Language use in university teaching and research – past, present, future" as the general theme of this year's conference. This proposal was soon accepted by the hosting organisation, the Accademia della Crusca.

Concerning the past, we should remember that the present European standard languages were not always the media of science and higher learning. In the Middle Ages, the early forms of our languages existed mainly as bundles of vernacular varieties with very limited regional and social range. It took several centuries and demanded the efforts of many writers, scholars, and scientists to develop, expand, and standardize the various vernacular languages to a degree where everything that can be thought, asked, said, and written in science could be expressed. It must be remembered that until the 16th or 17th century, in some countries even until the 19th century, Latin was the dominant communicative medium of science and the humanities and also the medium and object of higher education. Traces of this

of linguistic diversity as well as the development and adjustment of languages to the requirements of the modern world, the cultural wealth of Europe as a basis for a European identity will be retained". This document also contains the recommendation that a permanent council should be formed by the central language institutions of the European states. This recommendation was met at the foundation conference of EFNIL in Stockholm in 2003. I thank President Marazzini for their kind welcome. I am also grateful to the representatives of the European Commission. Director General Bendetti is an old friend of EFNIL who has given us his support already at earlier occasions. I take the kind and informative words of director Mairesse and Ms Contino as encouragement for our work. I thank Dr. Slivensky, the deputy director of the *European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe* (ECML), for the attractive presentation of her institution.

- 2 See the trilingual paper of Johan Van Hoorde on the EFNIL website: <http://efnil.org/conferences/archives/stockholm-2003/speeches/van-hoorde-english>.

are the many Latinisms preserved not only in the daughter languages of Latin but also in the other European languages.

Allow me, please, to take my own *lingua materna*, my mother tongue German as a prototypical example for the change from Latin to a developing national language as a medium of scientific communication. And let me do this in German.

Gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts schrieb Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, der große deutsche Universalgelehrte und Erfinder, meist lateinisch, manchmal französisch und nur selten deutsch. In einer seiner wenigen deutschen Schriften beklagt er das Ungenügen in der Entwicklung und im Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache. Er erklärt, dass die Wissenschaftler selbst am schlechten Zustand ihrer eigenen Sprache schuld seien. Die meisten von ihnen seien nicht am Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache interessiert, weil sie meinen – wie er es sagt, “daß die Weisheit nicht anders als in Latein und Griechisch sich kleiden lasse” oder weil sie fürchten, dass die Welt sonst ihre mit großen Worten maskierte Unwissenheit entdecken werde.³ Ein weiterer negativer Aspekt sei – wie Leibniz feststellt – dass die meisten Gelehrten seiner Zeit nur für andere Gelehrte schrieben und so alle, die kein Latein gelernt hätten, von der Wissenschaft ausgeschlossen seien.⁴ Mehr als 300 Jahre später können auch wir dies sagen, wenn wir Latein durch Englisch ersetzen.

Leibniz betonte, dass der Sprachgebrauch in Wissenschaft und Erziehung eine größere Bedeutung für die allgemeine Entwicklung einer Sprache habe als Fortschritte in ihrem literarischen Gebrauch. Mit solchen Ermahnungen setzten Leibniz und mehrere andere Intellektuelle die Emanzipation und den Ausbau der deutschen Sprache seit der Zeit der Aufklärung in Gang, bis sie schließlich in allen Domänen der Wissenschaft in den deutschsprachigen Staaten und Regionen verwendet werden konnte. Dies wurde aber erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts erreicht. Dann konnte Immanuel Kant seine großen “Kritiken” auf Deutsch schreiben, später Hegel seine “Phänomenologie” und Marx sein “Kapital”, und noch später zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts auch Albert Einstein seine “Relativitätstheorie”. Im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts gewann Deutsch als Sprache der

3 „[...] teils weil einige unter ihnen gemeint, daß die Weisheit nicht anders als in Latein und Griechisch sich kleiden lasse; oder auch weil manche gefürchtet, es würde der Welt ihre mit großen Worten verlarfte [maskierte] geheime Unwissenheit entdeckt werden.“ (Leibniz in Pörksen 1984, 62).

4 “[...] Denn die Gelehrten, indem sie fast nur Gelehrten [nur für Gelehrte] schreiben, sich oft zu sehr in unbrauchbaren Dingen aufhalten; bei der ganzen Nation ist aber geschehen, daß diejenigen, so kein Latein gelernt, von der Wissenschaft gleichsam ausgeschlossen worden [...]” (Leibniz in Pörksen 1984, 63).

Naturwissenschaften, der Medizin und Philosophie Bedeutung über die Grenzen der deutschsprachigen Länder und Regionen hinaus.

In ähnlicher Weise ließe sich die Entwicklung der anderen europäischen Standardsprachen skizzieren mit zeitlichen Unterschieden und den Namen anderer Protagonisten. Nicht für alle Sprachen entwickelte sich aber der Gebrauch in Lehre und Forschung gleichartig. Wissenschaftler mehrerer Sprachgemeinschaften in Europa mussten zeitweise andere Sprachen als ihre eigenen verwenden, um international wahrgenommen zu werden. Ungarische und finnische Gelehrte zum Beispiel schrieben oft deutsch bis zum Beginn des letzten Jahrhunderts, polnische Wissenschaftler oft französisch. Obwohl die europäische Welt der Wissenschaft und der Lehre vielsprachig wurde, war die internationale sprachliche Welt über längere Zeit nicht ganz so reich und bunt, wie wir sie uns heute manchmal vorstellen. (Now back to English.)

It is, however, important to be aware of the historical fact that the developing diversity of the various European languages did not hamper the progress in science and learning. In the late middle ages, the thinking and teaching of the European intellectual elite had come to a certain canonical dogmatism and sterility in its Latin monolingualism. With the emancipation of the various vernacular languages in combination with religious reformations and the spread of philosophical enlightenment, intellectual Europe woke up and increased its creativity: It became modern. The great literatures of the European peoples, renaissance in art, modern philosophy, and the many scientific and technical discoveries did not develop within one and the same language but in the variety of the developing European standard languages. As I mentioned already at our founding conference, it is absurd to imagine that Dante, Cervantes, Molière, Shakespeare, Goethe, Andersen, Mickiewicz, Donelaitis, and other outstanding poets and novelists could all have written in Latin. They and other writers, philosophers, scientists, and inventors wrote in those various languages that had become fully developed national idioms, that is, languages that can be used for all purposes in all communicative domains, including those of science.

Since last century, the linguistic situation has changed, as we all know. The development that Leibniz and others had advocated seems to be reversed, to move backwards. As far as my native language is concerned, everything in science can, perhaps, still be expressed in German with sufficient effort; however, a lot is not being said and written in German any longer. The use of Anglicisms as terms and working phrases in several sciences is only part of the development. It is more relevant that scientists in various fields have left their native tongues behind and immigrated into English, at least in their publications. The European multilingualism

of scientific communication that had overcome the Medieval Latin monolingualism is now being gradually substituted by the new monolingualism of scientific English. More than 25 years ago, the then president of the renowned Max-Planck-Society, Hubert Markl, already declared: "Top science speaks English".⁵

As far as the German language is concerned, there are obvious reasons for its decline as an international language of science.⁶ There were first of all the two world wars. Many people felt that during the so called Third Reich not only the Nazis but also the German language had become guilty. This is, of course, an anthropomorphism of language. Only people can be guilty, not a language. Although this gives some explanation for the decline of German as language of science, it does not explain the recent development of other European languages. The attractiveness of English, especially the American variety, is not limited to Germany and Austria, but it has also become prevalent in many other countries where no guilt or collective shame because of the Nazi crimes have to be dealt with. The outcome of the two world wars and the end of the cold war favoured the rise of the United States of America as the leading economic and military power and by this also supported the increasing importance of English as the international vehicular language in trade and commerce, politics, and science. I hesitate in this context to use the ubiquitous phrase *lingua franca*, because the historical lingua franca was never a medium of science and learning: It was just a primitive pidgin of sailors and traders along the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The increasing use of English as medium of instruction and research at the universities of our countries is, probably, also being promoted by the so called Bologna-process. It is remarkable that the name of the city with the oldest European university is being used for the process of standardization of the universities in Europe that apparently could also lead to their linguistic monotony.

However, at present, language use in the academic realm of our various countries is not that uniform. We would like to learn at this conference how the present linguistic situation really is. This conference should provide us with a more detailed picture of the present linguistic situation of tertiary education and university research within various European countries. We hope to also learn about language use in the past and to discuss the possible future development of language use in academia. We should use this occasion also to discuss the advantages

5 "Die Spitzenforschung spricht Englisch" (Hubert Markl in Kalverkämper/Weinrich 1986, 20–25).

6 This was carefully studied and described by Ulrich Ammon (1998).

and disadvantages of using an international vehicular language in science and the humanities.

We will not be able to gain a complete picture of the entire European scene. The two days of our conference are too short for a description and discussion of the situation in all 28 member states of the EU and additional European countries. At least, we will hear reports on ten different countries. Some basic data concerning language use at the universities of most European countries can be found on ELM, the European Language Monitor, results of which presented on our website. My EFNIL-colleague Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen will give a presentation to all interested in the coffee break. We will now hear within the next sessions also general observations and reflections by several invited experts in the field of European language politics and policies. I thank them very much for their readiness to contribute to our conference. The concluding panel discussion will hopefully stimulate us to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the present linguistic situation and whether the future development could or should be influenced. Our joint work should now go on. Thus, let me conclude this introduction with repeated thanks to our hosts, to the previous president of the academy Nicoletta Maraschio, and especially to our colleague and friend Cecilia Robustelli. And, of course, I thank you all for your attention and patience.

Many thanks Vielen Dank Merci beaucoup Tante grazie

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General reflections and views

Rita Librandi

Le lingue delle università italiane nel passato

Abstract: The Languages of the Italian Universities in the Past (XIII–XIX centuries)

The copious translations into Latin which contributed to the cultural renaissance that embraced Europe between XII and XIII century, brought the texts of Greek philosophy back to the Medieval West and disseminated the scientific knowledge of the Arab world. The opportunity to use these Latin is also the origin of the Universities or, as they were then called, General Studies, born as free associations of teachers and students to ensure the transmission of knowledge. We can say, then, that Latin is not only the language of the medieval universities, but that medieval universities were born thanks to Latin.

It should be noted, however, that the comparison proposed by many, between Latin in medieval universities and English language today, is inadequate. Latin was not the language of a specific European country, nor did it represent a military and economic power: Latin was the language of the Bible translated by St. Jerome and thus symbolized the sum of knowledge available to man in the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, thanks to universities, several educational works, other than the official text books, were created and used as reference tools by students; these works stimulated, especially in Florence and in Tuscany, the early writings and translations of scientific and philosophical texts in the vernacular.

The history of the Italian universities usually teaches us that the exclusive use of Latin in universities ended in the XVIII century. But we must not forget that in Florence, during the rule of Lorenzo de' Medici, Cristoforo Landino professor of rhetoric at the city's studio, gave a series of lectures on the Florentine literature of the fourteenth century for the first time. The experiment was repeated more than a century later at the University of Siena where the first chair of "Tuscan speech" was established.

We have to wait two more centuries before Italian is to be admitted as an official language of university teaching: in 1734, in fact, Girolamo Tagliazzucchi, gave lessons in Italian eloquence at the University of Turin, and in 1756 Antonio Genovesi gave a course on Economics entirely in Italian at the University of Naples. The choice of Genovesi was of particular significance because for the first time, the vernacular was not used to teach literature or rhetoric. This development was the first step for Italy to approach the cultural models of France and England.

It was also in the 18th century that foreign languages made their entrance to university-level teaching, thanks to the initiative of a missionary priest who founded a Chinese language school in Naples, recognized in 1732 as the *College of the Chinese* by Pope Clemente XII. Initially only Mandarin was taught, but later other languages

relevant to the work of missions as Turkish, Arabic, Bulgarian, were introduced. It was a pioneer initiative that would have been developed in other Italian universities only in the nineteenth century.

1. Il latino per le università medievali

Una relazione sulle lingue che le università italiane hanno adoperato lungo i secoli potrebbe facilmente chiudersi in poche righe, se è vero che il latino non ebbe quasi alcun concorrente almeno fino al XVIII sec., quando fu sostituito poco per volta dalla lingua italiana. Si tratta tuttavia di una semplificazione eccessiva che non dà conto di eccezioni importanti e non rende giustizia a una storia di cooperazione tra lingue e culture diverse.

Nell'Europa dei decenni tra XII e XIII sec., il latino ebbe una funzione essenziale e fu, se non il primo motore, certamente una delle spinte di maggior forza per la stessa nascita delle università. Sul finire del sec. XI, infatti, un cambiamento radicale investì l'istruzione di livello superiore nell'Occidente europeo, non solo a seguito della decadenza subita dalle antiche Scuole fondate da Carlo Magno, ma anche grazie alla rivoluzione culturale prodotta dalle numerose traduzioni latine che pervasero l'Europa. In centri come Bisanzio, Venezia, la Sicilia o la Spagna, dove gli scambi tra le culture del Mediterraneo erano stati vivaci e ininterrotti, il lavoro dei traduttori consentì di ricostruire un ponte con il sapere dell'antica Grecia, favorendo la diffusione della filosofia aristotelica e l'insorgere di un grande fervore intellettuale. A ciò molti studiosi riconducono la nascita di istituzioni autonome, nate dagli accordi tra studenti e maestri, che concordarono modi e contenuti per la trasmissione del sapere.

Non si trattò di un fenomeno spontaneo ma di un evento sostenuto da politiche sociali e culturali, nelle quali un ruolo decisivo fu giocato dalla Chiesa e dai pontefici. Grazie agli studi degli ordini mendicanti, infatti, e in particolare dei domenicani, che avevano reinterpretato Aristotele alla luce dei dogmi cristiani, fu possibile conciliare speculazione filosofica e teologica e riconoscere alle università la legittimità papale di cui avevano bisogno. Si configurarono in tal modo gli *Studia generalia*, la cui denominazione, divenuta presto sinonimo di 'centro di studi superiori', non fu però assegnata a tutte le istituzioni universitarie, perché per essere *Studium generale*, come le università di Parigi o Bologna, bisognava avere una pluralità di maestri, la capacità di aprirsi oltre i confini della propria area accogliendo studenti da ogni parte d'Europa e, soprattutto, l'autorizzazione a

rilasciare una licenza che consentisse a chi aveva completato gli studi di insegnare ovunque.¹

Tutto ciò fu favorito, come si diceva, anche dalle traduzioni in latino, la lingua che nell'Europa del medioevo rese possibile gli scambi e la trasmissione delle conoscenze oltre ogni confine. È doveroso osservare, però, che l'azione svolta dal latino non è in alcun modo confrontabile con la comunicazione che oggi sembrerebbe garantita dalla lingua inglese. Il latino del medioevo non è né la lingua di uno specifico paese europeo, né una lingua che a quell'epoca avrebbe potuto affermarsi grazie a particolari poteri politici ed economici: il latino è, per l'uomo del medioevo, la lingua delle Scritture e dunque del sommo sapere. Solo il riconoscimento universale di lingua della sapienza le consegna la capacità di far convergere gli intellettuali del tempo verso una nuova idea di trasmissione della conoscenza.

Non è del tutto esatto, del resto, affermare che il latino, lingua unica del sapere universitario, abbia escluso completamente il volgare dai contenuti più alti della speculazione filosofica e scientifica. Se è vero, infatti, che la prima produzione scritta in volgare riguarda settori considerati minori dalla cultura mediolatina, come la poesia e la narrazione di argomento amoroso, è anche vero che una particolare letteratura, che non rientra tra i libri di testo universitari, ma che serve agli studenti da supporto e consultazione nei propri studi, è all'origine dei primi testi di contenuto scientifico e filosofico in volgare. Non per nulla, quasi contemporaneamente alla nascita delle università, si sviluppa un genere che si usa denominare "enciclopedico", per il tentativo con cui numerose compilazioni prodotte fra XIII e XIV sec. cercano di mettere insieme le principali nozioni del sapere medievale.

Le enciclopedie mediolatine sono confezionate in modo da soddisfare le esigenze dei lettori cui si rivolgono; intendono dare fin dal titolo l'idea di una totalità (*De proprietatibus rerum*, *Speculum mundi*) e includono principalmente nozioni di fisica, astronomia, cosmografia, oltre alle regole della retorica e del comportamento virtuoso. Sono conoscenze concatenate tra loro, che rinviano alle arti del trivio (grammatica, retorica e dialettica) e del quadrivio (aritmetica, astronomia, geometria e musica) e dunque a conoscenze basilari per ogni percorso di studi universitario. L'affermarsi della cultura laica, d'altro canto, fa sì che i testi enciclopedici, che hanno un andamento più semplice e divulgativo dei trattati teorici, siano richiesti anche da un pubblico di lettori estranei all'università, facilitando tra il Due e il Trecento sia traduzioni sia produzioni autonome in volgare: basterà

1 Si è qui sintetizzata in modo rapido e schematico una storia ben più complessa, che gode di un'ampia bibliografia; ci si limita a rinviare a Frova (1973, 120sgg.); Verger (1982, 46–51, 75–81); Verger (2000, 70–76).

pensare alla *Composizione del mondo* di Ristoro d'Arezzo, al *Tresor* di Brunetto Latini, ai volgarizzamenti tratti dal *De proprietatibus rerum* di Bartolomeo Anglico o dai *Metereologica* di Aristotele. Ciò non vuol dire che il volgare entri, attraverso questa piccola pattuglia di testi, nelle università, ma che il latino dei libri di divulgazione universitaria stimola una prima, timida produzione di testi filosofico scientifici in un volgare che arricchisce così il proprio patrimonio lessicale.²

Insegnamento universitario e, in particolare, le disputazioni filosofiche e i temi della scolastica lasciano traccia di sé anche nei componimenti poetici in volgare: basterà pensare a Guido Cavalcanti e ad alcuni passaggi di *Donna me prega*, strettamente correlati alla *Quaestio disputata de felicitate* che il maestro Giacomo da Pistoia aveva dedicato al poeta e che, come suggerisce Maria Corti, dovette essere disputata all'università di Bologna sul finire del Duecento.³ È quasi superfluo ricordare, inoltre, il ruolo essenziale che le dispute filosofiche svoltesi negli Studi dei domenicani ebbero sui trattati e sui versi di Dante, lasciando traccia di un sensibile ridursi del divario tra le due culture grazie a una trasmigrazione del sapere universitario latino nelle scritture in volgare. Si tratta, d'altro canto, come è facile intuire, di una storia prevalentemente fiorentina: è a Firenze, cioè, che dalla fine del XIII sec. alla metà e oltre del XIV si avvia un processo osmotico tra sapere latino e volgare, che renderà quasi naturale, un secolo dopo, la prima rottura del fronte del latino nell'insegnamento universitario.

2. Primi spiragli per il volgare

È proprio a Firenze, nella seconda metà del Quattrocento, che il volgare fa il suo ingresso in uno Studio universitario: nel segnalare, infatti, che le prime lezioni in italiano sono state pronunciate nel Settecento, gli studiosi tralasciano di ricordare due parentesi che si giustificano anche con i grandi rinnovamenti generati dal cosiddetto umanesimo volgare. Fin dall'inizio del secolo le università avevano assorbito i fermenti generati dai nuovi ideali umanistici, ma l'incontro con la più illustre tradizione letteraria in volgare si realizza solo nella seconda metà del Quattrocento, quando di Lorenzo de' Medici, aiutato da Angelo Poliziano e Cristoforo Landino, mise in atto una vera e propria politica linguistica a favore del fiorentino e della sua letteratura.

La Toscana aveva una sua sede universitaria che era stata fondata, per volere di Clemente VI, nel 1343 a Pisa, ma che, a seguito delle alterne vicende politiche subite

2 Si tratta anche in questo caso di temi che richiederebbero una più ampia trattazione; mi permetto di rinviare per un inquadramento generale a Librandi (2003).

3 Corti (2003, 9-144).

dalla città, aveva attraversato, dopo pochi decenni, una fase di decadenza. Per la sua rinascita furono essenziali proprio gli interventi della Signoria medicea, che stabilì di mantenere a Pisa la sede del più importante Studio della Toscana.⁴ Nei documenti che testimoniano questa decisione, la scelta viene giustificata con motivi di ordine pratico, come la carenza di spazi o di edifici idonei, che avrebbero reso inadeguato un trasferimento dell'università a Firenze. È evidente, d'altro canto, che assegnare a un luogo o all'altro la sede degli studi superiori aveva un peso politico molto alto e che i Medici intendevano riequilibrare con questa disposizione il rapporto tra le diverse aree della Toscana. Non si poteva però negare a Firenze il riconoscimento dovuto alla centralità del suo ruolo culturale e si decise, pertanto, di aprire anche qui un Studio dove si sarebbero tenute stabilmente lezioni di retorica e poetica.⁵ Fin dal 1458 gli insegnamenti furono affidati a Cristoforo Landino, filosofo, umanista e grande sostenitore della tradizione letteraria di Firenze, che, dopo i corsi su Cicerone, sull'*Ars poetica* di Orazio e sui testi più rilevanti della tradizione classica, intorno al 1467, pronunciò interamente in volgare una prolusione sul Canzoniere del Petrarca.⁶ Ancora nel 1474, ormai sotto il governo di Lorenzo de' Medici, Landino tenne in volgare anche una prolusione a Dante e, sebbene le due parentesi non vadano intese come un sovvertimento nella gerarchia dei saperi, ciò sancisce il primo l'ingresso della letteratura in volgare tra gli insegnamenti dell'università.⁷

Le prolusioni petrarchesca e dantesca rimarranno, tuttavia, per lungo tempo un episodio isolato; si dovrà attendere, infatti, il 1589 per l'istituzione all'Università di Siena della prima cattedra di "toscana favella". Lo studio senese conobbe proprio in quegli anni una rinascita favorita dal granduca di Toscana Ferdinando I de' Medici, cui si deve anche la decisione di inserire tra i programmi un insegnamento di lingua toscana. È la prima cattedra universitaria, in Italia e in Europa, dedicata allo studio di una lingua volgare, e istituita, peraltro, su richiesta dei numerosi studenti tedeschi che frequentavano lo Studio senese. L'insegnamento fu affidato a Diomede Borghesi (1539–1598), grammatico e frequentatore della corte granducale, che nelle sue lezioni avrebbe riproposto le posizioni di Pietro Bembo e Leonardo Salviati.⁸

4 Cfr. Tangheroni (1993) e Del Gratta (1993).

5 Fabroni (1791, 409–414).

6 Landino (1974) e cfr., per la data della prima delibera che assegnò a Landino l'insegnamento di retorica e poetica e per gli anni in cui è documentata la sua attività presso lo Studio di Firenze Foà (2004).

7 Cfr. Tavoni (1992, 68–69).

8 Cfr. Caruso (2009).

Anche in questo caso non ci fu continuità: solo qualche decennio più tardi, nel 1632, fu assegnata una nomina a lettore di lingua toscana al grammatico e accademico della Crusca Benedetto Buommattei, che tenne corsi a Pisa e a Firenze, ma si trattò, in tutti i casi, di episodi circoscritti o legati alla particolare storia di Firenze e della Toscana. Sono gli anni, d'altro canto, in cui le università europee vivono cambiamenti profondi, segnati negativamente da chiusure e separazioni. La frattura fu provocata dalla divisione tra le religioni cristiane iniziata con la riforma luterana e con la separazione dalla Chiesa di Roma di Enrico VIII di Inghilterra. Le barriere non si alzarono solo intorno alle università dei paesi cattolici ma, a mano a mano che se ne accentuava il carattere nazionalistico e confessionale, circondarono anche quelle dell'Europa protestante. Ciò comportò un complessivo rallentamento nell'innovazione degli studi, che si tradusse, soprattutto in Italia, nell'incapacità di abbandonare il vecchio aristotelismo, proprio quando il pensiero scientifico raggiungeva traguardi mai toccati fino ad allora. Le sedi di questi importanti progressi scientifici non furono, infatti, le Università ma le Accademie, dove le nuove teorie viaggiavano ormai attraverso le parole del volgare.⁹ Basterà ricordare, fra tutti, il nome di Galileo Galilei, che, partendo dalla discussione intrecciata con il fondatore dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Federico Cesi, compose in volgare *l'Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari* (1613). Da qui sarebbe partita la successiva speculazione sulla costituzione dell'universo, che sempre più si sarebbe avvalsa della lingua volgare, aprendo le porte a una modernità da cui rimasero escluse tutte le sedi universitarie. Queste non persero, tuttavia, il loro prestigio, come dimostra, tra l'altro, l'insegnamento dello stesso Galilei nell'Università di Padova dal 1592 al 1610, né sarebbe stato possibile per gli intellettuali del tempo trovare altri luoghi in cui si potessero apprendere contemporaneamente discipline così diverse tra loro; sarebbero però dovuti passare ancora molti decenni prima che le lingue moderne potessero affermarsi definitivamente e ufficialmente nelle università.

3. L'ingresso dell'italiano e l'insegnamento delle lingue straniere

La svolta decisiva nell'insegnamento universitario si ha con i grandi cambiamenti politici e culturali che interessano l'intera Europa del XVIII secolo. Un ruolo essenziale rivestono, com'è noto, le scoperte scientifiche e, ancor più, la loro applicazione nell'organizzazione del lavoro, nella coltivazione delle terre, nella

9 Cfr. Nicoletta Maraschio, *Accademie nella storia della lingua*, in *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, diretta da Raffaele Simone, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2010, I, pp. 2-6.

trasformazione delle materie prime e nei commerci, fino ad arrivare alla cosiddetta rivoluzione industriale. Le Accademie che nei due secoli precedenti erano state il luogo privilegiato degli studi scientifici non sono più sufficienti: è sempre più necessario garantire a un numero crescente di persone una formazione specialistica e ben strutturata, che solo le università possono assicurare. Il latino si rivela uno strumento inadeguato alle nuove esigenze e l'italiano si fa strada tanto nell'insegnamento scolastico quanto in quello universitario. Non per nulla, come si è detto, il Settecento è il secolo in cui l'italiano fa definitivamente il suo ingresso nelle aule universitarie.

La prima rottura con la tradizione si verifica a Torino, dove nel 1734 viene affidata al letterato Girolamo Tagliazucchi l'insegnamento di "eloquenza italiana e greco", un accostamento insolito che dà tuttavia un riconoscimento ufficiale all'italiano e alla sua letteratura.¹⁰ Si riprendeva, in sostanza, il percorso iniziato a Siena due secoli prima, ma per la prima volta lo si faceva in una sede distante dalla storia culturale di Firenze, lasciando intravedere il ruolo unitario che di lì a breve avrebbe assunto la lingua italiana. L'insegnamento di Tagliazucchi, tuttavia, riguardava ancora una volta la letteratura e non mostrava altre concessioni al volgare, al contrario di quanto sarebbe accaduto qualche anno dopo a Napoli, dove nel 1754 Antonio Genovesi dettò in italiano le proprie lezioni di economia, una disciplina mai entrata fino ad allora negli studi universitari. Sono gli anni in cui Carlo III di Borbone, promotore di riforme politiche ed economiche, fa di Napoli una grande capitale, aperta alle novità culturali, ai commerci e ai contatti, oltre che con la Spagna, con la Francia, l'Austria e l'Inghilterra. Si diffondono teorie e si promuovono discussioni intorno alla bontà del libero commercio secondo il modello inglese, o intorno ai danni legati alla separazione tra lavoro manuale e intellettuale. Antonio Genovesi è uno dei protagonisti più attivi di questi dibattiti e, animato da grande impegno sociale e civile, si prodiga per l'istituzione di un insegnamento universitario di economia. Quando la cattedra gli viene assegnata, decide di pronunciare le proprie lezioni in italiano, al fine di raggiungere il numero più ampio possibile di studenti e di promuovere un'educazione civile in grado di costruire una società nuova, moderna e prospera¹¹.

10 Claudio Marazzini, *Piemonte e Italia. Storia di un confronto linguistico*, Torino, Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1984, p. 112 e Id., *La lingua italiana. Profilo storico*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994, pp. 325–326.

11 Patricia Bianchi, Nicola De Blasi, Rita Librandi, *Storia della lingua a Napoli e in Campania*, Napoli, Pironti, 1993, pp. 138–141.

Negli stessi anni in cui inizia il proprio corso di economia all'università, Genovesi pubblica un'opera che rappresenta la sintesi più importante delle riflessioni economiche del XVIII secolo: si tratta della *Storia del commercio della Gran Bretagna* (1757–1758), un trattato che unisce ad alcuni studi dello stesso Genovesi anche due traduzioni, rispettivamente dal francese e dall'inglese, sulla storia del commercio d'Inghilterra. L'autore conosceva bene entrambe le lingue e dal contatto con le idee prodotte in paesi che in quegli anni stavano sviluppando una nuova politica economica scaturiscono non solo le sue elaborazioni originali ma anche la formazione di un lessico di cui l'italiano ancora mancava e che sarebbe arrivato, attraverso le sue lezioni, nelle aule dell'Università di Napoli. Nel tradurre e nel riprendere ora dal francese ora dall'inglese, Genovesi non si mostra mai passivo: cerca cioè di evitare i prestiti linguistici e di sfruttare il più possibile le risorse della lingua italiana per esprimere i nuovi concetti. Il *commercio*, per esempio, che anche nel titolo dell'opera traduce l'inglese *trade*, non indica solo lo scambio delle merci tra paesi, ma si riferisce a una precisa teoria economica, che per la ricchezza di uno Stato riteneva più importanti le esportazioni delle importazioni. È l'assunto da cui muove la cosiddetta *political economy*, madre di ciò che oggi definiamo *economia di mercato* e designata con un sintagma che proprio in quegli anni si va affermando nella lingua inglese. Solo in qualche raro caso Genovesi lo ricalca in italiano, preferendogli invece l'espressione *economia civile*: dunque per tradurre *trade* l'economista napoletano si serve, analogamente al francese *commerce*, del termine *commercio*, ma per rendere *political economy* sceglie il sintagma con cui indica la propria concezione di economia e in cui l'aggettivo *civile* sottolinea l'importanza della solidarietà tra i popoli prima ancora della ricchezza individuale¹². Non per nulla al corso universitario, che pubblicherà tra il 1765 e il 1767, Genovesi darà il titolo di *Lezioni di commercio o sia di economia civile*.

Non dovunque si ripete ciò che accade a Napoli, ma se si leggono le disposizioni che in molte università italiane sono date in quegli anni a professori e a studenti, si intuisce che quasi ovunque ci si pone il problema della lingua in cui insegnare, problema reso ancor più evidente dalle difficoltà incontrate dagli studenti delle facoltà scientifiche a comprendere il latino. Nell'Università di Padova, per esempio, si distingue tra lezioni pubbliche e "private": le prime sono recitate a memoria, con

12 R. Librandi, *Sul lessico dell'economia negli scritti di Antonio Genovesi e Ferdinando Galiani*, in *Letteratura e industria*, Atti del XV Congresso AISLLI (Torino, 15–19 maggio 1994), a cura di Giorgio Bàrberi Squarotti e C. Ossola, Firenze, Olschki, 1997, pp. 239–252; Ead., *Note sulla traduzione del Tesoro del commercio di Antonio Genovesi*, in *Tra res e imago. In memoria di Augusto Placanica*, a cura di Maria Mafrici e Maria Rosaria Pelizzari, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2007, pp. 541–552.

grande sfoggio di erudizione e di terminologia altisonante, che poco giova agli studenti, mentre le seconde, che sono tenute in privato dai professori, dovrebbero spiegare con maggiore chiarezza e profondità i contenuti delle prime. Poiché, tuttavia, le lezioni private finiscono con l'essere saltuarie e poco curate, nel 1761 si stabilisce di farle svolgere nelle aule universitarie, riducendo il numero delle lezioni pubbliche e obbligando i docenti a rendere conto dettagliatamente delle loro materie. In entrambi i casi si ricorre al latino, ma mentre si chiede la massima correttezza ai docenti, si tollera che durante le lezioni private gli studenti usino un latino italianizzato o alternino le due lingue. Accade anche che alcuni professori dichiarino di fare lezione "in italiano anzi padovano" e che i Riformatori deplorino sia l'uso di un latino povero, e quindi di poca utilità per gli studenti, sia il ricorso a un italiano mescolato "degli'idiatismi di loro patrie diverse" non "intesi da molti de forestieri".¹³ Le resistenze durano ancora a lungo, ma dopo il 1771 si accettano alcuni compromessi, che concedono all'italiano spazi sempre più ampi, soprattutto per alcune discipline applicative come l'ostetricia, l'architettura pratica, l'anatomia.

Nel giro di pochi decenni, il latino sarà progressivamente e stabilmente abbandonato, ma in compenso, nell'istruzione superiore del XVIII sec., diverranno oggetto di studio anche le lingue moderne straniere. Fino a quel momento era stato possibile studiare le lingue moderne solo privatamente, perlopiù con l'aiuto di precettori madrelingua, ma l'incremento degli scambi politici e commerciali faceva sì che nel Settecento gli studi superiori si aprissero anche all'apprendimento di lingue moderne diverse dalla propria. La svolta si verificò ancora una volta a Napoli, grazie all'impegno del sacerdote missionario Matteo Ripa (1682–1746), che per diversi anni, dal 1711 al 1723, aveva soggiornato in Cina, esercitando, presso la corte dell'imperatore Kangxi, anche la professione di pittore e incisore su rame. Nel 1724 ritornò a Napoli e portò con sé quattro giovani cinesi e un maestro di lingua e scrittura mandarinese: fu il primo nucleo di un'importante istituzione, che nel 1732, grazie al fervore delle sue attività, fu ufficialmente riconosciuta da papa Clemente XII come il Collegio dei Cinesi. Il nuovo istituto si aprì ben presto uno spazio importante tra le scuole di studi superiori e si specializzò nella formazione di giovani religiosi cinesi destinati alla diffusione della fede cattolica nel proprio paese. Dal 1747, però, furono ammessi al Collegio anche giovani provenienti dai paesi dell'Impero Ottomano, come gli Albanesi, i Bosniaci, i Montenegrini, i Serbi,

13 Piero Del Negro, "Pura favella latina", "latino ordinario", "buono e pulito italiano" e "italiano anzi padovano". I "vari linguaggi" della didattica universitaria nella Padova del Settecento, in "Annali di storia delle Università italiane", 3, 1999, rivista online del CISUI, Centro interuniversitario per la storia delle Università italiane, www.cisui.unibo.it/annali/03/annali_03.htm.

i Bulgari e i Greci, che vi ricevevano una formazione religiosa per diventare sacerdoti e per apprendere le lingue dei paesi dove avrebbero svolto la loro attività missionaria.

È superfluo ricordare il ruolo essenziale svolto in età moderna dalla Chiesa e dai missionari sia per lo studio delle lingue afro-asiatiche e amerindie sia per le strategie comunicative con cui riuscirono ad abbattere le barriere linguistiche. Gli scopi del Collegio, però, si ampliarono progressivamente e inclusero la formazione di interpreti esperti nelle lingue della Cina e dell'India, destinati a lavorare soprattutto per la Compagnia di Ostenda, la potente compagnia commerciale che godeva della protezione dell'imperatore Carlo VI d'Asburgo e aveva il compito di favorire i rapporti economici tra i paesi dell'Estremo Oriente e lo stesso Impero Asburgico. Gli interpreti diplomati al Collegio dei cinesi avrebbero continuato a svolgere il loro lavoro a servizio delle compagnie olandesi e inglesi almeno fino ai primi dell'Ottocento, confermando che le prime aperture alle lingue moderne negli studi superiori erano generate dallo slancio dato ai commerci soprattutto dalla Gran Bretagna e dai Paesi Bassi, uno slancio che fu contemporaneamente all'origine delle prime lezioni in italiano pronunciate da Genovesi e dei primi rapporti di scambio e reciprocità tra lingue diverse.

Questa particolare fisionomia del Collegio dei Cinesi fu esaltata dopo l'Unità d'Italia, quando divenne il luogo in cui più che altrove era possibile affrontare uno studio avanzato delle lingue straniere. Inizialmente si conservò anche la sezione del Collegio destinata ai religiosi missionari, ma si incrementarono sempre di più numerosi i corsi rivolti a laici interessati ad apprendere le lingue dell'Asia orientale. Si accrebbe progressivamente anche il numero delle lingue insegnate: se poco prima dell'Unità erano già stati introdotti l'arabo e il russo, con la riforma voluta da Francesco De Sanctis, critico letterario e per qualche tempo ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, si introdussero gli insegnamenti dell'hindi, dell'urdu, del persiano e del greco moderno. Nel 1888, anche grazie alla numerosità delle lingue insegnate e al moltiplicarsi degli studenti, l'Istituto perse la sezione missionaria e fu equiparato a un'università chiamata fin dall'inizio "L'Orientale"¹⁴.

14 Cfr., per le brevi notizie qui riportate e per una più ampia storia dell'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", Michele Fatica, *L'Istituto Orientale di Napoli come sede di scambio culturale tra Italia e Cina nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, in "Scritture di storia", 2, 2001, pp. 83-121 e Id., *Sedi e palazzi dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" (1729-2005)*, Napoli, Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2006; si veda anche *La missione cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVIII-XIX*, Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi, Atti del Colloquio internazionale (Napoli, 11-12 febbraio 1997), a cura di Michele Fatica e Francesco D'Arelli, Napoli, Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", 1999.

Dopo l'unificazione politica italiana, d'altro canto, l'esigenza di uno studio universitario delle lingue straniere si intensificò e nel 1868 si istituì a Venezia una nuova scuola di studi superiori che avrebbe assegnato all'insegnamento delle lingue un ruolo essenziale. L'attuale Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, infatti, nasce come Scuola Superiore di Commercio e Navigazione, frutto di un progetto con il quale la borghesia cittadina aveva puntato alla formazione di esperti del commercio e delle relazioni politiche tra i paesi. Si intendeva da un lato contrapporre la specificità degli studi all'antica tradizione dell'Università di Padova e dall'altro a esaltare le tradizioni mercantili di Venezia per farne, una volta entrata nel Regno d'Italia, in una città europea aperta verso l'Oriente. Si seguì il modello della Scuola superiore di commercio di Anversa e, pur tenendo sempre insieme insegnamenti teorici e pratici, si istituirono tre percorsi distinti: quello commerciale per la professione mercantile, il magistrale per l'insegnamento e quello consolare per la carriera diplomatica. In tutti e tre fu essenziale l'insegnamento delle lingue straniere: nell'anno in cui partirono le attività didattiche si istituirono solo le cattedre di francese, inglese, tedesco, e neogreco, ma seguirono, a distanza di solo un anno, l'arabo, il turco e il serbo croato e, nel 1873, il giapponese.¹⁵

Sono state le prime pietre di edifici che sarebbero divenuti sempre più solidi nel secolo successivo, dopo aver seguito un percorso lungo il quale le innovazioni positive erano sempre state prodotte dall'incontro e dagli scambi tra lingue e culture diverse.

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15 Cfr. Amelio Tagliaferri, *Profilo storico di Ca' Foscari: (1868–69 1968–69)*, in "Bollettino di Ca' Foscari", numero speciale, 1971; Marino Berengo, *La fondazione della Scuola superiore di commercio*, Venezia, Poligrafo, 1989; Giannantonio Paladini, *Profilo storico dell'Ateneo*, Venezia, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 1996.

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Ulrich Ammon

Deutsch und Englisch in Forschung und Lehre an deutschen Universitäten: Geschichte, gegenwärtige Situation und Zukunftsperspektiven

Abstract: German and English in university research and teaching in Germany: History, current situation, and future perspectives

The article begins with a short global overview of major scientific languages from the early beginning of the history of science, and then focuses on Europe and, more specifically, on German as a language of science. German became established as the language of research and teaching at German universities, replacing Latin, during the 18th and 19th century and was an important component of nation building. It rose to a major international scientific language by the end of the 19th century, especially in the natural sciences, but began losing ground to English after WWI. What followed was its rather continuous downfall as an international scientific language in the course of the 20th century. Lately, it has even lost ground to English within the German-speaking countries.

The article describes this development, corroborating it with relevant and significant data, and also providing explanations based on various pertinent theories. In addition, it shows and explains differences in the rise and fall of German as an international language of science across the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities, with the latter comprising the remaining “niche subjects” which use German as an international scientific language. Special attention is given to the newly introduced study programmes taught in English and their consequences for the international and national standing of the German language. This is augmented by their possible counter effects on Germany’s attempts to promote studies of German as a foreign language abroad.

It becomes obvious that attempts at reversing the situation between English and German (or, in fact, any other language) are futile and that even maintaining the current scientific bilingualism or multilingualism will be difficult, at least at universities in German-speaking countries. Hand in hand with this problem, the advantages and disadvantages of scientific multilingualism and monolingualism for the various players involved are also discussed. These function simultaneously as subjective and objective factors which have a considerable impact on ongoing changes.

1. Ein kurzer, aber tiefer Rückblick in die Geschichte der Wissenschaftssprachen¹

Um mein Thema in einen größeren historischen Zusammenhang einzuordnen, möchte ich zunächst die in der menschlichen Geschichte bislang vermutlich wichtigsten Wissenschaftssprachen wenigstens nennen: Sanskrit, Chinesisch, klassisches Griechisch, Latein, klassisches Arabisch, Italienisch, Spanisch, Französisch, Niederländisch, Deutsch, Russisch, Japanisch und Englisch. Über ihre Auswahl und Abgrenzung kann man zweifellos streiten, wozu jedoch hier kein Raum ist. Ich habe die in meinen Augen gewichtigsten unterstrichen, wobei ich europazentrische Voreingenommenheit nicht ausschließen kann. Die beiden im vorliegenden Aufsatz hauptsächlich erörterten (Deutsch und Englisch) habe ich zudem kursiv geschrieben, und die in der heutigen Zeit, vielleicht aber in der bisherigen Menschheitsgeschichte überhaupt gewichtigste (Englisch) ist noch zusätzlich durch Fettdruck hervorgehoben.

Vermutlich sind kurze Hinweise angebracht zu den für heutige, vor allem europäische Zeitgenossen besonders exotisch anmutenden Sprachen. Im Sanskrit Indiens sind nicht nur die berühmten religiösen Veden verfasst, sondern auch die umfangreiche und systematische Grammatik dieser alten indoeuropäischen Sprache von Panini (5. oder 4. Jahrhundert v.u.Z.), die auch noch moderne SprachwissenschaftlerInnen beeindruckt, sowie Schriften zur Philosophie und Mathematik. Die wohl berühmteste Erfindung der in Sanskrit verfassten indischen Wissenschaft ist die Zahl 0 als Grundlage unseres heutigen Zahlensystems.² Sanskrit hat seine wissenschaftliche Funktion schon lange eingebüßt, und seine Nachfolgesprachen, darunter Hindi als die gewichtigste, sind – auch in ihrem Heimatland Indien – als Wissenschaftssprachen im Schatten von Englisch verblieben.

Was klassisches Arabisch betrifft, ist Georg Wilhelm Leibniz Zeuge des einstigen Ruhms als große Wissenschaftssprache, der es um das Jahr 1700 den Deutschen – allen Deutschsprachigen – als Vorbild nannte. Seine Ermahnung an sie, ihre eigene deutsche Sprache “auszubauen” (wie Soziolinguisten sagen würden), hebt an wie folgt: “1. Es ist bekandt, daß die Sprach ein Spiegel des Verstandes, und dass die Völcker, wenn Sie den Verstand hoch schwingen, auch zugleich die

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- 1 Eine ausführlichere Geschichte der großen Wissenschaftssprachen findet sich in Ammon (2013). Reich an relevanten Informationen, über die Wissenschaftssprachen hinaus, ist auch Trabant (2003).
 - 2 Zur provisorischen Einführung in die klassische indische Wissenschaft eignen sich die Stichwörter “Panini (Grammatiker)”, “Indische Philosophie” und “Indische Mathematik” in Wikipedia.

Sprache wohl ausüben, welches der Griechen, Römer und Araber Beyspiele zeigen” (Leibniz 1717, 327).³ Das Arabische spielte vor allem eine wichtige Rolle als Vermittlersprache indischer und griechischer Erkenntnisse an die europäische Wissenschaft. Sie wurden aus dem Sanskrit und klassischen Griechisch ins Arabische übersetzt und von dort weiter ins Lateinische. Wichtige Vermittler, aber auch Bereicherer von Philosophie und Mathematik waren Al-Farabi (872–950), Avicenna (980–1037) und Averroës (1126–1198). In neuerer Zeit wurde das Arabische weitgehend auf religiöse Funktionen reduziert. Indikatoren seiner früheren Bedeutung sind daraus entlehnte Termini wie “Algebra” oder “Algorithmus”.

Das klassische Chinesisch war einst die wichtigste Wissenschaftssprache in Ostasien, mit Ausstrahlung auch auf Japan. Die Wirkung Chinas auf Europa beschränkte sich allerdings weitgehend auf Techniken wie die Herstellung von Papier, Porzellan oder Schießpulver. Modernes Chinesisch, Mandarin, ist heute eine aufsteigende Wissenschaftssprache und in manchen Naturwissenschaften schon weltweit zweithäufigste Publikationssprache – allerdings mit großem und meines Erachtens auf absehbare Zeit unaufholbarem Abstand zu Englisch.⁴

Das Chinesische regt an zu der Erkenntnis, dass große Wissenschaftssprachen – bislang jedenfalls – immer auf einer wirtschaftlich starken Muttersprachgemeinschaft basierten. Die Wirtschaftskraft ist offenbar eine notwendige, wenngleich nicht hinreichende Bedingung für die Entfaltung von Wissenschaft und damit auch für die Entstehung einer bedeutenden Wissenschaftssprache. China, Indien oder das Römische Reich, das die westliche Wissenschaftssprache mit dem bislang längsten Gebrauch, das Latein, hervorbrachte, waren einst wirtschaftlich dominante Mächte, und dies gilt auch für die Sprachgemeinschaften der neueren großen Wissenschaftssprachen.⁵

2. Die langfristige Entwicklung im Westen von einer echten Lingua franca über internationale Mehrsprachigkeit zu einer unechten Lingua franca

Die in der Überschrift angedeutete Epocheneinteilung lässt sich beziehen auf wirtschaftliche, gesellschaftliche und politische Aspekte, wie 1) Feudalismus, 2) Kapitalismus und Nationalstaatenbildung, 3) postnationale Konstellation und

3 Eine Anspielung darauf ist die Diagnose und Prognose für die deutsche Sprache heute von Gerhard Stickel (2009).

4 Ammon (2014, vor allem 547–603); auch Abbildung 1 im vorliegenden Text.

5 Dazu und zur Entstehung anderer Wirtschaftsmächte Maddison (2007). Dankenswerter Hinweis von Markus Taube.

Globalisierung. Bei aller Holzschnittartigkeit und offenkundigem Differenzierungsbedarf lässt diese Dreiteilung doch den Zusammenhang zwischen Wissenschaftssprachen und ökonomisch-politischen Entwicklungen ahnen.

In der europäischen Antike waren zunächst Griechisch und später Latein vorherrschende Wissenschaftssprachen. Dabei handelte es sich um unechte *Linguae francae* (oder – mit italienischem Plural – *Lingue franche*). Das wesentliche Merkmal einer *Lingua franca*, wie ich sie hier verstehe, ist, dass sie auch von Nicht-Muttersprachlern, also als Fremdsprache, gebraucht wird. Als *unecht* bezeichne ich eine *Lingua franca*, an der sich außer Fremdsprachlern auch Muttersprachler beteiligen. Dagegen ist eine *echte* *Lingua franca* für alle Kommunikationsteilnehmer eine Fremdsprache. Diese begegnen sich dann sprachlich gewissermaßen auf gleicher Augenhöhe. Der Unterschied zwischen echter und unechter *Lingua franca* ist wichtig für das Verständnis von kommunikativer Fairness und damit zusammenhängenden Konflikten und Ressentiments, auch in der heutigen Welt.⁶

Im Mittelalter wurde Latein echte *Lingua franca*, als es nämlich auch für Italiener zur Fremdsprache wurde. Somit hatte kein Benutzer mehr den „Muttersprachvorteil“. Allerdings war Latein damit auf eine winzige Bildungsschicht eingeschränkt, was sicher dazu beitrug, dass es – bei aller mit einer echten *Lingua franca* verbundenen Fairness – als vorherrschende Wissenschaftssprache keinen dauerhaften Bestand hatte, sondern von den „Volkssprachen“ abgelöst wurde.

Fürs Deutsche hat vor allem Uwe Pörksen diesen Übergang nachgezeichnet (Pörksen 1986). Dabei konnte er sich auf die akribischen Vorarbeiten von Leonardo Olschki (1919; 1922; 1927) stützen. Dieser unterstrich den Praxisbezug damaliger Wissenschaft, vor allem auf Kunst, Architektur und das Militärwesen. Derart praktisch motiviert war auch das frühe deutschsprachige Mathematikbuch des Malers Albrecht Dürer 1525: „Underweysung der messung mit dem zirckel und richtscheyt in Linien ebenen unnd gantzen corporen“.⁷ Typischerweise wurde es erst nach der Übersetzung ins Lateinische über das deutsche Sprachgebiet hinaus verbreitet wurde; sogar Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) hat es noch für seine Vorlesungen benützt.

Allerdings stand das Latein auch für überholte Denkweisen, weshalb Neuerer sich der Volkssprache zuwandten. Auf diesem Wege suchte z.B. Galilei Verbündete für seine dem „gesunden Menschenverstand“ so einleuchtenden empirischen Methoden, deren Anerkennung die in Tradition und Dogmen gefangenen Scholastiker verweigerten. So lässt sich – zugegeben vereinfacht – seine Motivation für

6 Dazu Ammon (2014, 18–38).

7 Näheres dazu in Olschki (1919, 414–451).

die Wahl seines toskanischen Italienisch für die Auseinandersetzung mit seinen wissenschaftlichen Gegnern erklären, vor allem für sein bekanntestes Werk: „Il Saggiatore“ (Die Goldwaage), das 1623 erschien. Jedoch lehnten auch manche wissenschaftlich Gleichgesinnten seine Sprachwahl ab. Weniger vielleicht, weil er damit die Ordo-Grenze zwischen „Gebildeten“ und breiter Bevölkerung überschritt, sondern mehr noch, weil er die Stellung der *Lingua franca*, Latein, mit ihrer europaweiten Kommunikationsmöglichkeit unterminierte. Johannes Kepler, der Galileis Italienisch offenbar nicht verstand – ein Indiz, wie weit dieses sich linguistisch vom Lateinischen entfernt hatte – „sprach, in unvergleichlicher doppeldeutiger Formulierung, von einem *crimen laesae humanitatis* [...], einem Verbrechen sowohl gegen die ‚Mitmenschlichkeit‘ als auch gegen die ‚Bildung‘“. ⁸ Man ahnt schon, dass dieses „Verbrechen“ ein Vorbote der Nationalstaatsentwicklung war, in der einerseits die „Muttersprache“ zunehmendes Gewicht bekam, auch für die Identität der Beteiligten, womit die transnationale Verbindung durch die *Lingua franca* untergraben wurde, aber andererseits eine gewissermaßen kleinformatige *Lingua franca* durch Standardisierung entwickelt wurde (Schaffung einer Standardvarietät), die der Überbrückung der dialektalen Vielfalt diente. Jedoch kann ich dieses – letztlich auch mit den Wissenschaftssprachen zusammenhängende – Thema hier nicht weiter verfolgen.

Womöglich erschienen geisteswissenschaftliche, nicht zuletzt sprachwissenschaftliche Werke eher früher in den Muttersprachen als naturwissenschaftliche, mehr und mehr schon seit dem 15. Jahrhundert. Ein berühmtes Beispiel des Spanischen ist Antonio de Nebrija's „Gramática da La lengua castellana“ (1492). Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts entstand die erste staatliche Institution, die betraut wurde mit der Pflege, aber auch der Erforschung der Muttersprache: die *Accademia della Crusca* (1583, in Florenz, Italien), die 1612 das „Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca“ herausbrachte, das erste Wörterbuch der italienischen Sprache. In Frankreich wurde 1635 die *Académie française* mit analogen Aufgaben betraut. Mit diesen Institutionen wurde zugleich der kontinuierliche Gebrauch der Muttersprachen für die Sprach- und Geisteswissenschaften etabliert.

In den Naturwissenschaften war die Abkehr von Latein und Hinwendung zur eigenen Sprache am nachhaltigsten in England und Frankreich. Leuchttürme wurden die 1662 gegründete *Royal Society* mit ihrer ab 1665 regelmäßig erscheinenden Zeitschrift „Philosophical Transactions“, bzw. die *Académie des Sciences* (Gründungsdatum 1666) mit dem ebenfalls ab 1665 periodisch erscheinenden „Journal des Sçavans“. Zwar schrieben die meisten Gelehrten überwiegend weiter

8 Stroh (2007, 244).

auf Latein, aber zunehmend auch in der Volkssprache. Bahnbrechend z.B. Isaac Newton's „Opticks“ (1704), über die Spektralanalyse und Zusammensetzung des Lichts.

Die Entwicklung im deutschen Sprachgebiet war beeinträchtigt durch die Zerstörungen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1618–1648), aber auch durch die Sprachenvielfalt des Heiligen Römischen Reichs (Deutscher Nation), die zum Festhalten an Latein motivierte. Dennoch gab es schon im 17. Jahrhundert mutige Anstöße zur Verwendung von Deutsch – auch schon vor dem oben erwähnten Aufruf von Leibniz (siehe Anm. 2). Ein berühmtes Beispiel für die Hochschullehre bot Christian Thomasius mit seiner Vorlesung auf Deutsch „Discours Welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinem Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle“ im Jahr 1687 an der Universität Leipzig, der 1688 eine weitere sowie die 1688 und 1689 publizierten deutschsprachigen „Monats-Gespräche“ folgten. Dies war zwar nicht die erste deutschsprachige Vorlesung – einzelne andere gab es schon davor –, es war aber die früheste weithin beachtete. Die genauere Entwicklung an den Hochschulen im deutschen Sprachgebiet, mit Einzelheiten am Beispiel der Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, hat Jürgen Schiewe untersucht (Schiewe 1996).

Der vielleicht wirkmächtigste Pionier deutscher Wissenschaftssprache war der Philosoph und Mathematiker Christian Wolff (1679–1754).⁹ Herausragend war sein Buch „Anfangs-Gründe Aller Mathematischen Wissenschaften“ (1710). Er schuf eine große Zahl von heute selbstverständlichen Termini wie „Begriff“ (für ‚idea‘), „Eigenschaft“ (für ‚attributum‘), „Ausnahme“ (für ‚exceptio‘) usw.¹⁰ Allerdings übersetzte Wolff seine Werke später selbst ins Lateinische, um sie über das deutsche Sprachgebiet hinaus bekannt zu machen.¹¹

Deutsch war damals nämlich noch keine internationale Sprache, auch nicht in der Wissenschaft. Bei Leibniz (1646–1716), der zeitlebens nur auf Latein und Französisch publizierte (seine „Unvorgreifliche[n] Gedancken“ erschienen posthum), war das noch offenkundig. Jedoch blieb Deutsch noch lange weitgehend auf sein muttersprachliches Gebiet eingeschränkt. Seine Entfaltung als Wissenschaftssprache wurde auch dadurch behindert, dass im deutschen Sprachgebiet – anders als im französischen und englischen – keine zentrale Wissenschaftsakademie entstand. Die *Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgische Societät der Wissenschaften* (seit 1700) wurde sogar zeitweilig (1763–1786) von Paris aus geleitet – auf Französisch,

9 Näheres in Menzel (1996).

10 Entnommen aus Stroh (2007, 242). Weitere Beispiele in Pörksen (1983, 254).

11 Dazu Wolff (1964–2004).

von den Sekretären der französischen Académie des Sciences: Jean-Baptiste le Rond, genannt „d’Alembert“, und Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet. Goethe ließ noch 1784 seine Studie zum Zwischenkieferknochen ins Lateinische übersetzen, um sie vor allem dem niederländischen Anatom Petrus Camper zugänglich zu machen (Pörksen 1983, 254). Nicht einmal einem niederländischen Wissenschaftler traute er also Lesekenntnisse in Deutsch zu!

Aus Tradition und wegen mangelnder Internationalität der deutschen Sprache blieben Französisch und Latein bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein Publikations-sprachen deutschsprachiger Wissenschaftler, neben aufkommendem Deutsch. Ein berühmtes Beispiel bietet der Mathematiker Carl Friedrich Gauß (1777–1855), der noch – soweit mir bekannt, ohne Bedenken – auf Latein publizierte, z.B. seine „Disquisitiones generales circa superficies curvas“ (Allgemeine Untersuchungen über gekrümmte Flächen) (1827) oder seine „Principia generalia theoriae figurae fluidorum in statu aequilibrii“ (Allgemeine Grundlagen einer Theorie der Gestalt von Flüssigkeiten im Zustand des Gleichgewichts) (1829). Erst in der zweiten Hälfte und ganz entschieden dann gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts änderten sich die Einstellung zu den Sprachen und die Sprachwahl im deutschen Sprachgebiet.

Unter dem Eindruck des nationalen Aufstiegs Deutschlands verdrängten die meisten Wissenschaftler das Problem, das sicher schon Kepler in seiner Kritik an Galilei vorschwebte (Anm. 8) und das d’Alembert in seiner Vorrede zur großen französischen „Encyclopédie“ wie folgt zugespitzt hatte:

„Notre Langue étant répandue par toute l’Europe, nous avons crû qu’il étoit tems de la substituer à la Langue latine, qui depuis la renaissance des Lettres étoit celle de nos Savans. [...] Les Savans des autres nations à qui nous avons donné l’exemple, ont crû avec raison qu’ils écrieroient encore mieux dans leur Langue que dans la nôtre. L’Angleterre nous a donc imité; l’Allemagne, où le Latin sembloit s’être réfugié, commence insensiblement à en perdre l’usage : je ne doute pas qu’elle ne soit bien-tôt suivie par les Suédois, les Danois, & les Russiens. Ainsi, avant la fin du dix-huitieme siecle, un Philosophe qui voudra s’instruire à fond des découvertes de ses prédécesseurs, sera contraint de charger sa mémoire de sept à huit Langues différentes; & après avoir consumé à les apprendre le tems le plus précieux de sa vie, il mourra avant de commencer à s’instruire.“¹²

Künftig müsse also der ‚Gelehrte‘ („Philosophe“) sieben bis acht Sprachen lernen, ehe er mit seiner eigentlichen Arbeit beginnen könne, und verlöre damit die kostbarste Zeit seines Lebens. Bei aller Übertreibung enthält diese Warnung doch auch ein Körnchen Wahrheit. Sie verweist einerseits auf die beschränkte

12 „Discours des editeur“. In *Encyclopédie*, Tombe I, 1751, 39f.; dankenswerte Zusendung von Hans Goebel.

Reichweite der Nationalsprachen, die damit den Erfordernissen wissenschaftlicher Kommunikation nicht voll genügen, weil Wissenschaftler über die nationalen Grenzen hinaus kommunizieren sollten. Andererseits verdeutlicht sie, dass nicht alle Nationalsprachen auch internationale Sprachen sein können, weil dies – bei ihrer Vielzahl – die Sprachlernkapazität der Kommunikanten übersteigen würde. Daher – dies legen d’Alembert’s Sorgen nahe – bedarf es einer restriktiven Auswahl von Sprachen für die internationale wissenschaftliche Kommunikation, so dass möglichst viele Wissenschaftler sie auch erlernen können: für mindestens eine davon aktive Kenntnisse (schriftlich und mündlich) und für die anderen wenigstens passive. Die anderen, auf den nationalen Rahmen beschränkten Sprachen dienen dann weitgehend nur den eigenen Muttersprachlern zur – auch wissenschaftlichen – Kommunikation.

Diese Auswahl erfolgte dann – unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse – so, dass zunächst für längere Zeit, vor allem im 18. Jahrhundert, Französisch vorrangig war, in Ansätzen auch schon Englisch, und im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts. Deutsch hinzu trat, so dass drei ungefähr gleichrangige internationale Wissenschaftssprachen entstanden. Wenn man die damit erreichten Verhältnisse vereinfacht, so wurde Deutsch vor allem in der Wissenschaft eine internationale Sprache. Französisch und Englisch wurden dies auch, jedoch wurde Französisch darüber hinaus eine internationale Sprache der Diplomatie und Englisch des Handels. Womöglich war Deutsch zeitweilig sogar die international vorherrschende Wissenschaftssprache oder hatte zumindest dieses Image. Neben diesen drei vor allem gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und anfangs des 20. Jahrhunderts weltweit vorherrschenden internationalen Wissenschaftssprachen kamen – allerdings in begrenzterem Maße – noch andere ins Spiel, wie Italienisch, Spanisch, Niederländisch, Schwedisch und später Russisch. Auch sie dienten nicht nur zur Kommunikation innerhalb der eigenen Sprachgemeinschaft, sondern – in spezielleren Zusammenhängen – auch zur internationalen Lingua-franca-Kommunikation. Genauer handelte es sich bei all diesen Wissenschaftssprachen allerdings um “*unechte Linguae francae*”, um die obige Begriffsspezifizierung (Anfang Kap. 2) wieder aufzugreifen, insofern außer den Nicht-Muttersprachlern auch Muttersprachler beteiligt waren.

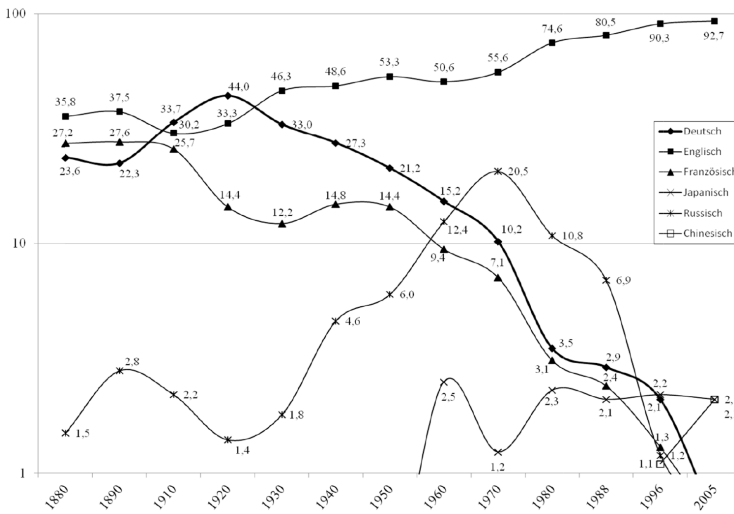
3. Von internationaler Dreisprachigkeit zu einer einzigen dominanten Welt-Wissenschaftssprache

Um die in der Überschrift zu diesem Kapitel angezeigte Entwicklung zu illustrieren, lege ich hier Daten vor, die zugleich den Ausgangspunkt wie auch den Verlauf der neueren Veränderung belegen: sowohl die zeitweilig ungefähre

Gleichrangigkeit dreier Wissenschaftssprachen als auch den folgenden Aufstieg einer einzigen davon, Englisch, zur weltweit vorherrschenden Stellung.¹³

Abbildung 1 liefert einen Überblick über die weltweiten Anteile an den Publikationen in den bedeutendsten Naturwissenschaften einschließlich Medizin und Mathematik in der Zeit von 1880 bis 2005. Bei der Interpretation der Abbildung ist die Logarithmierung der Ordinate zu beachten, die den Größenunterschied zwischen den Extremen visuell drastisch reduziert, dafür aber die Sprachen mit niedrigen Anteilen deutlicher auseinander hält.

Abb. 1: Sprachenanteile an den naturwissenschaftlichen Publikationen weltweit 1880–2005, in Prozent (Ordinate logarithmiert. Anteile anderer Sprachen durchgehend unter 1%. Mittelwerte verschiedener Disziplinen aus Datenbanken verschiedener Staaten. Ältere Zahlen aus Tsunoda 1983, jüngere nach Ammon 1998: 146–151 sowie aus “Biological Abstracts” (Biologie, nur bis 2004), “Chemical Abstracts” (Chemie), “Medline” (Medizin), “INSPEC” (Physik) und “Mathematical Reviews”, letztere nur bis 1996).



Diese Befunde, die ich – unterschiedlich detailliert – verschiedentlich veröffentlicht habe, wurden gelegentlich hinsichtlich der Datengrundlage angezweifelt. Unter anderem wurde eingewandt, dass die Anteile von Deutsch zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts übertrieben sein könnten, da die Deutschen den ausgewerteten

13 Näheres dazu auch in Ammon (1998, vor allem 1–15).

periodischen Bibliographien jede nur denkbare Veröffentlichung zugeschickt hätten. Jedoch ist zu bedenken, dass in die zugrunde liegende Statistik Tsunodas (1983) für diese Zeitspanne periodische Bibliographien verschiedener Staaten einbezogen und deren Sprachenanteile gemittelt wurden: deutsche, französische, russische, britische und amerikanische. Zwar erscheint bei Einbeziehung nur angelsächsischer Bibliographien Englisch durchgehend, also auch zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, als vorherrschend, jedoch liegen die Anteile von Deutsch und Französisch für jene Zeit auch dabei kaum niedriger.¹⁴ Somit belegen diese Daten durchaus zuverlässig die Prominenz und annähernde Gleichrangigkeit von Deutsch, Englisch und Französisch gegen Ende des 19. und im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts, speziell für die Naturwissenschaften – wie auch den folgenden Aufstieg des Englischen, auf den und seine Folgen ich im nächsten Kapitel näher zu sprechen komme. Man beachte auch den Aufstieg von Chinesisch, wenn auch auf ein noch bescheidenes Niveau, in neuester Zeit.

Zuvor noch ein weiterer Beleg für die tatsächlich prominente Stellung von Deutsch in den Naturwissenschaften aus einer von mir selbst (also nicht von den Institutionen des Impactfaktors: *Institute for Scientific Information* oder *Thomson Reuters*) durchgeführte repräsentative Zitatensanalyse von Zeitschriften der Chemie aus sechs Staaten verschiedener Nationalsprache über die Zeitspanne 1920–1990 (Frankreich, Niederlande, Polen, Sowjetunion, Ungarn, USA). Diese Analyse zeigt für die Zeit um 1920 allenthalben (also in den Zeitschriften aller untersuchten Staaten) einen deutlichen Vorrang von Zitaten aus deutschsprachigen Publikationen (Deutsch 50,5%; Englisch 14,3%, Französisch 10,0%). Diverse, weniger deutliche Belege für andere Naturwissenschaften zeigen eine ähnliche, wenngleich vielleicht weniger markant ausgeprägt Tendenz – einschließlich des Aufstiegs von Englisch. Die Zitatensanalyse zur Chemie belegt diesen Aufstieg eindrucksvoll durch die in der Zeit mit um 1990 quantitativ umgekehrten Proportionen der Zitatensquellen (57,6% aus englischsprachigen Texten, 10,7% aus deutschsprachigen und 3,2% aus französischsprachigen).¹⁵ Während also zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts überwiegend aus deutschsprachigen naturwissenschaftlichen Publikationen zitiert wird, besonders in der Chemie, waren gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts englischsprachige Publikationen die mit Abstand häufigste Zitierquelle.

Die Dominanz des Englischen wird durch zahlreiche weitere Beobachtungen bestätigt, von denen ich hier nur wenige nenne. Eine davon ist die Anglisierung

14 Dazu Mackey (1989, 11).

15 Ammon (1998, 38–56, 53).

ehemals deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften die schon die Anglisierung ihrer Titel verrät, wie z.B.:

- "Archiv für Verdauungskrankheiten" > "Gastroenterologia" > „Digestion“,
- "Radiologische Rundschau" > "Radiologia Clinica" > "Diagnostic Imaging",
- "Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie" > "Ethology".

Viele weitere ließen sich hinzufügen. Die Sprache des Titels indiziert die Sprache der Beiträge. Ein mehrsprachiger oder lateinischer Titel zeigt meist Mehrsprachigkeit an und bildet oft eine Übergangsstufe. Ein englischer Titel bedeutet dagegen in der Regel, dass Beiträge in anderen Sprachen als Englisch ausgeschlossen sind. Ähnlich die Entwicklung französisch- und anderssprachiger Zeitschriften. So hat z.B. auch das berühmte *Institut Pasteur* in Paris 1989 seine drei "Annales" auf Englisch umgestellt.

Ein vielleicht noch fundamentaleres Indiz für die Entwicklung ist die Sprachumstellung deutscher periodischer Bibliographien oder bibliographischer Datenbanken, typischerweise zunächst die Anglisierung des Titels und darauf folgend dann sogar die Übernahme durch die angelsächsische Konkurrenz, wie z.B. (→ = Titelländerung, c = Übernahme):

- "Chemisches Zentralblatt" (seit 1830) c "Chemical Abstracts" (1969) oder
- "Physikalische Berichte" (seit 1845) → "Physics Briefs" (1979) c "Physics Abstracts" (1995).

Die in verschiedene Fachrichtungen aufgeteilten deutschen Abstraktdienste der Biologie wurden schon nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg durch "Biological Abstracts" verdrängt. Ein Sonderfall – fast möchte man von einem Überbleibsel sprechen – ist das "Zentralblatt für Mathematik (...) und ihre Grenzgebiete/Mathematics Abstracts", das zwar einen englischen Zusatztitel angenommen hat, aber von "Mathematical Reviews" (noch?) unabhängig ist.

Detailliertere Analysen verraten auch die Zeitspanne, in der die jeweiligen Fachwissenschaftler sich hauptsächlich sprachlich umstellten. So konnte ich z.B. für "Biological Abstracts" und "MathSci Disc" (CD-Version von "Mathematical Reviews") über eine längere Zeitspanne ermitteln, in welchen Sprachen die Beiträge der aus Deutschland stammenden Autoren verfasst waren. Tabelle 1 zeigt, wie sich ihr Anteil an den englischsprachigen und deutschsprachigen Beiträgen, die in diese Datenbanken aufgenommen wurden, entwickelt hat. Wie man sieht, wächst ihr Anteil an den englischsprachigen Beiträgen, was sich damit erklären lässt, dass die Autoren aus Deutschland allmählich auf Englisch als Publikationssprache umsteigen. Allerdings ist der Anstieg verhalten. Der Anteil an den deutschsprachigen Publikationen wächst rasanter und schießt geradezu in die

Höhe. Dies lässt sich kaum anders erklären, als dass die Autoren aus Deutschland mit der deutschen Sprache unter sich bleiben – weil Autoren anderer nationaler und sprachlicher Herkunft nicht mehr auf Deutsch publizieren. Offenbar entsteht diese Dynamik, jedenfalls in den beiden untersuchten Fächern, erst gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Jedoch lassen die Daten insgesamt an der heutigen Dominanz von Englisch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache keinen Zweifel – die ja auch fast alle WissenschaftlerInnen regelmäßig selbst erleben.

Tabelle 1: Entwicklung der Anteile von Autoren aus Deutschland in “Biological Abstracts” und “MathSci Disc” über längere Zeitspannen, in Prozent¹⁶

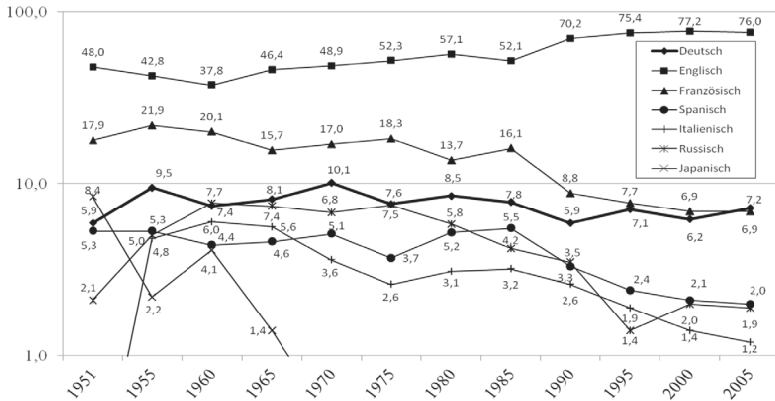
“Biological Abstracts”	1980	1984	1988	1992	1995										
An deutsch-sprachigen Beiträgen	22,0	23,6	26,7	10,7	77,2										
An englisch-sprachigen Beiträgen	0,7	3,0	3,1	1,4	5,3										
“MathSci Disc”	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1982	1983	1985	1990	1995	
An deutsch-sprachigen Beiträgen	1,3	–	–	1,3	0,9	1,8	2,4	1,3	2,1	4,4	27,7	38,8	51,2	58,0	
An englisch-sprachigen Beiträgen	5,3	5,6	4,8	5,3	4,8	5,9	6,3	6,0	6,0	6,2	10,2	12,2	12,1	12,3	

4. Fächerunterschiede und “Nischensprachen”

Die bisherige Fokussierung auf die Naturwissenschaften wirft die Frage auf nach Unterschieden zwischen den Fächern. Diverse Untersuchungen belegen zwar für alle Fächer eine Tendenz in Richtung Englisch, aber für die Sozial- und erst recht für die Geisteswissenschaften weniger als für die Naturwissenschaften. Allerdings gibt es für diese Wissenschaften keine ähnlich repräsentativen und zeitlich so weit zurückreichenden Datenbanken wie für die Naturwissenschaften. Abbildung 2 zeigt die Sprachenanteile an den weltweiten sozialwissenschaftlichen Publikationen für die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.

¹⁶ Ammon (1998, 154).

Abb. 2: Sprachenanteile an den sozialwissenschaftlichen Publikationen weltweit 1951–2005, in Prozent (Ordinate logarithmiert). Zahlen aus "International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)".



Wie man sieht, bleiben vor allem für die Anteile für Deutsch und Französisch deutlich größer als in den Naturwissenschaften.

Dies gilt jedoch nicht unbedingt für alle Sozialwissenschaften. Indikatorisch für die längerfristig teilweise ähnliche Entwicklung wie in die Naturwissenschaften ist die Zitatenanalyse wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften derselben sechs Staaten, über dieselbe Zeitspanne (1920–1990) wie für die Zeitschriften der Chemie oben (Anm. 15). Zwar zeigt sie eine größere Sprachenvielfalt zitierter Texte als in der Chemie, jedoch keinen deutlichen Unterschied im Verhältnis der drei hier im Fokus stehenden Sprachen. Auffällig ist auch hier der – grob gesprochen – ähnliche Rang als Zitierquelle um 1920 (Englisch 12,5%, Deutsch, 9,8%, Französisch 3,0%) sowie der beachtliche Zuwachs für Englisch und Rückgang für Deutsch und Französisch bis 1990 (Englisch 57,7%, Deutsch 3,1%, Französisch 1,6%).¹⁷ Vermutlich sind die Wirtschaftswissenschaften jedoch nicht sonderlich repräsentativ für die Sozialwissenschaften.

Leider liegt mir für die Soziologie selber keine entsprechende Zitatenanalyse vor. Ein Indiz für die noch bis in neueste Zeit geachtete Stellung von Deutsch liefert eine Erhebung des Internationalen Soziologenverbandes (*International Sociological Association, ISA*), in der durch eine weltweite Befragung die 10 soziologischen Bücher des 20. Jahrhunderts ermittelt wurden, die nach Einschätzung

17 Ammon (1998, 56–66, besonders 64).

der Verbandsmitglieder das Fach am stärksten beeinflusst haben. Tabelle 2 zeigt das Ergebnis, das beim Weltkongress der ISA 1998 in Montreal präsentiert wurde.

Tab. 2: Die Bücher des 20. Jahrhunderts mit dem größten Einfluss auf die Soziologie, aufgrund weltweiter Mitgliederbefragung des Internationalen Soziologenverbandes 1998¹⁸

In 1997 the ISA program committee surveyed members to identify the ten books published in the twentieth century that respondents considered to be the most influential for sociologists. This produced a 16% response rate and the list of books below.

<p><u>Max Weber, Economy and Society</u></p> <p>C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination</p> <p>Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure</p> <p><u>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism</u></p> <p>Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality</p> <p>Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste</p> <p><u>Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Power and Civility</u></p> <p><u>Jürgen Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action</u></p> <p>Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action</p> <p>Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life</p>
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Die von mir eingefügten Unterstreichungen markieren die ursprünglich auf Deutsch verfassten Titel, die allerdings später alle ins Englische übersetzt wurden. Nimmt man den ursprünglich französischsprachigen Titel von Bourdieu hinzu, so bleibt "nur" die Hälfte ursprünglich englischsprachig. Der damalige ISA-Präsident, der US-Amerikaner Immanuel Wallerstein, regte aufgrund dieses Befundes an, Deutsch zu den offiziellen ISA-Verbandssprachen hinzuzunehmen (neben Englisch, Französisch – und Spanisch, das 1982 aufgrund eines Studierendenstreiks beim Weltkongress in Mexiko-City einbezogen wurde). Jedoch setzten sich die Soziologen der deutschsprachigen Länder – im Gegensatz zu den mexikanischen Studierenden – nicht nennenswert für die Heraufstufung ihrer Sprache ein, was sicher dazu beitrug, dass Wallersteins Initiative im Sande verlief.

Die Unterschiede zwischen den Fächern im Grad der Anglisierung hat schon Sabine Skudlik¹⁹ im Wesentlichen treffend charakterisiert. Die theoretischen Naturwissenschaften sind am stärksten angliert. Gründe dafür sind die meist universal interessierenden Themen. Ferner der besonders hohe Grad an fachlicher Spezialisierung, wodurch es einerseits oft nur noch wenige engere FachkollegInnen in der eigenen Sprachgemeinschaft gibt und andererseits global vernetzte

18 www.isa-sociology.org/books (Stand: 03.03.2011).

19 Skudlik (1990, 221–230).

“unsichtbare Kollegien”²⁰ entstehen, deren interne Kommunikation oft intensiver ist als mit den KollegInnen der eigenen Institution (Hochschule oder Forschungseinrichtung). Für diese globale Kommunikation eignet sich Englisch aufgrund seiner Weltstellung meist am besten.

Dagegen ist in den angewandten Naturwissenschaften, einschließlich der Technologien, die Nationalsprache oft unverzichtbar. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich z.B. die Landwirtschaftslehre von der theoretischen Biologie oder die klinische von der wissenschaftlichen Medizin. Ein wesentlicher Grund dafür ist die Kommunikation mit den “Kunden” (Anwendern), die nicht über ausreichende Englischkenntnisse verfügen.

Auch in den Sozialwissenschaften ist, wie der Vergleich von Abbildung 2 mit Abbildung 1 verrät, Englisch nicht so dominant wie in den theoretischen Naturwissenschaften. Die Themen beziehen sich hier öfter speziell auf die eigene Gesellschaft, wo deshalb auch die häufigsten Adressaten der Publikationen zu finden sind. Vielleicht haben Sprachen wie Deutsch oder Französisch hier auch deshalb eine etwas stärkere, teilweise sogar internationale Stellung bewahrt, weil die weltweiten “unsichtbaren Kollegien” noch keine so große Rolle spielen wie in den theoretischen Naturwissenschaften.

Diese Gründe für die angewandten und die Sozialwissenschaften gelten a fortiori für die Geisteswissenschaften, in denen die Nationalsprachen nach wie vor fest verankert sind, wenngleich Englisch hinzutritt. Unterstützend wirken in diesen Fächern Textkonventionen mit fast künstlerischen Ansprüchen differenzierter Anwendung auch der Alltags- oder Umgangssprache. Das Verfassen solcher Texte erfordert hohe Sprachkenntnisse, die in einer Fremdsprache selten erreicht werden, was die Umstellung auf Englisch als Wissenschaftssprache bremst. Hinzu kommt die große eigene Forschungstradition in Deutsch und Französisch, auch Italienisch, als fortwirkender Wissensfundus. Dies gilt für Deutsch vor allem für verschiedene Altertumswissenschaften, deren reiche Förderung zu früheren Zeiten, nicht zuletzt in Preußen und im Wilhelminischen Reich,²¹ nicht ohne weiteres zu den darüber kursierenden martialischen Vorstellungen passt.

In einer von mir durchgeführten Sekundäranalyse von Untersuchungen der “Nischenfächer” (ein Terminologievorschlag Harald Weinrichs) von Deutsch als internationale Wissenschaftssprache fanden sich folgende Fächer als am häufigsten genannt:

20 De Solla Price (1974, 74–102).

21 Siehe z.B. Rebenich (2012).

- Germanistik, (Klassische) Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Musik(wissenschaft), Philosophie, Theologie (je 4 Nennungen);
- Altertumswissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte, (Alt)Orientalistik, Klassische Philologie (je 3 Nennungen) (zusammenfassend: ‚(Alte) Geschichte‘).

Ich habe hier die besonders eigenständigen Fächer sowie meine eigene Zusammenfassung der letztgenannten Gruppe unterstrichen.²²

5. Ursachen des Aufstiegs von Englisch

Die hauptsächlichen Ursachen des Stellungsverlusts von Deutsch und Französisch und des Aufstiegs von Englisch liegen auf der Hand, weshalb ich sie hier nur kurz andeute:

- Der wirtschaftliche Ruin der Mutterländer des Deutschen und Französischen durch die beiden Weltkriege und der gleichzeitige Aufstieg der USA zur überragenden Weltwirtschaftsmacht
- Hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Deutsch: die Vernichtung und Vertreibung deutscher, keineswegs nur als jüdisch diskriminierter und verfolgter Wissenschaftler in der Nazi-Zeit
- Der fortdauernde Rückstand der deutschsprachigen und französischsprachigen Staaten gegenüber der angelsächsischen Welt bezüglich Wirtschaftskraft und Finanzierung von Wissenschaft, mit der Folge nachhaltigen *Brain drains*, bis heute. Zwar weisen neuerdings die deutschen Medien auf die Rückkehrbereitschaft von Teilen der in die USA übersiedelten deutschen Wissenschaftler hin, verschweigen aber die nicht rückkehrwilligen.

Hinzu kommen verstecktere Ursachen, die – aufs Ganze gesehen – vielleicht auch weniger gewichtig sind. Eine davon ist der Boykott gegen die deutsche Sprache und ihre Wissenschaftler nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, den vor allem französische und belgische Wissenschaftler organisierten.²³ Er dauerte – mit Abschwächung – bis hinein in die Nazizeit und trug vor allem dazu bei, dass Wissenschaftler aus Deutschland und Österreich aus den internationalen Wissenschaftsverbänden ausgeschlossen wurden und die deutsche Sprache von internationalen Konferenzen verbannt war.

Folgeschwerer war vermutlich das Scheitern einer Initiative angelsächsischer Wissenschaftler, die aus heutiger Sicht auch wegen der nationalen Zugehörigkeit

²² Ammon (2012).

²³ Ammon (2000, besonders 68–73); Reinbothe (2006).

der Akteure bemerkenswert ist. Offenbar wurde den angelsächsischen Wissenschaftlern damals die Sprachungleichheit in der Wissenschaftskommunikation am eindringlichsten gewahr, vielleicht wegen des fulminanten Aufstiegs ihrer eigenen Sprache, und engagierten sie sich deshalb für eine nachhaltige Problemlösung. Jedenfalls legten die *British Association for the Advancement of Science* und die *American Association for the Advancement of Science* im Jahr 1921 vereint dem Völkerbund einen Antrag vor zur Prüfung, ob nicht die Plansprache Esperanto als globale Wissenschafts-Lingua franca eingeführt werden sollte. Und zwar lautete ihre Begründung dafür: “The acceptance of any modern national language would confer undue advantages and excite jealousy [...] Therefore an invented language is best.”²⁴ Jedoch ist diese Initiative gescheitert, und zwar – wie wir heute wissen – hauptsächlich aufgrund unbeugsamen Widerstandes aus Frankreich. Entsprechend widerfuhr übrigens dem Versuch, Esperanto zur Amtssprache des Völkerbundes zu machen (neben den durch den Versailler Vertrag etablierten Amtssprachen Französisch und Englisch).²⁵ – Vielleicht wäre Frankreich heute mit Esperanto als Weltwissenschaftssprache glücklicher als mit Englisch. Jedenfalls hätte Esperanto – wie einst Latein (vgl. Kap. 2) – den Vorzug einer echten Lingua franca (wenn man von den vereinzelt Individuen absieht, die es als Muttersprache adoptiert haben²⁶).

Eine weitere Ursache für den fortlaufenden Stellungsgewinn von Englisch und für seine stabile Vorrangstellung ist die inzwischen riesige Zahl englischsprachiger Publikationen, mit der ungeheueren Menge darin gespeicherter wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse. Derek J. de Solla Price hat schon vor Jahrzehnten auf das exponentielle “Wissenschaftswachstum” in der modernen Zeit hingewiesen. “Exponentielle Zunahme wird am besten durch die Verdoppelungszeit charakterisiert. Heute hat das Wissenschaftsvolumen, gemessen in Manpower und Publikationen, eine Verdoppelungszeit von 10 bis 15 Jahren.”²⁷ Wie sich aber aus Abbildungen 1 und 2 schließen lässt, wird das überwältigende Gros dieses Wissenschaftswachstums auf Englisch veröffentlicht. Diese Tatsache legt die Annahme nahe, dass die Zahl der englischsprachigen wissenschaftlichen Publikationen inzwischen größer ist als die Zahl wissenschaftlicher Publikationen in allen anderen Sprachen zusammen genommen, also einschließlich sämtlicher je in anderen Sprachen verfassten wissenschaftlichen Texte. Damit eröffnet Englisch eine Wissens-Fundgrube, die geradezu unerschöpflich anmutet und angesichts deren etwaige Recherchen in

24 *Science* 60 1922, 1416.

25 Lins (1988, 49–61, besonders 54–61 und 308); Ammon/Hübler (1985, besonders 40f.).

26 Dazu Sabine Fiedler (2012).

27 De Solla Price (1974, 17, 23).

anderen Sprachen sich, nach Kosten und Nutzen betrachtet, kaum noch zu lohnen scheinen. Dies gilt für viele Fächer, außer für manche sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen (Kap.4).

Als allgemeine Ursachen für den Stellungsverlust von Deutsch und Französisch lassen sich noch die Tendenz zur Globalisierung sowie zur "postnationalen Konstellation" (nach Habermas²⁸) benennen, ohne dass ich die Zusammenhänge hier im Einzelnen darlegen kann. Zu ihren Wirkungen gehört die Lockerung nationaler, auch nationalsprachlicher Bindungen. Dies gilt vor allem für die bei dieser Entwicklung entstehenden Sozialgruppe, die nach Auffassung mancher Soziologen in Ansätzen schon eine eigenständige "transnationale Klasse" bildet.²⁹ Teil ihrer neuen Identität ist die Akzeptanz der "globalen Sprache" Englisch, neben oder sogar anstelle der Bindung an die eigene Amts- oder Muttersprache, also Deutsch, Französisch usw. Wiederum gehören unter den Wissenschaftlern vermutlich die theoretischen Naturwissenschaftler eher zu dieser neuen sozialen Klasse als die Geisteswissenschaftler. Erstere akzeptieren, bei allen Ausnahmen, eher den Gebrauch von Englisch für die Wissenschaftskommunikation als Letztere, auch über den unmittelbaren Bedarf für die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit hinaus. Allerdings kenne ich keine empirische Überprüfung dieser Hypothese.

6. Englisch auf in der Hochschullehre

Zur Kommunikation in der Forschung ist Englisch in meisten Fächern heute kaum noch verzichtbar. Sogar Geisteswissenschaftler können sich Englischkenntnisse, zumindest Lesekenntnisse, kaum mehr leisten. In jüngster Zeit wird Englisch darüber hinaus in zahlreichen Ländern auch in die Hochschullehre eingeführt, fast überall in Europa, einschließlich der Ländern von bis vor kurzem noch gewichtigen internationalen Wissenschaftssprachen wie Deutsch oder Französisch.³⁰

An den staatlichen Hochschulen in Deutschland wurden im Wintersemester 1997/98 – staatlich unterstützt und vom Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienst (DAAD) betreut – "Internationale Studiengänge" eingeführt, die de facto so gut wie ausnahmslos englischsprachig sind. Heute beläuft sich ihre Zahl auf 700 < 1.000. Hinzu kommt englischsprachige Lehre an zahlreichen, wenngleich meist verhältnismäßig kleinen privaten Hochschulen. Allerdings hat sich der DAAD neuerdings dafür engagiert, dass neben Englisch möglichst immer auch Deutsch gepflegt wird. Für den Hochschulzugang von Ausländern ist daher in der

28 Habermas (1998).

29 Dazu Gerhards (2010, 54).

30 Dazu z.B. Maiworm/Wächter (2008); Ammon/McConnell (2002).

Regel ein Kenntnisniveau von Deutsch auf mindestens Stufe B2, besser noch C1 der Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens vorgeschrieben.

Wesentliche Gründe für Einführung und Beibehaltung oder sogar den weiteren Ausbau der “Internationalen”, sprich englischsprachigen Studiengänge sind:

1) Die Gewinnung von mehr Studierenden und mehr Wissenschaftlern aus dem Ausland. Dieses Ziel wurde allem Anschein nach auch schon erreicht. So hatte sich die Zahl der “Bildungsausländer” in Deutschland schon wenige Jahre nach Einführung der englischsprachigen Studiengänge mehr als verdoppelt (1993: 74.612 – 2002: 142.786)³¹ – man vermeidet bei der Zählung von ausländischen Studierenden in der Regel die Einbeziehung von Personen, die ihre Schulbildung in Deutschland erhielten, die “Bildungsinländer”.

2) Die Ausstattung der deutschen Studierenden und Wissenschaftler mit Englischkenntnissen für den globalen Wettbewerb. Diverse Anzeichen lassen vermuten, dass auch die Englischkenntnisse junger Deutscher schon besser sind als diejenigen älterer, ähnlich übrigens wie in anderen Ländern, und dass sie durch die Teilnahme an den englischsprachigen Studiengängen zusätzlichen Schub erhalten.

Allerdings haben empirische Untersuchungen und Evaluationen teilweise ein ungünstigeres Bild auch der Englischkenntnisse an Licht gebracht als erwartet wurde, bei deutschen wie bei ausländischen Studierenden.³² Die Deutschkenntnisse der Bildungsausländer waren noch kümmerlicher, und ihre typische, vermutlich oft etwas verzweifelte Äußerung “I need German in my life”, die Christian Fandrych und Bettina Sedlaczek in ihren Buchtitel aufgenommen haben (Anm. 32), indiziert ein Dilemma deutscher Sprachenpolitik, das noch nicht in seiner ganzen Tiefe ausgeleuchtet ist. In einem ähnlichen Dilemma sehen sich zweifellos andere Länder, vor allem diejenigen mit einer – noch immer – internationalen Sprache. Eigentlich sind es mehrere Dilemmata bzw. lässt sich das Dilemma in mehrere Richtungen auflösen, worauf ich im zweiten Teil des nächsten und letzten Kapitels zu sprechen komme.

7. Vor- und Nachteile des Vorrangs von Englisch in Forschung und Lehre

Ein allgemeiner Vorteil der Konzentration auf Englisch als Wissenschaftssprache ist die dadurch geförderte Verringerung der Zahl internationaler Wissenschaftssprachen – quasi in der Linie der Argumentation d’Alembert’s und seiner apokalyptischen Vision (Kap. 2, bibliographischer Hinweis in Anm. 12). Zwar scheint

31 Ammon (2014, 633).

32 Z.B. Fandrych/Sedlaczek (2012).

es manchen Sprachwissenschaftlern unbegreiflich, dass das Erlernen von und der Umgang mit – nur! – drei Fremdsprachen (Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch) ein Problem sein sollte. Jedoch bekommt man in Gesprächen Wissenschaftlern anderer Fachrichtungen schnell einen anderen Eindruck – wenn sie z.B. die sonstigen Anforderungen ihrer Disziplin, nicht zuletzt in punkto Mathematik, schildern oder auf Beispiele sprachlicher Nichtbegabung berühmter Fachkollegen hinweisen, wie etwa Albert Einstein. Dieser emigrierte vor den Nazis in die USA, wo er von 1933 bis 1955 lebte und wissenschaftlich tätig war, aber “blieb beim Deutschen, weil er die neue Sprache nicht mehr richtig lernen konnte”.³³

Jedoch findet die Monopolstellung von Englisch, also die weitgehende Beschränkung auf eine einzige internationale Wissenschaftssprache, inzwischen auch viel Ablehnung – nicht zuletzt aufgrund ihrer Funktion als *unechte* Lingua franca (Kap. 2 und 7). Die damit verbundene Asymmetrie zwischen Muttersprachlern und Nicht-Muttersprachlern wird häufig beklagt und kritisiert.³⁴ Allerdings sollte man dabei nicht vergessen, dass die Klagen seitens z.B. Französisch- oder auch Deutschsprachiger vermutlich verhaltener wären, wenn ihre eigene Sprache eine so privilegierte Stellung hätte. Entsprechend verständlich ist der weitgehende Verzicht auf Kritik aus der angelsächsischen Sprachgemeinschaft, abgesehen von Einzelfällen.³⁵

Jedoch lassen sich Asymmetrie und mangelnde Fairness nicht leugnen. Philippe van Parijs hat die aus der Dominanz des Englischen, die ja weit über den Vorrang als Wissenschaftssprache hinausgeht, und die daraus erwachsende “sprachliche Ungerechtigkeit” eingehend untersucht.³⁶ Sie besteht, allgemein gefasst, darin, dass die Anglophonen am gemeinsamen öffentlichen Gut der Lingua franca ohne eigene Kosten teilhaben und daraus durch Sprachunterricht und “Sprachindustrie” (Lehrmaterialien, Medienerzeugnisse usw.) sogar noch enorme Profite schöpfen. Verglichen damit erscheint manchen Anderssprachigen der Vorteil, für ihre wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit sich auf eine einzige Fremdsprache beschränken zu können, bescheiden.

Nun zu dem am Ende des vorausgehenden Kapitels angedeuteten Dilemma, bzw. seinen verschiedenen Aspekten, die speziell der deutschen Sprachgemeinschaft aus der Einführung englischsprachiger Studiengängen erwachsen.

33 Hermann (2000, 224).

34 Z.B. Fiedler (2010).

35 Der Wortführer dieser gegen die eigene Sprachgemeinschaft gerichteten Kritik ist Robert Phillipson (1992), mit dem Auftakt in seinem Buch *Linguistic Imperialism*.

36 Van Parijs (2002; 2011).

Einer von drei hier angesprochenen Aspekte bezieht sich darauf, dass die Einführung englischsprachiger Studiengänge zwar einerseits mehr Ausländer an die deutschen Hochschulen lockt, dass diese sich dadurch aber andererseits schwieriger als zuvor in Deutschland halten lassen. Sie lernen nämlich nun weniger Deutsch als zu Zeiten eines ausschließlich deutschsprachigen Studiums. Dies erschwert Ihnen die Integration in die nach wie vor deutschsprachige Umgebung und verdirbt ihnen womöglich die Lust, nach dem Studium in Deutschland zu bleiben. Vor allem aber sind sie nach Abschluss des Studiums aufgrund mangelnder Deutschkenntnisse daran gehindert, eine ihrer fachlichen Qualifikation angemessene Arbeit zu finden. Dabei wünscht sich Deutschland das – wenigstens zeitweilige – Verbleiben ausländischer Studierender. Das Land braucht nämlich – zum Ausgleich der stagnierenden demographischen Entwicklung – dringend zusätzliche qualifizierte Arbeitskräfte und Unternehmer. Über dieses Problem wird seit Jahren in der Presse ausführlich berichtet.

Als weitere mögliche Kehrseite der englischsprachigen Studiengänge ist denkbar, wenngleich bislang offenbar nicht akut, dass diese mit der Zeit das Erlernen von Deutsch als Fremdsprache in der Welt untergraben.³⁷ Denn weshalb sollten sich Ausländer, die in Deutschland studieren wollen, weiterhin die Mühe machen, Deutsch zu lernen, wenn sie fürs Studium kaum Deutschkenntnisse benötigen? Zumindest diejenigen, deren Interesse sich auf das Studium beschränkt, verzichten dann vielleicht auf das mühsame Erlernen der ohnehin als schwierig geltenden Sprache. Jedoch liefe eine Entwicklung der Sprachenpolitik Deutschlands zuwider, das Deutsch als Fremdsprache in der Welt großzügig fördert, z.B. über die Goethe-Institute, aber auch andere Organisationen. Solche Deutschförderung ist umfassender motiviert als in Bezug auf "Humankapitel", also qualifizierte Arbeitskräfte. Sie basiert auf der – ziemlich gut begründeten – Annahme, dass Personen mit Deutschkenntnissen im Durchschnitt sowohl zu einem positiveres Bild von Deutschland neigen (angeregt schon durch die Lehrmaterialien) als auch eher Kontakte zu Deutschland pflegen als Personen ohne Deutschkenntnisse, und zwar Kontakte jeglicher Art: wirtschaftliche, politische und kulturelle im weitesten Sinn. Solche Kontakte und die damit häufig verbundenen Freundschaften sind selbstverständlich im deutschen Interesse.³⁸

37 Dazu im Hinblick auf China Yun HE (2013): *Die Auswirkungen der englischsprachigen Studiengänge in Deutschland auf das Deutschlernen in China*. Frankfurt a.M.

38 Siehe zu divergierenden Sprachinteressen Gerhard Stickel (2007): Deutsche und europäische sprachliche Interessen. In: *Muttersprache* 117/2: 134–144, besonders 139; auch Ammon (2014, 1–10).

Schließlich könnten die englischsprachigen Studiengänge dazu beitragen, dass die Stellung der deutschen Sprache sogar innerhalb Deutschlands untergraben wird. Auch in Deutschland kursiert, wie in vielen anderen Ländern, die Sorge vor dem “Domänenverlust” der eigenen Sprache. Fast eine Anwendung von Panik verrät die mir von Heino Jückstock übermittelte “Kaskadenmodell” (E-Mail 13.05.2012), die Abbildung 3 wiedergibt. Zwar mag sie – auch aufgrund des Engagements des Urhebers im sprachschützenden *Verein Deutsche Sprache* – übertrieben erscheinen; jedoch verdient sie dennoch ernsthafte Beachtung.

Abb. 3: Kaskadenmodell von Folgen der Einführung von Englisch im deutschen Sprachgebiet (Konzeption Heino Jückstock, Erstellung Lucie Eschricht).



Das Modell veranschaulicht, wie in Zukunft die elementaren Bildungsinstitutionen auf die Einführung von Englisch in die höheren Bildungsinstitutionen reagieren könnten. Werden Englischkenntnisse an den Hochschulen gefordert, so bereiten mit der Zeit auch die höheren Schulen darauf vor, usw. in folgenden “Kaskaden” – bis schließlich hinunter zum Kindergarten und sogar hinein in die Familien. Diese Annahme hat eine Vorgeschichte in der Ausbreitung von Standarddeutsch über die Dialekte, ausgehend von den Anforderungen an den

Hochschulen und Schulen, bis hinein in die Familien. In annähernder Analogie zu dieser Entwicklung³⁹ sind auch bezüglich Englisch soziale Diskrepanzen und sprachliche Benachteiligungen zu erwarten: Die Bildungsschichten stellen sich schneller auf die neue Sprachanforderung um als bildungsferne Sozialschichten, die dann in der Konkurrenz um eine gute Ausbildung zurück bleiben.

So sehr manche dieser Überlegungen, auch im Zusammenhang mit den Dilemmata, überzeugen erscheinen mögen, verdienen sie doch sorgfältige wissenschaftliche Untersuchung – gründlicher jedenfalls, scheint mir, als sie bislang erfolgt ist.

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39 Dazu z.B. Ammon (1973, 22–36, 123–168).

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Jan-Ola Östman

Language use in academia in the Nordic countries – with special reference to Finland

Sammanfattning

Studien ger en översikt av språkbruk och språkpolicyer i universitetsutbildningen i Norden, med speciell fokus på Finland och Helsingfors universitet. Efter en kort översikt av samarbetet inom den högre utbildningen mellan de nordiska länderna, inkl. en överblick av en rad viktiga samarbetsprojekt, övergår studien till att diskutera parallellspråkighet – både som ett tillägg till och som ett alternativ till linguafrancaengelska. Parallellspråkighet knyts även till den traditionella nordiska receptiva flerspråkigheten. Direkt eller indirekt visar sig parallellspråkighet genomsyra de flesta språkpolitiska beslut som tagits under de senaste åren. Exempel på hur det parallellspråkiga tänkesättet står i samklang med och i vissa fall ligger bakom en rad beslut illustreras med ett nytt finländskt publikationsforum som även rankar publikationer på finska och svenska högt, och en terminologibank med avsikt att skapa lämpliga vetenskapliga motsvarigheter till engelska termer på nationalspråken i Finland.

1. Introduction¹

This is an overview of recent official language-related activities in Northern Europe (a.k.a. *Norden*): established and on-going projects and networks, published policy documents and policy overviews, as well as important decisions that have been made. The overview will focus on Scandinavia, and in particular on the situation in Finland. Finland, as a bilingual country, and the university of Helsinki as a bilingual university offer special challenges in the face of globalization and the future role of languages and multilingualism in academia. The emphasis is on measures that have been taken within the humanities and the social sciences in response to challenges posed by general English-medium globalization, and by the perceived likelihood of ensuing domain loss.

The overview focuses on three perspectives: (a) collaborative efforts in Norden, with special emphasis on the importance of receptive multilingualism; (b) the notion of ‘parallel language use’, which has become an alternative solution in Norden

1 I am very grateful for comments and discussions on topics related to this overview with Olle Josephson and many of the participants at the EFNIL meeting in Florence in September 2014.

to the challenges posed by the use of English in academia; and (c) a number of specifically Finnish and University of Helsinki initiatives and their effects: the development of a Finnish publication forum, the development of a ‘terminology bank’, the establishment of bilingual degrees, and the concretization of oftentimes quite abstract language policy documents.

2. Background

The traditional denomination Norden includes five political states, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, and Finland, together with three autonomous territories, the Faroe Islands and Greenland, which politically belong to Denmark, and Åland, politically a part of Finland. There are also other territories in Norden with a special status, e.g. the Sápmi territory, covering the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Geographically, Norden is an area with some 25 million people. During the last 20 years, attempts have been made to strengthen Norden in various ways, e.g. by extending the traditional notion of Norden to also include the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Kaliningrad), the westernmost parts of north-eastern Russia (in particular, Carelia), and the northern parts of Poland and Germany.

Language contact in Norden is traditionally almost a *sine qua non*. In fact, the whole of Norden can be seen as a linguistic area, geographically tied together by the waters, the North Sea and the Baltic Sea in particular. (For an overview, see Östman 2011.)

What is traditionally seen as Norden plays host to eight standard languages, with a multitude of dialects and minority languages. The major traditional languages are North-Germanic Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese; Finno-Ugrian Finnish; the Uralic Sámi languages (with Northern Sámi being the most widespread), and Inuit (Eskimo-Aleut) Greenlandic. There is some degree of mutual intelligibility between Norwegian, Swedish and Danish on the one hand, and between Icelandic and Faroese on the other. On the basis of elements from Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, a pidginized interlanguage, often referred to as “Scandinavian”, has developed and will occasionally be used (even at official meetings). But although some of the languages in Norden are closely related, not all of them are. The North-Germanic languages are in all respects very different from Finnish, Greenlandic, and the Sámi languages.

There is constant official, state-political cooperation within Norden through the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers; the decrees that are written and the decisions that are made on the political and semi-political level also have important linguistic impact. Thus, there is a Declaration of Nordic Language

Policy from 2007, and a Nordic Language Convention which states that Nordic citizens have the right to use their own language when they are in contact with authorities in another Nordic country. Further, in accordance with Nordic cooperation stipulations, all citizens in Norden should have the right to learn other Nordic languages, the right to learn an international language, and the right to preserve their own mother tongue.

3. Collaborative efforts

The majority of its inhabitants consider Norden an imagined community in the sense of Anderson (1983). Norden – or parts of it, and expansions in different directions – has a common history of some 2,000 years. There is a general feeling in Norden that “we belong together”. There have also been several explicit attempts at strengthening not only the political and social, but also the linguistic togetherness within Norden, and the “dream” of a united Norden surfaces every four or five years, recently in the form of “Nordic branding”. Three fairly recent major stages of strengthening “Nordicity” have been (i) 19th century Scandinavianism in the spirit of Nordic national romanticism; (ii) the establishment of language planning councils in the aftermath of the Second World War; and (iii) the efforts of late modern glocalization over the last 40 years. (For an overview, see Östman/Thøgersen 2010.)

One of the characteristics of traditional linguistic cooperation in Norden is the use of receptive bi- and multilingualism, where everyone speaks his or her own mother tongue, and the addressee is familiar enough (through school education) with the language of the fellow Nordic person so that the two are able to understand and communicate with each other. This principle has traditionally often been adhered to among speakers with Swedish, Danish and Norwegian as their mother tongues; and accommodation in contact situations (e.g., watching out for “false friends”) has given rise to what is called speaking “Scandinavian”. In some spheres of life, e.g. in business negotiations and in higher education, receptive multilingualism can also be practiced across language families. Thus, at the bilingual University of Helsinki, faculty and departmental meetings, as well as two-party discussions are often carried out so that speakers of Swedish speak Swedish, and Finnish speakers speak Finnish.

The alternatives to using receptive multilingualism in Norden is (i) to engage in the communicative practice of speaking “Scandinavian” (see above), which in practice has meant giving Swedish, Danish and Norwegian a more prominent status in cross-Nordic communication, since this Scandinavian interlanguage is based on elements from these three languages. This practice is still very viable

among speakers of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, but it has become a less feasible option in recent decades for (younger) speakers of Finnish and Icelandic. This is mostly due to the other alternative available, i.e. (ii) for everyone to speak English. The use of English is said to be more democratic, and (especially since some of the Nordic countries are part of the EU, while others are not) challenges have accrued as to the usefulness of teaching and learning other Nordic languages in one's own Nordic community; "why reach out to Norden, when we can go directly to Brussels", as one prominent Finnish historian once said. Nordic citizens' uneasiness about the usefulness of skills in other Nordic languages is also corroborated by the findings in Delsing and Lundin Åkesson (2005) that there is a decrease in Nordic citizens' actual competence in each other's Nordic languages – both as compared to the situation 30 years earlier, and when comparing younger and older speakers in the early 2000s. In Finland, which constitutionally has two national languages (Finnish and Swedish), the promotion of English has also been coupled with party-political views (usually from the extreme right in the national-romantic vein of 'one language–one people–one state') according to which, on the one hand, Finnish children are at a disadvantage since they have to learn two national languages and cannot focus on international English straight away, and on the other hand, that it would be cheaper if a state only has one language (in Finland, Finnish) as the official language. These arguments are, of course, contentions without substance, but they are forceful recent pro-English opinions that work against Nordic cooperation, voices that have been raised against the imagined community Norden.

Nevertheless, there have been quite a few recent pan-Nordic research projects dealing with the linguistic situation in Norden. In the majority of these, the starting point has been precisely to conceive Norden as "a language laboratory". That is, since the Nordic states have many societal conditions in common – very similar political views and pedagogical education, a common concept of a "Nordic welfare state", etc. – the linguistic take has been to see how languages fare in the different Nordic communities despite, or due to, this similarity. In pan-Nordic calls for research funding, the notion of "Nordic Added Value" (NAV) is a must, and Nordic joint research-funding agents always consider NAV one important criterion for providing funding. What NAV entails precisely is not always spelled out, except that there must be some justification for (research) cooperation at the Nordic level in order to receive support. (The major actors on this front are NordForsk, under the Nordic Council of Ministers; and NOS-HS, the Joint Committee for Nordic research councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences.)

Ten years ago, Delsing/Lundin Åkesson (2005) published the results of a large-scale investigation on Internordic language understanding (INS: *Internordisk språkförståelse*), showing not only (cf. above) that especially youngsters' skills in other Nordic languages have decreased, but also that their English skills have markedly increased. In fact, English skills in general are at a very high level in Norden. (See e.g. the Nordic countries' ranking on the 2014 edition of the English Proficiency Index at www.ef.fi/epi/.)

In the MIN Project (*Moderna importord i språken i Norden* 'Modern imports in the languages in Norden'; see e.g. Sandøy/Kristiansen 2010), one of the goals was to investigate the effect of English in terms of loan words and loan structures ('imports') in seven different Nordic speech communities. At least three major findings are relevant for the present overview: (i) statistically speaking, there has indeed been an increase in the number of imported words and structures from English after WWII, but since the figures as such are very low (with new English imports making up less than 1%) it is difficult to verify whether English has influenced the Nordic languages structurally; (ii) another major, general finding of the MIN Project is that it is in fact people's subconscious attitudes, closely related to the implicit ideologies they have, that govern people's linguistic behaviour (e.g. in the face of globalization) and language change in general; and (iii) despite the generally accepted imagined community and common Nordicity (cf. above), the Nordic countries turned out to be very different in relation to how they perceive "the threat from English". At present, a new pan-Nordic project is being set up to investigate the societal conditions for language change in real time. The starting point for this project is cooperation with other disciplines, especially attempts at refining and adding to methods that language scholars have traditionally used.

Two further projects should be mentioned in this brief overview. One is the SLICE Project (*Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*: cf. e.g. Kristiansen/Coupland 2011), which is primarily interested in the general question of how language standards change, and indirectly whether such changes can be tied to the impact of English. For instance, does a weakening of a local standard benefit the progress of English as a lingua franca? One perspective in this project is the influence of the media on the development of language standards, and thus the influence of the language used in the media.

Finally, two research sites in the pan-European DYLAN Project (*Dynamique des langues et gestion de la diversité*; cf. e.g. Berthoud/Grin/Lüdi 2013) had their headquarters in Norden: one was in Odense, Denmark, headed by Millar (cf. Millar et al. 2013) focusing on the corporate sector; the other was in Helsinki, Finland, headed by Moring (cf. Moring et al. 2013). The Helsinki group specifically

investigated the dynamics of language use in bi- and multilingual universities in Norden. In addition to the group's specific findings about investigated differences in the universities, the group also concretely explored the possibility for language scholars to cooperate more intimately with social scientists and political scientists in its attempts to work out the nitty-gritty details of how decisions on language policy are implemented. The very machinery of decision making turned out to be exceedingly important for a deeper understanding of what takes place at different universities. In its analyses, the Helsinki group combined policy analysis (especially the difference between input, output and outcome; and that between overt and covert language policies) with Grin's (2003) C-O-D-model (on the importance of one's capacity, opportunity and desire to learn and use languages) and with different types of discourse analyses (interactional linguistics, pragmatics, and construction discourse, in particular).

Overall, there has been a desire not only to investigate the impact of language decisions in academia from linguistic and pedagogical perspectives, but also to approach the challenge of globalization from larger, macro-sociolinguistic perspectives. One macro-sociolinguistic perspective that has been implemented and developed in Norden is that of parallel language use.

4. Parallel language use

The underlying thread of discourse in this overview of language use in academia in Norden is the generally perceived concern about what is happening to university education in the national and local languages, and – more importantly – whether there is anything a language expert (policy and planning) can do. Within many disciplines, especially within the natural sciences, technology, medicine, and economics, research at university level takes place almost entirely in English. The fiercest debates about whether it is a good thing or not that English is becoming the medium of research in academia are carried out in the humanities and in the social sciences. Many practitioners within the humanities and the social sciences feel that their disciplines are directly tied to the identities and ideologies carried by the very traditions, histories, communities, languages, individuals and by the scholars themselves, and that it would be a mistake to attempt to conduct research within these disciplines through the lens of another medium, from the perspective of another (read: English) language-cum-culture.

Issues of “domain loss” – following, redefining and refining Fishman's (1972) notion of domain – have been frequently dealt with in applied linguistics literature in Norden for more than 20 years. The perceived threat is the extent to which the national and local languages will “lose” the domain of higher education to English.

This is just as complex a question in Norden as it is in the rest of Europe and the world: we want our research to have international impact, we want to be part of and influence what else is taking place globally, but at the same time we do not want to “give up” our (in this case: Nordic) identities, and we want our research findings to be able to speak to the ordinary (wo)man in the street, to the taxpayers who very often, as the last resort, fund research in the humanities and in the social sciences.

There are several alternative solutions to the perceived “threat” of English in academia. The traditional method is to become as language puristic² as possible, and put up barricades against English; another way to go is in the complete opposite direction, arguing that late modern life is super-diverse, that there are no monolingual speech communities – nor universities – left in the world, and that we have to look at multilingualism with eyes that should accept everything and not be tied to essentialist definitions of what “a language” is. The third alternative is the Nordic way of retaining our cake while we eat it. This is how I see the principle of advocating “parallel language use” (PLU), which has become the general direction in which universities in Norden are moving.

Adhering to PLU means that the importance of English in academia is accepted, but the situation is not a zero-sum condition, where there is a predetermined cake that needs to be carved up, and that what one language gains, another language loses. A very basic definition of parallel language use is provided on the home page of the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use (CIP) at the University of Copenhagen (www.cip.ku.dk): “The use of parallel languages refers to a situation in which two languages are considered equal in a particular domain, and where the choice of language depends on what is deemed most appropriate and efficient in a specific situation.” In the 2014 University of Helsinki language policy, the notion of parallel language use is also applied to “two events with identical content being arranged in parallel in two different languages” and it encompasses and enhances the use of receptive multilingualism.

In 2011 a pan-Nordic parallel language network began its work under the leadership of Frans Gregersen and with financial support from the Nordic Council of Ministers. The most crucial characteristic of this network was that it worked together with university administrators, and not “against” them, in order to come up with viable and concrete solutions of how to define and implement parallel language use in academia. Strategies of PLU in higher education do not start out with the assumption that English is a threat; rather, a PLU strategy is a conscious

2 It is worth noting that “language purism” is of tradition not a negative notion in Norden.

bi-, tri- or multilingual strategy. In effect, at universities that are not particularly internationally attuned, a PLU strategy can result in an increased investment in education in English. English is already part of daily life in Norden and in Europe – especially so in academia, and the challenge (in Finland, but also elsewhere) is not so much what will happen to the national standard languages, but what will happen to other forms of multilingualism in a speech community. This is a particular challenge for the fate of Swedish in Finland, and at the (Finnish-Swedish) bilingual University of Helsinki.

Two major joint publications by the members of the parallel language network have received extensive attention. Gregersen et al. (2012) deal specifically with domains and domain loss, and inter alia pinpoints the ambivalence around who is responsible for language issues and who is accountable for the implementation of language policies in the domain of higher education. Gregersen (2014) collects the network's three years of thinking and discussions around PLU and its implementation. It includes country reports on the status of English in teaching, in research and in policy documents from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, and it also gives a general overview of the extent of teacher and student mobility at universities in Norden. In addition, the volume includes concrete recommendations for university rectors, faculties, departments, and instructors in higher education on how to implement PLU.³

The Gregersen (2014) volume also contains a chapter with concrete recommendations for how to overcome the challenges of higher education English instruction – for teachers and students who are not native speakers of English. The gist of the English summary (cf. Thøgersen et al. 2014, 113–115) is worth citing. The authors of this chapter first show that English medium instruction results in new linguistic conditions with new challenges:

The style and forms of instruction often change. There is often a tendency for teachers' English-language teaching to be more formal and less dialogic than their teaching in their mother-tongue. Likewise, students' activities change when met with foreign-language instruction. [...] students become more passive and less eager to participate in discussions [...]. (Thøgersen et al. 2014, 113–115)

3 The two edited collections mentioned are so far only available in Nordic languages (albeit that the volumes contain abstracts in English) – and the individual articles in the two studies are written in North-Germanic languages in the spirit of receptive multilingualism. An English version of the most central findings and recommendations is under preparation.

The authors then summarize their view into four major recommendations that teachers and curriculum organizers need to consider. These are the following – in the words of the authors:

1. Decide on a long-term planning.
2. Raise awareness that the change of language can cause problems.
3. Build bilingual disciplinary competence.
4. Choice of language is best implemented with a pragmatic and flexible approach.

It is important (1) that relevant material and support is available from the very start, and that teachers and students are in agreement on how the course at hand should be carried out. The focus when preparing for a course (cf. 2) should be on giving the teacher appropriate pedagogical training, not so much on organizing additional language-skill classes for the teacher. It is very important for a course to have a clearly defined goal (3) and that there is agreement that the joint teacher-student task is to reach that goal. It is furthermore important to make it clear why it is important – both linguistically and as regards contents – that this particular course be offered in English. And it is important to keep in mind (4) that learning also takes place outside the classroom, that mixing languages is not something to be afraid of, and also that in communication with international students, their need and interest to learn the “national” language should not be overlooked.

The parallel language network held its concluding seminar in the spring of 2014, whence it became clear that much of the pan-Nordic information needed in order to obtain a feasible overview of the language situation in higher education is lacking, in some cases nationally, in many cases at the level of specific universities. This is information that is clearly needed in order to make changes and to implement new routines in order to address the challenges at hand. It also became clear that the challenges are real and there is a distinct need for all parties involved to open up for concrete discussion and cooperation.

More specifically, there was consensus that non-native teaching and learning in English is pedagogically challenging, for both teachers and students, and that not only resources, but also active and concrete language policies are needed badly.

In the summer of 2014, a new group with representatives from all the Nordic countries and autonomous territories was established within the realm of Nordic Language Coordination (under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers) with the task of further developing the concept of parallel language use and its implication at Nordic universities. At present, information is being gathered and surveys are being conducted of best practices on how cooperation with university-external actors and cooperation with non-Nordic actors

can best be organized. An even more challenging task is to determine the most appropriate indicators for the evaluation of whether a (PLU) programme or a (PLU) practice is successful.

5. Finnish and University of Helsinki initiatives

As noted in the introduction, Finland is a good and challenging testing ground for evaluating and implementing language strategies in higher education. Finland has two national languages, and there are both monolingual (Finnish or Swedish) universities and bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) universities in Finland. Since traditionally, receptive bilingualism is generally practiced (albeit perhaps not explicitly preached), something very much akin to parallel language use between Finnish and Swedish has traditionally been the rule, especially in a bilingual university like the University of Helsinki.

Starting in January 2014, PhD education in Finland became more systematically organized. This was an administrative, ministry-level decision and meant that universities had to set up doctoral schools, and within them, doctoral programmes. This not only resulted in a reorganization of teaching and supervision, but it also meant that new, additional actors were given the possibility to, and were expected to, have a say on matters related to the internal organization of higher education at their universities, including on matters related to what language of instruction and of learning is to be used.⁴

In parallel to this reorganization, the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture – and understandably so – wants its funding of universities to be ever more based on quality performance. One clear index of quality is the quality of research publications by those employed at the respective universities. In order to develop a metric for assessing the quality of publications, the Ministry established the Finnish publication forum Jufo. The principles followed by Jufo are largely the same as for the European publication forum ERIH, and the corresponding publication fora in Denmark, Norway, and Australia. The reactions to measuring quality in this manner have not only been constructive, but some of the positive aspects of the new system are that it is the researchers

4 Prior to this change, the national science foundation, the Academy of Finland, had been in charge of funding national research schools. The view of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture is, however, that PhD education is a university-internal matter. The recent administrative change is at present not seen by all parties as necessarily a change for the better.

themselves⁵ within their respective disciplines who decide which dissemination outlets are excellent, and which are less so. It is very important in this connection to note that for research in the humanities and in the social sciences, Jufo (i.e. its researcher representatives in the panels of their respective subfields) can thus also give national language publications a high ranking, i.e. publications in Finnish and Swedish.

In the same way as the decision to establish a Finnish publication forum can be seen as a way to enhance and make PLU possible in higher education, so too can the establishment of the Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences be seen as supporting PLU. The terminology bank is an infrastructure project co-funded for five years (2011–2015) by the Academy of Finland (the Finnish national science foundation) and the University of Helsinki. The purpose of the bank is to secure the availability of terminology in the national languages for university-level education.⁶ The activities and constantly updated wiki-pages of the terminology bank clearly support and enhance PLU strategies, and it also supports the dissemination of research results to tax payers. At present, there are plans to make the Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences a terminology bank for, in principle, “all” languages.

In September 2014, an updated version of the University of Helsinki Language Policy was signed by the university’s Rector. One of the points in the document is indeed for the university to make the Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences a permanent and extended terminology bank. But, more generally, PLU is both directly and indirectly given a very central place in the new policy document, including suggestions on how PLU will be applied in teaching, in research, in everyday university life, and in administration⁷. Parallel language use is to be practiced amongst Finnish, Swedish and English, and “language support troops” are to be established to offer support when needed. It is furthermore stated that everyone has to feel comfortable with the language(s) used in, e.g. a meeting, and

5 There are 23 panels of about a dozen scholars each; e.g., panel 18 is responsible for psychology and education, and panel 21 caters to research in languages and linguistics. Cf. www.tsv.fi/julkaisufoorumi/english.php?lang=en.

6 The Bank “aims to gather a permanent terminological database for all fields of research in Finland”; cf. <http://tieteentermipankki.fi/wiki/Termipankki:Project>.

7 It is important to note, however, that according to the Finnish Universities Act, Finnish is the official language of administration at the University of Helsinki. Thus, whatever small attempts are made to implement PLU in university administration are themselves a major decision.

that the choice of language(s) to be used in a meeting shall be concretely explicated at the beginning of the meeting.

A further instance of multilingual education at the University of Helsinki is that the university initiated a pilot phase for bilingual degrees in 2010. The pilot phase ended in 2014, after which all faculties at the university can opt to offer bilingual degrees. The degree languages are Finnish and Swedish and students have to complete at least 1/3 of their Bachelor's degrees in both degree languages. Students are given language support and in order to successfully complete the bilingual degree, they have to reach level C1 in both languages.⁸ The practical reason for offering bilingual degrees is that Finland with its two national languages needs experts who can communicate in both Finnish and Swedish, and who can be employed in jobs where both languages are needed (e.g. in jurisdiction, in medical practices). The pilot stage has been very successful, and there have been suggestions to the effect that English should also be accepted as one of the two languages in a bilingual degree. This, however, poses a challenge to the Finnish-Swedish bilinguality of the university. As Londen/Östman (2012) show, there is already a tendency to change Finnish-Swedish bilingual courses into Finnish-English bilingual ones. It is of course in principle good for the internationalization of the university that English is brought in, but internationalization should not be advanced primarily at the expense of decreasing university education in Swedish at the university.

As in most universities in the world, there are constant, on-going linguistic debates and challenges in Finland, too. One persistent debate has to do with the status of lingua-franca English, ELFA; i.e. whether one should opt for a more "local", or a more British/American "correct" English; ultimately the question that arises here is what the limits of glocalization are. Views on these issues can hardly be settled once and for all, and they are also partly influenced by who is in charge of the university.⁹

Another constant challenge is how to be able to attain quality learning and quality teaching. We know that excellent language skills are needed in order for students to achieve university learning goals, and the University of Helsinki has a long tradition of pedagogical education in all the three languages discussed in this overview, in Finnish, in Swedish, and in English, and the university itself sees quality teaching as its "brand". Thus, the university has instigated a "Teachers'

8 Cf. <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/multilingua/summary-in-english/>.

9 Thus, at present, one of the Vice-Rectors of the University of Helsinki is professor Anna Mauranen, who is one of the proponents of, and forerunners in research on ELFA.

Academy”, which is made up of a network of university teachers recognized for their teaching merits, elected every second year.

And, finally, there is the ever-challenging question for all university education, viz., how the university can offer their students the best possible preparation for post-university life. These days very few students with a PhD have the concrete possibility to stay on in academia. But here, too, the implementation of parallel language use can be seen as a direct support from the university to secure that its students in practice become multilingual and can cope in our late modernity of increasing (super)diversity and polylinguaging.

6. Conclusion

The title of this overview is “Language use in academia in the Nordic countries – with special reference to Finland”. I have barely scratched the surface of what is going on in the different Nordic countries, but I wanted to show that there is a considerable amount of important research on the actual state of affairs in relation to language in higher education carried out in Norden.

I also wanted to show not only how we have come up with concrete solutions on the basis of new findings, but also how this has been partly achievable due our long tradition of Nordic cooperation.

Currently we are looking forward to further cooperation with all stakeholders involved in higher education, with university administrators, with Ministry-level actors, and with scholars in other disciplines.

And we are reaching out in order to share our experiences with the rest of Europe.

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François Grin

Managing languages in academia: Pointers from education economics and language economics¹

Abstract

The use of different languages in the practices of modern universities has rapidly reached the status of a “hot” topic. However, many important decisions in this area appear to be made with little or no explicit identification of alternative strategies, let alone any weighing of their respective advantages and drawbacks. In this paper, we draw on education economics and language economics in order to formulate a policy evaluation approach to university language choices. After identifying the range of language questions confronting universities, we review essential analytical concepts and provide a critical discussion of some of the arguments typically put forward in favour of, or against, the increased use of English as a dominant language of academia.

1. Introduction

The question of the language, or languages, used in academic institutions has, within the span of a few years, turned into a major issue in university governance. No more than ten years ago, conferences on university governance could address various matters of strategic development while ignoring any language-related dimensions (e.g. Weber/Duderstadt 2004; 2008). This is apparently no longer true, and numerous publications and full-length conferences are now devoted to topics located at the intersection of language and university governance.

Of course, this does not mean that all such contributions consider the same issues problematic. For example, a conference held in March 2009 at the University of Geneva focused on the fact that the English language is used in a growing number of graduate programs in French-speaking universities, as well for submission to and evaluation of research projects by research funding bodies in predominantly non-English-speaking countries and the resulting implications for the French language. Conversely, a conference held in December 2009 in Brussels, under the auspices of the ACA (Academic Cooperation Association, which includes 24

1 A previous version of this paper has been uploaded to www.unige.ch/traductioninterpretation/recherches/groupes/elf/news/luxembourg-100205/LUX-UNI-TEX-2.pdf.

institutional members – such as national or regional associations of universities, 20 of them European) also addressed the role of English in the academic life of historically non-English-speaking countries – but its main concern, apparently, was how to help the process along.

The contrast that emerges from these two examples illustrate the fact that the issue of language use in modern universities is not a point of detail. Quite the contrary, it carries important consequences at various levels. However, the lion's share of all scientific discourse produced on language (or languages) in the operations of modern universities is devoted to pedagogical questions, subsidiarily to other questions, including its language policy implications. What remains is that, given the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of the issues at hand, inputs other than from pedagogy or the language sciences is also needed.

This poses a whole range of challenges which I shall attempt to discuss in the following sections. In section 2, I try to reframe the issue, in order to establish the need for an evaluative, public policy approach to the question of the appropriate place of different languages in the operations of modern universities. In Section 3, I present some elements of a public policy approach, drawing on *education economics* on the one hand, and *language economics* on the other hand, stressing in particular concepts designed to assist in the making of well-founded choices. In section 4, I propose a typology of the language-related issues that universities are confronted with, showing that we need to develop a perspective far broader than the partial questions (such as “internationalization” or “competitiveness”) usually invoked in discussions on university governance. Section 5 applies some of the concepts presented in Section 3 to a selection of questions derived from the list presented in Section 4. Section 6 sums up the findings and offers a brief conclusion.

2. Reframing the issue

There is of course a massive literature on university governance that does address political or economic aspects. But language tends to be wholly absent from these contributions, as if the linguistic dimensions of university governance required no serious examination. Conversely, whenever language is placed at the centre of attention, pedagogy and applied linguistics take centre stage, and the governance problems are typically under-identified. Putting it differently, we can say that in most cases, these perspectives eschew the important issues of governance. Finally, when attempts are made to investigate the role of language in university governance from a general perspective rather than case-specific context, the focus is

usually placed on a specific dimension of governance, such as “internationalization” (e.g. Hughes 2008).

The offshoot of all this is that there is relatively little in the way of systematic, theory-based analyses of the more macro-level aspects pertaining to the proper role of different languages in tertiary education, in particular the social, political and economic issues at hand. Quite simply, we do not have much research that addresses the following essential questions:

- Should teaching and research operate in a variety of languages, even if this means *resisting* the trend towards doing more through the medium of language of wider circulation such as English?
- Should teaching and research, on the contrary, strive to give such a language a greater role – as exemplified by many currently ongoing initiatives in universities around the world?
- No less importantly, what are the analytical underpinnings of the *reasons* invoked for choosing either course of action?

Merely formulating these three questions makes two things clear:

- Firstly, even the most insightful pedagogical considerations about the linguistic aspects of the operation of universities are not sufficient to answer the above questions. Why? Because pedagogical considerations, which may tell us *how* to do things, do not tell us *what* to do, and *why*. Questions such as how to improve the quality of English-medium education in a German university only make sense if decisions have been made, on the basis of a rigorous, logically consistent assessment, on whether to teach some courses in English at German universities at all. And that is a big “if”. Perhaps it is a good idea, and then perhaps it is not. Establishing this point is the first order of business.
- Secondly, it is not enough to *describe* existing linguistic practices in a university context. Description is interesting because it can give us fine-grained information about how language – or languages – are used in teaching and research; most importantly, it can help us to identify what is likely, what is possible, and what is impossible. Hence, it assists in identifying, from of a range of possible scenarios (or “alternatives”), which ones can reasonably be entertained. But then a choice must be made, and the best description in the world does not address, let alone answer the question of *what* should be done and *why*.

Clearly, the three questions outlined above are highly complex. But when decisions have to be made, the first challenge is to establish what should be done and

for what reasons, before worrying about the *how*. This is why we need an evaluative approach suited to the assessment of alternative, macro-level scenarios, from which micro-level implications can subsequently be derived, rather than ventured in a haphazard way.

There is nothing terribly surprising about this idea. What, instead, is surprising is how often – or even systematically – it is overlooked, leading some prominent institutional actors to treat the answers to these questions as forgone conclusions. This may result from inadequate familiarity with the social meanings of language, finding expression in what linguists Franz Andres and Richard Watts have called “folk linguistics”. Another is the obduracy with which, in Jonathan Pool’s (1991) well-chosen phrase, laypeople and specialists alike cling to “extraordinarily stubborn beliefs” when it comes to language issues. But perhaps the most general explanation is a tendency *not* to adopt a sufficiently broad view, with the associated failure to think “out of the box”. It is in fact ironic that we keep being admonished to think “out of the box” by people who appear quite happy to stay inside the box as soon as language issues arise.

Let us remember that universities are important players whose actions, for good or for ill, are not confined to pure teaching and research. Notions such as the broader responsibility of universities, their expected contributions to dealing with all kinds of issues such as ensuring economic growth, promoting democracy or advancing social justice are not just very popular in official discourse. They also imply that university governance should take account of the wide range of consequences that their decisions can have – even, and this is my point precisely, their linguistic consequences. Universities are shaped by, but also contribute to shaping their *linguistic environment*. In short, we can say that:

- a) the linguistic practices of universities *reflect* broader sociolinguistic conditions;
- b) through their linguistic practices, universities contribute to the *shaping* of these broader conditions;
- c) given their strategic position in the fabric of society, universities’ language choices are *per se* elements of *language policy* – whether a university is publicly-funded or private.

Thus, any examination of universities’ language choices (or, more generally, choices that have linguistic implications) should be analysed and formulated with explicit reference to these three levels. In the following, however, we leave the first two aside (namely, how universities’ linguistic practices are influenced by, and subsequently influence their environment) and focus on the third (namely, how *deliberate* choices regarding these practices can and should be made from a policy perspective).

3. Tools and criteria

3.1 The notion of the counterfactual

When policy choices are made, they should be demonstrably better than the alternatives (Dunn 1994). If university authorities choose policy *X* over policy *Y*, it must be because they feel confident that *X* promises to deliver better results than *Y* in terms of appropriate criteria.

Here again, this sounds like a perfectly obvious point. Yet it can be established only through a systematic assessment of the consequences of *X*, and *Y*. Putting it differently, it makes sense to adopt a policy *X* only if the *counterfactuals*, that is, policy *Y* (and possibly additional scenarios like *Z*) have been identified and assessed. In the *ex-ante* context (that is, when a choice between competing scenarios must be made), the only way to do so is to make projections and simulations of likely consequences, even if these projections and simulations can be informed (i) by past experience and (ii) by current experience elsewhere.

However, experience suggests that most of the time, such decisions are made *without any effort to assess the counterfactual*. Let us point out that the *statu quo ante* (that is: “how things are now”), though it is often used informally (or perhaps even unconsciously) as a counterfactual, is not quite satisfactory, because the alternative to policy *X* is not things *as they are now*, but things *as they are likely to evolve if we don't make changes*. In a way, the counterfactual is always hypothetical, and the assessment of the relative advantages and drawbacks of *X* over *Y* always requires a thought experiment, formalized through a simulation. Most universities tend not to bother. Instead, the usual approach to major choices seems to be of the kind: “Oh, policy *X* sounds really good, and its consequences will be such-and-such, so let's just go ahead and do it”. Even if considerable effort is expended to marshal evidence regarding the positive effects of policy *X* (along with the associated costs), the resulting discourse is logically worthless unless effort has also been made to assess the effects of at least one reasonable counterfactual.

Let us now turn to the criteria in terms of which alternatives should be assessed.

3.2 The overall criteria: efficiency and fairness

There are essentially two broad criteria, namely, *efficiency* and *fairness*. Discussions of efficiency and fairness are at the heart of a considerable literature in economics (particularly welfare economics) and political science (particularly normative political theory), and of course in the field of policy analysis which connects the two. The relevance of efficiency and fairness, and the meaning of the distinction between them, is a classic one in public policy selection, design and evaluation. It

is increasingly well-known, as is the fact that it applies to language policy as well (Grin 2003; Gazzola/Grin 2007).

Efficiency refers to the proper allocation of resources: given that resources are scarce and have alternative uses (that is, they can be devoted to pursuing policy *X* or policy *Y*), allocating them to *X* is an appropriate course of action only if we have reason to think that allocating them to *Y* (or even to another policy *Z*) would not deliver a higher level of aggregate welfare. Formally, efficiency is a more complex technical notion, but in an informal way, it is usually good enough to define allocative efficiency as “making the best use of the resources available” or “avoiding the waste of resources”.

Fairness refers to a “just” distribution of resources between social actors as a result of policy *X*, *Y* or *Z* being implemented. “Just” or “fair” is a notion which is, of course, open to discussion, and the analysis of distribution can be broken down in two steps: first, identifying and measuring (without passing judgment) who gains, who loses, and how much, as a result of the implementation of a policy; second, in reference to criteria usually developed in normative political theory, assessing which policies (given their likely outcomes) are more “just” or “fair” than others. The underlying criterion of equity will in practice tend to converge with some social consensus in a given time and place, but this is an issue that we shall not discuss further. For the purposes of fairness assessment, social actors may be viewed as individuals or as groups (e.g.: “the poor” vs. “the middle class” and “the rich”; “women” vs. “men”; “minority” vs. “majority”; “the old” vs. “the young” – or vice-versa, of course): in specialist jargon, the question here is which group has “standing”, in the sense that the relative share of resources that the group accrues as a result of the implementation of the policy is considered a relevant concern. For example, the impact of a change in the tax schedule would normally be assessed in terms of its impact on the distribution of disposable income between income groups, but probably not between groups of people defined by eye colour.

It is often the case that society must accept a trade-off between efficiency and fairness. The classic example is tax policy: more progressive taxation is often viewed as more fair because it allows for redistribution and thus ends up with a less unequal distribution of spending power among members of society; at the same time, heavier taxes on the rich may discourage productive effort and ultimately result in a lower level of production, and thus of aggregate welfare.

The notions of efficiency and fairness, as well as the possible need to trade one against the other, also occurs in language policy, and also with respect to universities' choices in this area.

Let us now take a closer look at the nature of the “resources” that can be allocated more or less effectively, and distributed more or less fairly.

3.3 The relevant resources

Language policy is complex not only because it carries material and financial implications, but also because it touches upon non-material, symbolic issues with considerable political, social and cultural substance. The same is true of education policy, not least in the context of university governance. What is policy-relevant, therefore, is not confined to material or financial effects. The non-tangible effects of a policy are perfectly relevant too, either as such or because non-tangible effects can have pervasive consequences, including material and tangible ones (Grin 2003).

This is why, for example, the choice of a language as a medium of instruction matters: The exclusion of a language (say, language L_x) in favour of another (say, language L_y) lowers the prestige and social recognition of L_x , depriving its native speakers of an asset (the full usability of their best language skills), with non-tangible consequences (a feeling of disenfranchisement, for example), but with tangible consequences too (the higher costs incurred, by comparison with native speakers of L_y , to achieve academic and professional success). These costs must be balanced against whatever advantages are expected, in the aggregate, from adopting language L_y as the sole medium of instruction.

Obviously, taking account of non-tangible dimensions makes policy assessment significantly more complex, and raises tricky problems of identification and measurement. But there is simply no proper policy assessment without some effort in this direction, at least in the form of a preliminary identification of the effects at hand.

3.4 The internal vs. external levels

Let us finally say a few words about a distinction that has particular import in the sphere of education, including tertiary level institutions. This distinction can be applied to both efficiency and fairness (Grin 2006; Grin/Gazzola 2007), but it is best known in the context of efficiency. What is more, in the latter context, it is often applied not to efficiency proper, but to the narrower question of effectiveness (that is, the magnitude of effects, or results, or outputs obtained with a given input of resources), thus giving rise to analyses of *internal* effectiveness and *external* effectiveness (Lemelin 1998; Levin 1983; Grin 2001).

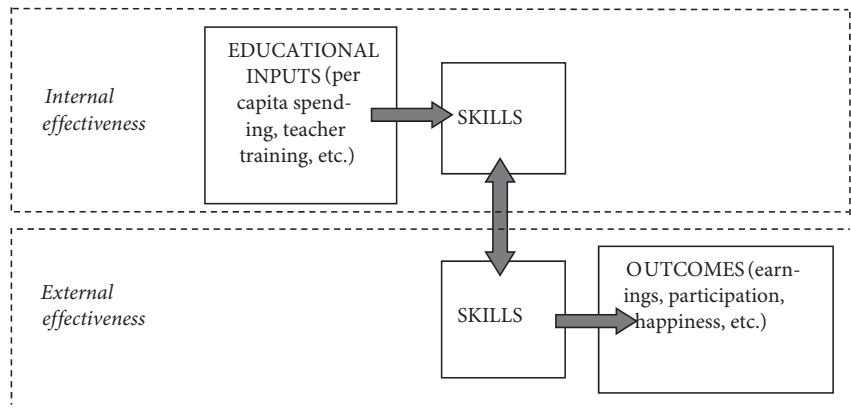
In internal effectiveness evaluation, one looks at what occurs inside the educational sphere (in practice, in the educational institution): more specifically, the

analyst will try to assess the statistical relationship between, on the one hand, educational inputs like spending per pupil or student, teacher training, ICT availability, etc. and, on the other hand, educational outputs such as student achievement or skills levels (measured, for example, through PISA-type test results).

In external effectiveness evaluation, the attention shifts to what happens outside the educational sphere, and usually after education has been completed. What was treated as output in the preceding evaluation is now treated as input. For example, skills levels are treated as input, which is then placed in statistical relation with the usefulness or profitability of this education. A standard measure of output is the magnitude of wage differentials associated with certain skills (for example, the rates of return on foreign language competence), but other outputs may be taken into account, such as better health, higher participation in political or community life, or higher overall enjoyment of life.

The relationship between internal and external evaluation can be represented in the following diagram (Figure 1):

Fig. 1: Internal and external effectiveness evaluation.



Clearly, and as pointed out earlier in this paper, internal effectiveness evaluation (even if done properly and in full awareness of the principles of policy analysis outlined in this section) does not tell us *what* should be done. It only tells us *how* things should be done, but this question only arises *after* decisions have been made about what should be done – by comparison of the alternatives, for what allocative and distributive reasons, while also specifying how the latter have been measured. This is why discussions on the pedagogical quality of the teaching of, or through, one language or another only has conditional relevance. It is relevant if the *external*

issues have been properly dealt with. It is seldom the case, and the issues at hand are typically under-identified, as we shall see in the following section.

4. Identifying language policy challenges²

Let us use the term “linguistic practices” to refer to the use of one or more languages by an institution – in our case, a university. Universities use languages for (essentially) five types of activities:

- the languages taught as subjects;
- the language or languages of instruction, used in the teaching of other, non-linguistic subjects;
- the languages used by academic staff in research, mainly (i) research activities proper, including project drafting and submission, interaction within and between research teams, and (ii) publication of scientific work in specialist journals and books or in formats destined for the general public (including in both cases on-line publication of materials);
- the languages used by the university in its administrative operations;
- the languages used by the university in external communication (e.g. for recruitment purposes, public relations locally or abroad, etc.).

What we are deliberately leaving aside here is interaction between students. There are several reasons for this, but the main one is that except in very specific contexts (which often means non-democratic ones), the languages used by students to communicate is not something that universities should or even could regulate; putting it differently, this is not a university governance question.

Combining the three aspects of the linguistic environment listed in the preceding section with the five types of linguistic practices listed above, we get a 3×5 matrix represented in Table. 1. However, account should also be taken of the fact that the language policy issues appearing in the third column can be assigned to three different “levels”, or fall into three main categories, namely:

- general policy orientations [G];
- organizational questions [O];
- pedagogical questions [P].

2 The analysis developed in this section has also been used in an unpublished document (*Canevas en vue de l'élaboration d'une politique linguistique pour l'Université de Genève*) prepared by F. Grin and L. Gajo at the request of the Rector's office of the University of Geneva in 2008.

Hence, each cell in the third column of the matrix should include the three levels G, O, and P. The resulting table generates a general identification of the range of questions with respect to which language-related decisions must be made; as stated earlier, our focus here is on how to handle the third column.

	Response to linguistic environment	Impacts on linguistic environment	Resulting language policy issues (examples)
<i>Languages taught as subjects</i>	Trends affecting macro-level language dynamics and demand for language skills	Effects of universities' linguistic offerings on relative position of languages	G: What languages to teach and for what reasons? O: What budgetary implications? P: Which skills levels in what languages, for whom, with what methods?
<i>Language(s) of instruction</i>	Trends affecting attitudes and representations of what counts as 'appropriate' languages of instruction; legal framework	Effects of universities' practices on relative language legitimacy/prestige; access to education; responsiveness vs. responsibilities towards different constituencies	G: Should languages other than the local one(s) be used for teaching? Why? For which courses? Assuming what level of skills in non-local language[s] by students and instructors? O: What need exists for associated services for staff (e.g. language centre, etc.)? P: Which skills levels in languages other than the local language[s] may be expected from students? From instructors?
<i>Language(s) of research activities</i>	Forces that affect the relative prestige/spread of different languages in research, nationally and internationally	Effects of linguistic practices in research on relative language prestige; 'efficiency' of research; 'return' to taxpayer; cognitive impacts	G: Should the use of a LWC be encouraged or not? Why? Or multilingualism? For which components of research activities? O: What need exists for associated services for staff (e.g. language centre, etc.), support for staff publication activity in non-native language[s]? What need exists for translation services? P: Which type of language-related expertise should be developed. – e.g. for the supervision of doctoral theses?

	Response to linguistic environment	Impacts on linguistic environment	Resulting language policy issues (examples)
<i>Language(s) of internal administration</i>	Legislation, if any; actual political weight of legislation relative to other trends	Universities' identity; responsibility towards stakeholders / taxpayers	G: Is there any type of situation where non-local language(s) should be used for internal purposes? O: What implications for internal regulations/by-laws? What type of language support services to provide for clerical staff? P: Specific pedagogical issues arising in the language training of administrative staff
<i>Language(s) of external communication</i>	Relative importance / legitimacy of languages. Expectations from the public in this respect. Actual import of non-local student recruitment	Effects of universities' linguistic behavior (e.g. in international recruitment practices) on institutional image? On the legitimacy and prestige of different languages?	G: Institutional image aimed at; implications for student recruitment (enrollment; student profile; geographical origin) O: Setting up of language quality assurance and control; P: Specific pedagogical issues arising in the language training of communications teams, international affairs officers, etc.

Clearly, the range of issues to be addressed is enormous, and an exclusive focus on a topic such as “internationalization of the student body” (a popular – though somewhat shallow – indicator of university quality) or “competitiveness in international rankings” (typically approached through egregiously skewed indicators) do not do the issues any justice.

To my knowledge, there is simply no general treatment of the language questions identified in Table 1 available at this time. And when questions are not fully identified, it is difficult or impossible to come up with proper answers. Available documents suggest that some university authorities may be tempted to take a narrow view of these issues, which amounts to making a host of, often unstated assumptions. The result may then be a somewhat partial approach to language choices in university governance. Let us turn to a few examples in the following section, focusing on the trend to increase the use of English in

non-English-speaking countries, whether as a medium of instruction or as a language used in various stages of research activity.

Before doing so, however, let me stress one important point: the question is not about the use of English per se. The question, rather, is about the use of *one* dominant language, which also happens to be the native language of some people (in this case, the approximately 400 million native speakers of English). The problem would be similar if Chinese, French, or Efik were in a similar position. The problem is linguistic hegemony.

5. A closer look at selected issues

Although we cannot cover all the issues identified in the preceding section, we can reassess – even if briefly – a few important aspects. In what follows, I will therefore look at two questions: first, the use of English as a medium of instruction; second, the use of English in research, further broken up in two sub-questions, namely, B1, the practice of research, and B2, the issue of university rankings.

5.1 The use of English as a medium of instruction

According to most commentators, such as Wächter/Maiworm (2008, 30–32), the trend towards more programmes being taught through the exclusive medium of English³ is on the rise: this can be seen in the percentage of institutions that offer such programmes (16% to 30% in 2002 in the EU15 minus the UK and Ireland, against 18% to 47% in 2007 in the EU27 minus the UK, Ireland and Malta. Over the same period and for the same sample, the percentage of English-medium curricula has gone up from a 2% to 4% range to a 2% to 7% range. Though this may look modest at first, it is in fact considerable, owing to the strong increase in the absolute number of programmes and tertiary education institutions over the same period.

The question is: Do universities' apparently frequent decisions to increase the share of English as a medium of instruction follow a proper evaluation of the benefits and drawbacks of this approach, as well as of its distributional implications? On the basis of available evidence, the answer to this question must be a

3 Wächter/Maiworm talk of “PTEs”, that is, “programmes taught entirely in English”, which of course excludes programmes in English language or literature. They also report an increase in the percentage of students attending PTEs, from 0.2%-0.5% in 2002 to 0.6%-1.8% in 2007; the latter range increases to 0.7%-2.1% if all 27 member countries of the EU, plus Turkey, minus the UK, Ireland, Malta and Luxembourg are included in the estimation.

resounding “no”. There is no trace of any single instance of a proper evaluation having been carried out. This does not mean that using more English is necessarily a *bad* choice: That is a distinct question that we shall turn to in a moment. What it means is that university authorities are liable to making important decisions pretty much at random.

The arguments marshalled in favour of English-medium education mostly fall into three broad categories: (i) this is necessary to attract “the best” foreign students (Gazzola, forthcoming); (ii) others do it, so we must do it too; (iii) a typical “folk linguistics” perception that “English is the language of science”. I shall examine the first argument in relation to the issue of the choice of a medium of instruction, and the second in relation to the issue of language in research. A brief discussion of the third argument is deferred to the concluding section.

As regards the first argument in relation to the choice of languages of instruction, it seems to rest on a host of unstated and debatable assumptions (see Usunier 2010 for a more extensive discussion):

Firstly, it would seem to imply that students, if they are foreigners, are usually better than local students (or that local students are on average a bit dim by comparison with all those bright foreigners). But bright as they are, these foreigners apparently cannot be expected to learn a local language, or be subjected to the indignity of having to learn German or French. To my knowledge, this claim that “the others are better” has never been properly assessed. In fact, it sounds very much like putting the cart before the horses. Proper university governance probably ought to address matters of quality and recruitment the other way around. The priority should be to set up the best possible programmes. Then, if the local catchment area is too small to generate enough bright students, and if it can simultaneously be shown that getting more attractive prospects than the local dimwits is possible only by offering this particular programme through the medium of English, then there would be an argument for doing so. However, all this has never been established – particularly in the case of large countries where the recruitment basin is significant (after all, there are about 60m residents in France and 83m in Germany; is it really impossible to recruit enough good students with such high population numbers?).

A second implicit assumption is that foreign students with a native language such as Spanish, Russian, Swedish or Farsi will flock to courses taught at French, German or Italian universities if these courses are taught through the medium of English. For very specific, high-level programmes, this may be the case. For example, one particular Master Programme in corporate communication offered by the

University of Italian Switzerland⁴ would appear to fall into this category. However, non-native speakers of English in search of an education in English will first and foremost try to enrol at universities in English-speaking countries, particularly the USA and Britain, with the English-speaking parts of Canada and Australia coming next (Hughes 2008). To the extent that the best students have a better chance of achieving this goal, the ones who will settle for English-medium programmes in France or Germany are likely *not* to be the best. By contrast, French or German universities stand a better chance of attracting the best students precisely by teaching through French and German respectively, and thus attracting the bright students who have studied French and German as foreign languages up to the level where they can follow university-level courses in those languages at native speed (which does not mean that they have not learned English as well). A related question, of course, is whether foreign students' English is really good, and whether teaching in English is the appropriate response to their presence. Usunier (2010) claims the opposite, noting that most foreign students' level of English is weak.

A third assumption, which is sometimes made but in a vague, warbled way, is that the international character of the student body enhances the quality, if not of teaching, then at least of learning. In its crudest form, this assumption is reflected in the notion that one indicator of university quality is the percentage of foreigners in the student body. Let us not dwell on the fact that flattering statistics revealing the presence of a large cohort of foreign students (i) ignores the possibility that foreigners come from countries with the same native language (as in the case of French citizens coming to my home university, Geneva, or Argentinians studying at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid); (ii) glosses over the possibility that students may be attracted to a university because it's inexpensive (certainly the case in Switzerland, where tuition for non-residents is typically in the region of EUR 1,000 per year – a far cry from the tens of thousands one has to fork out to study at some universities in the USA).⁵ However, let us for a moment ponder the notion that a genuinely more diverse student body has positive effects on

4 See www.mcc.usi.ch/corporate-communication-09.pdf; this programme is considered by some as one of only three such programmes worldwide, the other two being taught in Denmark and in the USA respectively.

5 Incidentally, the popularity of universities in the USA, Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand may well be due not only to the quality of the education they provide, but simply to the fact that they teach through the medium of English – in fact, owing to their practices in teaching and research, they turn out to be among the least multi-lingual academic institutions in the Western world.

the quality of students' learning experience. However, this argument rests on the notion that diversity stimulates creativity or enhances problem-solving abilities.

At this time, the evidence on this matter is mixed. If such an effect does exist, however, one may wonder whether this worthy purpose is really best served by the use of *one* language of wider communication; qualitative work currently being carried out in the context of the DYLAN project, funded by the European Commission in Framework Program No. 6, suggests that it is precisely the use of several languages that gives rise to positive effects (see research papers on the DYLAN website on www.dylan-project.org).⁶

A fourth assumption is that all the material and symbolic costs of this increase in the role of English are negligible or irrelevant. Yet these costs may be considerable: they include:

- time and money devoted to language learning by instructors;
- time and money devoted to language learning by students (who have no choice but to follow tuition in English);
- time and energy spent compensating for “glitches” in written or oral communication resulting from inadequate knowledge of English by participants in communication (including presumably “Anglophone” foreign students);
- the mental impoverishment resulting from a monolingual academic culture and approach to knowledge. Let us recall that even if knowledge is not strictly language-bound, it is not wholly language-free either. Writing about the teaching of finance, Chesney (2009) notes that the increasingly dominant use of English in this discipline translates into a homogenization of contents, with the same books being used, the same formal models applied, etc.; according to Chesney, this induces identical behaviour by decision-makers in the world of banking and finance, and may thus have worsened the financial crisis. Usunier (2009) goes further and claims that English monolingualism in the higher education systems of non-English-speaking countries amounts to deliberate *deculturation*;
- further symbolic costs linked to the downgrading of the language whose use in academic teaching declines. This question would deserve to be examined in depth, something which of course exceeds the scope of this paper.

In any event, these costs are hardly ever mentioned, and I am not aware of *any* example of an attempt to assess their magnitude, in order for them to be balanced

6 A related issue is that of the economic value of multilingualism. Recent research by Grin, Sfreddo and Vaillancourt (2010) indicates that multilingual skills contribute 10% of Switzerland's GDP.

against the alleged benefits. To my knowledge, no such evaluation is ever carried out, and the identification of the issues is never conducted properly. Then, even if these effects were identified and assessed, the next question is the distributive one: How are these effects distributed among social actors? Who gains, who loses? And even if *everyone* were to gain (a rather unusual case), who gains a lot, and who gains only a little? Needless to say, these distributive questions are never addressed. In short, the factual and analytical basis for weighty language decisions in university governance is amazingly thin.⁷

5.2 Language in research

Linguistic practices play a no less central role in research than in teaching. Research, in turn, implies many different activities, but in terms of language use, it can be organized according to the following typology, proposed by the French physicist Lévy-Leblond (1996):

<i>Communication</i>	<i>Informal</i>	<i>Institutional</i>	<i>Public</i>
Written	Laboratory log books, correspondence (incl. e-mail exchanges), etc.	Scholarly papers and books	Publications for wider, non-specialist public
Oral	Oral interaction, e.g. in team meetings	Colloquia, seminars, academic conferences	Presentations to the media, talks aimed at the wider public

Source: adapted from Lévy-Leblond (1996, 235).

According to Lévy-Leblond, an essential component of communication in research takes place in the researchers' first language or mother tongue – which may well not be English at all. In his view, the need for a language of wider communication only arises for institutional communication, where a case can be made

7 The Catalan education ministry has introduced a scheme amounting to a caricature of this trend. Extra funding will be allocated to universities who teach more courses through the medium of English and Catalan. While the case for using a minority language as medium of instruction (also in higher education) is well established in minority language research (Fishman 1991), the case for using more English is, as we have just seen, rather flimsy. This new incentive scheme in favour of more English does not even attempt to link incentives to whatever positive consequences more English-medium teaching *might* have: it rewards the use of English per se; see Subobjective B.3.5 in the circular entitled *Finançament variable per objectius de les universitats públiques catalanes 2008–2010*, dated 28 July 2009.

that the use of one language delivers various advantages. Let us, however, examine this point more closely.

The convergence towards the use of one given language for institutional communication should be submitted to the same type of scrutiny as before: what are the advantages of carrying out research through the medium of one common language? What are the effects on creativity, problem-solving, innovation? There again, evidence is lacking: qualitative results from the already-mentioned DYLAN project suggest that in research as in teaching, it is advantageous *not* to be confined to one language only (even if it is a language of wider communication); and a survey of psychologists' research on individual bilingualism indicates that they lean towards a positive evaluation of the effect of multilingualism on creativity (Europublic 2009).⁸ And what are the long-term impacts on a society when the language – or languages – associated with its history and cultural development are no longer used for top-tier scientific research? The usual response is to summarily dismiss such concerns,⁹ yet at the very least, they deserve to be examined, since the negative effects may be substantial and could largely offset whatever gains may be achieved by the use of one language such as English.

Assuming it has actually been *shown* to be a good thing, the alternatives still need to be assessed not only in allocative terms (that is: “on balance, is the use of English in research a sound allocation of scarce resources?”), but also in distributive terms (that is: “who gains, who loses, and how much?”). The extra costs incurred by non-native speakers (language learning time, effort devoted to writing in a foreign language, translation costs, etc.)

Obviously, decisions to use more English are never subjected to this type of scrutiny. The general principle seems to be one of automatic imitation of others. Evidence of the shallowness of the approach to decision-making – and the negative effects it induces – is most striking in the role of performance indicators for some systems used for ranking universities (or the relative performance of states), like the “Shanghai ranking” (Gazzola, forthcoming). In addition to the many biases to which they are exposed (or which they may even encourage), bibliometric indicators are problematic because of their exclusive or near-exclusive reliance on publications in English-medium journals compiled by the “ISI Web of Knowledge”

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- 8 One implication, of course, is that a curriculum provided in one language only (say, German), would benefit from including another language, which may of course be English. But then care must be taken to ensure that this broadening of a curriculum's linguistic scope amounts to additive, not “displacing” or subtractive bilingualism.
 - 9 For example in the weekly magazine *The Economist*, “English is coming”, 12 February 2009.

in indexes such as the *Social Sciences Citation Index*. This creates an incentive to publish in English irrespective of the objective usefulness of doing so: Researchers are compelled to publish in English because researchers are compelled to publish in English – not because publishing in English has been shown to encourage better-quality research. The very construction of the indexes artificially reduces (as shown by Van Leeuwen et al. 2001, with the *Science Citation Index*) the visibility of research conducted in non-English speaking countries.

The problem, of course, is that there is simply no automatic positive connection between the language in which a paper is published and the quality of the ideas it contains; the reliance on truncated, monolingual, and ultimately misleading indicators of research quality not only misses its professed objective: it also abets the spread of one language in research – and at this point, it is simply impossible to claim that this evolution is, on balance, positive.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to show that language-related decisions in academia have potentially massive consequences and deserve to be evaluated with proper analytical instruments, such as those provided by policy analysis. After presenting some key concepts, I proposed a preliminary identification of the range of language-related choices that universities have to make, showing that these choices go well beyond standard issues such as “internationalization”, “research excellence”, etc. Focusing on the role of English in traditionally non-English-speaking academic environments, I suggested taking a closer look at two types of choices, namely, the role of English as a language of instruction and the use of publications in English as indicator of research performance.

The general picture emerging from this examination is that university authorities, although they could be expected to lead by example and make carefully justified choices, are often under pressure to make major decisions without adequate examination of their consequences, on the basis of insufficient information or hasty assumptions. These assumptions, sometimes little else than informal beliefs, probably explain a lot. By contrast, business seems to be edging towards more nuanced views, and to acknowledge the need for a partnership of languages. And again, let me repeat: the problem is not English *per se*, but linguistic hegemony, no matter which language is placed in a dominant position.

At the same time, economics suggest that in the long run, people act rationally under a set of constraints, one of them being the information available – more precisely, “understood information”, that is, not just raw facts which may be inadequately grasped, but duly explained and contextualized analyses. If the need

for proper evaluations of the alternatives at hand is explained, we can hope that academic bodies will progressively develop a deeper understanding of the issues and move towards a genuinely multilingual ethos.

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Reports on different countries

Cecilia Robustelli

L'uso delle lingue nelle università italiane oggi

Abstract

Ever since universities started to use the vernacular language instead of Latin, the medium of communication in academic teaching and research in Italy has been the Italian language. Recently, however, due to the so called European “internationalisation strategies” in higher education, the English language has been increasingly introduced, both in the field of “hard sciences” and, less so, in the Humanities. The use of English instead of Italian should facilitate the mobility of international students, enhance the international profile of the institution and strengthen the role of Italy in the global knowledge society. Some higher education institutions have even developed their own internationalisation strategies, e.g. by adopting English as the only language for teaching and research. As a matter of fact, the Ministry of Education has officially recommended introducing academic courses in English and publishing scientific research in foreign languages which, however, have been reduced to English only.

This paper describes the Italian government’s policies and approaches to internationalisation with regard to the use of languages; the impact of the use of English instead of Italian on scholarly peer review and university assessment methods; the reactions to the spread of English at the expense of Italian and other foreign languages as the teaching and publishing language in Italian universities. Data about the number of courses offered in English by Italian universities are also included.

1. Le lingue straniere nelle università italiane

L'uso delle lingue nell'insegnamento e nella ricerca rappresenta oggi nei paesi europei un argomento di riflessione sempre più diffuso all'interno delle università e delle istituzioni culturali e politiche che si occupano di educazione. Anche in Italia l'interesse per la questione è molto vivo ma associato, come vedremo, a una certa preoccupazione. La ragione è ben nota: in nome del processo di internazionalizzazione al quale sono chiamati partecipare, da parte del Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca scientifica (MIUR), Atenei e singoli docenti, si assiste da diversi anni a un progressivo ampliamento dell'uso dell'inglese nella didattica e nella ricerca al posto della lingua nazionale¹. Tra le conseguenze che già incidono

1 La questione è stata al centro già nei primi anni Duemila di una serie di incontri presso l'Università Bocconi. Si veda Cecilia Robustelli (2006): 'Italiano, lingua straniera

in modo significativo sulla politica didattica e la valutazione degli Atenei e sul lavoro individuale ci sono la diminuzione dell'uso di lingue diverse dall'inglese per le pubblicazioni scientifiche e la costruzione di percorsi formativi in inglese in sostituzione di quelli in italiano. La questione è rilevante sia per il settore umanistico sia per quello delle cosiddette “scienze dure”, ma mentre in questo secondo campo è già diffuso da alcuni decenni un tipo di inglese caratterizzato da simboli e formalismi, da un lessico specialistico e da un ridotto apporto della lingua naturale, tanto che ci si riferisce ormai all'inglese scientifico come se fosse una vera e propria varietà linguistica,² nel settore umanistico l'uso dell'inglese rappresenta sostanzialmente una novità e, dal momento che l'amplissima gamma di argomenti da trattare richiede l'uso di una lingua in tutte le sue possibili varietà, non si può certo parlare di un “inglese umanistico”.

Nelle università italiane moderne³ l'uso delle lingue straniere, e non solo dell'inglese, nella didattica è stato riservato fino a pochi anni fa ai corsi di lingua e letteratura, ma la ricerca ha sempre richiesto la conoscenza, almeno passiva, delle grandi lingue di cultura, indispensabili nel campo degli studi sulle lingue e letterature europee, la filosofia, la linguistica storica, ecc. Vera e propria lingua dell'insegnamento e della ricerca universitaria di tipo umanistico in Italia è sempre stata però la lingua italiana, e ciò non dovrebbe destare meraviglia se si considera che l'italiano è la sola lingua nazionale del paese ed è parlata da più del 90% dei suoi abitanti,⁴ per la

nelle facoltà economiche e giuridiche delle Università della UE'. in: *Gli insegnamenti linguistici dell'area economico-giuridica in Europa. Il concetto di futurità nella codificazione linguistica*, Atti del XIV Incontro del Centro Linguistico dell'Università Bocconi (Milano, 26.11.2005), Milano: Egea, 111–121.

- 2 Sull'uso delle lingue straniere nella didattica e nella ricerca si vedano i contributi raccolti in *Fuori l'italiano dall'università? Inglese, internazionalizzazione e politica linguistica*, a cura di Nicoletta Maraschio e Domenico De Martino. Firenze: Accademia della Crusca/Laterza, 2013; e in particolare sull'uso dell'inglese nella didattica e nella ricerca delle discipline scientifiche Villa, M.L. (2014): 'Il ruolo pubblico della scienza: quale lingua per la terza missione'. In: *ClassicoContemporaneo*, 0, 246–252.
- 3 Per una storia dell'uso delle lingue nella didattica e nella ricerca universitaria in Italia rimando al saggio di Rita Librandi in questo stesso volume.
- 4 Il restante 10% si divide equamente fra i dialettofoni e coloro che parlano una delle lingue minoritarie attestate in Italia. L'italiano è anche lingua ufficiale di San Marino, Svizzera, Città del Vaticano ed è la seconda lingua ufficiale in Croazia e in Slovenia. Curiosamente la Costituzione della repubblica italiana non indica l'italiano come lingua ufficiale. Una proposta di legge costituzionale approvata dalla Camera il 28 marzo 2007 prevedeva la modifica dell'art. 12 della Costituzione in «L'italiano è la lingua ufficiale della Repubblica nel rispetto delle garanzie previste dalla Costituzione e dalle

maggior parte dei quali è la lingua materna, a cui si aggiunge una piccola percentuale nel resto della Ue.⁵

La questione è stata discussa anche fuori dagli ambiti strettamente universitari per diventare quasi una questione politica: la riduzione dell'uso dell'italiano per la didattica e la ricerca universitaria è stato infatti interpretato anche in termini di riduzione di prestigio della nostra lingua e ha suscitato reazioni nazionalistiche.⁶ La pervasività dell'inglese comporterebbe infatti una riduzione di funzionalità dell'italiano⁷ (rischio, questo, condiviso anche dalle altre lingue della Ue), richiamando quella situazione di rischio per tutte le lingue nazionali dei paesi non anglofoni della Ue che si è fatta minacciosa dopo l'ampliamento da 11 a 21 lingue ufficiali del 2004, e segnatamente la limitazione dell'uso dell'italiano nelle istituzioni Ue a favore delle più diffuse francese, inglese e tedesco (v. §3).

Non sorprende pertanto che quando, nel 2012, il Politecnico di Milano ha deliberato di attuare l'insegnamento unicamente in lingua inglese all'interno dei Corsi di laurea magistrale e di Dottorato si siano levate le proteste di un nutrito gruppo di docenti dello stesso Politecnico milanese, che ha ottenuto dal TAR della Regione Lombardia la dichiarazione di nullità della delibera. Il Rettorato del Politecnico di Milano e il MIUR hanno risposto con un appello al Consiglio di Stato in cui si chiedeva l'annullamento della sentenza del TAR. Il Consiglio di Stato deve ancora pronunciarsi, ma intanto nell'anno accademico 2014–14

leggi costituzionali» ma la proposta non è stata approvata dal Senato. Tuttavia lo Statuto della Regione Autonoma Trentino-Alto Adige (DPR n. 670 del 31 agosto 1972) dichiara all'art. 99 che «[...] quella italiana [...] è la lingua ufficiale dello Stato». La dicitura viene ripetuta dall'art. 1 del DPR n. 574 del 15 luglio 1988 “Norme di attuazione dello Statuto Speciale per la Regione Trentino-Alto Adige” e richiamata dalla Legge ordinaria n. 482 del 15 dicembre 1999 “Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche” che stabilisce all'art. 1 che «la lingua ufficiale della Repubblica è l'italiano».

- 5 L'italiano è parlato come lingua madre dal 13% dei cittadini europei, mentre il 3% in grado di parlarlo come lingua seconda, per un totale di 72 milioni di persone nella sola Ue (Commissione europea, *Eurobarometers - European and their languages*, 2012).
- 6 La questione è stata affrontata anche dall'Accademia della Crusca nel recente convegno *La lingua italiana e le lingue romanze di fronte agli anglicismi* (Firenze, 23–24.2.2015), organizzato in collaborazione con Coscienza Svizzera e con la Società Dante Alighieri, www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/comunicato-stampa/convegno-lingua-italiana-lingue-romanze-fronte-anglicismi.
- 7 La questione dell'uso delle lingue nelle istituzioni europee è stata affrontata più volte dall'EFNIL.

ventuno corsi di laurea magistrale su trentaquattro sono in inglese.⁸ Si noti che già a partire dall'anno accademico 2008/2009 il Politecnico di Milano aveva stabilito che, ai fini dell'accesso ai corsi di laurea erogati in lingua italiana (triennale di primo livello, o quinquennale a ciclo unico) era richiesto un livello minimo di conoscenza della lingua inglese.⁹

1.1

L'uso delle lingue straniere e dell'inglese in particolare nella didattica e nella ricerca universitaria trae origine, per l'Italia, dal dovere di condividere con tutti gli altri paesi della Ue gli obiettivi comuni di istruzione e formazione in Europa: tra questi spiccano mettere l'educazione e la formazione al centro dei processi di crescita, di modernizzazione e di integrazione delle società democratiche evolute, e prevedere l'inserimento della dimensione internazionale nelle attività accademiche di didattica e di ricerca a tutti i livelli educativi, compreso quello universitario. La partecipazione a questo processo di integrazione, che va sotto il nome di "internazionalizzazione" assume un valore più ampio se si considera la sua funzione come strumento di apertura, di dialogo e di convivenza civile che affianca alla diplomazia internazionale della politica e dell'economia quella della conoscenza e della ricerca. In questo senso l'istruzione superiore può contribuire alla costruzione dei processi di mantenimento della pace e della sicurezza internazionale, alla prevenzione dei conflitti, alla protezione dei diritti umani e della democrazia, all'integrazione per lo sviluppo sostenibile, in un contesto generale di responsabilità globale e di solidarietà internazionale.

Il lungo percorso verso l'internazionalizzazione ha previsto e richiesto, per quanto riguarda l'istruzione superiore e la ricerca, la costruzione di uno *Spazio Comune Europeo* che ha avuto due tappe fondamentali nel Processo di Bologna (1999) e nella cosiddetta Strategia di Lisbona (2000), in cui il Consiglio europeo aveva riconosciuto che l'Unione europea si trovava dinanzi «a una svolta epocale risultante dalla globalizzazione e da un'economia basata sulla conoscenza» e aveva approvato come obiettivo strategico per il 2010 «diventare l'economia basata sulla conoscenza più competitiva e dinamica del mondo, in grado di realizzare una crescita economica sostenibile con nuovi e migliori posti di lavoro

8 www.corriere.it/scuola/universita/14_luglio_25/politecnico-aggirato-divieto-tar-1fbfcee4-13ec-11e4-9950-e546b7448c47.shtml; http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/05/05/news/milano_il_politecnico_aggira_il_no_del_tar_otto_corsi_su_dieci_in_inglese_dall_anno_prossimo-85241246/.

9 www.polimi.it/uploads/media/Guida_alla_Lingua_Inglese_20132014.pdf.

e una maggiore coesione sociale¹⁰». In seguito all'accordo sulla necessità di una politica di internazionalizzazione i governi dei paesi europei si sono impegnati a rispettare principi chiave comuni, orientati a una ristrutturazione omogenea dei sistemi universitari europei. Tra questi principi hanno particolare rilevanza l'integrazione delle due dimensioni della formazione e della ricerca quali pilastri della società basata sulla conoscenza; la promozione della dimensione europea dei percorsi formativi; l'adozione di un sistema europeo di crediti; la promozione della mobilità di studenti, docenti e ricercatori, ecc.¹¹ Le misure previste per la loro attuazione mirano ad accrescere la competitività del sistema universitario italiano sul piano internazionale e a migliorare il ruolo del paese nella cosiddetta "economia della conoscenza" intesa come «un sistema economico nel quale si fa un utilizzo intensivo di lavori ad alta qualificazione»¹² ma richiedono anche interventi, come quello relativo all'uso delle lingue, che come ho accennato sopra sollevano interrogativi sul piano culturale, sociale e politico.

2. Internazionalizzazione e valutazione

Il livello di internazionalizzazione rappresenta oggi in Italia un parametro fondamentale per la valutazione della qualità delle attività delle università e per la valutazione della ricerca dei singoli studiosi. Le attività di valutazione in Italia sono affidate all'ANVUR (Agenzia Nazionale di Valutazione del sistema Universitario e

10 "Proposta di lavoro dettagliato sul follow-up circa gli obiettivi dei sistemi di istruzione e formazione in Europa". In: *Gazzetta ufficiale delle Comunità europee*, C 142/1, 14.6.2002.

11 www.cruis.it/internazionalizzazione/HomePage.aspx?ref=1210.

12 Dominique Foray (2006): *Leconomia della conoscenza*. Bologna: ilMulino, 9, ripreso da Michele Gazzola, "L'internazionalizzazione delle Università e le nuove sfide per la lingua italiana". In: *La Crusca per Voi*, 36, aprile 2008. Nell'articolo, come nota Francesco Sabatini nell'introduzione, «L'autore mette bene in guardia il mondo della ricerca dalle vessazioni dei sistemi di valutazione delle pubblicazioni, dominati da centrali editoriali del mondo anglosassone, e le Università dall'illusione che basti il cambiamento di lingua d'insegnamento per attrarre i migliori studenti da altri Paesi (potrebbero arrivare, invece, i meno dotati, respinti altrove e attratti dai minori costi)». Sui risvolti economici della politica linguistica si veda l'attività dell'Observatoire ELF (Économie Langues Formation) dell'Università di Ginevra, www.unige.ch/traduction-interpretation/recherches/groupes/elf/observatoire.html e i lavori di François Grin (es. *Using Language Economics and Education Economics in Language Education Politics*, www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/grinen.pdf) e dello stesso Michele Gazzola (www.michelegazzola.com). Sull'"imperialismo linguistico" dell'inglese Robert Phillipson (2003): *English-Only Europe?* London: Routledge.

della Ricerca),¹³ che le esercita attraverso la Valutazione della qualità della ricerca (VQR); la definizione dei criteri e parametri per l'Abilitazione scientifica nazionale (ASN); la Autovalutazione, Valutazione periodica e Accredimento dei corsi di studio universitari (AVA). Gli elementi portanti del sistema integrato AVA derivano in larga misura, dalle linee guida contenute nelle *European Standards Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area* (ESG-ENQA)¹⁴ approvate dai ministri europei nella conferenza di Bergen del 2005 e adottate nella Raccomandazione del Parlamento e del Consiglio europeo del 15 febbraio 2006 sul proseguimento della cooperazione europea in materia di certificazione della qualità nell'istruzione superiore (2006/143/CE).¹⁵

I compiti affidati all'ANVUR sono descritti nella legge 30 dicembre 2010, n. 240 *Norme in materia di organizzazione delle università, di personale accademico e reclutamento, nonché delega al Governo per incentivare la qualità e l'efficienza del sistema universitario*:¹⁶

- definire indicatori e criteri per la verifica del possesso da parte degli atenei:
 - o di idonei requisiti didattici, strutturali, organizzativi;
 - o di qualificazione dei docenti e delle attività di ricerca;
 - o di sostenibilità economico-finanziaria, nell'ambito dell'introduzione di un sistema di accreditamento delle sedi e dei corsi di studi (art. 5 c.3).
- definire la lista componenti "stranieri" delle commissioni preposte alle procedure di Abilitazione Scientifica Nazionale (art. 16 c.3).
- proporre modalità di accreditamento delle sedi e dei corsi di dottorato di ricerca ed esprimere un parere (di fatto vincolante) sulla concessione, o meno, dello stesso ai singoli corsi e sedi (art. 19 c. 1).
- elaborare meccanismi di valutazione delle politiche di reclutamento degli atenei (volti all'attribuzione di una quota non superiore al 10 per cento del fondo di funzionamento ordinario) fondati su:

13 La creazione dell'ANVUR si inserisce nel più ampio corso di eventi che riguardano le politiche pubbliche in tema di valutazione nell'ambito del sistema Università-ricerca in Italia, a partire dalla Legge Finanziaria per il 1994 adottata dal Governo Ciampi (Legge 24 dicembre 1993, n. 537), che introdusse la "funzione valutativa" e dispose la creazione dell'*Osservatorio per la valutazione del sistema universitario* quale organo tecnico del Ministero (ma composto da esperti esterni) incaricato principalmente di dare una valutazione a livello centrale delle relazioni dei Nuclei di valutazione interna.

14 www.enqa.eu/index.php/home/esg/.

15 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:064:0060:0062:IT:PDF>.

16 www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/10240l.htm.

- o la produzione scientifica dei professori e dei ricercatori successiva alla loro presa di servizio ovvero al passaggio a diverso ruolo o fascia nell'ateneo;
- o la percentuale di ricercatori a tempo determinato in servizio che non hanno trascorso l'intero percorso di dottorato e di *post*-dottorato, o, nel caso delle facoltà di medicina e chirurgia, di scuola di specializzazione, nella medesima università;
- o la percentuale dei professori reclutati da altri atenei;
- o la percentuale dei professori e ricercatori in servizio responsabili scientifici di progetti di ricerca internazionali e comunitari;
- o il grado di internazionalizzazione del corpo docente (art. 5 c. 5).

2.1 Obiettivi, azioni, indicatori

Il Decreto Ministeriale 14 febbraio 2014 n. 104 *Indicatori e Parametri per il monitoraggio e la valutazione dei programmi delle università 2013–2015*¹⁷ elenca i due obiettivi previsti dal MIUR per la programmazione delle attività universitarie 2013–15: la *Promozione della qualità del sistema universitario* e il *Dimensionamento sostenibile del sistema universitario*, per ciascuno dei quali sono previste tre azioni, valutabili sulla base di una serie di indicatori.

Il primo obiettivo prevede tra le sue azioni il *Potenziamento dell'offerta formativa relativa a corsi in lingua straniera di I, II e III livello anche in collaborazione con Atenei di altri Paesi con rilascio del Titolo Congiunto e/o del Doppio Titolo* valutabile in base ai seguenti indicatori:¹⁸

1. Numero di corsi di Laurea e/o Laurea Magistrale a ciclo unico internazionali (L, LMCU) con titolo congiunto, titolo doppio o multiplo.
2. Numero corsi di Laurea Magistrale internazionali (LM) con titolo congiunto, titolo doppio o titolo multiplo.
3. Numero di corsi di studio (L, LMCU, LM) offerti in lingua straniera.
4. Numero di corsi di dottorato in convenzione con atenei o enti di ricerca stranieri.

L'indicatore 3 (*Numero di corsi di studio (L, LMCU, LM) offerti in lingua straniera*) rientra tra quelli indispensabile per costruire percorsi formativi internazionali e aumentare la capacità di attrarre studenti stranieri, due obiettivi fondamentali

17 <http://attiministeriali.miur.it/anno-2014/febbraio/dm-14022014.aspx>.

18 Si vedano le osservazioni di Rita Librandi, 'Le lingue della ricerca e dell'internazionalizzazione', *ClassicoContemporaneo* 0, 2014, pp. 253–259, pubblicato dopo il convegno EFNIL ma che ho potuto leggere in bozze grazie alla cortesia dell'autrice.

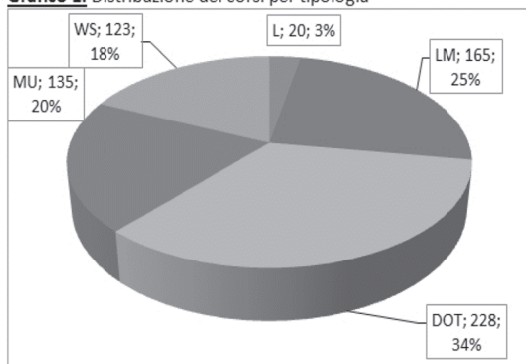
della programmazione universitaria nazionale stabiliti anche dal D.M. 15 ottobre 2013 n. 827 *Linee generali di indirizzo della programmazione delle università per il triennio 2013–2015*.¹⁹ Ma la sua applicazione è stata distorta: in termini concreti, la sollecitazione a offrire corsi in lingua straniera si è tradotta nell'istituzione di corsi di laurea, triennale e magistrale, in inglese.

2.2 Ricognizione dei corsi in inglese nell'insegnamento accademico in Italia

La Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (CRUI) ha operato una ricognizione dei corsi svolti totalmente in lingua inglese nell'anno accademico 2011–2012 (quindi precedenti al D.M. 14 febbraio 2014 n. 104) con il «duplice obiettivo di attrarre studenti internazionali e di attuare progetti multiculturali di ampio respiro» attraverso i Rettorati di 81 Atenei.²⁰ I dati che riportato qui di seguito riflettono la percentuale degli Atenei che nel 2011/12 hanno erogato un'offerta formativa in lingua inglese (grafico 1), quelli in cui è attivo almeno un corso in lingua inglese, distinti per tipologia di corso (grafico 2), e la distribuzione dei corsi per area disciplinare (tabella 1).

Grafico 1: Atenei che nel 2011/12 hanno erogato un'offerta formativa in lingua inglese.

Grafico 1. Distribuzione dei corsi per tipologia



L: Laurea, LM: Laurea magistrale, DOT: Dottorato di ricerca, MU: Master universitario, WS: Winter/Summer School

¹⁹ http://attiministeriali.miur.it/media/233555/dm_n827.pdf.

²⁰ Breno, E./Carfagna, M./Cavallini, M.: *Internazionalizzazione degli atenei: l'offerta didattica in lingua inglese A.A. 2011/12*, relazione pubblicata sul sito della CRUI dalla quale sono stati tratti anche i grafici e i dati seguenti, www.cru.it/HomePage.aspx?ref=2094.

Più del 70% degli atenei (57) hanno attivato insegnamenti in inglese per un totale di 671 corsi. Nel grafico compaiono distribuiti in diverse tipologie di proposta: Corsi di laurea triennale, Master universitari, Corsi di Laurea Magistrale, Dottorati di ricerca, Winter/Summer school:

- Corsi di laurea triennale: 20 = 3%,
- Master universitari: 135 = 20%,
- Corsi di Laurea Magistrale: 165 = 25%,
- Dottorati di ricerca: 228 = 34%,
- Winter/Summer school: 123 = 18.

La percentuale dei corsi di laurea triennale in inglese risulta molto bassa perché la laurea di primo livello è considerata come una tappa base della conoscenza ed è quindi prevalentemente orientata a una formazione di carattere nazionale. I corsi di livello superiore invece (laurea magistrale e dottorato) rappresentano quasi il 60% dell'offerta totale in lingua inglese perché è dissuasa convinzione che la specializzazione del sapere abbia maggiore possibilità di apertura verso l'estero, anche in termini di attrazione di studenti stranieri. La distribuzione geografica vede i corsi in inglese più numerosi nei grandi centri urbani (Milano, Torino, Bologna, Roma), con una maggiore concentrazione al Nord.

Grafico 2: Atenei in cui è attivo almeno un corso in lingua inglese.

Grafico 2. Numero di atenei per tipologia di corso

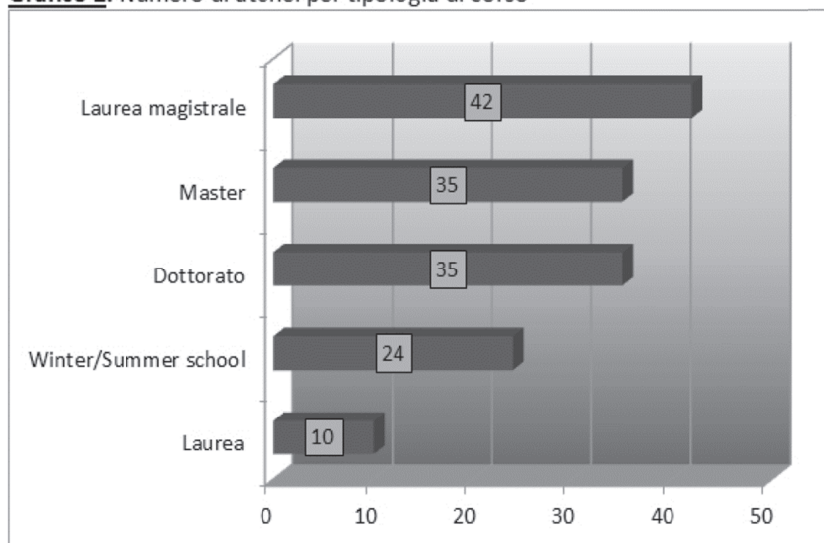


Tabella 1: Distribuzione dei corsi per area disciplinare

- Corsi di Laurea Magistrale: 42 = 52%
- Master universitari: 35 = 43%
- Dottorati di ricerca: 35 = 43%
- Winter/Summer school: 24 = 30%
- Corsi di laurea triennale: 10 = 12%

Tabella 2. Distribuzione dei corsi per area disciplinare

area CUN	tot	%	L	LM	DOT	MU	WS
Area 13: Scienze economiche e statistiche	140	20,86	8	49	32	33	18
Area 09: Ingegneria industriale e dell'informazione Interdisciplinare	111	16,54	7	44	31	23	6
Area 08: Ingegneria civile ed Architettura	77	11,48		4	48	21	4
Area 14: Scienze politiche e sociali	60	8,94	3	14	22	11	10
Area 06: Scienze mediche	40	5,96		5	13	15	7
Area 01: Scienze matematiche e informatiche	39	5,81		5	14	11	9
Area 12: Scienze giuridiche	36	5,37	1	13	11	1	10
Area 10: Scienze dell'antichità, filologico-letterarie e storico-artistiche	33	4,92			2	9	22
Area 02: Scienze fisiche	28	4,17		4	8	1	15
Area 03: Scienze chimiche	24	3,58		8	14		2
Area 05: Scienze biologiche	22	3,28		6	10	2	4
Area 07: Scienze agrarie e veterinarie	21	3,13	1	6	9		5
Area 04: Scienze della Terra	16	2,38		4	5	5	2
Area 11: Scienze storiche, filosofiche, pedagogiche e psicologiche	12	1,79		1	2	2	7
	12	1,79		2	7	1	2
	671		20	165	228	135	123

L: Laurea, LM: Laurea magistrale, DOT: Dottorato di ricerca, MU: Master universitario, WS: Winter/Summer School

Le aree disciplinari nelle quali gli atenei hanno puntato maggiormente per la formazione in lingua inglese sono le due aree di ingegneria (25% dell'offerta) e l'area "Scienze economiche e statistiche" (20%).

Secondo la CRUI questi risultati «forniscono un'interessante fotografia di una parte della didattica offerta dai nostri atenei, ma soprattutto rappresentano un utile strumento per la promozione del nostro sistema universitario all'estero e per attrarre studenti internazionali». Rivelano inoltre «la tendenza del nostro sistema accademico a diversificare l'offerta formativa in ragione non solo di logiche attrattive, ma anche rispetto all'individuazione di una prospettiva culturale di largo raggio nella preparazione degli studenti, che nel tempo consentirà una presenza sempre più consistente e qualificata del nostro Paese a livello internazionale». Del resto l'offerta formativa indicata per l'A.A. 2011/12, non è di carattere episodico: nel 75% dei casi i corsi sono stati riconfermati per il successivo anno accademico (per i rimanenti, al momento della rilevazione, l'informazione non era ancora disponibile). Sempre secondo la CRUI «l'erogazione di corsi in inglese favorisce infatti due aspetti fondamentali per l'università: la multiculturalità e il multilinguismo. La multiculturalità riguarda la capacità di rapportarsi e di interagire con tradizioni storiche, comportamentali e scientifiche anche molto

diverse; il multilinguismo riguarda la capacità di padroneggiare codici linguistici diversi in funzione del loro raggio di efficacia comunicativa (locale, nazionale, sovranazionale) che consente una profonda comprensione ed integrazione nelle diverse realtà socio-culturali».

2.3 Internazionalizzazione e valutazione della ricerca individuale

L'uso delle lingue straniere nella ricerca e nella didattica ha un ruolo fondamentale anche per la Valutazione della Qualità della Ricerca (VQR) individuale, affidata anch'essa all'ANVUR. Già per il periodo 2004–2010 l'obiettivo di favorire la diffusione dei prodotti della ricerca in campo internazionale aveva suggerito di privilegiare i lavori in inglese, una misura poi rientrata anche per la ferma opposizione delle aree cui fanno capo i settori umanistici e delle scienze sociali. Nel Seminario nazionale delle consulte scientifiche dell'area 10 *Saperi umanistici e valutazione* (Roma, 16 maggio 2014) le Società e le Associazioni scientifiche che in Italia istituzionalmente si occupano a livello accademico di Linguistica italiana e di Scienze del linguaggio hanno segnalato che «La ricerca di indicatori quantitativi, analoghi a quelli adottati per le scienze dure, che possano sostituire o ridurre al minimo la valutazione tramite *peer review*, si è rivelata difficile e talvolta improduttiva. I settori umanistici, infatti, per la multiformità dei loro linguaggi, delle espressioni e dei metodi sono difficilmente riducibili a misurazioni univoche ma non sono impossibili da valutare. È auspicabile, al contrario, l'elaborazione di un modello che tenga conto della singolarità della ricerca umanistica, della varietà dei prodotti che la trasmettono e delle vie attraverso le quali gli studiosi ne riconoscono la qualità scientifica». Del resto la VQR 2004–2010 ha mostrato come molti lavori di queste aree, fra cui quelli dell'Area 10 Scienze dell'Antichità, filologico-letterarie e storico-artistiche, siano stati pubblicati sì in lingua straniera, ma non solo in inglese:²¹

Area10

Totale pubblicazioni in lingua straniera 30,55%

di cui

17,40% inglese

13,15% altre lingue

In Italia la vitalità delle grandi lingue di cultura come strumento di condivisione dei risultati della ricerca scientifica è ancora forte e coltivata con convinzione dagli studiosi, i pochi che oggi continuano a praticare davvero il plurilinguismo

21 I dati sono tratti da Librandi, 'Le lingue della ricerca', cit. 253–254.

nel mondo degli studi e della ricerca, che la “spinta all’internazionalizzazione” vorrebbe invece monolingue.

3. “Anglificazione” e multilinguismo

La reazione alla massiccia introduzione della lingua inglese in sostituzione di quella italiana nell’educazione e nella ricerca universitaria in nome dell’“internazionalizzazione” è stata, come si è già detto, forte e significativa soprattutto da parte dei settori delle aree umanistiche. L’Accademia della Crusca è intervenuta dalle pagine della *Crusca per Voi*²² e, insieme con gli studiosi di lingua italiana e di scienze del linguaggio, con una *Lettera aperta* al Ministro del MIUR;²³ ha promosso la tavola rotonda *Quali lingue per l’insegnamento universitario?*²⁴ ha raccolto una serie di interventi di personalità del mondo accademico ed extra accademico nel volume *Fuori l’italiano dall’università? Inglese, internazionalizzazione e politica linguistica*,²⁵ si è espressa recentemente anche con numerosi interventi del suo attuale presidente Claudio Marazzini.²⁶ Il mondo delle scienze si è unito a quello umanistico nel protestare contro la massiccia “anglificazione” dei percorsi di studio a spese della lingua nazionale e delle altre lingue di cultura.²⁷

I dati relativi alla presenza di studenti stranieri non comunitari nelle nostre università non confermano, del resto, che l’attivazione di insegnamenti dei corsi

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- 22 Già nel 2007 l’allora presidente dell’Accademia Francesco Sabatini era intervenuto ampiamente sulla questione in ‘Bisogno d’italiano nelle Università. Lettera aperta ai ministri dell’università e dell’istruzione’. In: *La Crusca per voi*, 35 (2007), 1–3, cui faranno seguito altri suoi interventi sul tema. Nell’articolo Sabatini affrontava criticamente alcuni aspetti della prassi attuata al tempo riguardo all’uso dell’inglese come lingua dell’insegnamento universitario illustrandoli con riferimento alla scena linguistica e educativa complessiva.
- 23 *Lettera aperta* dell’Accademia della Crusca e delle Associazioni/Società scientifiche di studiosi di linguistica italiana e di scienze del linguaggio al Ministro dell’Istruzione, dell’Università e della Ricerca sulla decisione del Politecnico di Milano (2 agosto 2013).
- 24 La tavola rotonda si è tenuta presso la sede dell’Accademia, nella Villa Medicea di Castello, il 27 aprile 2012.
- 25 *Fuori l’italiano dall’università?*, 2013, cit.
- 26 L’intervento al programma radiofonico *Tutta la città ne parla* (Rai radio 3, 25 luglio 2014) <http://bit.ly/WPBKn0>; www.accademiadellacrusca.it/sites/www.accademiadellacrusca.it/files/page/2014/10/08/corsera.5.10.14.efnil_.pdf; www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/laccademia/notizie-dallaccademia/punto-questione-dellinsegnamento-universitario-sola-lingua-inglese.
- 27 Maria Luisa Villa, ‘Perché l’inglese non ci basta’. In: *Fuori l’italiano dall’università?*, cit., 74–82.

di Laurea, Laurea Magistrale e a Ciclo Unico in lingua inglese, e soprattutto la sostituzione di corsi in italiano con corsi erogati interamente in lingua inglese, abbia portato a un loro massiccio aumento, e la medesima osservazione vale anche per altri paesi europei che hanno operato la medesima sostituzione di corsi nella loro lingua nazionale con corsi in inglese.²⁸ Come nota Librandi (2014:256), sulla base del VI rapporto dello European Migration Network nell'anno accademico 2011–12 detti studenti, in Italia, erano meno della metà (3,8%) della media di quelli presenti nell'intera Ue (8,6%), un terzo di quelli in Germania (10,6%) e un sesto di quelli in Gran Bretagna. Le ragioni di questo scarso successo? Molte e diverse. Chi viene a studiare in Italia non ha necessariamente una conoscenza della lingua inglese tale da permettergli di fruire pienamente di una didattica in tale lingua né seguire corsi in inglese rappresenta per loro un obiettivo primario all'interno del loro programma di formazione (o li aiuterà a trovare lavoro in Italia); i docenti stessi si trovano in molti casi a dover rielaborare faticosamente, e imperfettamente (come in genere accade quando non si usa la lingua materna²⁹), in inglese le loro lezioni, tanto che si rende necessario organizzare per loro corsi di perfezionamento e offrire incentivi finanziari a quelli riottosi affinché decidano di tenere i loro corsi in inglese: c'è quindi uno scollamento profondo tra bisogni formativi e linguistici da un lato e offerta formativa e linguistica dall'altro.

Su un piano più generale ha suscitato forte perplessità l'affermazione che l'uso dell'inglese a spese dell'italiano rappresenti un incentivo al multilinguismo, pubblicata sul sito della CRUI «L'erogazione di corsi in inglese favorisce infatti due aspetti fondamentali per l'università: la multiculturalità e il multilinguismo. La multiculturalità riguarda la capacità di rapportarsi e di interagire con tradizioni storiche, comportamentali e scientifiche anche molto diverse; il multilinguismo riguarda la capacità di padroneggiare codici linguistici diversi in funzione del loro

28 Si vedano i dati riportati a proposito del francese in Jacqueline Brunet, 'Insegnamento e ricerca in lingua inglese nelle università francesi' in Maraschio/De Martino: *Fuori l'italiano dall'università?*, cit., 114–116.

29 Francesco Sabatini sottolineava nell'articolo 'Bisogno di italiano nelle università' (v. n. 22) che «[le lezioni "in presenza"] non consistono in un'automatica ripetizione di un sapere già codificato e verbalizzato in discorsi depositati nella mente dell'espositore; il "far lezione" è un momento, per il docente, di migliore esplicazione a se stesso e quindi di approfondito riesame delle conoscenze possedute, anche se si tratta di materie per così dire molto "codificate" come quelle naturalistiche o finanziarie. L'insegnamento rivolto a una mente tesa ad apprendere è un'attività che esige spesso il ricorso improvviso alle risorse più fresche e creative del linguaggio, quelle alimentate soprattutto dalla pratica di una lingua liberamente e intensamente usata in ogni circostanza della vita. A queste caratteristiche risponde, tipicamente, quella che chiamiamo *lingua materna*».

raggio di efficacia comunicativa (locale, nazionale, sovranazionale) che consente una profonda comprensione ed integrazione nelle diverse realtà socio-culturali». Ma la strategia di “anglificazione” adottata nelle università italiane non può essere confusa con un’adesione al multilinguismo! Al contrario, l’adozione dell’inglese come unica lingua veicolare, che comporta la riduzione dell’uso e quindi degli insegnamenti di lingue diverse dall’inglese, italiano compreso, si configura esattamente in senso opposto, come monolinguisimo.³⁰

Questa discussione ricorda quella che si è avuta nell’Unione europea a proposito della comunicazione fra i cittadini europei dopo l’allargamento del 2004 che ha portato da 11 a 21 le lingue ufficiali della Ue: anche allora emerse la possibilità che l’inglese diventasse la sola lingua della Ue e delle sue istituzioni, una proposta cui fu contrapposto l’obiettivo della salvaguardia delle singole lingue nazionali, vero cardine per la costruzione delle strategie di pluri- e multilinguismo.³¹ Le soluzioni proposte al tempo furono molteplici, ma nessuna definitiva. Fu però dichiarata l’opportunità, in occasione di due convegni EFNIL (Bruxelles 2005 e Madrid 2006) e da parte della delegazione italiana, di non contrapporre ma di tenere distinte le due questioni, quella della necessità di un’unica lingua intermediaria, per usi occasionali, e quella di mantenere la vitalità delle singole lingue nazionali,³² e di accettare l’uso dell’inglese con funzioni ausiliarie incrementando però al contempo l’apprendimento delle lingue straniere, almeno due. Questa – l’apprendimento delle lingue straniere – rappresenta del resto una delle otto competenze chiave «di cui tutti hanno bisogno per la realizzazione e lo sviluppo personali, la cittadinanza attiva, l’inclusione sociale e l’occupazione» secondo la raccomandazione del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio *Competenze chiave per l’apprendimento permanente* (2006),³³ richiamata

30 Sulla promozione della lingua inglese a spese della propria è ormai disponibile una ricca letteratura, si veda ad esempio per il tedesco Ammon, U. (2006): “Language conflicts in the European Union”. In: *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16/3, 319–338.

31 La promozione di tutte le lingue nazionali è al centro delle Raccomandazioni di Mannheim-Firenze, lo statuto dell’EFNIL www.efnil.org/documents/recommendations-of-mannheim-florence/italiano. Si vedano anche i contributi raccolti in *Le lingue d’Europa patrimonio comune dei cittadini europei*, a cura di Cecilia Robustelli e Marco Benedetti, Atti del convegno Firenze, 3–4 luglio 2007, Firenze-Bruxelles: Accademia della Crusca e Commissione europea, 2008.

32 Un panorama dell’intervento italiano è in Cecilia Robustelli (2010): ‘L’Accademia della Crusca e la Federazione Europea delle Istituzioni Linguistiche Nazionali (EFNIL): un impegno congiunto per il multilinguismo europeo’. In: *La Piazza delle Lingue. Esperienze di multilinguismo in atto* (Firenze, 21–23 maggio 2009). Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 223–231.

33 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32006H0962>.

nella relazione finale del *Gruppo ad alto livello sul multilinguismo* (2006)³⁴ e integrata dalle proposte del *Gruppo degli intellettuali per il dialogo interculturale*, costituito su iniziativa della Commissione europea (2008): «l'insegnamento di molte lingue straniere in paesi che non ne hanno l'abitudine può certamente porre problemi logistici, finanziari e umani, riguardanti in particolare la formazione degli insegnanti necessari in numero sufficiente, l'adattamento delle scuole alle nuove esigenze, la gestione del tempo. Ma ostacoli di questo genere sono sormontabili molto più facilmente grazie alle tecnologie moderne».³⁵

Anche per la didattica e la ricerca universitaria l'uso dell'inglese e quello delle altre lingue, nazionale e straniera, non dovrebbero essere contrapposti, ma coniugati, ricordando però che in questo caso è richiesta una competenza elevata della lingua inglese, «il pieno possesso di una lingua ricca di tutto il suo spessore e della capacità di arricchirsi degli apporti di tutte le lingue e culture dell'Europa».³⁶ Il rischio legato a una insufficiente competenza da parte dei docenti³⁷ può portare a un pericoloso svuotamento disciplinare degli insegnamenti se tenuti in lingua inglese a confronto con gli stessi tenuti in italiano, e quindi alla creazione di disparità nella preparazione degli studenti, un rischio che aumenta qualora – come accade nella maggior parte dei casi – i corsi in inglese siano sostituiti, e non affiancati, ai corrispondenti in italiano. Anche per questa ragione è consigliabile non rinunciare a una solida formazione nella lingua nazionale. Del resto, come ha osservato recentemente Claudio Marazzini, presidente dell'Accademia della Crusca, «indebolire l'insegnamento disciplinare, lasciando credere che così si impara l'inglese “passaporto per il mondo” è un errore grave che rischia di compromettere la competenza solida nei contenuti, quella che ha permesso tutto sommato in questi anni la cosiddetta “fuga o esportazione dei cervelli”. Se quei cervelli hanno trovato ospitalità altrove, non è per i loro meriti nella conoscenza dell'inglese, ma semmai per la capacità dimostrata nelle varie discipline che professavano».³⁸

34 file:///C:/Users/utente/Desktop/IP-06-1221_IT.pdf. Al tema dell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere l'EFNIL ha dedicato il suo terzo convegno (Bruxelles 2005) *Plurilingual Europeans – Foreign Language Learning and Language Politics*. Sulla situazione italiana si veda Cecilia Robustelli, 'The present situation with regard to foreign language learning and instruction in Italy', file:///C:/Users/utente/Desktop/08Brussel2005.EFNIL.Robustelli.pdf.

35 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-08-129_it.htm.

36 De Mauro, T. (2014): *In Europa son già 103*. Roma: laterza, 67.

37 Vedi anche n. 29.

38 Vedi l'intervista <http://lettura.corriere.it/limpaziente-inglese/>. Per *Il punto sulla questione dell'insegnamento universitario in sola lingua inglese dell'Accademia della Crusca*

4. Conclusioni

I pericoli sul piano comunicativo, didattico e culturale legati alla sostituzione della lingua nazionale con una lingua intermediaria imperfettamente conosciuta da docenti e discenti (nonostante l'introduzione del nelle scuole superiori del metodo CILIL *Content and Language Integrated Learning*, anch'esso limitato all'inglese!), sono evidenti e sono stati già variamente descritti. Le misure di potenziamento del percorso di apprendimento dell'inglese da parte dei docenti attualmente in servizio e di formazione di coloro che lo saranno in futuro non potranno dare i loro frutti in tempi brevi. Si assiste già invece, nel frattempo, a una perdita di funzionalità dell'italiano, segnalata anche in occasione degli *Stati Generali della Lingua Italiana* che si sono tenuti nell'ottobre 2014 e delle *Olimpiadi di Italiano* 2015.

L'italiano si sarebbe invece arricchito se alla didattica universitaria in questa lingua si fosse affiancata, e non sostituita, quella in inglese, e se le due lingue fossero state considerate entrambe come strumenti di insegnamento anziché poste in alternativa o, ancora peggio, in sterile contrapposizione. E la cultura di docenti e discenti avrebbe ricavato grandi vantaggi da una reale apertura a "tutte" le lingue straniere, e non solo all'inglese, come del resto invita a fare il D.M. 14 febbraio 2014 n. 104. Nello statuto di singoli Atenei, come risulta per esempio da quello dell'Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia che qui si riporta, l'apertura a più lingue straniere viene dichiarata «Art. 4 – Internazionalizzazione (...) L'Università assume e promuove la caratterizzazione internazionale dei propri programmi di ricerca e formazione, anche attraverso la revisione dei curricula formativi e l'impiego diffuso di lingue diverse dall'italiano, in particolare l'inglese». E a questo aspetto hanno fatto riferimento anche gli interventi al convegno *Il multilinguismo come strategia di integrazione in Europa: educazione, formazione professionale e lavoro* che si è tenuto presso la stessa università nell'ottobre 2014³⁹ e ha visto la partecipazione di rappresentanti del MIUR e delle DG Interpretazione e Traduzione della Commissione europea. Ma nella maggioranza dei casi l'apertura a più lingue straniere rimane tale solo sulla carta, mentre si assiste a un crescendo di corsi soltanto in lingua inglese, alcuni dei quali uniscono alla "modernità" linguistica una certa originalità di contenuto, da quelli su "Food and Wine" a quelli su "Fashion design" e prefigurano la costruzione di nuovi saperi e nuove modalità di apprendimento sui quali la discussione, come abbiamo visto, è ancora aperta.

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39 Video disponibile a <http://tv.unimore.it/index.php/archivo-news/societa/950-il-multilinguismo-come-strategia-di-integrazione-in-europa>.

Guðrún Kvaran

The use of foreign languages at Icelandic universities

Útdráttur

Efni þessa yfirlits er staða íslenskrar tungu í kennslu og rannsóknum við íslenska háskóla. Tekið er mið af íslenskri málstefnu sem Íslensk málnefnd samdi fyrir menntamálaráðuneytið og Alþingi Íslendinga samþykkti 2009. Hún var gefin út sama ár undir titlinum *Íslenska til alls*. Í ritinu er stefnt að því að íslensku eigi að vera hægt að nota á öllum sviðum íslensks þjóðlífs. Ekki er rætt um málstefnuna í heild en athygli beint að köflunum um íslensku í háskólum og íslensku í vísindum og fræðum. Í öðrum kafla greinarinnar er farið yfir málstefnu háskólanna sem þeim var gert skylt að birta á heimasíðu sinni og sex af sjö skólum gerðu. Þriðji kafli snýst um skrif háskólamanna og þau tungumál sem þeir velja til birtingar rannsókna sinna. Sýnt er fram á vaxandi sókn ensku og reynt er að skýra ástæður þess. Í fjórða kafla er bent á vaxandi notkun ensku við skrif doktorsritgerða og birtar eru tölur sem sýna að sífellt færri ritgerðir eru birtar á íslensku. Tungumál í háskólakennslu er viðfangsefni fimmta kafla. Kennsla í grunnnámi fer enn að mestu fram á íslensku en í framhaldsnámi í vaxandi mæli á ensku. Í sjötta kafla er stuttlega fjallað um tungumálakennslu í framhaldsskólum og í sjöunda kafla er því haldið fram að almenningur sé ekki meðvitaður um vaxandi notkun ensku í háskólum vegna þess að flestir fræðimenn vandi málfar þegar þeir koma fram í fjölmiðlum. Niðurstaða í lokin er sú að á meðan ráðandi aðilar bera hag íslensku fyrir brjósti, þótt sótt sé fram alþjóðlega, sé ekkert að óttast.

1. Language policies

This paper deals with the status of the Icelandic language in teaching and research at Icelandic universities. The basis is a document on Icelandic language policy drafted by the Icelandic Language Council at the request of the ministry of education and culture and ratified by parliament in 2009. It was published that same year under the title *Íslenska til alls* [Icelandic for all purposes]. The stated goal of the language policy is that Icelandic should be applicable at all levels of the Icelandic society. The document is accessible online, but only in Icelandic.

The work on the Icelandic language policy started after a declaration on a Nordic language policy was signed by all the ministers of culture and education of the Nordic countries in 2006. This declaration was published in 2007 and can also be accessed online on the homepage of the Nordic council in eight Nordic languages and in English. The English title is *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy*.

Icelandic for all purposes consists of eleven chapters, two of which are particularly relevant for the purposes of this discussion, namely *Icelandic in the universities* and *Icelandic in sciences and humanities*. I will come back to these later. The first chapter of the policy document is actually also very important, because it proposes that a law should be passed concerning the Icelandic language, including Icelandic sign language. The law was then ratified in 2011 and is the first legislation on the Icelandic language. I will not go through it all here, but just mention that its eighth paragraph deals with the official language of government. It states that Icelandic is the language of the parliament, the courts, the government, both state and municipal, schools at all levels and other institutions dealing with executive matters and public service. It is therefore clear that Icelandic is to be used in teaching in elementary schools, secondary schools and universities. In order to meet the growing demand for new words and concepts in science and technology, paragraph eleven states that the government is to foster the steady growth of Icelandic scientific and theoretical vocabulary in all fields, and that this vocabulary should be accessible to all and used as widely as possible. The state and municipalities are obliged to enact a language policy for the areas of their respective responsibilities, and the Icelandic language council shall assist them in this task as needed. The law is only three years old and it remains to be seen to which extent it will be followed.

I now turn to the questions the organizers proposed for the *country reports* concerning the use of different languages at the Icelandic universities.

2. Icelandic universities and language policies

Following its foundation in 1911, the University of Iceland (hereafter UI) was the only university in the country for 76 years. From the beginning, the language for teaching was Icelandic, not Danish, even though Iceland had been a part of the Danish commonwealth for many centuries up until 1944. Danish, however, was never the official language of the country. In the first decades of the University the faculty published mostly in Icelandic, but also in Danish and German, and very little in English. Now there are seven institutions for education at tertiary level in Iceland. Four of them are exclusively run by the state. The UI is by far the largest with about 14,000 students, next in size is Reykjavík University (hereafter RU) which is a private school with 2,500 students, the third is the University of Akureyri (a state university founded in 1987 as the second university in Iceland; hereafter UA) with about 1,500 student, and the fourth is Bifröst University with about 500 students. The others are all smaller and specialized. There has been talk

of reducing the number of schools again and merging the three specialized ones with one of the other four.

All the universities of the country are required to have a language policy, which is to be published on the schools' homepages. Six of them have done so, all except RU. On its homepage RU declares that it is an international research community, using international standards in research, teaching and administration. This applies equally well to the other schools, who nevertheless comply with the law on the Icelandic language. The UI for example is listed among the world's best 300 universities, according to the British magazine *Times Higher Education*.

If we look at what the language policies of the six schools have in common, we will see that they all include three key points:

1. Icelandic is the schools' main language.
2. Foreign employees receive assistance in learning Icelandic.
3. Emphasis is placed on Icelandic technical vocabulary, the growth of the Icelandic language, and the importance of both teachers and students being able to discuss their specialized fields in Icelandic.

Because of the small size of the schools most textbooks in the natural sciences and medicine, and a great number of books on other subjects, are foreign, and the need for technical vocabulary in Icelandic is thus quite pressing. To meet this demand, linguistic commissions are at work within a number of specialized fields and regularly release lists of new terms.

Five of the universities differentiate between the teaching language for basic and advanced study. Teaching up to the first university degree is to be mainly in Icelandic, with possible exceptions such as in teaching of foreign languages, when the teacher is foreign, or the course is specially aimed at foreign students. The five universities all admit that research and advanced studies require the ability to communicate in foreign languages, in particular English. Therefore, three of the schools state in their language policies that students should be proficient in English, and preferably also in some additional foreign languages.

In the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy*, a policy is stated concerning the simultaneous use of native languages and English within Nordic universities. The goal is that neither language should eclipse the other. This is also the policy of the six Icelandic universities who all emphasise good language usage, irrespective of whether the language is Icelandic, English or something else.

I have now provided a brief overview of the Icelandic language policy as it relates to university teaching and mentioned the main points in the schools' language policies. But what is the current situation in regard to the academic publications of teachers?

3. Academic publications

All academic employees are required to submit an annual report about their scholarly publications. I will cite numbers from 2011 from two of the largest schools, the UI and RU.

Academic employees of the UI published 27.9% of their articles in Icelandic, 69.8% in English and 2.3% in other languages. At RU the numbers were 7.1% of articles in Icelandic, 92.3% in English and 0.6% in other languages. These numbers are the best ones available but they are not fully comparable between the schools.¹ At RU for example there is no department of humanities but at the UI most of the articles in Icelandic come from that department. Writing in English has increased over the years at both schools. I believe there are two reasons for this. One, and most importantly is increased international cooperation, especially in the fields of natural sciences, medicine and sociology. The other is the assessment system used in both universities, and most of the others as well, that rewards productivity since academic employees get an annual salary bonus based on their publications. Articles in foreign peer-reviewed books and journals are rated higher than those published domestically, with a few exceptions.

The UI has the greatest number of academic fields so I will show numbers specifically for the UI from 2011. They show that the academic fields differ significantly in their use of languages for research:

- In social sciences, 47% of publications were in Icelandic, 48% in English and 4% in other languages.
- In the medical sciences, 18% of publications were in Icelandic, 81% in English and 1% in other languages.
- In the humanities, 55% of publications were in Icelandic, 39% in English and 6% in other languages.
- In the field of education, 50% of publications were Icelandic, 46% in English and 4% in other languages.
- In engineering and natural sciences, 3% of publications were in Icelandic and 97% in English.

The status of Icelandic is by far the weakest if we count articles published in journals, it fares a lot better when it comes to books or chapters in books.

If we compare the two schools, the UI and RU, we can see that at the UI there has been a growing tendency to publish in English over the last decade, an increase

1 The numbers used in this article come from the administration of the UI and from a recently published article by Kristinsson/Bernharðsson (2014).

from 50.7% in 2001 to 68.8% in 2011. The same holds for RU. There the increase is from 85.1% to 92.3%. RU is one of the private universities but nevertheless receives grant money from the Icelandic state.

4. Doctoral studies

Doctoral studies are only offered by the UI and RU. Such programmes are relatively new in Iceland. To give a brief overview, in the years from 1911 to 1999 only 75 doctoral theses were presented at the UI, and none of them was part of the studies of the person submitting the thesis but rather based on independent research without a supervisor at the university. Of these, 44.7% were written in Icelandic, 50% in English and 5.3% in German. Until 1999 most advanced studies had to be pursued abroad and a significant number of Icelandic students finished their studies abroad.

At the turn of the century organised doctoral programmes were adopted at the University of Iceland. In the years 2000 and 2001, 215 theses were defended. Of these most were in English or 84.2%, while 15.8% were in Icelandic. No thesis was written in any other language than these two. In the fields of medicine, engineering and natural sciences no thesis was written in Icelandic. In the humanities ten were written in Icelandic and three in English, in the social sciences five were in Icelandic and three in English, and in the field of education three were in Icelandic and five in English.

If we take a look at the rules of the specific departments of the UI regarding doctoral studies, it is mandatory in the field of medicine that a doctoral thesis should be written in English, and that there should be an abstract in both English and Icelandic. The rules for the departments of humanities, education and social sciences state that a thesis should in general be either in Icelandic or English with an abstract in both languages. No clauses on languages for doctoral theses are in the rules for the departments of engineering and natural science. In the year 2013, 30% of doctoral students at the UI were foreign and will all write their theses in English.

5. Teaching at the universities

In regard to teaching the UI offered 340 degree programmes in 2014, including 13 in English. Four of the latter are in basic studies and nine in advanced studies. There is a growing interest among foreign students to attend the UI, especially in the natural sciences. Courses in that area are more numerous in English in advanced studies than basic studies. In the years 2007–2011, the ratio of courses

in English at the UI were on average 8% in basic studies but 18% in advanced studies. At the UA on the other hand 8.6% of the courses in basic studies during this period were taught in English and 36% of those in advanced studies. The high percentage in advanced studies at the UA is at least partly due to the fact that the popular international studies in Arctic law are only offered in English.

No requirement is made that foreign students should be proficient in Icelandic if they wish to study at Icelandic universities. The UI and the UA offer courses in Icelandic for foreign exchange students who do not understand the language, and at the UI you can study for a Bachelor's degree in Icelandic as a second language and this programme is increasing in popularity. Many who aim to study other fields, and are not counted as exchange students, start with this programme or do it simultaneously at the beginning of their studies.

6. Language teaching in secondary education

In the curricula of secondary education, substantial demands are made on the learning of foreign languages, not necessarily with an aim towards university education. Foreign languages have always been considered important in the Icelandic education system. According to the *National Guide of Upper Secondary Schools* everyone in a Study Programme of Languages has to study English and Danish but in addition two more languages. The choice is mostly between French, German, Spanish and Latin, but some schools offer other languages as well. In a Study Programme of Natural Sciences students have to learn English and Danish as mandatory subjects, and a third language in addition.

Some people may be wondering about the great emphasis placed on Danish but that has historical roots. For a long time, Danish was the first foreign language taught in elementary schools but now it has moved to a second place, following English. This loyalty towards Danish has, to this day been the key to Icelandic participation in the Nordic cooperation on Nordic language understanding. In the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* one of the goals is that all Nordic residents should be able to communicate with one another, preferably in a Scandinavian language. "Scandinavian language" here means Danish, Norwegian or Swedish.

7. Public discussion on language use

The last question on the list of the conference organizers' is whether there is a considerable public discussion concerning language use in tertiary education. It must be answered in the negative. The general public does not notice the increase

in teaching in English, since academic discussions in public media take place in Icelandic, and those who appear there make an effort to use proper Icelandic vocabulary.

8. Conclusion

The ministry of education in cooperation with the Icelandic Language Council has been assigned the task by the parliament to monitor the implementation of the Icelandic language policy and Icelandic law concerning the language. As already mentioned this also includes the universities. I do not worry much about the situation at present. The Icelandic Language Council tries to monitor the development of the language in all fields, including the universities, and as long as there is public consensus that it must be possible to use “Icelandic for all purposes” there is little to fear.

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Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen

Language use in university teaching and research in Denmark

Abstract

A short overview is given of the history of the Danish language in academia and of the Danish language policy for the education system. Special focus will be on English as the language of instruction and on recent trends in university policies towards a more individualized multilingual approach.

1. Historical overview

There are about 5.8 million speakers of Danish in the world, most of them live in Denmark. Danish is rooted in Germanic and began to develop from old Norse into an independent language between 800 and 1,000. Today, Danish still shares many features with Norwegian and Swedish. In most Scandinavian countries you will be understood whether you speak Norwegian, Swedish or Danish as long as you speak slowly and distinctly. Recent investigations (Delsing/Åkesson 2005) have shown, however, that Inter-Scandinavian language understanding has become more difficult, especially among young people. This is mainly due to phonetic and prosodic differences that seem to have increased on account of developments in Danish. In general, the relation between the spoken and the written language is more complex in Danish than in the other two languages. English therefore is more and more frequently the language used by young people when they first meet.

English is the dominant foreign language in Denmark, as in many other countries. English is the first foreign language taught in schools, and it is the dominant language of science at Danish universities. It is also the preferred corporate language in Danish industry. Suggestions made by politicians to adopt English as the official language in Denmark, however, have not been able to gain any support.

The main influences on the Danish language have come from German, Latin and French. Due to cultural, political and economic contacts between the neighbouring countries Germany and Denmark, many German words and expressions have been integrated, and you can still form entire sentences in Danish in which all content words are German loan words (Torp 2004). An investigation of the

current general vocabulary shows that in a medium sized (70,000 entries) general language dictionary (Nudansk Ordbog 2001) the number of loan words from German is the largest (3.6%), closely followed by words of Latin origin (3.4%) and French (2.4%). The influence of the English language on the vocabulary is only in fourth place with 1.8% and seems to be only half as strong as the influence of German. However, this will probably change in the future. Since 1945, British English and American English have been the main sources for loan words. They cover almost 90% of the new words that have been integrated into the language since the end of the Second World War. German is the second largest source, but it only contributes 1.25% of the new words.

From 1100–1850 Latin was the preferred language in science and humanities. The first doctoral thesis written in Danish was submitted in 1850. The last doctoral thesis written in Latin was submitted in 1901. Between 1900–1980 lectures at universities were mainly held in Danish but students were expected to read texts in English, German and French. In 1985, lecturing in English began in science, business and economy. By the end of the 1990s, the first debates were staged on the role of English in Danish society, especially in higher education (Preisler 1999; Davidsen-Nielsen et al. 1999; Jarvad 2001) introducing the notion of “domain loss”. The concept is based on the idea that a language is only fully functional or complete if it can be used to communicate in all areas of society and to express thoughts and ideas on all subjects or topics. If another language is used, for instance in business or in physics, no new words are created in the original language and no new phrases are coined, and thus the original language is said to be impoverished in this domain. Ultimately, this might lead to communication problems, for instance between experts, who use the foreign language, and laymen, who use the original language.

In 2003 a first Danish language committee report Kulturministeriet (2003) issued recommendations warning against the influence of English in business and academia. The Danish government subsequently adopted a language policy based on the concept of parallelism between Danish and English at Danish universities. It was, however, not made clear what parallelism meant in practise: Should all courses be taught in both English and Danish? Should some courses be taught in English and some in Danish? Should they be taught in a mixture of both languages? Could the students freely choose the language of instruction?

Instead of making very explicit regulations, the Danish government demanded that universities formulate explicit language policies, and launched various initiatives to support the documentation of the Danish language. A new subject – *almen sprogforståelse* (general language understanding) – was introduced at

the secondary level in order to strengthen the students' insight into the general mechanisms of language.

2. The role of the Danish language in academia

Similar developments occurred in the other Nordic countries and in 2006, the debate on the use of English was held at the Nordic Council of Ministers. Here the Nordic Declaration of Languages was adopted introducing the principle of parallelism between English and the Nordic languages.

The development towards the use of English as the language of instruction had increased quite rapidly, following the Bologna-process and increasing internationalization in higher education. For Danish universities there was also economic motivation: Higher education for Danish students is free, whereas students from other countries may be charged a fee. Furthermore, in cases where the number of local students was decreasing, foreign students could be seen as a way to prevent less profitable courses or even whole degree programmes from being closed down.

Reports compiled by the Danish ministry of science in 2008 showed that 25% of university courses were held in English, 1/3 of these had parallel courses in Danish. All publications in natural sciences at that time were written in English.

At the same time, an investigation by Danish Industry (the organisation of Danish industrial companies) amongst their members showed that 25% of Danish industrial companies were using English as a corporate language (DI 2008).

Four years later, in 2012, the Language Status Report by the Danish Language Council reported that 50% of all university courses were held in English. 75% of the MA courses in science were taught in English, as were 50% of the course in social sciences and 25% of the courses in the humanities. There were practically no parallel courses in Danish. Many universities had stated that in case all students in a given course were Danish speakers, a course originally announced in English could be taught in Danish, however, in practice this was hardly ever the case (EVA 2010; EVA 2011; Dansk Sprognævn 2012).

In 2013, Danish Industry reported that 56% of Danish industrial companies used English as their corporate language.

The development described above shows a dramatic decrease in the use of Danish in academia in just a decade. The tendency in most universities is to use Danish in the first two years, and then to gradually shift to English. The tendency is strongest in the natural sciences, but lately especially social sciences,

economy etc. have followed. Ph.d. courses in all fields are exclusively in English. The figures of the corporate language in Danish industrial companies shows that the development at the universities follows the general development in the business world.

According to the European Language Monitor (Kirchmeier-Andersen et al. 2012; EFNIL 2014), Denmark, as well as the Netherlands and Finland is the country where the use of English as the language of instruction is most widely used in academia.

Although the use of English as the language of research and publication and the language of instruction has increased, Danish is still used in many unofficial contexts and in administration. University institutes with a large number of foreign teachers and students, however, tend to function almost exclusively in English.

3. Danish language policy and the education system

Although Danish is not mentioned in the constitution and there is no specific language law, Danish is de facto the official language. German has the status of minority language in the border region, while Faroese and Greenlandic are protected by laws on home rule. A language council for Danish Sign Language was established in 2015. In addition, about 200 immigrant languages are spoken. Schools are only obliged to offer mother tongue instruction in the official minority and European languages. In larger cities instruction in the mother tongue is offered only to speakers of the largest immigrant groups, typically Arabic and Turkish.

Except for legislation on spelling standards provided by the Danish Language Council, Danish language policy is mainly *laissez-faire* and based on recommendations. Nevertheless, different language regulations can be found in various parts of the legislation and the language council has recommended that they should be coordinated (Dansk Sprogævn 2012).

Following the development in the business sector and the universities, English as a subject has also gained prominence in primary and lower secondary school. Before 2009, English was introduced in the 5th year, in 2009 English was introduced in the 3rd year, and since 2014 English is being taught as of the 1st year.

Experiments using English as the language of instruction, for instance in science classes, are regularly carried out, and some schools have been granted the right to experiment along these lines on a more permanent basis. Some schools have used the possibility to internationalize, with English as the language of instruction to overcome challenges posed by large numbers of immigrant students – with good results.

Ideas have been put forward to already introduce English as the language of instruction for instance in science classes in the 5th year and at higher secondary level in order to prepare students for university.

Probably due to the advance of English, other European languages such as German, French, Italian, Spanish and Russian, are taught less than before. Russian and Italian have been heavily reduced since 2000. The interest for French is declining, Spanish and German are reduced but holding on. Courses in either German or French are now obligatory in the 5th school year. From the 11th to 13th year, English is the only obligatory language. Other European languages and some non-European languages (Turkish and Arabic) are offered as electives depending on the decision of the schools or local authorities.

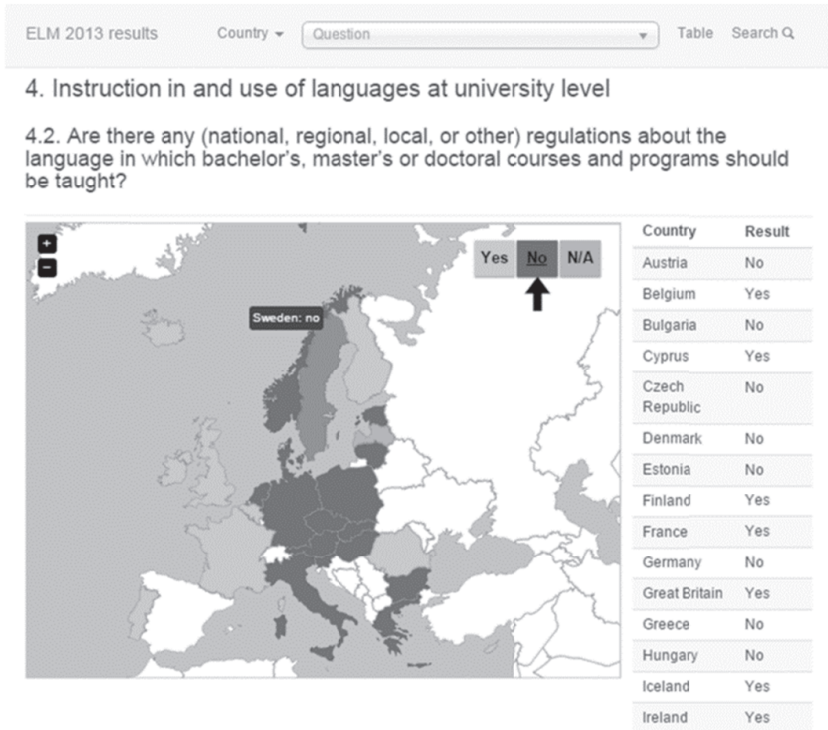
Although it seems that English seems to be pushing Danish aside in many areas, there are also counter reactions. First of all, measures have been taken to strengthen the teaching of the Danish language at the primary and secondary level by increasing the numbers of lessons taught per year and by placing higher demands on the content. Also at the higher secondary level, more focus on language can be observed. As mentioned above, students are taught obligatory courses in general language understanding or general linguistics, a competence which is supposed to support all language courses.

Following reports that Danish companies run the risk of losing contracts due to the lack of language skills in their work force (DI 2008; Verstraete-Hansen 2008), there have been campaigns by the association of Danish industrial companies (DI) in order to exert pressure on authorities to continue to maintain the students' skills in other languages than English.

4. Danish language policy in comparison

EFNIL's European Language Monitor (ELM) (Kirchmeier-Andersen et al. 2012; EFNIL 2014) was designed to capture and visualize qualitative and quantitative language policy trends in all European languages in an online database. The data for the ELM have been provided by the official institutions of national languages in each country. In section 4, on instruction in and use of languages at university level, the question is asked whether there are any (national, regional, local, or other) regulations on the language in which Bachelor's, Master's or Doctoral courses and programmes should be taught (Question 4.2.).

Fig. 1: ELM Question 4.2.



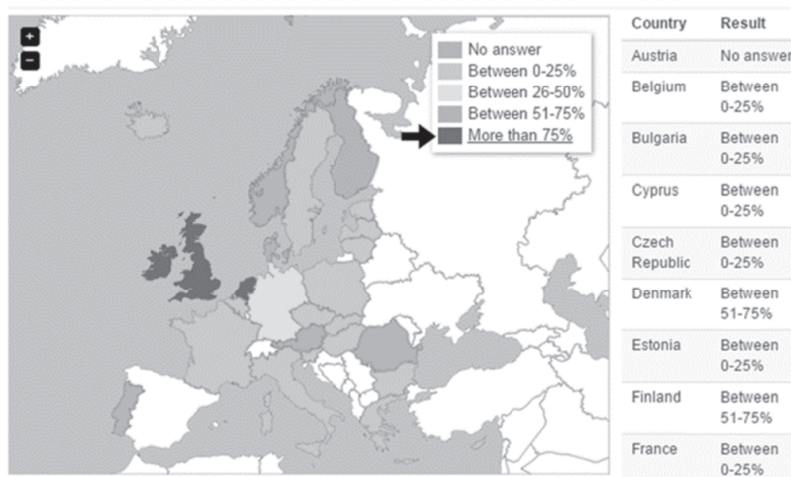
The map provided and the list of answers shows that only 10 out of 27 countries have regulations. The type of regulation can be viewed in question 4.2.1, which asks for quotes in the original language, and the English translations of the quotes. Most of the regulations state that the national language is the primary language of instructions, but that in certain cases other languages may be used.

Question 4.3 describes the percentage of Master's programmes for mathematics and natural sciences taught in English in the five biggest universities (by number of students) of each country.

Fig. 2: ELM Question 4.3.

4. Instruction in and use of languages at university level

4.3. What percentage of the master's programs for mathematics and natural sciences in the five selected universities is taught in English?



The map shows that Denmark is among the top three in Europe with regard to the use of English as the language of instruction in natural sciences since between 51% and 75% of the courses are taught in English. Finland is on the same level while it is more than 75% in the Netherlands. In all other countries, it is reported to be less than 25%.

For the humanities the picture is very different: Denmark is on a par with the majority of the European countries.

Fig. 3: Results for the humanities.



Only in the Netherlands are between 26% and 50% of the courses taught in English, whereas in the rest of the countries, including Denmark the number is less than 26%. In social sciences only the Netherlands and Sweden stand out with between 51%-75% and between 26% and 50% of the courses being taught in English, respectively. In Denmark and in the rest of Europe the figure lies below 26%.

The arguments put forward in the public debate in favour of the use of English are as follows:

- The use of English is essential in order to participate in science and research at an international level.
- The use of English is essential in order to attract experts from abroad.
- The use of English is essential for the Danish economy.
- The use of English is essential for the future of our children.
- The use of English is essential in order to save on translation costs.

Among the arguments against were the following:

- The use of English leads to domain loss.
- The use of English reduces the use of other languages.

- The use of English impoverishes the Danish language.
- The use of English is anti-democratic because it excludes non-English speakers.
- The exclusive use of English reduces the diversity and opportunities of Danish students.
- The exclusive use of English reduces the business opportunities for Danish companies.

Some of these claims are difficult to substantiate, and as mentioned above, the notion of domain loss has been highly contested. However, it is beyond doubt that the use of other languages is reduced as the number of students studying other languages than English has diminished dramatically with the result that for instance courses in Russian and Italian are no longer taught at some universities.

The claim that the Danish language is being impoverished by the increasing use of English is also a difficult one. Even if one can show that there is an impact of the use of English on the Danish language, how can one tell whether this impact is an enrichment or an impoverishment?

5. Investigations on the impact of the use of English on the Danish language

Currently, it is hard to detect a change in the syntactic features of the Danish Language that can be attributed to the impact of English. In the border area between syntax and lexis, however, we find a tendency to separate compounds more frequently than before (Heidemann-Andersen/Diderichsen 2011). This development could also be triggered by spell checkers and writing aids in word processors and mobile phones which tend to suggest the separation of unknown words. Another reason for this tendency could be the fact that separated words are easier to read especially on small screens and therefore preferred. So far, there are no studies available to substantiate these theories.

A comprehensive study of the import of words into the Scandinavian languages (Selbak/ Sandøy 2007; Kvaran 2007) has stated that the number of imported words in Danish newspapers tripled between 1975 and 2000. In 1975, imported words represented approx. 0.3% of the general language texts. In 2000 the figure had risen to 0.8%. However, many of the words in question have become such an integrated part of the language that they are hardly recognized as foreign.

Investigations of spontaneous speech in different age groups (Rathje 2008) show that although the use of imported words has increased from generation to generation, these words still only make up a fraction of the spoken discourse: A 70 year old person uses an average of 0.13% of foreign material, a 40 year old

uses 0.5% and a 17 year old 1%. Often the frequency of foreign words is boosted by the same word occurring repeatedly, such as the word *okay* which entered the Danish language about 80 years ago.

In contrast to the situation for the general language, all status reports issued by the Danish Language Council express concern about the situation for Danish in specialised domains where English is a much more dominant factor. It has been argued that the creation of new Danish words and expressions in specialized domains is decreasing because in many areas Danish is hardly ever used, and that the development of Danish specialized language in some areas is degenerating. These assumptions, as plausible as they might seem, have not been substantiated so far. On the contrary, recent studies show that the frequency of English expressions in university courses taught in Danish is not higher than that which is found in general language, i.e. (0.6%) (Hultgreen 2012). A Norwegian study (Kristiansen 2012) shows that parallel to the English terminology, Norwegian expressions are coined and frequently co-exist. Whether this is also true for Danish, remains to be investigated.

We may conclude that the impact of the increasing use of English in academia on the Danish general language at this point is still rather limited, and that the data provided on the situation for specialized language use are not conclusive.

6. Recent language policy trends at Danish universities

Since 2008, Danish universities have been obliged to have an explicit language policy. However, the provisions do not state anything about the kind of policy that universities should adopt, so, in principle, a Danish university could decide to teach exclusively in English. This is however not the case. All universities try to strike a balance between Danish and English, and recently some universities have also begun to include other languages into their policies. The first language policies that were created had a main focus on improving the English skills of teachers, students and administrative staff. Gradually, the focus has shifted towards a broader view of the role of language skills in general in teaching, research and every day communication.

The claim that the diversity and opportunities of Danish students may be reduced if the language of instruction and communication at Danish universities is exclusively English is as hard to substantiate as many other claims that dominate the public language debate. However, some universities consider a multilingual perspective as an asset for the university and for the students.

In the following, some aspects of the main language policies of four Danish universities are presented: University of Southern Denmark, University of Aalborg, University of Roskilde and Copenhagen University.

6.1 Language strategy at University of Southern Denmark (2014)

At the University of Southern Denmark, Danish is the official language, and English is used in parallel wherever necessary. People who cannot communicate in Danish must be able to communicate in English, which implies that all Danish speakers must be able to communicate in English. Foreign teachers and students must within two years achieve sufficient skills in Danish to be able to participate in normal university activities. Important information, strategy documents and administrative systems and web pages etc. must be accessible in both languages. Courses may be taught in Danish or English, or in the case of foreign language studies in the respective language. Publications are written in the respective target languages. This could for instance mean German in theology or history, depending on the subject (SDU 2014).

6.2 Language policy at the University of Aalborg (2009)

The language policy of the University of Aalborg has the declared goal to develop and preserve the Danish language (written and spoken) as the language of research and teaching. English may be used wherever necessary and relevant. BA programmes are generally taught in Danish, but some courses may be taught in English. Master's programmes may be taught and projects may be supervised in English. In administration and other contexts, English and/or Danish may be used and have equal status. Language courses for both languages are provided for teachers, administrative staff and students (AAU 2009).

6.3 Language strategy for the University of Roskilde (2015)

Roskilde is one of the universities which has recently accepted the multilingual challenge and integrated language skills into the overall strategy. Danish is the first language of the university, English the official second language. All information must be available in Danish, information in English is provided wherever necessary. Study programmes are taught in Danish except international study programs. Employees and full time students are expected to learn Danish within two to three years and are provided with the necessary support. Other languages than English are offered as additional extracurricular electives to all students (law, social science, engineering etc.) (RUC 2013).

6.4 Language strategy: University of Copenhagen 2013–2016

Probably the most advanced language strategy can be found at the University of Copenhagen. It is the result of a long process involving all faculties initiated by the head of the university. In 2008 the university established the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use (CIP). The Centre's research focuses on the field of parallel language use in an academic context and the use of needs analyses and diagnostic language tests. On the basis of this research, the Centre offers language courses, which are tailored to the various needs across the University. CIP plays a crucial role in implementing, following up and assessing the new language policy.

The new policy focusses on improving skills in English and other languages for all students across all faculties. The point of departure is the actual demand for language skills in a global setting that occurs around the whole university whether in teaching, research, administration, internal or external communication. These might be productive or receptive skills, oral or written, basic, everyday, academic or subject specific language. In other words, a much more differentiated and individualized view of the demand for language skills and an open mind for creative ways of meeting these demands. As a first step, the university has started to map current demands through questionnaires and focus group interviews over a period of three years.

The university is prepared to try to meet the demands that are expected to be rather diverse. One might expect a need for courses in German for students of theology, in French for students of politics, in Greek for students of archaeology and in Portuguese for students of economy who want to work in South America.

The focus area of the Strategy is the improvement of students' language skills in a number of languages, including English, German, French, Arabic, Spanish, and other languages as well as Danish as a second language. The Strategy in particular focuses on implementing different opportunities for relevant language skill development for students outside the language programmes.

The improvement of students' language skills will be realized through a co-operation between the humanistic language programmes and other university subject areas regarding the development of new academically qualifying activities and initiatives that combine language and subject area in a number of ways.

With The Language Strategy, the University of Copenhagen makes common cause with a number of universities around the world which specifically aim to promote students' and graduates' multilingualism in order to ensure the international dimension of students' education. Some of the universities at the front of this field are Jyväskylä, Tokyo, Tsinghua, and Yale. (CPH 2013)

7. Conclusion

It is beyond debate that English is dominating Danish academia and will continue to do so for many years to come. However, as universities see themselves as global players and are interested in attracting international students and teachers, English is no longer the only language in focus. More languages are coming into play, and intercultural skills are being acknowledged. The view on language use has become more nuanced. Language needs are mapped and language competences other than English are seen as a potential, and different skill levels are accepted. A more diverse, personalized view on the use of languages is under development.

Very little is known about where this is going to lead Danish universities, but the ideas look promising. It is much too early to say anything about the possible effects since the practical implications are currently being investigated.

Of course there are many practical and economic aspects to consider, and it will most certainly not be possible to meet all the demands that will be uncovered. However, the broad multilingual perspective clearly has more to offer than the limited English-only approach or the English-Danish parallel approach that has been dominating since 2000.

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Birute Klaas-Lang/Helle Metslang

Language policy and sustainability of Estonian in higher education¹

Abstract: Keelepoliitika ja eesti keele kestlikkus kõrghariduses

Eesti keel on Eesti riigikeel ja ka kõrghariduse põhiline õppekeel, mis läbi tagatakse eesti keele tõrgeteta toimimine nii Eesti hariduses ja teaduses kui kõigis muudeski ühiskonnalaual valdkondades, kus kõrgharidusega spetsialistid tegutsevad. Nii teaduse ja kõrghariduse rahvusvahelistumine kui Eesti kõrgharidusreform on toonud kaasa inglise keele rolli järkjärgulise suurenemise kõrghariduses, vähenenud on aga vene keele roll. Inglisekeelseid õppekavu lisandub järjekindlalt magistritasemel. Peaaegu kõigis doktoriõppekavades on kasutusel inglise keel eesti keele kõrval, valdav enamik doktoritöid tehakse inglise keeles. Siiski toimib eesti keel teaduskeelena küllaltki edukalt: doktoritöid kirjutatakse ka eesti keeles; võõrkeelsetel doktoritöödel on eestikeelsed kokkuvõtted; intensiivselt koostatakse eestikeelseid kõrgkooliõpikuid; ilmub kümme kõrge klassiga eestikeelset teadusajakirja. Eesti riigi regulatsioonid, arengukavad ja programmid toetavad eesti keele kasutamist ja arendamist kõigis valdkondades.

1. Introduction

Studies and reports on the internationalization of higher education and universities' language instruction choices focus primarily on the pragmatic considerations driving the spread of English as a *lingua franca* (Saarinen 2012; Risager 2012; Haberland/Mortensen 2012; Lindström 2012; Söderlundh 2012; Soler-Carbonell 2014), emphasizing universities' need to offer programmes taught in English for international students and highlighting the positive experiences of European countries, especially Scandinavian countries, as a case study. "The increasing use of English as a *lingua franca* in research and as a medium of instruction in higher education institutions seems to have made the same strong impact in all Nordic countries, and in fact everywhere in continental Europe north of the Alps" (Bull 2012, 55). Education is also subject to the rules of market economics and the English language indisputably occupies a leading role in the "international educational marketplace" (Naidoo/Jamieson 2005). However, higher education also

1 The study was partly funded by the Estonian Science Council (project IUT20–3). We thank Eve Tõnisson from the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Education and Research and Tiia Margus from the University of Tartu for providing empirical data.

has several essential functions in addition to its market potential, for instance training necessary specialists for the state and society to “provid[e] a public service as national institutions” (Saarinen 2012, 158). Moreover, the national language in higher education and science is also a cultural phenomenon – a sphere of use of the language that requires care and development. Some scholars have voiced the opinion that “while some attention has been paid to the use of national languages in research (Hakulinen et al. 2009), the impact of internationalization on policies and practices of university teaching have been largely unarticulated both in policy debates as well as by researchers” (Saarinen 2012, 158).

The possible effect of global English on the sustainability of minority languages is widely acknowledged (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Phillipson 2003, 2009; Hagege 2006; Canagarajah 2007) and a number of research-based national programmes (for example in Sweden, Estonia and Finland) have been initiated to ensure the functioning of the state language in all domains of life (see Mäl i mun 2002; EKAS 2004; EKA 2011; Hakulinen et al. 2009). This has led to the need to expand the field of minority language maintenance to a broader approach of language sustainability that would include the interaction of global, national and minority languages in the modern information society (see Ehala 2010; Soler-Carbonell 2012; Ehala et al. 2014). Yet in our era of global information exchange and mobility, the official status of a language and supporting infrastructure might not guarantee its sustainability, as English is increasingly used in education, trade and economic matters (Vertovec 2007, 2010).

2. Sociolinguistic background of Estonia

According to Statistics Estonia, the population of Estonia stood at 1.32 million in 2014.² Estonia is one of the least populous countries in Europe, only one fourteenth the size of the average country in the European Union. Since the year 1989, the population has been in decline due to emigration and low birth rates (less dramatically among ethnic Estonians than among representatives of other nationalities), a trend which continues to this day (Eesti inimarengu aruanne 2007, 48). According to the 2011 Population and Housing Census,³ representatives of 192 nationalities live in Estonia: 68.7% of permanent residents are Estonians (889,770), 24.8% Russians (321,198) and 1.7% Ukrainians (22,302). Belarusians (12,419) and Finns (7,423) each comprise less than 1% of the population. There are a total of 37 nationalities with at least 100 representatives in Estonia. Compared

2 www.stat.ee/72428.

3 www.stat.ee/64309?parent_id=32784.

to the 2000 census, the number of Estonians has increased by 1% and the number of Russians has decreased by the same amount.

There are 157 languages spoken as a mother tongue in Estonia. Estonia has become far more multilingual in the first decade of the current century, as the previous census showed only 109 languages spoken as a mother tongue. The most common mother tongue is Estonian (886,859 – 68.5%), followed by Russian (383,062 – 29.6%) and Ukrainian (8,012 – 0.6%). There are 25 languages with at least 100 native speakers living in Estonia.

The Estonian language competence of non-Estonians has steadily improved in recent years. Results of previous studies indicate that the percentage of non-Estonians aged 15–74 who claim competence in Estonian has grown from 34% in 1997 to 40% in 2007 (Statistics Estonia). According to the Estonian integration strategy monitoring study “Achievement of the goals of the 2008–2013 Estonian integration strategy in 2008–2009”, carried out in 2010 by Tallinn University professor Raivo Vetik’s research group, the self-assessments of Russian speakers indicate that their Estonian language skills have improved significantly in the past several years (LK monitoring 2010). Nevertheless, the statistics show that there are still a great number of people in Estonia who lack the proficiency in the national language necessary for social and work life.

3. Higher education in Estonia

There are a total of 24 institutions of higher education in Estonia: 7 universities and 17 institutes of technology. The oldest university in Estonia is the University of Tartu (UT), founded in 1632, which is the country’s only classical university, offering education in all fields, including medicine. The other universities in Estonia are Tallinn University (TU), Tallinn Technical University (TTU), the Estonian University of Life Sciences (EULS), the Estonian Academy of Arts (EAA), the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (EAMT), and the Estonian Business School (EBS). Only the last of these is a private university, while the others are public. In the year 2014, there were approximately 60,000 students enrolled in Estonian universities and institutes of technology. Several years ago, this number was close to 70,000, but it has fallen significantly due to Estonia’s demographic situation (see Table 1 below). The universities and institutes of technology offer instruction in Estonian, Russian and English. Estonian has been the language of instruction in higher education since 1919, when, after Estonia gained independence, the University of Tartu switched to Estonian-language instruction.

In addition to the university places financed by the state, higher education institutions may accept students who pay for their own degrees. The 2013 higher

education reform, under the slogan of free higher education in the Estonian language, created a connection between the language and financing of instruction: the state finances instruction in programmes where the language of instruction is Estonian, and fee-based university places can be created only for programmes taught in other languages (MS 2012).

4. National-level regulations and strategic documents concerning the Estonian language

In order for a language to function effectively, its legal status must be ensured and regulated. According to the 1989 language law and later revisions of that law, Estonian is the official language of Estonia. It is worth noting that the first language law was passed even before Estonia regained independence, under the name of the language law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. Article 60 of this language law states: “The official language of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is Estonian. In Estonia, the native territory of Estonians, the Estonian language receives special attention and protection from the state. Making Estonian the official language creates a firm foundation for the preservation and development of the Estonian people and culture” (Keeleseadus 1989). On 23 February 2011, the Estonian Parliament passed an updated language law, the goal of which (like the previous language law and its revisions) was to “develop, preserve and protect the Estonian language and guarantee the use of Estonian as the primary language of discourse in all spheres of public life” (EV Keeleseadus 2011, chapter 1, §1). The new language law also establishes that “the official language of Estonia is Estonian” (EV Keeleseadus 2011, chapter 2, §3, paragraph (1)).

The legal protection of the Estonian language is also stipulated in the constitution of the Republic of Estonia (EV Põhiseadus 2011), according to which the state must guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation, language and culture through the years: provision § 6 of the constitution states that the official language of Estonia is Estonian. It is the obligation of the state to guarantee each individual’s right to receive education in Estonian (§ 37) and to conduct business and interact with government institutions in Estonian (§ 51), as well as to guarantee that government institutions and local governments conduct their affairs in Estonian (§ 52). Unfortunately, it cannot yet be asserted that Estonian as an official language functions without problems in all regions of Estonia and in all spheres of life with regard to business and consumer information as well as other areas essential for the proper functioning of a democracy, such as the language of electoral advertisements and the Estonian language competence of officials elected to high posts in local governments. In order to guarantee the rights granted by law

to the Estonian language, the state also deals with language protection, primarily in the form of the Language Inspectorate.

For more than 15 years Estonia has invested in strategic planning of language-related issues. The decision of the 21 April 1998 government protocol gave the Ministry of Education (now the Ministry of Education and Research) the assignment to establish a strategy for the development of the Estonian language. On 6 April 2000, the Estonian organizing committee for the European year of languages (later the Estonian Language Council) was formed by decree of the Minister of Education; one of the duties became the development of this language strategy. The Language Council is now a body of experts that included professors from the University of Tartu and Tallinn University, researchers from the Institute of the Estonian Language, officials from the Ministry of Science and Research, Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as noted opinion leaders in Estonian society. The council also advises the Estonian government on questions of language policy: “The Estonian Language Council advises the government of the Republic of Estonia in the development and implementation of language policy” (EV Keeleseadus 2011, chapter 2, § 7). On August 5, 2004, the government approved the “Estonian Language Development Strategy 2004–2010” (EKAS) and on November 25, 2010 it approved the continuation of the previous plan: “Estonian Language Development Plan 2011–2017” (EKA) and the plan for its implementation, which was developed by the Ministry of Education and Research in collaboration with the Estonian Language Council. The new development plan presents 13 measures for the development of the Estonian language, which should help to guarantee the functioning of Estonian as the official language in all domains of life, the ability of the language to develop, and its status as the common language of interaction for the inhabitants of Estonia. The development plan addresses language planning (general, professional language and naming regulations), research on the Estonian language and collections of language material, technological support for Estonian, education and Estonian-language instruction (Estonian-language general education, Estonian in general education taught in other languages, vocational education, higher education), special forms of Estonian (regional forms, Estonian as spoken by diaspora Estonians, Estonian Sign Language and the language use of people with language-related special needs), Estonian in the multilingual world, monitoring of the enforcement of the language law, and promotion of language awareness.

In the field of higher education, the development plan sets the following goal:

to ensure the continuation of Estonian-medium higher education; to avoid complete use of a foreign language in any branch of science; Estonian-medium teaching should

be available on all educational levels and in all curriculum groups; major research results should be published also in Estonian. (EKA).

One of the main goals of the Estonian language development plan is therefore to guarantee the use of Estonian in higher education and in all fields of science. To this aim, several government-financed programmes have been initiated, which continue the successful activities from the previous financing period with regard to language technology, scientific development, terminology and textbooks to be used in higher education: (1) Estonian language technology 2011–2017 (previous programme for 2006–2010); (2) Support of Estonian-language terminology 2013–2017 (previous 2008–2012); (3) Preparation and publication of Estonian-language university textbooks 2013–2017 (previous 2008–2012); (4) The Estonian language and cultural memory II 2014–2018 (previous 2009–2013).

5. National regulations and strategic documents of higher education concerning the Estonian language

Higher education is regulated by the law on universities (ÜKS 2014) and the law on institutes of technology (RakKKS 2014), both of which stipulate the use of Estonian as a language of instruction and regulate the use of other languages of instruction: “The language of instruction at universities is Estonian. The use of other languages shall be decided by the council of a university.”⁴ (ÜKS 2014). “The language of instruction at institutions of professional higher education shall be Estonian. The use of other languages shall be decided by the minister who directs the ministry under whose area of government the particular institution of professional higher education belongs.”⁵ (RakKKS 2014). The essential development priorities and choices for higher education have been put in writing in two strategic documents, in each of which attention is given to the position and development of the Estonian language. The language of instruction in higher education has been specified in the Estonian higher education strategy 2006–2015 (EHES), which states that “Estonian-medium education will be provided in all areas of teaching and on all levels (incl. doctoral studies)”. The internationalization strategy of Estonian higher education for 2006–2015 (ISEHE) stresses the importance of the internationalization of higher education and therefore the need to develop curricula taught in English. On the other hand, the strategy highlights the crucial role of universities in the development of the national language and

4 <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/522082014010/consolide> (last accessed 27.11.2014).

5 <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/517062014010/consolide> (last accessed 27.11.2014).

clearly defines the role of Estonian as a language of instruction: “The introduction of the international dimension in each curriculum must be accompanied by the preservation of Estonian as the primary language of instruction and research at higher schools”. At the time of writing (November 2014), a new strategy for the internationalization of higher education is under development, which may generate a new approach with regard to internationalization priorities as well as to the position of Estonian in higher education and science.

6. The use of languages in higher education in Estonia

6.1 Language of instruction

In this section, we examine the role of different languages and people of different linguistic backgrounds in Estonian higher education, using data from the Estonian education information system (EHIS), the “Estonian language development plan” monitoring report (EKAE) and data collected from higher education institutions. The 2014 data concern the fall semester of the 2014–15 academic year as of September 2014.

Estonian is the dominant language of instruction at all levels, more strongly so than it was two decades ago (see Table 1). Compared with the time shortly after Estonia regained independence, the percentage of students receiving education in Russian has declined substantially, while the percentage of students studying in Estonian and English has increased. The significant role of Russian-medium education in the 1990s was due in part to the carryover of Russian-language student groups from the Soviet period, while on the other hand the capitalist way of life created opportunities to establish new educational institutions; opportunities which were eagerly taken advantage of. A number of relatively small universities and institutes of technology sprang up, many of which offered study opportunities specifically to young people with Russian as their native language. However, when quality control procedures (assessments of conformity to quality standards) were introduced for institutions of higher education, many of these private institutions were forced to close. By contrast, the role of English-medium instruction has grown steadily. In the past three academic years, the percentage of students receiving education in Russian has fallen from 7% to 3%, while the corresponding figure for English has risen from 2% to 5%. Estonia’s only private university, the Estonian Business School, which offers education at all levels in the fields of business and administration, has a stronger international orientation (while there are only two foreign faculty members, there are a total of 371 foreign students, comprising 25% of the student body, while the average figure for Estonian higher

education institutions is only 4%) and a larger percentage of students studying in English. However, in this university as well, the dominant language of instruction is Estonian: as of 2014, of the 1508 students, 982 (65%) study in Estonian, 460 (31%) in English, and 66 (4%) in Russian.

Table 1: Distribution of students by language of instruction in 1993 and 2011–2014⁶

Language of instruction	1993		2012		2013		2014	
Estonian	20,585	82%	61,496	91%	58,716	91%	55,118	92%
English	176	1%	1,642	2%	2,219	3%	2,968	5%
Russian	4,303	17%	4,469	7%	3,871	6%	1,912	3%
Total	25,064		67,607		64,806		59,998	

The 2013 higher education reform certainly plays a role in the shifts observed in recent years. The state has compensated institutions of higher education for the loss of fee-based Estonian-language university places, but the educational institutions themselves have started to increase their revenue by adding curricula taught in languages other than Estonian. Programmes taught in English such as the Master's programmes in e-government technology and wood and plastic technology at Tallinn Technical University, the Master's programmes in medicine, financial mathematics and philosophy at the University of Tartu, and the veterinary medicine programme at the Estonian University of Life Sciences were either opened as for fee-based programmes or began charging tuition fees. The target group for these programmes are foreign students (among them Finns, who, due to the similarity between Finnish and Estonian, have previously occupied fee-based university places in programmes taught in Estonian, particularly in medicine and veterinary medicine) as well as young Estonians. With the expansion of English-language instruction, the number of foreign students has grown (1876 in 2012, 2230 in 2013). An increase has also been observed in the number of students who have graduated from Estonian-Russian bilingual schools (in which up to 40% of the courses are taught in Russian) in Estonian instruction: 3486 in 2012, 3887 in 2013. Factors contributing to this include the free availability of Estonian-medium education, improvements in the Estonian language competence of Russian youth,

6 In the data for 2014, the figures for Estonian include the 156 students whose curriculum includes another language of instruction in addition to Estonian. For 155 of these students, the second language of instruction is English; for one student, the second language is Russian.

and the declining availability of Russian-medium education, as many private vocational institutions which offered instruction in Russian have been closed as a result of their failure to meet the standards for accreditation. These trends are particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that due to the demographic situation – there are fewer young adults in Estonia now than in the past – there are fewer and fewer youth entering higher educational institutions. For instance, as of 10 November 2013 there were 16,025 students at the University of Tartu, among them 579 foreign students. A year later (1 September 2014), the total number of students has decreased (15,468), but the number of foreign students had increased (689).

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of curricula in Estonian higher education institutions by language of instruction. It can be observed that English-language programmes account for 10% of all curricula, while programmes using both Estonian and English comprise 9%. Comparing the data in Table 2 with that of Table 1, it is clear that both English-medium and combined Estonian-English programmes are quite numerous, but these have fewer students per programme than Estonian-language curricula do.

Table 2: Distribution of curricula by language of instruction, 2014

Language of instruction	Number of curricula	Percentage
Estonian	560	78%
English	71	10%
Estonian + English	64	9%
Russian	25	3%
Total	720	

This difference can largely be ascribed to the fact that programmes with English-language instruction are found primarily at the second and third levels of higher education; the English-language programmes are predominantly Master's programmes, while the programmes with both Estonian and English instruction are predominantly doctoral programmes (see Table 3). In the case of the doctoral programmes, Estonian-language instruction guarantees financing from the state, while the use of English provides the necessary international dimension. Baccalaureate programmes, however, are overwhelmingly taught in Estonian, although English is used in some individual courses and modules within these programmes and some of the course literature is in English. This general division of functions between languages is observed in all fields of study and is in concordance with the situation seen in other European countries as well.

Table 3: Language of instruction of Master's and doctoral programmes, 2014

Language of instruction	Master's studies		Doctoral studies	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Estonian	214	80%	8	12%
English	51	19%	1	1%
Estonian + English	1	0%	60	87%
Russian	3	1%	0	0%
Total	269		69	

The increase in Master's programmes taught in English has been rapid: in September 2012 there were 38 such programmes (9% of all Master's programmes), in September 2014 there were 51 (19%).

According to the Estonian language development plan (EKA 2011) and the previous Estonian language development strategy (EKAS 2004), Estonian-language instruction must be preserved at all levels of education and in all fields of study. We have counted curriculum groups as the equivalents of fields of study in the curriculum system ISCED. This standard has thus far been maintained: according to the data from 2012, 2013 and 2014, 100% of curriculum groups include Estonian-medium programmes at all levels of education. However, the addition of programmes taught in English has dangerously reduced the number of Estonian-language curricula in some curriculum groups; this primarily concerns the fields of social sciences, business and law. Nevertheless, Estonian is most threatened in the curriculum group Audiovisual Arts (a subfield of humanities and arts); within this group there are five Master's programmes, one of which (EAA) is taught in Estonian and the other four of which (TU, TTU, EAA) are taught in English. In the curriculum group Political Sciences and Civics, there are four Master's programmes taught in Estonian (UT) and five taught in English (UT, TTU, TU). A large percentage of English-language programmes is also found in the curriculum group Business and Administration (at both the BA and MA level). Due to the continued existence of a few private vocational schools, the percentage of Russian-language programmes in this curriculum group remains high. At the level of doctoral studies, the majority of curricula in all groups have two languages of instruction, Estonian and English.

Estonian-medium education requires Estonian-language study materials and professional terminology. Both of these issues are being actively dealt with and have received state support in the form of corresponding programmes; in addition, every year the authors of the best Estonian-language higher education textbooks are recognized.

6.2 Language of publication of study and research results

The standards for higher education stipulate that in order to receive a Bachelor's degree or a diploma from an institute of technology, a student must "be able, in both the language of instruction and at least one foreign language, to explain problems related to his or her field of study in both verbal and written form and participate in professional discussions in that field". In order to receive a Master's degree, a student must "be able, in both the language of instruction and a foreign language essential for the given field, to present and argue problems, conclusions and underlying theories in his or her field of study in both verbal and written form and to participate in discussions about such topics with specialists as well as with people outside the given field". To receive a doctoral degree, a student must "be able to present problems, conclusions, and underlying theories related to the field of study as well as to his or her own research, in both verbal and written form, to specialist audiences as well as to people outside the given field, as well as to argue and participate in discussions about such topics in both the language of instruction and a foreign language essential for the given field, including publishing original research results in international peer-reviewed scientific publications or, in art-related fields, to present his or her creative works to an international audience" (KHS 2009).

Requirements for theses at different levels are established by individual educational institutions, but in general, they are written either in the language of instruction or in a foreign language essential for the given field and they include a summary in another language, i.e. in a foreign language for works written in Estonian and vice versa. The Universities of Estonia agreements from 2003 and 2006 state a goal of valuing and developing the Estonian scientific language; the stated tasks and outcomes of doctoral studies emphasize the necessity of using foreign languages; among the tasks of doctoral studies are developing the ability to express oneself both verbally and in writing in at least one foreign language, one of the mandatory components of doctoral studies is partial foreign-language-medium instruction in the home university, and the skills to be acquired during doctoral studies include the ability to write scientific articles, to teach and to supervise in both the native language and a foreign language. Regarding doctoral dissertations, the following is agreed: "The dissertation includes a summary of its goals, research methods and results, which is written in Estonian if the dissertation is in a foreign language and in a foreign language if the dissertation is written in Estonian" (ERN). There is no agreement yet on the length of the summary; most universities require a long and comprehensive summary, while TU and TTU do not specify how long the summary should be. The greatest challenge is developing

scientific Estonian through doctoral theses in engineering and technical fields, as all of the dissertations defended at TTU in 2013 and 2014 were written in a foreign language; at TU, almost half of the dissertations were written in Estonian. Another issue is that the Estonian-language summary of a foreign-language (primarily English) dissertation is treated as a formality in several universities. The great majority of doctoral theses are written in English; Estonian-language theses are found primarily in the humanities and legal studies. In order to encourage high quality in the Estonian-language summaries, an annual stipend is awarded for the best Estonian-language summary. Table 4 provides an overview of the language of defended dissertations in different universities.

Table 4: Language of dissertations, 2013–2014

University	2013 Estonian	2013 foreign	2014 Estonian	2014 foreign
UT	17	99	3	40
TTU	0	54	0	39
EULS	0	14	0	14
TU	11	12	4	5
EBS	0	3	1	0
EAA	1	2	0	1
EAMT	2	1	0	1
Total	31 (14%)	185 (86%)	8 (7%)	100 (93%)

Scientific publications, especially those in natural sciences, engineering and medicine, are also written predominantly in English. However, there are 10 scientific journals, from various liberal arts fields as well as forestry, which belong to the highest category (1.1) in the bibliometric classification⁷ of the Estonian research information system ETIS and publish articles in Estonian, for example *Keel ja Kirjandus*, *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri*, and *Ferrary Studies/Metsanduslikud Uurimused*.

Another area of focus is the promotion of scientific work, which is directed at local target groups and supports the use of Estonian as a language of science. Annual competitions for students' works and research works are organized, national science prizes are awarded, and there are also competitions for the popularization

7 <https://www.etis.ee/otsingud/classification.aspx> (last accessed 23.11.2014).

of science, as well as science-themed series on television and radio, in print media and on the web.

6.3 Language requirements and language support for students

Estonia has no uniform language competence requirements for entrants to higher education institutions with regard to Estonian or any foreign language. No language requirements have been instituted by institutes of higher education for students who completed their previous level of education in Estonian and are entering programmes taught in Estonian. Requirements for other entrants have been established by the individual educational institutions. The universities have agreed that Estonian language competence is to be tested if the student's B2-level exam or Estonian as a second language state examination result is below 80 points. For example, EAA requires at least a B1 level in Estonian for entrants who graduated from secondary school in another language, but requires students with a B1 level in Estonian to improve their level to B2. EULS requires a B2 level in Estonian for entrants who completed their previous level of education in a foreign country. There are also more specific requirements for certain fields, for instance, the UT faculty of medicine requires a score of at least 80 (out of 100) in the Estonian as a second language state examination. A bilingual school gives its graduates B2-level competence in Estonian, which is not entirely adequate for Estonian-language university education; C1 would be more appropriate. Students whose Estonian level is insufficient for study have the opportunity to receive free intensive Estonian instruction for one year (KOS 2012). However, only about 20% of students coming from Russian-language or bilingual schools take advantage of this opportunity. Higher educational institutions have developed flexible means of raising students' Estonian level without lengthening the study period, such as language courses and support seminars. In addition, attention is paid to developing all students' professional vocabularies as well as their academic communication skills in both speech and writing.

7. Conclusion

Estonian, which is the official language of Estonia and one of the official languages of the European Union, is also the primary language in Estonian higher education, through which the proper functioning of the language in Estonian education and science as well as in all other spheres of life in which specialists with higher degrees are engaged, is guaranteed. At the same time, the use of English allows for the internationalization of higher education and science. In Estonia, as in

many other countries, there is a need to strike a balance between the national and international components in higher education, as well as sometimes to duplicate publications and activities in different languages. The third language in Estonian higher education, of primarily domestic importance, is Russian, the role of which has continually diminished due to the fact that Russian-language higher education does not guarantee the competence in the national language necessary on the Estonian job market. The proportion of curricula taught in English is growing at the Master's and especially at the doctoral level. English is used in addition to Estonian in almost all doctoral programmes, and the great majority of doctoral theses are written in English. Both the internationalization of science and higher education and the Estonian higher education reform have led to an increasingly large role for English in higher education. Nevertheless, Estonian functions quite successfully as a language of science; some doctoral theses are written in Estonian; doctoral theses written in foreign languages include Estonian-language summaries; Estonian-language higher education textbooks are being developed intensively; there are ten high-level Estonian-language scientific journals. The regulations, development plans and programmes introduced by the state support the use and development of the Estonian language in all fields.

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Jean-François Baldi

Le français dans l'enseignement supérieur: le débat en France

Abstract: French language in higher education: the debate in France

Our texts state that French is the language of teaching and examinations. They also ensure a right to expression in French in seminars organised on our territory. Scientific publications from public organisations must, meanwhile, feature at least a French summary.

Despite this protective framework, transferring knowledge and conducting academic work in a foreign language is no longer an exception in France. We are not yet on a par with the northern European countries, but we are on the same path.

In 2013, the government acknowledged this situation and parliament adopted a law authorising, for certain situations, the use of languages other than French in higher education.

This openness to foreign language teaching has, however, given rise to a certain number of questions.

The first relates to the risk of the French language losing its effectiveness in the transfer and acquisition of knowledge.

The second pertains to the very quality of teaching and its comprehension, considering teachers' and students' varying levels of English proficiency.

The fact is that the role and the influence of the French language are at the heart of our identity.

Je suis très heureux de vous présenter l'état du débat en France sur les questions relatives à la transmission du savoir dans l'enseignement supérieur.

Je le ferai en trois temps:

1. D'abord en présentant le cadre légal français, tel qu'il se présentait avant sa modification en 2013;
2. Ensuite, en synthétisant le débat très vif qui a eu lieu l'année dernière entre les tenants d'une ouverture significative aux langues étrangères, et ceux qui n'estimaient pas cette mesure nécessaire;
3. Enfin, en évoquant les nouvelles dispositions législatives adoptées en juillet 2013, à l'issue de cette controverse qui, de la société, s'est transportée au Parlement.

Rappelons donc d'abord le cadre législatif, tel que l'a fixé la loi du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française.

Ce texte prévoyait que “la langue de l’enseignement, des examens et concours, ainsi que des thèses et mémoires dans les établissements publics et privés d’enseignement est le français”. Un principe général d’obligation d’emploi du français était donc posé. Il comportait toutefois une certaine souplesse, puisque n’étaient pas soumis à l’obligation d’emploi du français :

- les écoles étrangères ou spécialement ouvertes pour accueillir des élèves de nationalité étrangère;
- les établissements dispensant un enseignement à caractère international. Il s’agit, par exemple, des établissements offrant des formations en langues étrangères et en langue française, et comprenant au minimum 25% d’élèves ou d’étudiants étrangers;
- les enseignements dispensés par des professeurs associés ou invités étrangers;
- les formations effectuées dans le cadre de l’enseignement des langues et cultures régionales.

Ce cadre protecteur a connu une première évolution notable en 2005, concernant les thèses en cotutelle.

Jusqu’alors, la thèse était rédigée dans l’une des langues nationales des deux pays concernés et complétée par un résumé dans l’autre langue. Depuis 2005, il est prévu que “la langue dans laquelle est rédigée la thèse est définie par convention conclue entre les établissements contractants”. Cette faculté laissée aux établissements a donc ouvert la voie à un appauvrissement linguistique des thèses en cotutelle.

Notre cadre législatif et réglementaire n’a pas, il faut le reconnaître, empêché de voir se développer dans une relative impunité des enseignements en langue étrangère, dans la plupart des cas en anglais.

Selon l’*Agence française pour la promotion de l’enseignement supérieur, l’accueil et la mobilité internationale*, on dénombre 700 formations en anglais dans les universités publiques, les écoles de commerce et d’ingénieur, les écoles doctorales. Cette anglicisation est particulièrement développée dans les grandes écoles, c’est-à-dire des écoles qui recrutent leurs élèves par concours et qui assurent des formations de haut niveau. Selon certaines estimations, à considérer toutefois avec prudence, environ 30% des cursus dans les écoles d’ingénieurs et 80% dans les écoles de commerce seraient aujourd’hui en anglais. Le phénomène est cependant loin d’avoir cette ampleur dans les universités.

C’est sur ce fond de tableau que le Gouvernement français – et tout particulièrement sa ministre chargée de l’Enseignement supérieur – a souhaité l’année dernière modifier notre cadre légal, en élargissant très sensiblement les exceptions à l’obligation d’emploi du français.

Il s'agissait de permettre de dispenser en langue étrangère des enseignements effectués dans le cadre d'accords avec des universités étrangères ou de programmes financés par l'Union européenne. Compte tenu de l'internationalisation de nos universités, la voie était ainsi ouverte à une diffusion massive d'enseignements dans une autre langue que le français, concrètement en anglais.

Quelles furent les raisons de ce projet de loi?

La première est d'ordre pragmatique: faire entrer dans la légalité des formations non conformes à notre cadre légal, et résorber une inégalité entre les grandes écoles, dans lesquelles ces formations se développent en toute impunité, et l'université, où elles sont plus rares.

La seconde raison est plus implicite: améliorer, du moins le pense-t-on, les compétences linguistiques des étudiants français, notamment en anglais.

La troisième, la plus importante aux yeux du gouvernement, est de nature stratégique: il s'agit d'introduire dans le système éducatif une souplesse indispensable pour attirer un plus grand nombre d'étudiants, notamment asiatiques ou indiens, que la perspective de formations en anglais peut conforter dans leur décision de poursuivre leurs études en France.

Je rappelle ici les propos de la ministre chargée de l'Enseignement supérieur pour défendre son projet de loi: "L'Inde compte un milliard d'habitants, mais nous n'accueillons que 3.000 étudiants indiens en France. Nous sommes ridicules. L'une des raisons est qu'il n'y a pas assez de cours en anglais", a-t-elle notamment expliqué en avril 2013 pour justifier son projet.

Une fois portée à la connaissance des médias, la mesure prévue par le Gouvernement a fait l'objet de débats très vifs, sur sa dimension politique, économique, sociale, culturelle et diplomatique.

De nombreux représentants de la communauté éducative et scientifique ont soutenu l'élargissement des exceptions à l'emploi du français dans l'enseignement supérieur, convaincus de la nécessité de prendre en compte la réalité des pratiques linguistiques dans la recherche.

Plusieurs motivations ont guidé ces partisans.

D'abord, la volonté d'en finir avec une attitude défensive découlant de la nostalgie entretenue d'une époque où le français était parlé par toutes les élites du monde. Nous parlerons ici plus d'une posture que d'un véritable argument.

Plus sérieusement, certains ont mis en avant la compétitivité des universités françaises qui retrouveraient leur réputation internationale si la plupart de leurs professeurs étaient en mesure de dispenser leurs cours en anglais.

Je cite ici le propos d'un responsable de l'université de Sciences politiques de Paris: "quels universitaires servent le mieux l'enseignement supérieur français?"

Les militants d'une production scientifique monolingue ou ceux qui recourent partiellement à l'anglais pour permettre à la science française d'être connectée au reste du monde?"

Enfin, dès lors que l'anglais est pratiqué quotidiennement par les chercheurs – dans les publications, les colloques, les échanges internationaux – il conviendrait, par cohérence, de développer aussi l'acquisition des savoirs en anglais.

L'argument est notamment étayé par une vaste enquête conduite en 2007/2008 auprès de la communauté scientifique. Cette enquête souligne la domination de l'anglais dans les publications: 69% des chercheurs en sciences exactes publient leurs articles exclusivement en anglais. Cette domination est beaucoup moins nette en sciences humaines et sociales, où 11% des chercheurs recourent exclusivement à l'anglais. Il est vrai que ces disciplines se construisent dans un rapport étroit avec la langue.

On retrouve ce clivage dans les colloques. Toujours selon cette enquête, parmi les laboratoires de sciences exactes qui ont organisé des rencontres scientifiques sur le territoire français, 90% l'ont fait sans interprète ! La proportion est, en revanche, bien moindre en sciences humaines et sociales, puisque seuls 27% des laboratoires n'ont pas eu recours à l'interprétation.

Notons enfin qu'au-delà de la communauté universitaire et scientifique, deux grands journaux quotidiens français classés à gauche, *Le Monde* et *Libération*, ont publiquement pris fait et cause pour le projet de loi.

A l'inverse, de nombreuses voix se sont élevées pour pointer plusieurs risques liés à cette mesure.

La première salve de critiques a d'abord concerné l'atteinte portée au statut du français dans l'Université, et a sans surprise été émise par l'Académie française, fidèle à sa vocation de gardienne de la langue et de son évolution.

D'autres voix se sont élevées, au nom de nos solidarités francophones. A l'instar du secrétaire général de la Francophonie, Abdou Diouf, elles ont souligné que les francophones dans le monde risquaient d'être découragés par un message de défiance à l'égard de la capacité de la langue française à transmettre les savoirs. Pourquoi en effet promouvoir le français dans le monde si son emploi n'est pas assuré en France même? Comment expliquer à un étudiant qui aura fait le choix dans son pays d'apprendre le français qu'il poursuivra sa scolarité en France dans une autre langue, en l'occurrence anglais?

Ces interrogations paraissent d'autant plus légitimes que la France est une porte d'entrée vers le Maghreb et l'Afrique, que les étudiants étrangers cherchent à utiliser comme un tremplin pour accéder à l'espace francophone, à ses richesses et à ses perspectives de développement.

Enfin, un certain nombre d'élus et de représentants de la société civile se sont interrogés sur la cohérence politique d'une mesure contribuant à affaiblir la portée de tout effort public visant à diversifier l'enseignement des langues dans le secondaire. Dès lors que l'usage de l'anglais se généraliserait dans le supérieur, on peut douter de l'effet d'entraînement que pourraient avoir un discours ou des mesures visant à développer la connaissance de plusieurs langues étrangères.

Au-delà de ces réactions institutionnelles et politiques, de nombreux universitaires et chercheurs, français comme étrangers, ont souligné l'inopportunité d'une telle mesure, sur trois points.

1. C'est d'abord l'argument de l'attractivité qui a été remis en cause.

En effet, les chiffres les plus récents publiés par l'Unesco montrent que la France continue d'attirer les étudiants étrangers. Avec 289.000 étudiants étrangers – soit 13% des effectifs totaux d'étudiants – elle constitue le troisième pays attirant le plus d'étrangers, derrière les Etats Unis et le Royaume Uni, devançant par exemple l'Allemagne (qui occupe la 5ème place), pays où les cours sont plus largement dispensés en anglais.

Sur ces 289.000 étudiants étrangers en France, 46% viennent du continent africain, dont la moitié du Maghreb. 25% sont originaires d'Europe, 17% d'Asie, 8% du continent américain (nord et sud), 4% enfin du Moyen-Orient, surtout du Liban.

Une enquête publiée à la fin de l'année 2013 complète ces données. A la question des raisons présidant au choix de la France pour y poursuivre ses études supérieures, la qualité des formations vient en tête des motivations exprimées par les étudiants interrogés, mais la langue vient en seconde position, soulignant son rôle décisif dans l'attractivité étudiante.

Ces chiffres sont à mettre en regard de données établissant que le français est la langue maternelle de 18% des étudiants interrogés, et que les deux tiers le parlaient déjà, au moins un peu, avant de venir en France. Toujours selon cette étude, plus de la moitié des anciens étudiants non francophones interrogés déclarent parler désormais couramment le français. Et 70% assurent avoir gardé des contacts amicaux et professionnels avec la France.

En d'autres termes, le fait d'avoir appris le français fabrique des étudiants étrangers en France, et inversement, le fait d'avoir étudié en France fabrique des francophones.

Enfin, plusieurs voix se sont fait entendre pour souligner que les étudiants étrangers n'aspirent pas forcément à recevoir, dans les universités ou grandes

écoles françaises, une formation en anglais dispensée dans les pays anglophones avec plus de compétence et de légitimité. Les étudiants qui souhaitent vraiment une formation en anglais s'orienteront d'abord vers les institutions américaines et anglaises, souvent mieux classées sur le plan mondial. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas inconcevable de penser que ce que les meilleurs étudiants viendraient chercher en France, c'est un modèle culturel alternatif aux modèles anglo-saxons dominants.

2. Un second ensemble de critiques a porté sur le risque de baisse de la qualité de l'enseignement.

La généralisation de l'anglais au niveau supérieur repose sur un postulat selon lequel il est possible de faire avec une "lingua franca" ce que l'on peut faire avec une langue dans laquelle on a été socialisé et éduqué, cette capacité postulée s'appliquant en l'espèce à la transmission et à l'acquisition des connaissances.

Cette représentation de ce qu'est "connaître une langue" est battue en brèche dès qu'on veut bien observer la réalité des pratiques, la qualité de la transmission des connaissances par les enseignants, la capacité des étudiants à s'approprier les connaissances et à s'exprimer, surtout par écrit. De telles questions se posent tout particulièrement dans les disciplines de sciences humaines et sociales.

Le niveau linguistique des enseignants est en France très inégal, incitant des établissements à recruter des locuteurs natifs. Les enseignants qui ne font pas cours dans leur langue maternelle ou habituelle font souvent état de leurs frustrations et des limites de cet exercice convenu et figé qui consiste non pas à parler mais à "oraliser de l'écrit".

Bref, il y a là un ensemble d'arguments émanant d'une partie de la communauté scientifique soucieuse de ne pas connaître la situation d'éviction des langues nationales constatée dans plusieurs pays d'Europe du Nord, sur laquelle les constats portés sont mitigés.

C'est par exemple le cas pour l'Allemagne, qui a ouvert, depuis quinze ans, des filières en langue anglaise à l'université – on en compterait aujourd'hui 600 essentiellement au niveau du master – avec le souci de gagner en visibilité à l'international. En novembre 2011, la conférence des présidents d'université a pointé les risques liés à ce choix basé sur des considérations plus idéologiques que scientifiques et appelé les universités à conduire des politiques linguistiques qui, sans nier l'utilité pratique de l'anglais, fassent toute leur place à la langue nationale et aux compétences linguistiques des étudiants.

3. Enfin, une troisième faisceau d'arguments est d'ordre linguistique et tient à la perte de fonctionnalité du français.

En effet, l'abandon de telle ou telle langue comme langue d'enseignement au profit d'une langue dominante unique entraîne pour les langues ainsi minorées des "pertes de domaines", signifiant qu'elles ne sont plus en mesure de désigner et d'analyser certaines réalités.

Ces pertes de domaines ne sont pas des phénomènes anodins: elles peuvent avoir des effets structurants sur la société et affecter en profondeur les pratiques sociales, professionnelles et culturelles des citoyens. Si l'on enseigne la gestion en anglais, dans quelle langue les dirigeants et cadres d'entreprise s'adresseront-ils à leurs salariés? Si l'enseignement de la médecine se fait en France dans une langue autre que le français, dans quelle langue demain les médecins échangeront-ils avec leurs patients?

De façon plus immédiate, on a pu pointer la contradiction entre un abandon partiel du français comme langue d'enseignement et une action publique qui vise à assurer son enrichissement en associant une dizaine de ministères et un grand nombre de partenaires académiques et francophones.

Le gouvernement a été manifestement surpris par l'ampleur des débats suscités par sa proposition de loi. Il en a tenu compte lors de l'examen du texte au Parlement, en donnant une suite favorable à certaines propositions émanant de parlementaires eux aussi sceptiques sur ce texte.

En effet, la version finale du texte adopté le 22 juillet 2013 et qui comporte de nombreuses autres dispositions relatives à l'enseignement supérieur et à la recherche, est beaucoup plus encadrée que sa version initiale.

Le socle initial est maintenu: il s'agit d'autoriser des enseignements en langue étrangère, et de faire entrer ainsi dans la légalité des formations qui sont dispensées en anglais dans certaines universités et grandes écoles. Mais cette ouverture est assortie de plusieurs garde-fous.

D'une part, les formations d'enseignement supérieur bénéficiant d'une exception à l'obligation d'emploi du français doivent être strictement justifiées par des nécessités pédagogiques et ne peuvent être que partiellement proposées en langue étrangère.

D'autre part, les étudiants étrangers bénéficiant de formations en langue étrangère suivront un enseignement de langue française lorsqu'ils ne justifient pas d'une connaissance suffisante de cette dernière. Leur niveau de maîtrise suffisante de la langue française sera évalué pour l'obtention du diplôme.

Le texte associe donc la possibilité de suivre un enseignement en langue étrangère à un renforcement des capacités en langue française des étudiants.

Par ailleurs, le ministre chargé de l'usage de la langue française – autrement dit en France le ministre chargé de la culture – devra être informé des exceptions accordées à l'emploi du français, de leur délai et de la raison de ces dérogations.

Enfin, le Gouvernement devra produire dans un délai de trois ans un rapport évaluant l'impact de la loi sur l'emploi du français et des langues étrangères dans les établissements publics et privés d'enseignement supérieur.

Il est encore trop tôt pour dresser un premier bilan de ces mesures, peut-être le ferons-nous pour une prochaine conférence de la fédération.

Voilà en tout cas où nous en sommes en France, sur une question qui a montré, une nouvelle fois, l'extrême sensibilité du pays à la place et au rayonnement de la langue française.

Nathalie Marchal

L'usage des langues dans les universités en Belgique francophone

Abstract: The use of languages in Belgium's French-speaking universities

This article aims to present the new legal framework that became effective on 1st September 2014 and the legal evolution in the Wallonia-Brussels Federation over the last 20 years. It also shows the weakness of the political debate on that matter, in which important issues of diversity are absent.

This article also focuses on an overview of the practices of the university with the most students in French-speaking Belgium, the University of Louvain-la-Neuve. This university now only organizes 10% of its Master's degree programmes in full English. Yet, the set of regulations provides the possibility to waver in the quotas of 50% foreign languages in order to organise "Full English" track Master's programmes, and the university have more and more recourse to use it increasingly. The fact remains that French is not "threatened" as teaching language in the Wallonia-Brussels Federation.

However, things are different as far as doctorate degrees are concerned. Since 2004, the regulations have claimed to be open to foreign languages as regards doctorate training and PhD dissertations. In practice, the University of Louvain-la-Neuve supervises a large majority of theses in English (64%), all academic fields combined. This majority is overwhelming (83%) in mathematics and natural sciences. French still dominates in the field of humanities and social sciences with 64%.

As a conclusion, the article presents considerations, namely about the necessity to re-focus the political and public debates on epistemological issues and cognitive risks, to analyse the student's linguistic needs, to analyse the linguistic representations, and to think differently about a university's competitiveness.

1. Le cadre juridique et politique

1.1 Qui légifère pour les universités en Belgique?

La Belgique est un état fédéral, ce qui signifie que le pouvoir décisionnel est partagé entre l'autorité fédérale et les entités fédérées qui disposent de leur propre parlement et de leur propre gouvernement.

Parmi les entités fédérées, il y a celles qui sont basées sur l'appartenance linguistique des citoyens. Ce sont les Communautés qui sont au nombre de 3: la

Communauté française, ou Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles (FWB), la Communauté flamande et la Communauté germanophone.

Par ailleurs, d'autres entités fédérées en Belgique sont basées sur le critère géographique: ce sont les Régions.

En Belgique, l'enseignement supérieur et sa dimension internationale sont de la compétence des Communautés linguistiques. Ceci signifie que la Communauté flamande légifère pour les universités flamandes de Bruxelles et les universités situées en Flandre (qui sont toutes de régime linguistique flamand), la Communauté française ou Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles légifère pour les universités francophones de Bruxelles et les universités situées en Wallonie (qui sont toutes de régime linguistique français).

La Communauté germanophone, quant à elle, ne compte pas d'universités.

1.2 Evolution du cadre juridique 1994–2004–2014

Avec un premier dispositif réglementaire pris en 1994 sur l'emploi des langues dans les universités, le législateur a voulu, d'une part, affirmer la préséance du français comme langue administrative et langue d'enseignement dans les universités, et, d'autre part, préserver totalement les étudiants "natifs" en premier cycle par des cursus 100% en français, afin de leur assurer une transition harmonieuse et la meilleure accessibilité vers le supérieur. Le premier cycle est également l'occasion pour les étudiants allophones d'apprendre le français, puisque le dispositif légal prévoit pour ces étudiants, à partir de 1997, la réussite, en cours d'année académique, de l'examen de maîtrise du français conditionnant l'accès aux examens de la fin de leur année d'études. Dès 1994, le deuxième cycle est, quant à lui, déclaré ouvert aux langues étrangères sans limitation.

En 2004 cependant, avec la compétitivité grandissante des universités européennes et la mise en place de la Déclaration de Bologne, le législateur décide de réguler l'usage des langues tenant compte de la mobilité étudiante, tant en premier qu'en deuxième cycle. Il préserve le premier bac, introduit un quota maximal de 20% de langues étrangères en deuxième et troisième bac, et de 50% de langues étrangères en master, quel que soit le domaine scientifique. A noter cependant que tous les masters à finalité didactique font exception à cette règle et se déroulent exclusivement en français.

Bien qu'aujourd'hui, le nouveau décret cadre entré en vigueur le 1^{er} septembre 2014¹ prévoit jusqu'à 25% de langues étrangères dans les trois années de bac,

1 Un nouveau décret cadre définissant le paysage de l'enseignement supérieur et l'organisation académique des études du 7/11/2013 est entré en vigueur le 1^{er} septembre

les dispositions de 2004 sont toujours celles qui sont en vigueur en Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles pour ce qui concerne les masters et autorisent jusqu'à 50% de langues étrangères.

Le dispositif légal prévoit cependant également la possibilité de déroger aux quotas afin d'organiser des masters en "Full English", et les différentes facultés y ont de plus en plus recours pour le deuxième cycle. Ce système dérogatoire pourrait donc très bien, à terme, vider le décret de sa substance.

Enfin, le nouveau décret cadre laisse une ouverture totale aux langues étrangères dans les cas suivants:

- Les études coorganisées avec au moins un établissement extérieur à la FWB (vise les codiplomations internationales erasmus mundus, les études coorganisées avec la Communauté flamande).
- Les masters de spécialisation.
- Les formations doctorales et les thèses.
- Les formations continues.
- Les travaux de fin d'études (TFE), les stages d'intégration professionnelle, les enseignements des langues étrangères (=vise tous les cycles de traduction -interprétation, et de philologie et linguistique).
- Les premier cycle ou deuxième cycle à condition que le cursus soit également organisé en français.
- Les cours "optionnels" laissés au choix de l'étudiant à condition que d'autres options soient possibles en français.
- Les activités d'apprentissage coorganisées **par** des établissements extérieurs à la FWB et reconnus par leurs autorités en matière d'enseignement supérieur.

Outre ses dispositions sur les langues d'enseignement, le nouveau décret comprend également des dispositions sur la maîtrise du français pour les étudiants allophones.

En l'absence de diplôme obtenu à l'issue d'un cursus secondaire ou d'un cursus supérieur réalisés en français, la réussite d'un examen de maîtrise du français est obligatoire

- en premier cycle, où le niveau B2 de français est requis;
- pour tout master qui conduit aux métiers de l'enseignant: master à finalité didactique et AESS (agrégation de l'enseignement secondaire supérieur), où le niveau C1 de français est requis.

2014. Il est communément appelé "décret paysage". Il s'applique à tous les établissements d'enseignement supérieur (Universités, Hautes Ecoles, Ecoles supérieures des Arts et établissements supérieurs de promotion sociale).

Enfin, en FWB, aucune disposition légale contraignante n'existe pour

- L'emploi des langues dans les programmes de recherche;
- L'exigence de résumés ou de traductions en français dans les thèses de doctorat qui disposent, quant à elle, comme indiqué plus haut, d'une totale liberté dans l'usage des langues;
- Les compétences linguistiques pour être admis dans un cursus en anglais ou dans une autre langue.

1.3 Teneur des débats parlementaires

Ce qui frappe à la lecture des débats parlementaires autour de ces différents décrets depuis 20 ans, c'est leur pauvreté face aux enjeux de diversité et de multilinguisme.

En effet, les débats n'évoquent aucune alternative au partage entre le français et l'anglais comme langues d'enseignement. Les autres langues sont absentes des débats.

La question de la qualité des savoirs (Qu'est-ce qu'on transmet? Comment on le transmet?), pourtant centrale, n'est jamais posée. Seules comptent

- Pour les partisans de l'anglicisation: l'attractivité auprès des étudiants étrangers et la compétitivité des universités (face aux universités européennes, s'entend, ou aux universités flamandes quelquefois évoquées; le débat politique est donc exclusivement "eurocentré", voire "belgocentré"). Cet argument d'attractivité est parfois renforcé par l'évocation du statut de Bruxelles, capitale européenne.
- Pour les partisans de la francisation: la garantie d'institutions non discriminantes offrant la meilleure accessibilité des cursus aux étudiants belges francophones, en conservant une place tout à fait dominante pour le français, surtout en premier cycle.

Ces débats oublient cependant que la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles a créé une cellule administrative chargée d'assurer une veille permanente sur le suivi de la Convention UNESCO sur la diversité culturelle. Par ailleurs, le nouveau gouvernement de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, installé en juillet dernier, dans sa récente Déclaration de politique communautaire 2014–2019, fait de la diversité culturelle le fer de lance de son programme dans le domaine des politiques culturelles en indiquant d'entrée de jeu son attachement à l'exception culturelle et aux principes de la Convention de l'UNESCO sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité culturelle.

2. Enquête sur les pratiques dans les universités

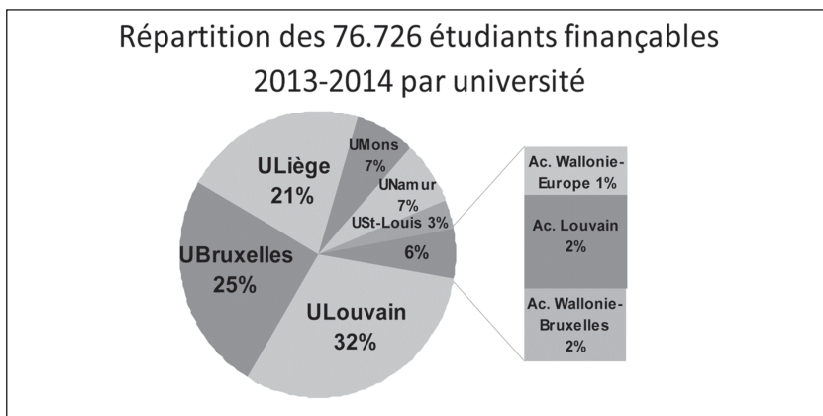
2.1 Répartition des étudiants dans les six universités de la FWB

Les étudiants finançables 2013–2014 étaient au nombre de 76.726 pour toute la Belgique francophone.

L'université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve compte 32% de ces étudiants, soit 23.665 étudiants, suivie par l'Université Libre de Bruxelles 25% (soit 18.958 étudiants), l'Université de Liège 21% (soit 16.346 étudiants). Les Universités de Mons et Namur, qui organisent exclusivement des cursus de premier cycle, comptent chacune 7% de ces étudiants (soit respectivement 5.435 étudiants et 5.568 étudiants). Enfin, les facultés Saint Louis à Bruxelles (premier cycle uniquement) comptent 3% de ces étudiants (soit 2.438 étudiants).

Les 6% restants sont constitués par les 3 Académies assurant les formations doctorales et les masters complémentaires (4.316 étudiants).

Fig. 1: Répartition des 76.726 étudiants finançables 2013–2014 par université.



2.2 Quels masters en “Full English” dans les universités de la FWB en 2013–2014?

Le nouveau décret cadre prévoyant un système dérogatoire au quota maximal des 50% de langues étrangères en master, les universités y ont de plus en plus recours.

Dans quatre grandes universités francophones, à savoir l'Université catholique de Louvain (ULouvain), l'Université Libre de Bruxelles (UBruxelles), l'Université de Liège (ULiège) et l'Université de Mons (UMons), le Gouvernement a déjà

octroyé un certain nombre de dérogations. On les recense, pour l'année académique 2013–2014, principalement dans les domaines suivants:

Domaines des sciences sociales:

- Master en sciences économiques;
- Master en économétrie, à finalité approfondie;
- Sciences de gestion et ingénieur de gestion;
- Master en Droit européen.

Domaine des sciences mathématiques et naturelles:

- Ingénierie en informatique et masters en sciences informatiques;
- Nanotechnologie;
- Ingénierie nucléaire;
- Ingénierie multimédia et télécommunications;
- Ingénierie en construction navales;
- Master en statistiques.

2.3 Quels masters bilingues français-anglais dans les universités de la FWB en 2013–2014?

Par ailleurs, le quota de 50% d'anglais autorisé par la loi dans les masters est de plus en plus utilisé également. On le recense, pour les quatre mêmes universités et pour l'année académique 2013–2014, principalement pour

- des masters en ingénierie civile: mines, sciences des matériaux, constructions, électromécanique, aérospatiale, électricité, physique, etc.;
- des masters qui portent sur des matières internationales: masters en communication multilingue, master en droit européen, master en sciences des politiques européennes, master en anthropologie des dynamiques sociales et du développement, etc.

2.4 Enquête sur les pratiques dans la plus grande université de la FWB, l'Université de Louvain-la-Neuve (ULouvain)

Pour établir un état des lieux des pratiques à destination de l'EFNIL, plusieurs enquêtes ont été lancées en juin 2014, à la fois,

- dans les 6 universités de la FWB;
- auprès du FRS-FNRS pour l'emploi des langues dans la recherche scientifique.

Ce questionnaire sollicitant de nombreux services et départements, seule l'ULouvain a pu répondre. Le FRS-FNRS, quant à lui, déclare ne pas pouvoir fournir les données demandées.

Cette présentation se contente donc d'exploiter les données du questionnaire de l'ULouvain. S'agissant de la plus grande université francophone en nombre d'étudiants, ces résultats peuvent être considérés comme un bon indicateur des pratiques, sans pouvoir toutefois être généralisés à l'ensemble de la FWB.

2.4.1 Classification de référence des domaines scientifiques pour l'enquête

Avant de démarrer l'enquête, il était nécessaire d'établir une correspondance entre les trois domaines de la classification EFNIL pour ELM 3 utilisés dans le questionnaire FWB, mais inconnues de nos universités, avec les domaines d'études du Conseil des Recteurs francophones (CRef). Pour rappel, ces trois domaines ELM 3 sont ceux des sciences humaines, des sciences sociales, des sciences mathématiques et naturelles.

L'interrogation principale portait sur le domaine d'appartenance des sciences de la santé: appartiennent-elles au domaine des sciences sociales ou des sciences mathématiques et naturelles? Nous avons établi en accord avec l'ULouvain que les sciences de la santé étaient reprises dans le domaine des sciences mathématiques et naturelles.

Les trois domaines des sciences humaines, sociales, mathématiques et naturelles recouvrent donc respectivement les études suivantes:

domaine questionnaire FWB (suivant ELM 3)	domaines d'études CRef
sciences humaines	Philosophie
	Théologie
	Langues et lettres
	Histoire, art et archéologie
sciences sociales	Information et communication
	Sciences politiques et sociales
	Sciences juridiques
	Sciences économiques et de gestion
	Sciences psychologiques et de l'éducation
sciences mathématiques et naturelles	Art de bâtir et urbanisme

domaine questionnaire FWB (suivant ELM 3)	domaines d'études CReF
	Sciences mathématiques
	Sciences informatiques
	Sciences physiques
	Sciences chimiques
	Sciences biologiques
	Sciences géographiques
	Sciences agronomiques et ingénierie biologique
	Sciences de l'ingénieur
	Sciences médicales
	Sciences vétérinaire
	Sciences dentaires
	Sciences biomédicales et pharmaceutiques
	Sciences de la motricité

A noter, cependant, que l'ULouvain n'a pas pu dissocier les sciences humaines et les sciences sociales dans les chiffres qu'elle avance dans le cadre de cette enquête. Les pourcentages seront dès lors présentés d'une part pour les "sciences humaines et sociales", et d'autre part pour les "sciences mathématiques et naturelles".

2.4.2 Langues d'enseignement

Les bacs

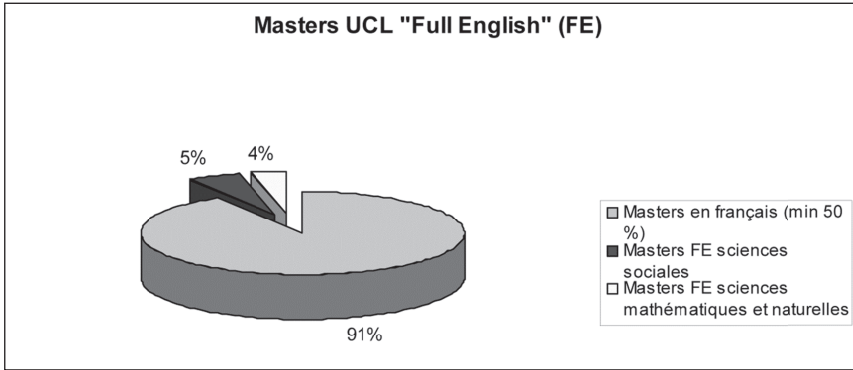
Le français est la langue exclusive des bacs à l'ULouvain. Cette dernière ne fait nullement usage du quota des 25% de crédits en langues étrangères autorisé par la loi.

Les masters

Les master en "Full English"

Les master en "Full English" (FE) représentent 9,8% de la totalité des masters de l'ULouvain, dont une proportion légèrement plus importante dans les sciences sociales (7 masters contre 5 dans les sciences mathématiques et naturelles sur un total de 122 masters dans cette université).

Fig. 2: Masters UCL "Full English" (FE).



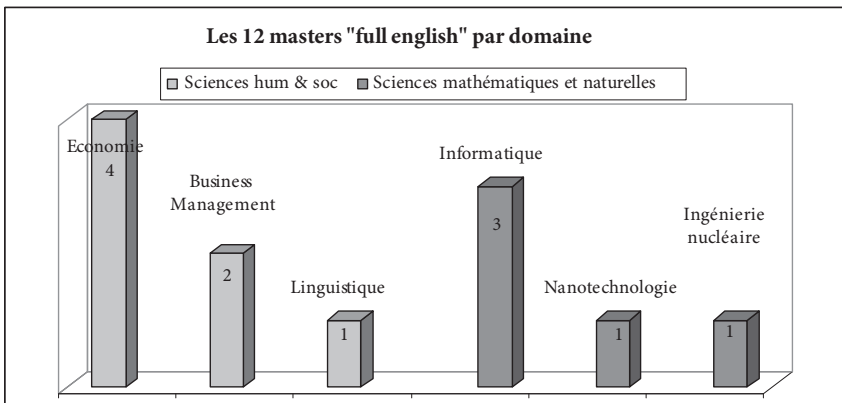
A noter qu'il s'agit des chiffres officiels basés sur les dérogations actuellement accordées par le gouvernement. Un contact personnel avec des professeurs révèle par exemple que le master en ingénieur civil électricien fonctionnait déjà en "Full English" en 2013–2014 malgré que la dérogation du gouvernement n'ait pas encore été accordée.

Par ailleurs, actuellement pour l'année académique 2014–2015, tous les départements d'ingénierie civile de l'ULouvain auraient déposé une demande de dérogation.

De quels départements relèvent ces 12 masters en "Full English" plus précisément?

On relève 4 masters FE en économie, 3 en informatique, 2 en business et management, 1 en philologie, 1 en nanotechnologie, 1 en ingénierie nucléaire.

Fig. 3: Les 12 masters "Full English" par domaine.



Masters bilingues français-anglais

A côté des masters “Full English”, on retrouve à l’ULouvain, comme autorisé par le décret, des masters bilingues avec une proportion d’anglais qui dépend du choix de l’étudiant mais qui ne dépasse jamais 50%, principalement: en ingénierie civile (sciences des matériaux, mécanique, sciences économiques), dans les sciences telles que mathématiques, physique, chimie, géographie, statistiques, droit, agronomie, et même 2 cours en psychologie.

Masters incluant d’autres langues que le français et l’anglais

Les masters incluant d’autres langues que le français et l’anglais dépendent toutes des choix de l’étudiant.

Les cours dans d’autres langues sont globalement limités cependant au domaine de la philologie, et exclusivement dans les langues suivantes: néerlandais, allemand, espagnol, italien.

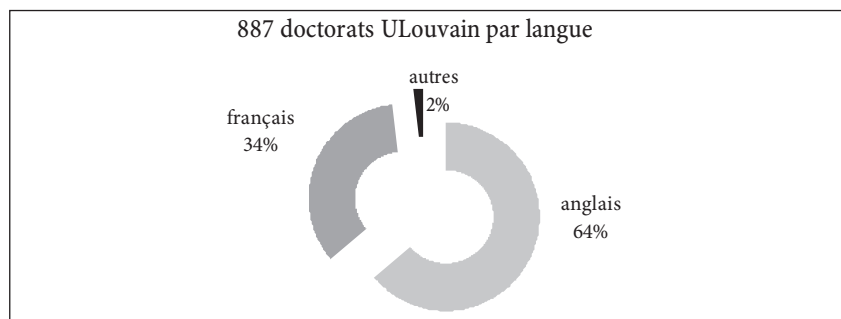
Avec une exception pour le néerlandais et pour l’allemand dont on retrouve deux cours en faculté de droit: néerlandais juridique et allemand juridique, et 6 cours en master de communication multilingue (3 en néerlandais, 3 en allemand).

2.4.3 Langues des doctorats

Pour les doctorats, les chiffres ont été récoltés sur les trois dernières années durant lesquelles 887 thèses ont été produites.

Les thèses par langues

Fig. 4: 887 doctorats ULouvain par langue.

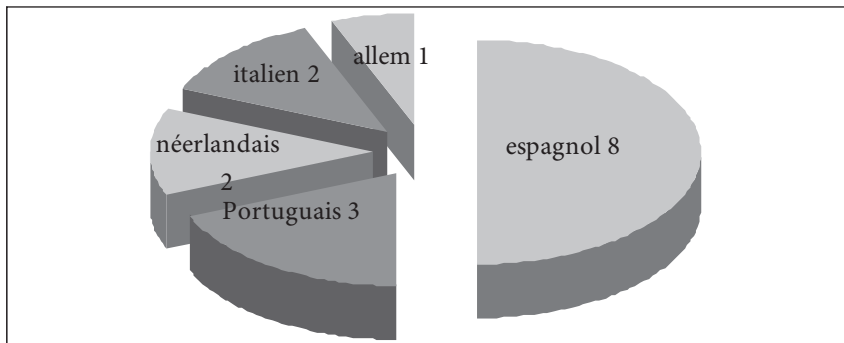


La réglementation ne régulant pas l’usage des langues dans les doctorats, le graphique ci-dessus montre comment la production de thèses à l’ULouvain est totalement dominée par l’anglais soit 64% (566 thèses) contre 34% de thèses en

français (305 thèses), les autres langues occupant une place infime de 2% (16 thèses) dont le détail se retrouve dans le graphique qui suit.

Les 2% de thèses en langues autres que le français et l'anglais, réparties par langue, soit 16 thèses sur 887

Fig. 5: Les 2% de thèses en langues autres que le français et l'anglais.

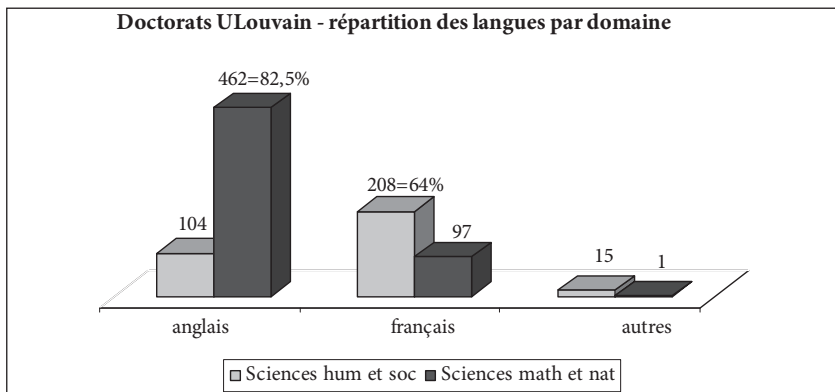


Bien que denrées rares, la majorité des thèses en langues étrangères hors anglais, sont des thèses rédigées en langues romanes, avec une présence de l'espagnol (8 thèses) suivi par le portugais (3 thèses) et l'italien (2 thèses).

Enfin, comme pour les masters, il est frappant de constater que les deux langues nationales que sont le néerlandais et l'allemand en Belgique sont quasi inexistantes (2 thèses en néerlandais et 1 thèse en allemand).

Répartition des langues par domaine

Fig. 6: Doctorats ULouvain – répartition des langues par domaine.



De ce graphique, nous retenons les éléments suivants:

- Une majorité, cette fois écrasante, de thèses en anglais en sciences mathématiques et naturelles, soit 82,5%, contre 31,8% dans les sciences humaines et sociales.
- On conserve une bonne majorité de 64% de thèses en français en sciences humaines et sociales.
- Les autres langues (principalement des langues romanes) sont également davantage utilisées dans les sciences humaines et sociales, comme dans le cas des masters. Elles sont quasi absentes en sciences mathématiques et naturelles (1 thèse en espagnol en sciences et technologies sur les 560 du domaine).

2.4.4 Conclusions

En conclusion, il y a lieu, tout d'abord, de s'interroger sur la motivation politique qui se fait jour en 2004 et s'intensifie en 2014, lorsque le gouvernement décide d'ouvrir le premier cycle aux langues étrangères. En effet, en 2014, la plus grande université francophone de Belgique n'a toujours pas fait usage de cette faculté et ne propose aucun cours en anglais dans le premier cycle. Il semble donc que la réglementation ne corresponde pas aux besoins et que l'importance de l'anglais soit surévaluée par les autorités pour le premier cycle.

Par ailleurs, l'ULouvain n'organisant en 2013–2014 que 10% de ses masters en Full English, on peut conclure que le français n'est pas "menacé" comme langue d'enseignement en Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles. Il faut cependant se méfier des chiffres officiels (masters dispensés en anglais avant la décision du gouvernement), et du système dérogatoire prévu par la réglementation et auquel les universités ont de plus en plus recours. Il pourrait rapidement faire basculer la tendance et menacer le français comme langue d'enseignement dans le supérieur en FWB.

En ce qui concerne les formations doctorales et les thèses, la réglementation ne place aucun rempart et affirme depuis 2004 son ouverture totale aux langues étrangères. Dans la pratique de l'ULouvain sur les trois dernières années, on observe d'ailleurs une large majorité de thèses en anglais (64%), tous domaines scientifiques confondus, majorité qui devient carrément écrasante (83%) dans le domaine des sciences mathématiques et naturelles (suivant la classification EFNIL pour ELM 3). Le français domine cependant encore à 64% dans le domaine des sciences humaines et sociales. En ce qui concerne les doctorats, on peut donc affirmer que le français et les autres langues sont bel et bien menacés par l'anglais.

3. Conclusions

En FWB, comme à la Commission européenne, on est face à des discours et réalités contradictoires.

L'anglicisation est présentée comme l'outil linguistique par excellence de la compétitivité. Dans l'enseignement supérieur, les programmes universitaires sont traités comme des "produits d'exportation", et les langues nationales sont considérées comme des obstacles à la mobilité étudiante. D'après l'union européenne, cette mobilité croît à vive allure: en 2003, le nombre d'étudiants Erasmus dépassait le million; en 2010, il dépassait 2 millions, et d'ici 2020, l'objectif est de dépasser les 3 millions d'étudiants en Erasmus.

D'autre part, le 25 septembre 2012, la Commissaire européenne à l'éducation, à la culture, au multilinguisme et à la jeunesse, Madame Vassiliou, rappelait la priorité accordée à l'enseignement-apprentissage des langues dans le cadre du nouveau programme "Erasmus pour tous" proposé pour la période 2014–2020. Elle insistait sur l'importance de développer les compétences linguistiques et d'améliorer la compréhension interculturelle chez les Européens.

Une logique de marché se trouve donc face à une logique d'exception culturelle et de valorisation de la diversité.

Nos conclusions proposent quelques considérations qui pourraient inspirer des actions. Elles se déclinent autour de quatre objectifs principaux: interroger la qualité des savoirs et prévenir les risques cognitifs, analyser les besoins linguistiques sur le terrain, les confronter aux représentations, tirer le meilleur parti de la compétitivité.

Sensibiliser aux questions épistémologiques

Quelles conséquences a le monolinguisme sur la qualité scientifique? Quelle déperdition éventuelle pour la science?

Voilà autant de questions absentes des débats politiques en FWB. Ceux-ci sont exclusivement animés par des enjeux de compétitivité et d'accessibilité, voire quelquefois d'identité culturelle dans certains débats. Même absence de questionnement de fond d'ailleurs dans le chef des parents d'étudiants. Des articles parus dans la presse cet été en FWB témoignent de leur enthousiasme pour les cursus en anglais qui semble de plus en plus vécu comme une condition incontournable de réussite. Cependant aucune interrogation n'apparaît sur les conséquences de cette anglicisation sur la qualité de l'enseignement.

La question centrale du débat est celle des liens qui unissent la langue et la pensée, et donc la qualité des savoirs. D'un point de vue philosophique, ceci se traduit de la manière suivante:

Y a-t-il une Raison, avec un grand R, qui peut se dire dans toutes les langues existantes et qui rend du coup ces langues équivalentes, ce qui justifierait parfaitement l'utilisation d'une lingua franca?

OU à l'inverse

*Est-ce que nos structures linguistiques conditionnent notre vision du monde, ce qui plaide en faveur du maintien de la pluralité des langues pour garantir la richesse et la qualité scientifique?*²

La réponse pourrait être différente suivant les domaines scientifiques, comme le suggèrent les propositions de résolutions de l'EFNIL et l'enquête réalisée à l'ULouvain.

En effet, dans les langues d'enseignement et les doctorats, on voit que les sciences mathématiques et naturelles s'anglicisent plus rapidement.

Est-ce à dire que la pensée scientifique est plus "universelle" dans ces domaines et que la langue y est secondaire? Ou est-ce simplement que le langage mathématique est très peu représentatif du monde, ce qui ne signifie pas qu'il relève aussi d'un système de représentations? Une mathématique issue de la pensée chinoise ou polonaise serait sans aucun doute autre chose, mais on ne «risque» pas cette expérience, peut-être par suivisme et conformisme.

Pour certains intellectuels en tout cas, la question reste ouverte et le risque cognitif du monolinguisme n'épargne aucun domaine scientifique.

Cette interrogation en amène une autre: quels que soient les domaines scientifiques, quelle monoculture éventuelle est véhiculée par la langue unique, et qui tiendrait les disciplines éloignées d'autres apports culturels? D'autres exemples existent, notamment dans le domaine de la sociolinguistique où le "pragmatisme" anglo-saxon a occulté la critique épistémologique dans la sociolinguistique française.³

Voilà donc autant de questions de fond qui devraient être encore débattues et auxquelles les parties prenantes (politiques, étudiants, parents, voire professeurs) doivent être davantage sensibilisés.

2 Ces questions sont admirablement posées par François Ost dans son ouvrage "Traduire, défense et illustration du multilinguisme". Paris: Fayard, 2009.

3 Didier de Robillard : "Avons-nous les moyens de nous payer l'unilinguisme dans le domaine de la recherche? L'exemple de la sociolinguistique", dans Français et Société 24: *L'implication des langues dans l'élaboration et la publication des recherches scientifiques.*

Objectiver davantage les risques cognitifs par des études et mutualiser tous les résultats au sein de l'EFNIL

Il pourrait s'agir, notamment, de

- Réaliser un état des lieux des compétences linguistiques des formateurs et des pertes estimées de potentiel

En FWB, il circule que l'anglais est souvent maltraité par les professeurs dans les cours. Un article du Monde, quotidien français réputé, indiquait en juillet 2014⁴ que l'anglais des professeurs aux Pays-Bas, pays pourtant particulièrement anglophone, était "approximatif" et que "les erreurs pullulaient". L'article citait en exemple des calques inexistantes du néerlandais vers l'anglais, comme le verbe *onderbouwen* qui peut signifier *étayer*, transformé en *underbuild: How do you underbuild that?*

Par ailleurs, il faut également souligner l'inconfort et la perte de potentiel pour les enseignants, même quand ils maîtrisent la langue étrangère. Jean-Marie Klinkenberg, professeur de linguistique à l'ULiège, lors d'une conversation récente, nous confiait qu'il estimait à 40% la perte de potentiel lorsqu'il enseigne en espagnol.

Un état des lieux des compétences linguistiques et des pertes de potentiel des professeurs serait donc nécessaire.

- Objectiver davantage par des évaluations comparatives des performances des étudiants cursus en langue maternelle (LM)/cursus en anglais

D'après le même journal Le Monde, des études menées en Suède semblent montrer que l'étudiant porte plus d'attention à la compréhension littérale si le cours est donné en anglais plutôt qu'en suédois, ce qui émousse son esprit critique.

Une évaluation comparative des compétences des étudiants dans les cursus en LM et dans les cursus en anglais devrait être privilégiée. En FWB par exemple, il n'existe aucune recherche de ce type.

Analyser les flux réels de la mobilité étudiante

L'analyse réelle des flux pourrait indiquer que l'anglicisation des cursus ne se justifie pas autant qu'on pourrait le penser.

D'après l'article du Monde déjà cité, on observe qu'en 2012, 38% des étudiants étrangers au Pays-Bas sont allemands, un pays voisin pratiquant une langue voisine.

4 Vincent Doumayrou : *L'anglais règne dans les facultés bataves*.

Pour l'Université de Maastricht en particulier, l'article indique que son taux de 47% d'étudiants étrangers est issu de la mobilité interrégionale: l'Allemagne constitue les $\frac{3}{4}$ des effectifs étrangers, suivie par la Belgique et le Royaume-Uni. Un Journal télévisé de la RTBF (Radiotélévision Belge francophone) diffusé en septembre 2014 citait les chiffres suivants: 857 Belges étudiant à Maastricht en 2013 contre 582 en 2009.

Une récente thèse en FWB⁵ révèle, quant à elle, que les pays les plus représentés à l'Université de Liège sont l'Espagne (34%), l'Italie (21%) et la France (17%), des pays pratiquant la même langue ou des langues typologiquement voisines.

Un état des lieux général de cette mobilité qui montrerait le cas échéant qu'elle est plus interrégionale qu'européenne, pourrait plaider en faveur d'une valorisation de la diversité linguistique: valorisation des langues nationales et/ou des langues géographiquement voisines.

A noter qu'un pays multilingue comme la Belgique peut se prévaloir, comme d'autres états multilingues, des compétences de nombre de ses citoyens en inter-compréhension français-néerlandais. L'anglicisation massive des cursus fait fi de ces compétences qui sont amenées à régresser.

S'ouvrir à la compétitivité extra européenne

Il est utile de rappeler que la compétitivité peut aussi se jouer au-delà des frontières européennes et qu'il s'agit d'une véritable opportunité, pour certaines langues du moins, comme les langues romanes.

L'ULouvain, par exemple, travaille l'attractivité de ses cursus en hispanophonie, et veut développer des actions vers l'Amérique du Sud pour aider au maintien du français. Les universités de langues romanes gagneraient à en faire autant, y compris vers les espaces lusophones. Le Brésil, par exemple, produit un nombre considérable de revues scientifiques en portugais.⁶

Et que dire du potentiel attractif du français en Afrique, cependant boudé par les états francophones du nord pour des raisons économiques.

Sensibiliser à la perte de domaines

Autre sujet d'inquiétude, celui de la "perte de domaines" des langues européennes, CAD une situation où des langues ne pourraient plus exprimer certains concepts scientifiques. Cela s'accompagne d'une perte de prestige et de substance réduisant

5 La thèse de Deborah Meunier intitulée *Les représentations linguistiques des étudiants Erasmus et la vision plurilingue européenne: norme, discours, apprentissages*.

6 François Grin (2014): *Le débat sur les langues en quinze questions: arguments, faits et chiffres*. Observatoire Economie-Langues-Formation, Faculté de traduction et d'interprétation, Université de Genève, septembre 2014.

l'usage de la langue à la communication quotidienne et créant une diglossie où cohabitent des langues aux statuts sociaux inégaux.

A noter, par ailleurs, que cette perte de domaines va totalement à contresens des choix politiques des états francophones du nord qui, depuis 40 ans environ, mène une politique très active dans le domaine terminologique pour offrir aux usagers un corpus de termes français dans les domaines de spécialité.

Interroger les connections entre l'université et le marché de l'emploi

Les besoins linguistiques du marché de l'emploi ne sont pas nécessairement ceux de l'anglais. L'office de l'emploi en FWB indiquait en septembre 2014, par voie de presse, que les demandeurs d'emploi francophones recherchent des formations de néerlandais et d'allemand pour répondre aux besoins du marché, principalement à Bruxelles.

Une étude menée en 2006 par Laurence Mettwie et Luc Van Mensel⁷ dans les entreprises bruxelloises corroborait ce déficit de bilinguisme français-néerlandais dans le chef des demandeurs d'emploi francophones, et ceci à tous les niveaux de compétences de l'entreprise.

Avec l'intensification des flux migratoires, par ailleurs, les langues de l'immigration ont aussi un rôle à jouer pour décrocher certains emplois, notamment dans le domaine social et le domaine des soins de santé.

Enfin, pour ce qui concerne les emplois dans le domaine marchand, il y a lieu de considérer l'importance des espaces linguistiques hispanophones, lusophones, russophones, arabophones, sinophones, etc. A titre d'exemple, pour ce qui est du mandarin, on pense notamment à l'intensification des rapports commerciaux entre la France et la Chine dans le domaine agro-alimentaire ces dernières années.

Modifier les représentations relatives à la surévaluation de l'anglais comme condition de réussite

En FWB, l'anglais semble vécu par les étudiants et leurs parents comme LE passeport pour l'avenir et une condition incontournable de réussite. Cet été, la presse écrite en Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles relayait dans différents articles l'engouement des parents d'étudiants pour les masters en anglais.

Ce rôle de l'anglais semble largement surévalué si l'on considère, comme au point précédent, le déficit des compétences plurilingues, hors anglais, des

7 Mettwie, L./Van Mensel, L./Belang, D. (2006). *Entreprises bruxelloises et langues étrangères. Pratique et coût d'une main d'oeuvre ne maîtrisant pas les langues étrangères*. Rapport de recherche. Bruxelles: TIBEM Asbl.

francophones sur le marché de l'emploi et les besoins linguistiques de ce marché. Tenant compte également des risques cognitifs liés au monolinguisme dans l'apprentissage évoqués ci-dessus (qualité des savoirs, compétences linguistiques des formateurs, compétences linguistiques des étudiants, etc.), une attention particulière devrait être portée à cette surévaluation du rôle de l'anglais comme condition de réussite dans le chef des familles.

Interroger les critères de classement internationaux dans le domaine académique

A l'échelle mondiale, la compétitivité est renforcée par la volonté de gagner des places dans le classement international Academic Ranking of World Universities.

Sur base de 6 critères qui avantagent les pays anglophones: publications dans des revues scientifiques britanniques et américaines, valeur attribuée aux prix Nobel lié au système de recherche qui diffère, etc.

Il serait judicieux d'imaginer d'autres classements pour les universités francophones, hispanophones, etc.

Marilena Karyolemou

Language use in university teaching and research – past, present and future

Language use in higher education in Cyprus: National aspirations, language ideology and economic development

Περίληψη

Στο άρθρο αυτό γίνεται αναφορά στις γλωσσικές πρακτικές σε ισχύ στην ανώτερη και ανώτατη εκπαίδευση στην Κύπρο, και στο διαχωρισμό ανάμεσα στην ιδιωτική τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση –όπου παραδοσιακά η γλώσσα διδασκαλίας είναι η αγγλική– και τη δημόσια εκπαίδευση –όπου επίσημες γλώσσες διδασκαλίας είναι η ελληνική και η τουρκική αλλά λόγω του διαχωρισμού των δύο κοινοτήτων μόνο η ελληνική χρησιμοποιείται ως γλώσσα διδασκαλίας.

Όσον αφορά τη δημόσια ανώτατη εκπαίδευση, συζητείται πως το νομικό και ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο δεν επιτρέπει εύκολα τη φιλελευθεροποίηση της χρήσης των γλωσσών διδασκαλίας, εξηγώντας έτσι το χαμηλό αριθμό των μεταπτυχιακών προγραμμάτων με γλώσσα διδασκαλίας την αγγλική. Για να παρακαμφθούν τα εμπόδια που δημιουργεί τόσο η υπάρχουσα νομοθεσία όσο και το ευρύτερο πολιτικο-ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο, τα δημόσια πανεπιστήμια έχουν λάβει *μέτρα ευελιξίας* εσωτερικά που επιτρέπουν τη χρήση της αγγλικής –ή κάποιας άλλης ξένης γλώσσας– σε μαθήματα που προσφέρονται σε συγκεκριμένες ομάδες φοιτητών και για συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες προγραμμάτων (διαπανεπιστημιακά) και έχουν, στη συνέχεια, προχωρήσει σε μερική τροποποίηση του ιδρυτικού τους νόμου ούτως ώστε να επιτρέπει την προσφορά παράλληλων προγραμμάτων σπουδών σε διαφορετικές γλώσσες, μια πρακτική που απαντά στις ανησυχίες όσον επιθυμούν να διατηρηθεί η ελληνική ως γλώσσα διδασκαλίας στην ανώτατη εκπαίδευση και ταυτόχρονα εξυπηρετεί την ανάγκη για ακαδημαϊκή, επιστημονική και οικονομική ανάπτυξη των δημόσιων πανεπιστημίων.

Όσον αφορά την ιδιωτική ανώτατη εκπαίδευση, συζητούνται οι επιπτώσεις που είχε για την εξάπλωση της αγγλικής ως γλώσσας διδασκαλίας, η αναγνώριση των ιδιωτικών κολλεγίων ως πανεπιστημίων στα τέλη της πρώτης δεκαετίας του αιώνα μας και πώς η τοπική και επαρχιακή εκπαιδευτική αγορά έχουν διαδραματίσει σημαντικό ρόλο σε αλλαγές που παρατηρούμε σε σχέση με την πολιτική που ακολουθούν τα τελευταία χρόνια τα ιδιωτικά πανεπιστημιακά ιδρύματα όσον αφορά ιδιαίτερα την εισαγωγή νέων πανεπιστημιακών προγραμμάτων σπουδών στα ελληνικά. Η απόφαση να εισαγάγουν την ελληνική στο χώρο της ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσης είναι αποτέλεσμα μιας σειράς διαπιστώσεων που σχετίζονται τόσο με το χαμηλό επίπεδο γλωσσικής επάρκειας στην αγγλική των

εισερχόμενων φοιτητών όσο και με την αύξηση των φοιτητών που προέρχονται από την Ελλάδα.¹

1. Introduction²

Since Ulrich Ammon's pioneering work on the use of English as the language of science in the early 1990s (1990, 1991, 1995), the increasing role of English as the language of higher education and science has been confirmed in many European and other countries (see for instance Coleman 2006; Kuteeva/Airey 2014; Dearden 2013). In the last decade or so, however, fora questioning the expansion and role of English in higher education have been spreading all over Europe.

To mention but a recent few, the Brussels *Conference on Dutch in Higher Education and Science* (2008) examined the demise of Dutch in higher education and scientific production and made a plea for its restoration. The Ljubljana *Conference on National Languages in Higher Education* (2009) insisted on the necessity for the EU to encourage academics to publish in lesser used national languages, not only as a way to preserve/develop language resources but also as a means to disseminate information and knowledge in the local communities; the Talinn *Conference on Languages in Academic Research and Higher Education (NatAcLang)* (2011) underlined the challenge faced by higher education institutions to find a balance between English as the language of wider communication and the need to promote national languages. Finally, the Athens *Conference on National Languages and Terminology in Higher Education, Science & Technology* (2013), underlined the fact that, despite the considerable advance of English in the above mentioned areas, the situation in European higher education still remains diverse with cases where national languages have been completely replaced, such as in Denmark

1 This is an extended version of a short presentation given at the Conference *National Languages and Terminology in Higher Education, Science & Technology*, co-organized by the European Association for Terminology, the Greek Society for Terminology and the University of Cyprus on 7/11/2013, at the University of Athens.

Published online in English at www.eleto.gr/download/Conferences/ELETO-EAFT_Conference_2013-11-07/ELETO-EAFT-Symposium-2013_Marilena%20Karyolemou_Paper_EN.pdf and in Greek www.eleto.gr/download/Conferences/9th%20Conference/RoundTable/9thConference_Roundtable%28Karyolemou-Marilena%29.pdf.

2 This work refers only to language use in higher education. For insights into language use in secondary education please consult the work of Karoulla-Vrikki, especially "Education, language policy and identity in Cyprus: A diachronic perspective (1960–1997)" from 2007. For a comprehensive analysis of language policy in education see also Hadjiioannou/Tsiplakou/Kappler (2011).

or in the Netherlands, and cases where there is still some resistance, w.g. France, Italy, Greece and Cyprus.

This paper reports on language use in higher education in Cyprus, where there has been a straightforward divide between the traditionally English speaking private institutions and the recently created Greek speaking public ones. It analyses the way local and regional economic development may boost or disrupt the advance of English as a language of instruction. The paper also discusses how the legal framework on language use in higher education – induced by ideological and political considerations – does not easily allow for the liberalisation of the language of instruction, and therefore, can explain the low number of programmes taught in English at public universities. Finally, local and regional market considerations can also be the driving forces for changes in the language of education policies, especially as far as the creation of curricula taught in Greek at private universities in the last few years is concerned.

2. Highlights on higher education in Cyprus

It is often said that people can survive in Cyprus even if they only understand and speak English. This does not mean that all Cypriots have a perfect command of English, but the vast majority of them are able to understand English and speak some form of it. Some people also make fun of the Cypriots habit of using English for such simple words as “thank you” and “goodbye”. This is, of course, due to the historical circumstances that placed Cyprus under British rule and, even after independence, under the sphere of the English language’s influence which, since the educational reform of 2011, has been taught as a first foreign language from grade 1 in elementary school. The influence exerted by the English language in Cyprus is at odds with the relatively short time the British spent in Cyprus (1878–1960), especially if compared to other rulers who remained in Cyprus for centuries, such as for instance the Frankish kings (almost three centuries from 1192–1489) or the Venetians (almost an entire century from 1489–1571) but whose languages had much less of an effect on the local population.

Since independence (1960), however, the influence exerted by the English language at an individual or/and a private level has been proportionally opposite to the influence exerted on the public sector of activities. In fact, in the last two decades of the past century, English has lost a certain number of areas of use that were closely linked to exercising power: it is no longer used as the language of internal and external communication in public services and since the 1990s, it has no longer been the language of legislation and justice (Karyole mou 2001). Although some

researchers see the rising of a variety of English proper to the island of Cyprus (Coutsougera 2008), it is undeniable that the use of English in the public domain has been greatly reduced; a fact which has led some researchers to support the view that English in Cyprus has been stripped of its status as a second language and is gradually becoming a foreign language (Davy/Pavlou 2000).

While the retreat of English from the public sector is a reality, its advance in other areas of activities is also a fact. For instance, the banking system and several state enterprises or semi state enterprises (for instance the *Cyprus Telecommunication Authority*, or the *Cyprus Electricity Authority*) have been using English in their written communication with their clients notwithstanding the limited English linguistic competences of some of their clients. For most of these entities, the use of Greek as the medium of communication with their clientele is a recent phenomenon which was born out of successive negative reactions to the uncontrolled use of English from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s.

3. Language use in higher education

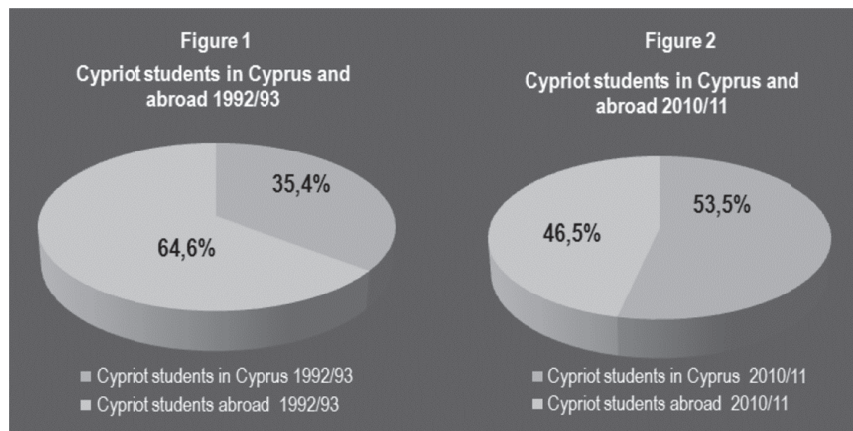
One area where English has exerted an important influence is the area of higher education. Current practices in tertiary education in Cyprus, as far as the language of instruction and the medium of communication are concerned, show that there is a clear distinction between private and public institutions. With the exception of foreign language departments, Greek is the official language, language of instruction and main language of communication in the three public universities,³ while these roles are assumed by English in the five private universities.⁴ As far as the diachronic position of these two languages in higher education is concerned, there are a certain number of factors to be taken into consideration:

In Cyprus, education has largely been, so to speak, an imported commodity. Cypriot youth have traditionally been leaving the island to study abroad because they had very little opportunity to receive higher education in Cyprus. Nowadays, this trend has been almost completely reversed as the statistical data of the past two decades shows. The majority of Cypriot students now remain on the island (see Figures 1 & 2). The foundation of tuition free public since the 1990s seems to have played a decisive role in this transition.

3 The University of Cyprus, the Open University and the Technological University of Cyprus.

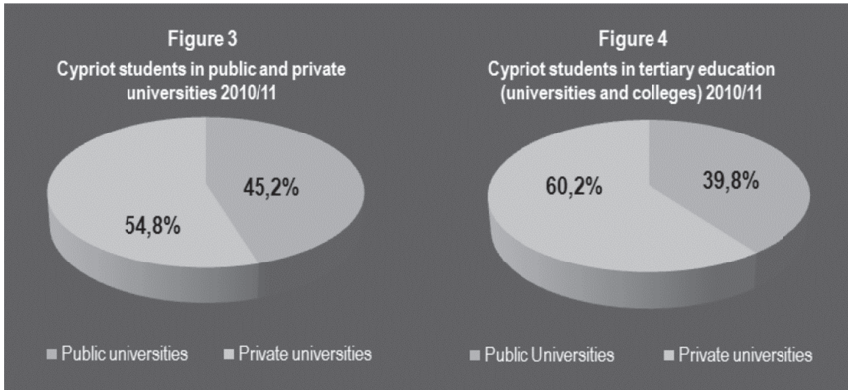
4 The European University, the University of Nicosia, the Frederick University, the Neapolis University and the University of Central Lancashire.

Fig. 1 & 2: Cypriot students in Cyprus and abroad 1992/93 and 2010/11.



In this context, private tertiary education has, however, played an important role in providing education locally. Some of today's private universities were initially established as colleges in the mid-1960s or in the early 1980s, offering an alternative education for all those who did not wish to leave Cyprus to study abroad. State tertiary education has also been providing education for several decades, while university education has been developing since the early 1990s with the creation of the University of Cyprus in 1992, the Open University in 2002 and finally the Technological University of Cyprus in 2006. One parameter pertaining to the importance of private tertiary institutions in Cyprus today is reflected in the student enrolment in these institutions as compared to public institutions. There are more Cypriots studying in private than in public universities, 54.5% and 45.2% respectively (Figure 3). If we add the numbers of Cypriot students enrolled both in university and non university private institutions (Colleges) to these numbers, then the percentage increases in favour of private education with an overall 60.2% against 39.8% for public education (Figure 4).

Fig. 3 & 4: Cypriot students in public and private universities 2010/11, and Cypriot students in tertiary education (universities and colleges) 2010/11.



Thirdly, despite the fact that the presence of English in public universities is a reality today, it is nowhere near as extensive and prevalent as in other European countries. English is limited to post-graduate programmes and has not permeated undergraduate programmes in any area of study: at the Open University only one out of 17 programmes is taught in English⁵ while three are taught in both English and Greek;⁶ at the Technological University two out of 20 post-graduate programmes are offered in English;⁷ finally, at the University of Cyprus, five out of 76 post graduate programmes are offered in English or in English and Greek.⁸ In some cases candidates are required to have a good knowledge of English – even when English is not the language of instruction – due to the fact that parts of the programme’s complementary educational material may be in English (programme of *Banking and Finance* at the School of Economics and Management⁹)

5 *Educational Leadership* in the School of Economics and Management.

6 *MBA* in the School of Economics and Management, *Wireless Communication Systems* in the School of Pure and Applied Sciences and *Social Information Systems* at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences.

7 *MSc in Environment and Public Health & MSc in Epidemiology and Biostatistics* jointly offered by the International Institute of Cyprus and the University of Harvard.

8 *Financial Economics, Economic Analysis* and *MBA* in the School of Economics and Management, *Petroleum Engineering in the Polytechnic School* and, finally, *e* in the School of Philosophy.

9 www.ouc.ac.cy/web/guest/s3/progrspoudon/tapxri/desc.

or “a significant part of the bibliography is in English” (program *Cultural Policy and Development* in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences¹⁰).

English can also be used to write a doctoral thesis, not only in scientific areas or subjects where the use of English is usually “expected”, such as information technology, nano-sciences, mechanical engineering etc., but even in the area of social or pedagogical sciences. Looking at the PhD theses that were defended between 1992 and 2013, we see that 105 out of 237 PhD theses, or 44,3%, were written in English. They were written in the following scientific areas/fields:

DEPARTMENT WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS	NUMBER OF PhD THESES IN ENGLISH
Computer Information Technology	30
Mathematics and Statistics	17
Chemistry	8
Biology	8
Business and Public Administration	7
Electrical and Computer Engineering	7
Economics	5
Mechanical and Manufacturing Engineering	6
Physics	4
Education	4
Psychology	3
Civil and Environmental Engineering	3
English Studies	2 ¹
Architecture	1
Total	105

It is clear then that even in public universities, English is an important – though not the only – medium of expression both orally and in writing for graduate studies.

Recent developments in the field of private higher education have resulted in the upgrading of private tertiary establishments, i.e. colleges to private universities. The result of this upgrade is an increased number of English medium programmes offered at a post-graduate level. Therefore, as far as Cyprus is concerned, it would

10 www.ouc.ac.cy/web/guest/s1/programme/ppa/description.

be misleading to say that the increase in the overall number of post-graduate programmes taught in English since 2007 indicates an advancement of English in higher education, a trend that has evolved due to the effects of globalization: it is merely the indirect consequence of the upgrading of private tertiary education establishments that have been moved into the category of university establishments that include their programmes of study taught in English. It is worth noting a new trend towards the development of new curricula, where the language of instruction is Greek that we have been observing in private universities. This new trend is in disagreement with the policy to use English as the language of instruction that prevailed for decades in all private higher education establishments; so it should be put on the account of local and regional demands for Greek post-graduate programmes. This new policy is not a linguistic policy per se but an indirect consequence of a wider educational policy that aims to attract Greek speaking students from both Cyprus and Greece, thus modifying the traditionally outward profile of private higher education in which the majority of students came from Middle Eastern and Central and North Asian countries. According to the NATMOB Report in 2005, Cyprus was among the top four EU countries with a percentage of incoming non Cypriot students that exceeded 10% of the total number of students in the country. Most of them were non Europeans – they originate from China, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and the Russian Confederation – and the great majority of them attended private tertiary institutions where the language of instruction was English (Karyolemou 2008). In fact, this policy, which introduces Greek in an area where English used to dominate, is the result of both local and regional demand, which takes the low degree of competence in academic English which prevented many local students from enrolling in the pre-existing programmes into consideration. To use only one example, nine out of 45 under-graduate and nine out of 14 post-graduate programmes at the European University in Nicosia, are taught in Greek. Most of them are recently created programmes that extend from Education and the Humanities to Social Sciences (Law), Health Sciences, Economics (International Commerce Law Business Administration), etc.

3.1 From the point of view of academics and researchers

As in many other European countries, English is a working language for most academics since the most important and acknowledged journals as well as the most recent information on various subjects is published in English, English is the language used in most conferences, research networks etc. A corollary of this situation is that academic evaluation is conducted on the basis of academics'

ability to publish their work in international journals and participate in scientific fora or networks where the use of English is predominant. Publications in the native language are downgraded as they are perceived as evidence of a researcher's inadequate capacity to be productive and actively contribute to their area of research/expertise. This phenomenon is more often the case when the language in question is one of the less widely used and learned. Often times, small languages/communities do not offer scientific publications in all areas of research and knowledge: in Cyprus, for instance, there are very few academic journals confined to specific areas of research, and local publishing houses are poorly developed.

This situation is especially problematic for those academics who work in public education institutions as they are asked to make twice the effort since the language they use to teach and their research and publication language are different. An additional problem is the lack of basic introductory material in many areas of knowledge. When such material exists, there is only a limited choice; as a consequence, academics very often need to prepare and distribute their own extensive notes in their area of expertise/teaching. Sometimes, one cannot avoid turning to the pre-existing English bibliography even when teaching undergraduate courses.

3.2 From the point of view of students

From the student point of view, this situation entails a series of problems that range from mild to serious. The absence of basic bibliographic material in Greek – with the exception of specific areas of knowledge, e.g. history, literature etc. – and the use of English textbooks or basic material creates a series of problems. Most students have, of course, already studied English in primary and secondary school for more than eight years and it is generally acknowledged that youngsters nowadays are more familiar with English than ever before because of its predominant use on the internet and the various social media. However, their command of academic or scientific English, which is the kind of language required at this level of studies is, for the most part, quite poor. The use of material in English requires additional effort on their behalf in order, not only to be able to read and understand the texts, but also to constructively use the knowledge/information provided to meet the exigencies of the programme they attend. Consequently, the vast majority of students are reluctant/unable to read any scientific/academic text in a language other than Greek. As they are unable to retrieve the necessary information from texts in English to nourish their thoughts, quite often they are not in a position to express an informed opinion on a specific issue/subject/area.

More importantly, their lack of competence in English impedes their capacity to read the texts critically, leading them to merely reproduce opinions expressed by others without any personal reflection or contribution.

4. The University of Cyprus

Founded in 1992, the University of Cyprus (UCY) was the first public university. It warrants a case study because it adjusted its language policy to meet both the needs of academic and economic development and the requirements for a sustainable development of the national language. Its official languages (and as a consequence the languages of instruction), which were determined in the founding law 144/189 – art.4/1, are: Greek and Turkish.¹¹ For years, the issue of the official languages incurred a heated and passionate debate about language linked to issues of identity and self-definition (Karyolemou 2001, 2004).

The possibility of using another language of instruction was initially discussed internally in relation to visiting academics from universities abroad who did not speak Greek. The Senate of the University introduced *flexibility measures* by granting them the right to teach in a foreign language, if they wished (69th Meeting of the Senate, 10/12/1997). According to Karyolemou (2010, 37) “*Flexibility measures* [emphasis in the text] are regulations about language use that mean to set aside or overcome limitations imposed by the obligation to use a/some (national) language/s in all levels of education. Flexibility measures are sought when such an obligation is considered prejudicial either for the academic integration of national institutions into a wider educational environment or for their economic survival and further development.” Following its initial decision, the Senate granted the teaching staff the possibility to supervise PhD theses written in a foreign language, after obtaining the authorization of their respective department and school. In 2001, the Senate extended the flexibility measures to allow courses to be taught in a language other than the official languages in order to assist Erasmus students with low proficiency in Greek to complete course obligations (122th meeting, 17/01/2001). Reporting on the issue Karyolemou (2004, 9) reveals:

Two days after notifying the departments of this decision, the Secretary of the Senate felt the need to make clear, in a note addressed to all the departments, that the decision concerned “*additional* courses planned for exchange students exclusively” [emphasis in the text]. It was thus clearly stated that these courses were not to be introduced in replacement of the existing courses in Greek (or Turkish for that matter). In this way,

11 The use of Turkish is limited to the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies as there were initially no Turkish Cypriot students enrolled.

the introduction of courses in a foreign language was made a partial and ad hoc decision to be taken by departments themselves and not a feature of the university's policy as regards internal language use. Furthermore, it left to academics the responsibility of allowing and undertaking the introduction of such courses at their own expenses, that is without providing for any additional staff or counting such a teaching as part of the normal curriculum.

The binding force of legal provisions made any effort to circumvent the official policy by introducing another/other language(s) of instruction extremely complicated as, to do so, one needed to change the funding law of the UCY – and of all the public universities that have the same kind of legal provisions in their respective founding laws. This difficulty became obvious when the Department of Economics attempted to establish an English Master's degree in Business Administration. Negative reactions were immediate and did not come as a surprise given the vivid and passionate discussion on the issue of the official languages that had taken place some years earlier. It seemed for a moment that the University had to decide between respecting its initial commitment to using the official languages and attracting foreign students whose number were quite low because, some people argued, of the use of Greek as the medium of instruction. That using English as a medium of instruction was becoming current practice is obvious by the vice-rector's repeated memos to the Deans and Presidents of the departments in which she urged them to respect the *flexibility measures* (Karyolemou 2004, 2008) that had been introduced and approved by the Senate and limited the use of English to Erasmus student and to specific categories of programmes. Meanwhile the University had to respond to several inquiries made by the Ministry of Education on the use of English as a language of instruction.

As time went by, it became obvious that a compromise was necessary which respected the legal obligations of the university and appeased the concerns of a part of the academic staff and wider society alarmed by the eventuality of the Greek language being marginalized as a teaching language with possible effects for the character of higher education, on the one hand, and allowed the university to open up its programmes to an international audience and develop its regional/international profile as an academic institution, on the other hand. In order to raise the legal restrictions it was necessary to amend the founding law so as to allow the use of English and/or other foreign languages in post graduate courses, something that was finally done in 2003 (Law 199(I)/2003).¹² According to the

12 The same kind of provisions were included in the founding laws of the Technological University and the Open University founded a few years later.

new provisions, the use of a foreign language was to be allowed in public universities in the following cases:

- a) in post-graduate courses taught by visiting academics that are offered in supplement to the regular courses in Greek, provided that these courses are not included in the final evaluation of the students;
- b) in Master's and PhD dissertations in order to facilitate the participation of foreign academics in the evaluation committees;
- c) in courses for Erasmus students and in combination with regular courses in Greek;
- d) in post-graduate programmes which are the result of the collaboration with other European Universities;
- e) in any of the post-graduate programmes as long as they are also offered in Greek (or Turkish).

The widening of the policy that initially addressed only a part of the student population (Erasmus students) and/or concerned a specific kind of post-graduate programmes (collaborative inter-university programs), was an expected outcome of the need for public universities to increase their student numbers.

The *bilingual solution* of offering the possibility to create parallel courses in different languages that take place simultaneously or alternatively, seems to be an acceptable compromise between national aspirations, the need to promote small national languages in the area of higher education and the duty to protect people's rights to gain access to education in their national (native) language at any level, on the one hand, and academic aspirations for scientific development and excellence on the academic market and/or economic pressures for financial independence, on the other hand. It also has the advantage of allowing scientific reflection to be processed in the native language, something which is extremely important for sustaining linguistic as well as scientific development locally. Such a solution seems to be gaining ground as a *good academic practice* in other European countries as well (see Jan-Ola Östman this volume).

5. Conclusion

The influence of English in higher education, especially as far as private higher education is concerned, is today a reality in Cyprus as in many other European countries. This reality is not, however, the effect of recent developments relating to the processes of globalization and internationalization, but the result of historical factors and circumstances that are in accord with recent developments in other countries all over the world. On the contrary, what seems to constitute a new

trend is the introduction of Greek curricula in private universities in order to be able to respond to local and regional demands for the use of Greek as a language of instruction.

In public universities, the progress of English is quite slow and limited to post-graduate courses only. With the exception of post-graduate distance programmes which by their nature appeal to a wider international audience, post-graduate programmes are overall still using Greek as their main language. The rise in the number of university post-graduate programmes taught in English appear as the result of the recent recognition of private colleges, where the language of instruction has predominantly been English, as university institutions: These programmes are now considered to be university programmes.

Hence, despite the obvious presence of English in higher education in Cyprus, there are several factors that seem to slow down its progress, at least in public universities:

- a) The strong ideological link between language and identity that strengthens the function of a language as an identity marker and make it harder to be replaced;
- b) The existence of explicit constitutional or legal provisions regulating language use in public universities that cannot be easily bypassed;
- c) The pressures exerted by the local market that point to an adjustment of language policies – introduction of courses in Greek in private institutions and of English in public institutions – in order to satisfy the needs and demands regionally or/and locally.

However, we should also note two recent developments which seem to prepare the ground for increased use of curricula taught in English: (a) a statement by the Acting Rector of the Technological University of Cyprus (www.paideia-news.com/index.php) in which she underlines the need to revise the legislation of public universities by “[...] raising or at least minimizing existing limitations concerning the use of other languages [= language other than the official languages] in public universities curricula [...]” and (b) the Open University of Cyprus’ announcement on 1st August 2014 of the intention to collaborate with other public universities with the view of offering post-graduate inter-university distance programmes taught in English. Neither of these two statements has been commented upon yet.

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The language of instruction at universities between internationalization and sustainable language policy: The case of Slovenia

Abstract

According to law, the Slovene language is the official medium of instruction at all levels of education in the Republic of Slovenia. The author will present the legislative process according to which the status of Slovene language in higher education has been challenged. The National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the **Resolution on national program for language policy 2014–2018** in July 2013. The legislative process was complex, including different levels of professional and public consultations. Ultimately, it revealed different or even opposite agendas and ideologies. A crucial role in the harmonization of the final version of the document was played by the Association of Chancellors, which tried to insist on the ideology of internationalisation, while some prominent language institutions (The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for Slovene Language at University of Ljubljana etc.) stressed the importance of shaping Slovene science in the Slovene language in order to prepare students for successful working careers and creative living in Slovene-speaking environment.

Izvodček

V Republiki Sloveniji je glede na zakonodajo slovenščina uradni jezik poučevanja na vseh ravneh izobraževanja. Avtorica bo predstavila izzive, ki jih je doživel status slovenščine v visokem šolstvu v zakonodajnem postopku sprejemanja **Resolucije o nacionalnem programu za jezikovno politiko 2014–2018**, ki jo je potrdil Državni zbor RS julija 2013. Zakonodajni postopek, v katerem so se pokazale različne in celo nasprotujoče agende in ideologije, je bil zapleten in je vključeval različne ravni strokovne in javne razprave. Ključno vlogo pri usklajevanju zadnje različice dokumenta je imela Rektorska konferenca, ki je poskušala vztrajati na ideologiji internacionalizacije, medtem ko so nekatere pomembne jezikovne ustanove (Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Oddelek za slovenistiko na Univerzi v Ljubljani itd.) poudarile pomen slovenske znanosti in slovenskega jezika pri pripravi študentov na uspešno delovno in ustvarjalno življenje v slovensko govorečem okolju.

1. Introduction

In this paper I will report on the experiences of the Slovene Language Department's process of adopting legal instruments that regulate the language of instruction at

universities in Slovenia. Before I introduce the topic, I will outline the role of the Slovene Language Department in the context of the national language policy. Our department is a unit of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Public Use of the Slovene Language Act and the Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–2018, which is the strategic plan for priority measures that are required for sustainable relationships among different language communities within and across the national borders, i.e. Slovene language speakers abroad.

Our department covers different topics such as: educational aspects of the Slovene language and other languages in the Republic of Slovenia, language resources and technologies, language regulations, speakers of the Slovene language outside the Republic of Slovenia and speakers with special needs. We monitor the developments of these topics and processes, propose systemic changes to procedures and regulations and provide funding to projects and initiatives that promote our policy priorities.

Our goal is to improve institutional conditions in order for all citizens and residents in the Republic of Slovenia to implement their language rights. Our main concerns are the language needs of speakers of Slovenian as a first language, as they represent the majority (80–90%)¹ of all speakers. Special institutional attention is paid to language minorities as well.

One of the many topics of Slovenian language policy that the Slovene Language Department is responsible for is monitoring the status and use of the Slovene language as the language of instruction at universities, and proposing improvements to regulations. Namely, the Slovene language is by law the language of instruction at all levels of education. Currently, there are no overt problems with the Slovene language at the primary and secondary levels; however at the tertiary level, we have detected tendencies toward the deregulation of language provisions.

Before taking any language policy action, we need to reflect on the situation and processes that are connected with the issue. This means, before making any decision on how to regulate the medium of instruction at universities we have to frame the complex situation in which different concepts are relevant: language rights, language nationalism² (i.e. language exclusivism), multilingualism (and multiculturalism).

1 The last population census, which was based on house to house data collection, was carried out in 2002: www.stat.si/popis2002/gradivo/2-169.pdf. The next census in 2011 collected the data from existing data bases, which did not contain information about individual language use, religion and national identities.

2 See for example Kroskrity (2000).

First I will put forward some arguments for why should we insist on keeping, developing and promoting the Slovene language as a medium of instruction. I will consider different aspects of language diversity: the cognitive approach, language rights and sustainable development. In the second part of the paper, I will introduce legal issues: the **Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–2018** that was adopted by the National Assembly in 2013 and the reaction of the Association of Chancellors.

2. Cognitive approach to language diversity

Many authors have stressed the importance of the cognitive aspects of language diversity (for example, begin with Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, see Sapir 1921, Whorf 1997 [1956]). The long-standing issue of substantial differences among languages and the way their users perceive the world (namely, social and material environment) has occupied a number of researchers throughout the last decades. There is no doubting the importance and impact of different languages on the environment and vice versa. It is relatively easy to support this claim with the study of isolated indigenous languages. The problem becomes more complicated when differences between large language communities living within the same social, political and economic space need to be examined. On UNESCO's International Mother Language Day, Irina Bokova, the UNESCO Director- General sent a clear message, stating:

This year, we place special emphasis on “Local languages for global citizenship: spotlight on science”, showing how languages ensure access to knowledge, its transmission and its plurality. Contrary to popular wisdom, local languages are perfectly capable of transmitting the most modern scientific knowledge in mathematics, physics, technology and so on. Recognizing these languages also means opening the door to a great deal of often overlooked traditional scientific knowledge to enrich our overall knowledge base.³

Now, the question at this point is: What is the relationship between local scientific knowledge and local language as a transmission tool and a producer of this knowledge? It is difficult to gather empirical evidence on the level of language exclusiveness that is based on the specific organization of deep grammatical or syntactical elements. I believe this transmission mechanism has not yet been fully understood, which is the reason why the so-called cognitive argument by itself cannot explain the need to preserve linguistic diversity.

3 Unesco web page: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002262/226238E.pdf>.

3. Language diversity and human rights

Different disciplines provide complementary perspectives on one phenomenon and help us better understand the complexity of social practices. So, another way of looking at the question of language diversity is from the viewpoint of language rights. The struggle for linguistic rights has concentrated on the rights of indigenous peoples and various dominated groups, including linguistic minorities. The Slovene language shares a paradoxical status with many other modern national languages: It is a dominant language within its own nation-state, but at the same time it is a dominated language within the international community, where, especially in Europe, the English language plays the main role. When we are discussing language rights, we have to consider a complex network of relationships between language communities that possess different level of political and economic power.

Language rights issues have become more and more salient over the last century. Provisions on rights to use one's mother language are today considered human rights; there are numerous declarations, national laws and multilateral agreements concerning language rights.

Today the core of language rights as human rights according to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2008) relates to:

- positive identification with a (minority) language by its users, and recognition of this by others,
- learning a (minority) language in formal education, not merely as a subject but as a medium of instruction,
- additive bilingual education, since learning the language of the state or the wider community is also essential,
- public services, including access to the legal system, in minority languages or, at least, in a language one understands.

4. Language diversity and sustainable development

I believe that an account of language diversity on the basis of cognitivism and the language rights movement is unsatisfactory without situating language diversity within the large-scale processes of sustainable development. Advocating of language and cultural diversity is rooted in the assumption that environmental problems derive from social dysfunctions.

At the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, 150 government leaders signed the Convention on Biological Diversity, which was inspired by the global community's growing commitment to sustainable development. The Convention recognizes that

biological diversity is about more than plants, animals and micro-organisms. It is also about people and their environment – including languages.

Over the years, an increasing awareness that social beliefs and attitudes enable harmful environmental decisions has become more and more salient. To the extent that “global warming is more about people than carbon emissions” (2013 World Social Science Report), efforts to change the existing paradigm should be focused primarily on our beliefs.

As Hackmann and Moser have argued,

environmental problems cannot be separated from the other risks and crises that comprise current global realities. They are not disconnected challenges; they do not occur in discrete, autonomous systems rooted in the environment on the one hand, and in society on the other. Instead, they are part of a single, complex system where the environmental, political, social, cultural, economic and psychological dimensions of our existence meet and merge. Consequently, global environmental change is simultaneously an environmental and a social problem. (Hackmann/Moser 2013, 34)

If we fundamentally reframe climate and environmental change as a social problem instead of a physical problem, the picture becomes broader and clearer. Erosion of cultural diversity including language diversity, wealth and income inequality as well as climate change are products of one single process, i.e. market failure and governance crisis (see Moser/Hackmann/Caillods 2013). Contrary to the contemporary holistic concept of sustainable society/economy/governance, early interpretation of language diversity has emerged as a metaphor. In his paper “The ecology of language” Einar Haugen conceptualizes language diversity as an ecosystem (2001 [1972], 58), and is at the same time explicitly aware of his method as well as the critical response to it (“[...] the biological model is not popular among linguists [...] a language does not breathe; it has no life of his own apart from those who use it [...]”). Haugen himself admits that describing language/s in its/their environment through the metaphor of a biological model allowed certain analogues between languages and biological organisms to emerge, but could not be pushed too far. In the subsequent decades of sociolinguistic research on language diversity, the conception of languages has become more and more literal as opposed to metaphorical, i.e. the concept of metaphorical mapping (in terms of Lakoff/Johnson 1980) presupposes a source domain – the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions. Over the years of language use and cognitive shifts the status of the source and the target domain has become unclear. Namely, biodiversity and climate change, social inequality and cultural diversity are interwoven into one complex structure of interrelated elements.

When formulating language policies with regard to language diversity protection and promotion, one has to avoid the danger of oversimplifying the reality of “cultures” or “languages”, or conceiving them as authentic only when their existence has been closely linked to nature as the traditional organic communities established through generational ties (cf. *Terralingua*). The richness of the language landscape has been depleted in rural as well as in urban industrialized spaces. Another risk of oversimplification is considering cultures and languages as finite and discrete entities. Urban cultures and their languages are the best proof for the existence of multi-lingual and cross-cultural identities.

The principles and processes of nature and society are analogous. Fritjof Capra, the cofounder of The Center for Ecoliteracy in Berkeley, California tries to find connections in seemingly disjointed problems and to perceive patterns instead of pieces. In his paper on dealing with ways of modelling sustainable societies after nature's ecosystems, he introduces the following core principles of sustainability (Capra 2005, 23–29):

- **Networks**

All living things in an ecosystem are interconnected through networks of relationships. They depend on this web of life to survive.

- **Nested Systems**

Nature is made up of systems that are nested within systems. Each individual system is an integrated whole and — at the same time — part of larger systems. Changes within a system can affect the sustainability of the systems that are nested within it as well as the larger systems in which it exists.

- **Interdependence**

The sustainability of individual populations and the sustainability of the entire ecosystem are interdependent. No individual organism can exist in isolation.

- **Diversity**

The role of diversity is closely connected with systems' network structures. A diverse ecosystem will be resilient because it contains many species with overlapping ecological functions that can partially replace one another. When a particular species is destroyed by a severe disturbance so that a link in the network is broken, a diverse community will be able to survive and reorganize itself because other links can at least partially fulfil the function of the destroyed species.

- **Cycles**

Members of an ecological community depend on the exchange of resources in continual cycles. Cycles within an ecosystem intersect with larger regional and global cycles.

- **Flows**

Each organism needs a continual flow of energy to stay alive. The constant flow of energy from the sun to the Earth sustains life and drives most ecological cycles.

- **Development**

All life — from individual organisms to species to ecosystems — changes over time. Individuals develop and learn, species adapt and evolve, and organisms in ecosystems co-evolve.

- **Dynamic Balance**

Ecological communities act as feedback loops, so that the community maintains a relatively stable state that also has continual fluctuations. This dynamic balance provides resilience in the face of ecosystem change.

Arguably, the most interesting ecological principle to reflect on – when regarding language diversity – is the *principle of diversity*. The advocacy of language diversity is neither based solely on the need to preserve different perceptions of the world (cognitivism) nor on the efforts to realize language rights as far as possible. The systemic and holistic view of life challenges our partial and fragmented perceptions of different aspects of society and nature. According to Capra's claims regarding diverse ecosystems, we can draw the conclusion that cultural and language diversity strengthens social stability while unified and homogenised societies tend to be poor and vulnerable.

5. Sustainable language policies in the domain of higher education

After revising and outlining the main arguments in favour of developing the Slovene language in the domain of higher education, it becomes necessary to combine them with actual policy measures of sustainable language development. There is one paramount issue concerning the history of the Slovene language and its status within other large national communities, which has to be addressed before making comprehensive conclusions. Martina Ožbot sketches the history of the Slovene language situation (Ožbot 2014: 141–143), which frames the contemporary linguistic identity of the majority of Slovene language speakers even today. The main characteristic of centuries of the Slovene linguistic situation that significantly shaped the national collective memory, is a long period of diglossia. The languages of the political elite had been German and, to a lesser extent, Italian, while the Slovene language was mainly used by lower social classes and/or in non-formal or less formal settings. It was not until after the Second World War that the use of the Slovene language began to expand into all areas of public life (with

the exception of the army). In 1991 after the establishment of an independent state Slovenian gained the status of a *de facto* national language. Nevertheless, it should be added that despite full linguistic functionality and vitality, the continued existence of the Slovene language is, to an extent, still perceived as endangered due to the aforementioned history of political and linguistic dominance.

Due to this complex linguistic situation, Slovene language policy decision makers must take into account different ideologies while trying to build a consistent strategy, which can be effectively implemented. There is a great challenge in balancing (1) historical protectionism, (2) liberal market demands in terms of the free movement of people, goods, services and capital, and (3) global values of (linguistic) minority protection.⁴

5.1 The implementation of the theory of sustainable language development in the legislative acts: The process of adopting the resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–2018

Sustainable development has obviously been the mainstream ideology for at least 10 or 15 years. Unfortunately, only the rhetoric of sustainability is broadly accepted, which entails that the realisation of commitments by politicians as well as society in general remains unsatisfactory.⁵

The goal of a sustainable language policy should be to prepare Slovene students for successful working careers and creative living in a Slovene-speaking environment, acquiring at the same time a level of language competence in two foreign languages so as to be able to participate successfully in the global labour market.

The process of adopting the Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy was complex and involved different levels of professional and public consultations. Ultimately, it revealed different or even opposite agendas and ideologies. A crucial role in the harmonization of the final version of the document was played by the Association of Chancellors, who tried to impose the ideology of

4 The linguistic landscape of the Republic of Slovenia consists of the majority of speakers of the Slovene language as L1, three linguistic minorities under the protection of the Constitution (Italian, Hungarian, Roma) and linguistic communities of former Yugoslavian nations under limited protection of the *Declaration of the Republic of Slovenia on the situation of national communities – members of the nations of the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia*.

5 According to Naomi Klein's report in her recent book *This changes everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate* the mainstream attitude in USA and Canada is still shaped by think tanks and carbon industry agents, who finance the think tanks (Klein 2014).

internationalisation while some prominent language institutions (The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for Slovene Language at University of Ljubljana etc.) stressed the importance of shaping Slovene science in the Slovene language so as to prepare students for successful working careers and creative living in a Slovene-speaking environment.

Below is an excerpt from the response of the Association of Chancellors of Slovene Universities to the first draft of the Resolution on the Language Policy programme, which was coordinated by the Slovene Language Department of the Ministry of Culture.

You wrote that the legislation should define the mandatory scope of the implementation of education programmes in the Slovene language, and that this should not be entirely left to the universities. The universities think that this is unacceptable, because they are autonomous institutions and as such responsible for the implementation of study programmes and for the achievement of competencies and knowledge determined in the study programmes, both for registered domestic as well as foreign students. We wonder whether it would be more sensible to allow participants in higher education to use foreign languages at the appropriate level instead of expensive translation of the foreign textbooks. As already mentioned, in such a way we would easily enter into the international sphere as equal partners.

If you pay special attention to the underlined expressions, it will become clear that the argument of the text is based on a concept of autonomy: it appears obvious that a university is autonomous in the sense of research methodologies and research findings. Nevertheless, Slovene universities are tending to broaden the concept of autonomy to the financial and legal sphere, although they are financed by the Slovenian government and in parts by the Slovenian legal system.

Another crucial point is that university stakeholders perceive the Slovene language as a burden or obstacle on the way to equal participation in international research and higher education. The argument which presents the Slovene language as an insurmountable impasse is constant and pervasive in the discourse of internationalisation.

While preparing the final version of the language policy programme, we had to balance opposite opinions and expectations. Our working group, responsible for final revisions, managed to reconcile entirely incompatible ideologies: on the one hand, internationalisation and, on the other, national language preservation. The discourse strategy of the authors of the draft text could even be considered misleading, in order to produce a text that would be accepted by all. At the beginning of the chapter, the authors introduced the topic of internationalisation and then gradually moved toward the topic of preservation. They first introduced the objective of facilitating mobility of students and teachers and only then the objective

of preserving of the status of Slovene as the official teaching language in higher education. Below is an excerpt from the Resolution employing these strategies.

Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–2018

2.1.8 Legal framework governing language in higher education and science

In its fundamental development documents, Slovenia's higher education sphere indicates a further internationalisation⁶ as one of the key factors for the next decade, based on involvement in international networks and cooperation with partners of excellence from European and other universities.

Among priorities concerning the use of language in higher education and science are measures that will provide for efficient language arrangements and improve the position of Slovene in both areas. Language issues tackled by discussions and documents on excellence and internationalisation are primarily associated with the following strategic development requirements:

- *exchanging students and inviting foreign students to balance the reduction in the Slovene student population by 2020*
- *exchanging teaching staff, and providing the possibility of long-term employment of foreign university teachers at Slovene universities*
- *ensuring adequate quality of research work by requiring citation indexing in Web of Science databases⁷*

Measures envisaged by the Resolution are based on the premise that Slovenia's universities and Government wish to preserve and further develop Slovene as the teaching language in higher education and in science but also desire to maintain the international dimension of their activities and competitiveness.

Objective 1: Facilitating mobility of students and teachers.

The use of Slovene in higher education in Slovenia need not be a barrier for Slovenia's higher education institutions to become international, though an appropriate language policy is necessary. It is necessary to establish a clear differentiation between shorter forms of study periods of students and teaching staff and longer forms of inclusion of students

6 Underlined by Simona Bergoč.

7 Web of Science (WoS) gives access to multiple databases with citation indexing: Science Citation Index Expanded® (SCI-EXPANDED), Social Sciences Citation Index® (SSCI) and Arts & Humanities Citation Index® (A&HCI). These cover more than 10,000 of the most influential academic journals from around the world from 1970 to the present day.

and teaching staff in Slovenia's higher education system. Experiences in teaching Slovene as a foreign language show that Slovene may be mastered in a relatively short time (both receptive and productive vocabulary) and that learning Slovene alongside their study or teaching obligations does not represent an excessive burden for foreigners. Providing courses of Slovene to foreigners who are integrated in Slovenia's higher education system is also considerably less expensive than additional training in English for Slovene teachers and foreign teachers whose first language is not English, to be able to teach parallel classes for foreign students in all instances where the demand exists. A foreign student is capable of following lectures in Slovene after one year in Slovenia and one year of learning Slovene, while teachers are capable of lecturing in Slovene after four years in Slovenia and four years of learning Slovene. After the above one-year or four-year period, the students and teachers should be required to acquire the Slovene Language Certificate at the appropriate level and the teachers should then use Slovene when lecturing in regular higher education courses. However, students may prepare their final papers (graduate and master's theses and dissertations) in a foreign language (with summary in Slovene) in all higher education programmes.

Measure:

- *establishment/maintenance of the system of efficient learning of Slovene for foreign students and teaching staff within individual universities*

Indicators:

- *system of teaching of Slovene for foreign students and teaching staff*
- *number of Slovene language courses for Erasmus students, regular foreign students and foreign teachers*
- *number of appropriate level Slovene Language Certificates for students and teachers*

Planned funds: EUR 2,500,000.

Expected effects: successful language integration of foreign students and teachers into Slovenia's higher education sphere; efficient and equivalent exchange of academic ideas and achievements.

Institution responsible: Ministry of Education, Science and Sport.

Objective 2: Preservation of the status of Slovene as the official and teaching language of higher education.

Measures planned will ensure that Slovene keeps its status of official and teaching language in higher education and science. At the same time the measures provide for the systematic regulating of teaching in other languages, recognising the importance of the mobility of students and teaching staff, of the exchange of scientific results, and of the free movement of knowledge.

Measures:

- *the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport and the universities must, within the framework of the higher education act that is currently being drafted, of the Resolution on the*

National Higher Education Programme and of relative strategies, set up transparent models for inclusion of foreign students and teaching staff: (1) through high-quality parallel programmes and elective modules created especially for exchange students but which could also be taken by Slovene students (under special conditions, see below); (2) by introducing the concept of differentiated multilingualism, following examples from abroad. According to this concept, the higher education teaching language is the majority language, while students who are not familiar enough with this language are provided with simultaneous (machine) translation into their language with tools adapted to individual disciplines; overlays and other study materials are, as a rule, bilingual (i.e. in the majority language and the foreign language), and communication between foreign student and teacher during office hours may be conducted in the foreign language; (3) by promoting solidarity, tutorial assistance and close partnership between home and visiting students

- *the compulsory volume of higher education programmes to be provided in Slovene must be defined by law and not left to the discretion of universities. As the strategic orientations of the universities concerning the increase of exchanges match those of the Government, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport and higher education institutions shall agree on the funding of such exchanges*
- *at the level of doctoral studies, universities shall be left to autonomously adopt their language policy, in line, of course, with the Constitution and the law and respecting the general principle that Slovene teachers do not lecture to Slovene students in a foreign language*

Indicators:

- *establishing a model for integrating foreigners into Slovenia's higher education system (legislation)*
- *determining the compulsory volume of higher education programmes to be provided in Slovene (legislation)*
- *number of parallel programmes and elective modules in a foreign language*

Planned funds: EUR 1,200,000.

Expected effects: parallel programmes, elective modules and simultaneous machine translation for short-term visiting students will provide for an effective transfer of Slovene knowledge to foreign students.

Institution responsible: Ministry of Education, Science and Sport.

6. Conclusions

The Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–2018 was, after final revisions, finally adopted due to the unanimous consent of members of the National Assembly thus demonstrating the transparency and participatory nature of the legislative procedure. However, the chapter concerning the medium of instruction regulation has not yet been closed, as the new minister of education is planning to update the Higher Education Act, which defines and provides sanctions for violations of the law. Taking into account the experiences gained

during the formulation and adoption of the Resolution, we can anticipate tendencies towards a complete deregulation of the third university level. The impact of the deregulated third level on the entire domain of higher education is at this point difficult to determine.⁸ There are some speculations about negative repercussions of limited language use even for the second and first educational levels (primary and secondary schools). The claim is justified on the assumption of interconnectivity and combined effects of different linguistic domains. Accordingly, the regulation of the languages of instruction at universities remains incomplete – it is an ongoing process, insofar as there will always be different agents with specific agendas attempting to implement their more or less legitimate interests. I believe the beneficiaries of a state regulated language policy should be language users, i.e., policies should emphasize their language rights: to use their first language in all domains of public life while at the same time achieving a level of language competence in foreign languages, which enables them to participate equally at the international level.

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8 See Stickel: "What are the consequences of this domain loss for languages other than English? I would like to distinguish between short-term and long-term consequences. Short-term consequences can be directly observed. Concerning long-term consequences only reasonable speculations are possible, especially since there are no linguistic or sociological methods that allow reliable prognoses of language development" (Stickel 2010, 19).

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Władysław T. Miodunka

The use of languages in university teaching and research in Poland

Summary/Streszczenie

Artykuł 27 konstytucji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej stwierdza, że język polski jest językiem oficjalnym na terytorium państwa polskiego. Sytuacji polszczyzny w Polsce dotyczy Ustawa o języku polskim, uchwalona przez Sejm 7 października 1999 r. (z późniejszymi zmianami). Dlatego można uznać, że z prawnego punktu widzenia używanie języka polskiego na terytorium Polski jest zagwarantowane przez te dwa akty prawne.

Z drugiej strony trzeba stwierdzić, że zmiany polityczne, gospodarcze i społeczne, dokonujące się w Polsce po roku 1990, spowodowały otwarcie kraju na kontakty z innymi krajami, co oznacza także otwarcie społeczeństwa polskiego na kontakty z innymi społeczeństwami, ich językami i kulturami. Dokonana w latach 90. wieku XX reforma systemu edukacji przewiduje m.in. obowiązkowy egzamin z języka obcego na egzaminie maturalnym, kończącym szkoły średnie. Z danych Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej w Warszawie wynika, że w 2005 r. 76% polskich maturzystów zdawało język angielski, którego popularność stale rośnie, o czym świadczy m.in. fakt, że w 2013 r. już 86% maturzystów wybrało język angielski.

Popularność języka angielskiego można także obserwować wśród studentów wyższych uczelni. Aktualne tendencje zostały pokazane na przykładzie Jagiellońskiego Centrum Językowego, prowadzącego lektoraty języków obcych dla studentów najstarszej polskiej uczelni. Uwagę zwraca sytuacja studentów nauk ścisłych, którzy mogą wybierać tylko lektorat języka angielskiego z tego względu, że na studiach korzystają z literatury naukowej w tym języku. Poza tym mogą wybierać zajęcia prowadzone po angielsku, których liczba waha się od 10 do 15% wszystkich zajęć. Znaczenie angielskiego rośnie na studiach doktoranckich, które odbywają się wprawdzie w języku polskim, ale studenci piszą swe artykuły i prace naukowe po angielsku.

Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego w Warszawie prowadzi kategoryzację uczelni i instytucji naukowych, której podstawą jest ocena dorobku naukowego poszczególnych uczelni. Dorobek naukowy oznacza nie tylko liczbę publikacji, ale także ich wartość naukową, wyrażaną w punktach. W tym celu Ministerstwo ustala wagę naukową czasopism. W 2011 r. Ministerstwo zaproponowało, by przy ustalaniu wagi uwzględniać nie tylko rangę naukową czasopisma, ale także język publikacji, punktując dodatkowo artykuły w języku angielskim i w językach kongresowych. Spowodowało to reakcję Rady Języka Polskiego, która podjęła uchwałę, stwierdzającą m.in. *Redakcje czasopism humanistycznych w Polsce [...] mają prawo wyboru języków, w których będą przemawiać do czytelników, i wymuszanie*

na nich czegokolwiek nie powinno mieć miejsca z żadnych przyczyn, karanie ich zaś za język narodowy i państwowy niższą oceną punktową byłoby wręcz prawdziwym skandalem.

W wyniku tego protestu w nowym algorytmie, przyjętym ostatecznie przez Ministerstwo, znalazł się zapis o równym traktowaniu publikacji w językach kongresowych oraz w językach właściwych danej dyscyplinie naukowej.

1.

Article 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland states that “Polish shall be the official language in the Republic of Poland. This provision shall not infringe upon national minority rights resulting from ratified international agreements” (Constitution of the Republic of Poland). More detailed regulations concerning the protection of the Polish language and its use in public services were included in the Act on Polish Language (APL), passed on 7th October 1999 and amended on 11th April 2003. The amended Act regulated the issue of certification of competence in Polish as a foreign language, which was very important for the Polish language policy as a whole.

The adoption of the APL was the result of long-standing efforts undertaken by a group of Polish linguists under the leadership of Professor Walery Pisarek. Having analysed the legal situation in other European countries, with particular focus on France, the group offered to prepare an act on the Polish language, and then advocated for its adoption by the parliament. The group was centred around the Polish Language Council, a body established on 9th September 1996 by the board of the Polish Academy of Sciences. After the adoption of the APL, the Polish Language Council became subject to its regulations. Its statutory objectives include: *to seek new solutions concerning the use of Polish in different scientific and technical domains, particularly in new disciplines (e.g. informatics)*, to address issues concerning the functioning of the Polish language in Poland, including issues related to the protection of Polish.

Following the 2003 amendment of the Act, the development of a certification process for competence in Polish as a foreign language commenced. The certification system was implemented immediately after Poland’s accession to the European Union in June 2004. As a result of the certification of competence in Polish at B1, B2 and C2 levels, 6072 foreign citizens from 78 countries had taken their exams by the end of 2013.

In the APL amendment of 2nd April 2004 it was decided that the provisions of the Act would not pertain to *teaching and research activity at universities, schools and classes with a foreign language of instruction or with bilingual instruction.*

2.

With the political, economic and social changes which took place in Poland at the beginning of the 1990s (after the “Solidarity revolution” of the 1980s), the country opened up to international exchange, especially with countries from Western Europe and North America. This inevitably led to changes in the preference of foreign languages taught and used on the educational market. First it needs to be pointed out, however, that in the time of the People’s Republic of Poland, secondary school and university students took obligatory courses in two foreign languages: Russian as a *lingua franca* of socialist states, and a Western language (usually English, French or German). The knowledge of these languages, however, was often passive and at a rather low level, as language learners did not have high hopes of ever using them in practice, due to the state-imposed constraints on individual trans-boundary movement. When in the 1990s the state began to gradually withdraw these constraints, large numbers of Poles started to go abroad, for example as seasonal workers or tourists. This made them appreciate the knowledge of foreign languages, which was necessary in direct contact with residents of other countries.

2.1

At that time, Poland was negotiating its accession first to NATO and then to the EU; the latter goal was achieved on 1st May 2004.

The 1990s saw the introduction of a comprehensive reform of the educational system in Poland, which encompassed first the primary schools, then secondary schools (junior high and high schools, Pol. *gimnazjum* and *liceum* respectively), and finally universities. For Polish educational authorities it was clear that as future EU citizens, Polish students would need to be competent in at least one foreign language beside their native Polish. As a result, a compulsory exam in one foreign language, chosen by the student, was introduced in the final examination taken upon completion of secondary education (*matura*, comparable to A-level exams or school leaving certificate). The first examination of this kind took place in spring 2005. The *matura* is important in that passing the exam and the obtained score determine whether the student is admitted to a university programme and whether he or she can study in a better, more competitive university. The data concerning the choice of foreign languages, as well as exam results, are published online every year by the Central Examination Commission. Thus, tendencies for 2005–2013 can be illustrated by comparing data from three years: 2005, 2010 and 2013 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Languages chosen for the compulsory foreign language exam in the matura examination, as recorded by the Central Examination Board in Warsaw (percentage of all students taking matura)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE	2005	2010	2013
English	76.1	81.0	86.1
German	16.7	13.7	10.4
Russian	5.4	4.6	3.0
French	1.6	0.5	0.3
Spanish		0.1	0.1
Italian		0.1	0.1
Other	0.2		
Total number of students examined	309,049	366,623	326,602

As can be seen, from the beginning the most popular foreign language was English, and its dominance has continuously increased (from 76.1% in 2005, to 81.0% in 2010, and 86.1% in 2013). English is followed by German, Russian and French, but the number of students opting for these languages has steadily decreased: German, for instance, was chosen by 16.7% of the students in 2005, and only 10.4% in 2013. The situation for French is similar. It was chosen by 1.6% of the students in 2005 and only 0.3% in 2013. In juxtaposition to that, the competence in Spanish and Italian seems quite stable; in 2010 and 2013, 0.1% of students selected each language, and no decreasing trends have been observed. I cannot take other data into account, but I would like to mention that the exams in French, Spanish and Italian exhibited a higher pass rate than was the case with other languages, and their score level was the highest. In order to relate this general tendency to a concrete number of examinees, let me specify that for example in 2010, English was chosen by 287,245 students, German – 48,776, Russian – 16,383, French – 1,725, Spanish – 381, and Italian – 329 students.

In regard to Table 1, the category *other languages* at the bottom of the list is worthy of an explanation. This group includes, above all, languages of the national and ethnic minorities in Poland, as well as one regional language (Kashubian) recognised by Polish law. Secondary school graduates are allowed to choose these languages for their *matura* exam if they have the required level of competence. This category was not included in further columns since students choosing *other languages* make up only a fraction of a percent of the total number of examinees.

3.

In order to illustrate teaching foreign languages at university, I will use relevant data from the oldest Polish university, namely the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. These data refer to the entire student body, with the exception of those who specialise in studying foreign languages and literatures at the Faculty of Languages. Students of this faculty usually learn these languages at a higher level, and have language classes ranging from several to more than a dozen hours per week. Studies in a particular language are usually complemented by classes in a related foreign language, as knowledge of both such languages is necessary for example in comparative grammar classes in, say, Romance, Germanic or Slavic languages. And so, for instance, students focusing on French must choose between learning Italian, Spanish or Romanian, while those who specialise in Russian will learn Ukrainian or Belarusian.

3.1

Due to the recent increase of English in secondary schools, university departments for Romance or Eastern Slavic languages, which up until not long ago had enough candidates with good knowledge of French or Russian, began admitting school graduates who have no practical knowledge of a given language, which means that such students learn these languages from scratch. This is a new phenomenon, unheard of in the times of the People's Republic of Poland.

This phenomenon can be interpreted as growing interest in languages other than English, including uncommon languages, on behalf of the students during their university education. It is worth adding that the Faculty of Languages of the Jagiellonian University offers courses in 44 different languages.

The data concerning the number of students choosing particular foreign languages in the Jagiellonian Language Centre (JLC) are presented in Table 2. It follows that the data from JLC confirm general tendencies observed in the case of *matura* exams in foreign languages: the predominance of English increases, and the number of students learning other languages declines. At the university level, however, we can distinguish two new phenomena, only one of which is apparent in the table. They concern other languages, chosen by more than 15% of students. This category includes Latin, a language necessary for students interested in medieval political history, as well as the history of languages and cultures. Since they have to be able to read and understand old documents, they must learn Latin, which is no longer taught in Polish secondary schools. The category of other languages also includes uncommon languages, e.g. Lithuanian.

3.2

Another phenomenon, not discernible from Table 2, is that students in faculties of natural and life sciences (mathematics, physics, astronomy, informatics, biology, biotechnology, earth sciences, geology and chemistry) only learn English; they do not have the possibility to choose other languages. This means that in Master's programmes, they acquire technical English at B2+ level, and later, in doctoral programmes, their proficiency is at the C1 and C2 level respectively. In 2006, there were 1,384 such students, making up 15.6% of all foreign language learners at the university, in 2009 – 2,454 (27.7%), and in 2013 – 2,619 (21.3%). This situation can be summarised as follows: **in faculties of natural and life sciences, studying takes place in both Polish and English; lectures and classes are taught in Polish, but students are required to consult English reference works.**

The language of instruction is Polish, but students can also choose courses taught in English, which constitute ca. 10%-15% of all available courses. It is worth adding that classes taught in English are usually optional, rather than being included in the obligatory teaching canon like e.g. certain lectures.

In doctoral programmes, courses are still taught in Polish, but students publish their papers only in English. Doctoral dissertations are written in Polish or in English. As a result, each language becomes specialised: Polish remains the language of courses, but English reference works are used to a large extent, and writing is done almost exclusively in English.

Table 2: Foreign languages chosen by the students of JU in Kraków, as recorded by the office of the Jagiellonian Language Centre (percentage of all students learning foreign languages in the JLC)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE	2006	2009	2013
English	53.4	61.2	64.8
German	8.3	6.5	6.1
Russian	6.0	4.4	3.9
French	4.9	5,3	5.5
Spanish	4.8	4.3	4.3
Italian	2.7	2.0	2.2
Other	19.9	16.3	15.8
Total number of students	8,835	8,857	12,303

4.

Towards the end of the 1990s, an observable diminishing trend occurred in the number of students, first in primary, then in secondary schools, and eventually (after 2006) at universities. This was due to the phenomenon of the baby bust, or a decline in birth rates, which followed a baby boom in the 1980s.

Universities responded to the phenomenon of a population low by organising courses in English, with foreign students in mind. Since in the late 1990s, and after the year 2000, Poland experienced a boom in higher education, many new private universities were established, some as a result of cooperation between a foreign educational institution and a Polish private institution. In such universities, courses in e.g. engineering, marketing or banking were taught in a foreign language, usually English as, apart from Polish teaching staff, the university would employ teachers from a foreign partner institution.

State-owned universities also noted this phenomenon, and began teaching fee-based courses in a foreign language (English) to attract foreign students. In this respect, the most successful have been medical studies for students from different countries, offered at five Polish medical universities and in JU Collegium Medicum. The authorities of Collegium Medicum decided to open a medical school for foreigners in 1994, and the first foreign students – a group of Norwegians – commenced their studies in 1995. For the new academic year 2014/2015, 138 new foreign students were admitted; in total, 649 foreign citizens are currently studying there. Other universities also offer courses in English.

In recent years, there has been a rise in the number of Ukrainian students in Poland; some study thanks to a scholarship from the Polish government, some pay for their courses. In the academic year 2013/2014, students from the Ukraine predominated among foreign citizens studying in Poland, making up approx. 44% of all foreign students (see Table 3).

Table 3: Foreign students studying at Polish universities in the academic year 2013/2014 (the table lists the largest student groups from ten countries of origin, as recorded by the Bureau for Academic Recognition and International Exchange in Warsaw)

ITEM	Foreign Students' countries of origin	number of students	Percentage of all foreign students
1.	Ukraine	14,646	44.3
2.	Belarus	3,757	11.3
3.	Norway	1,586	4.7
4.	Sweden	1,237	3.7

ITEM	Foreign Students' countries of origin	number of students	Percentage of all foreign students
5.	Lithuania	922	2.8
6.	USA	866	2.6
7.	Saudi Arabia	701	2.1
8.	China	679	2.0
9.	Kazakhstan	542	1.6
10.	Turkey	486	1.4
Total number of foreign students		33,054	100

However, Ukrainian students study in Polish, as they do not find this language difficult and are able to learn it relatively fast during one- or two-semester long preparation courses (students with a basic knowledge of Polish usually need one semester to learn the language at B2 level, while students without any previous knowledge of Polish usually need a year-long course).

5.

The authorities of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education decided that the tendency of studying in Polish yet publishing papers in English, which may be normal in natural and life sciences, should be transferred to social sciences and the humanities; this later resulted in a conflict with the Polish Language Council. The core of the matter is that since 1998, the Ministry has evaluated and categorised all research and education bodies, based on the academic achievement of their employees, every three to four years. Every publication is given a certain number of points, depending on the academic standing of the journal in which it was published. Towards the end of 2010, a new proposal for evaluating Polish journals was introduced, prepared by the Ministry experts. According to the proposal, not only the academic merit of a journal but also the language of publication should be taken into account, with clear preference given to English, followed by congress languages. This proposal met with protests from Polish faculties of humanities and social sciences, as well as from the Polish Academy of Sciences. Since their objections could not convince the Ministry experts, most of whom represented natural and life sciences, the Polish Language Council presented its stand on the issue towards the end of the year.

5.1

On 16 December 2011, the representatives prepared a document entitled *Statement of the Polish Language Council to the Board of Polish Academy of Sciences on the status of Polish language in academic publications*. The *Statement* was delivered to the President of the Republic of Poland, the Speaker of the Sejm (lower chamber of the parliament), Speaker of the Senate, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Science and Higher Education. Its content was also published in some linguistic journals.

The members of the Council first asserted that the legal foundations of the Polish language policy are sufficient to secure the proper status of Polish in public communication. At the same time, they point out that the practical implementation of this policy raises serious doubts and debates, as is the case with the proposal by the Ministry of Science *to differentiate the value of a publication depending on the language in which it was written, giving a lower score to publications in Polish than in English or other congress languages* (RJP, 8). Members of the Council emphasised the irrationality of such a proposal in the humanities, especially in the case of publications on national and ethnic languages, and national and ethnic culture. Such works are addressed mainly to readers in Poland, whose primary language is Polish. Moreover, it was pointed out that *when Polish cultural phenomena are discussed in a foreign language, their uniqueness and value cannot be rendered properly. Thus, it is vital that foreign language publications (in particular monograph studies) should be obligatorily accompanied by a summary in Polish* (RJP, 8).

Considering the age-old tradition of Polish as a language of science, members of the Council make the following assertion:

The proposals presented every few years by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, which aim to prove that Polish is a “worse” language of science, demonstrate an inappropriate approach to legal acts and to Polish scientific achievement. Such activities, directly leading to the belittlement of Polish as an intellectual code, may impair the development of Polish scientific terminology and cause the diminishing of the communicative potential of Polish language. (RJP, 8)

Hence the Council proposed that congress languages and **languages specific to a given academic discipline** should be treated as equal, thus speaking not only in defence of Polish, but also of languages such as Portuguese, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Japanese or Arabic, since Polish universities have chairs which research these languages and cultures, and their conference proceedings have been traditionally published in the respective languages. At the same time, this is a defence of Polish used by scholars of the Polish language and literature

throughout the world, as well as foreign experts in Polish history and culture. The proceedings from congresses of foreign scholars of the Polish language and literature have also traditionally been published in Polish.

In the closing remarks, expressing their hope that equal treatment of Polish, other national languages, and congress languages will become a permanent feature of Polish academic practice and language policy, the Council members affirmed:

The editorial boards of humanities journals in Poland [...] have the right to choose the languages in which they will address their readership, and under no pretence should they be subject to any pressure in this respect; to have them punished with a lower score for using the national and state language would indeed be a veritable scandal. (RJP, 9)

The Minister of Science responded to this statement with a letter to the Polish Language Council, in which she explained that the situation was caused by a misunderstanding. Most importantly, though, the new algorithm eventually adopted by the Ministry involved the provision that publications in congress languages and publications in languages specific to particular academic disciplines shall be treated equally.

6.

The current situation in Polish science and in first and second degree courses in Polish universities can be summarised as follows:

- The primary language of studies and research in Poland is Polish.
- English is an auxiliary language in course in natural and life sciences, so it can be said that these sciences are **studied in Polish and English**.
- Further specialisation occurs in these studies at the doctoral level (third degree), where the courses are taught in Polish, but publications are prepared in English; this seems to reflect the general principle that during these studies **Polish is spoken, but the writing is done in English**.
- In Poland, English and other congress languages are used also in several other areas: in university courses meant for foreign students, in universities jointly established by a Polish and foreign educational institution, and in certain specific courses (e.g. all studies in modern languages).
- The use of foreign languages in academic publications in the humanities and social sciences follows the principle that **congress languages and languages specific to a given academic discipline are used**.
- In the Polish academic tradition, there is a distinction between the so-called “congress languages” and other languages (including Polish). By common convention, congress languages usually include English, German, French, Spanish

- and Russian. The notion of congress languages undoubtedly lessens the pressure of using English in research and academic teaching, especially in the humanities
- The popularity of English is particularly apparent from data concerning high school students taking the *matura* examination in English as an obligatory foreign language. It is possible to observe, however, that during university education Polish students broaden their linguistic interests to include other languages, largely thanks to student exchanges in the framework of the Erasmus programme.
 - Polish linguists believe that **when Polish cultural phenomena are discussed in a foreign language, their uniqueness and value cannot be rendered properly**. Since such publications are addressed to Polish readers or readers with knowledge of Polish, they should be written in Polish.
 - A separate concern of Polish linguists is the development of Polish specialised terminology in the respective sciences. Throughout history, this terminology (except for grammatical terms) has developed first on the basis of Latin, then European languages. In recent years, due to a hasty introduction of large numbers of new terms, these words are no longer being polonised, but rather constitute English quotations with Polish phonetics (and often English spelling) – a fact which worries linguists.

7.

The European Federation of National Institutions for Language has currently raised a topic which is very important for the use of many European languages in scientific research and academic teaching. It is with hope that we looking forward to the Florence Resolution, which should indicate current tendencies and warn against threats, yet at the same time treat the ongoing phenomena of globalisation and Europeanisation with understanding.

Translated from Polish by Zofia Ziemann

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Johan Van Hoorde

Dutch or English? English and Dutch! The language shift in tertiary education and science in the Dutch language area

Abstract

This contribution describes the situation regarding the academic use of languages within the Dutch language area. We will describe the factual situation but also review on the ongoing public debate and the arguments used.

Even a rough analysis of the available data shows that the Netherlands is the Member State of the European Union showing the highest level of the use of English as a language of instruction within its university system. In this the Dutch far surpass even the Scandinavians, who also have a reputation for making extensive use of English in academic contexts. In fact the use of English at Dutch universities is second only to that of the English-speaking Member States Ireland and the UK! Until 2012 Flanders lagged far behind. The use of English in Flemish universities has historically remained relatively low, and until recently was on a level with the Latin Member States of the Union, such as Spain, Portugal and Italy, which as a rule continue to use their own national language in the majority of social contexts. However, at the end of 2012 the official rules in Flanders were drastically relaxed. It can be expected that Flanders will now move rapidly in the direction of the Netherlands and will soon become more or less comparable to the Scandinavian countries in its use of English as a language of university instruction.

Nonetheless, the situation is less 'hopeless' than this rough analysis would seem to suggest, even in the Netherlands. The Dutch language maintains a strong position at the first tier of academic education, i.e. at the bachelor's level. In general the proponents of English and of Dutch do not find themselves in strict, mutually exclusive opposition, but both have a somewhat nuanced approach to the issue. During the last few years new aspects and new points of attention have entered the public debate, especially as regards the importance of language competence in general for academic study and more specifically the relationship between skills in complex language processing and cognitive skills that are necessary for analysing real-world facts. These developments may perhaps lead us towards a broad consensus within society moving in the direction of the parallel use of languages, in which no single language, not even English, can assume a hegemonic position at the expense of all other languages.

Furthermore, we argue that in order to be successful we will have to develop a policy discourse that is not exclusively centred on the importance of our national language as a cultural entity in its own right, but will necessarily have to address the real processes and challenges as they are experienced within the academic world itself. This means that the

policy measures that we propose cannot be seen or interpreted as directed against the academic world, but as actions that have to be put into practice by and together with the academic world itself.

We believe that an umbrella organisation such as EFNIL has an active part to play in all this, especially in creating the necessary preconditions, e.g. by collecting reliable and comparable reference data for all languages and Member States.

Samenvatting

Deze bijdrage beschrijft de toestand rond het academisch gebruik van talen in het Nederlandse taalgebied. De bijdrage gaat zowel in op de feitelijke toestand als op het maatschappelijke debat zoals dat in Nederland en Vlaanderen wordt gevoerd.

Een zelfs oppervlakkige analyse van de beschikbare feiten toont aan dat Nederland het land is binnen de Europese Unie waar de Engelse taal aan de universiteit en in de wetenschap het meest gebruikt wordt. Nederland is niet alleen vergelijkbaar met de Scandinavische landen, die ook de reputatie hebben sterk te zijn verengelt, maar laat die landen met gemak achter zich. Alleen in de Engelstalige Lidstaten Ierland en het VK zelf wordt meer Engels gebruikt! Tot 2012 bleef Vlaanderen duidelijk achter bij die evolutie. De gebruiksgraad van het Engels daar is vergelijkbaar met die in de Latijnse landen zoals Spanje, Portugal en Italië, die alle gekenmerkt worden door een nog relatief beperkt gebruik van het Engels. Sinds 2012 heeft Vlaanderen de regels sterk versoepeld. De verwachting is dan ook dat Vlaanderen relatief snel zal gaan evolueren in de richting van Nederland en waarschijnlijk een beeld zal gaan ontwikkelen dat vergelijkbaar is met de Scandinavische landen.

Toch is de toestand minder 'hopeloos' dan een oppervlakkige analyse zou doen vermoeden, zelfs in Nederland. We stellen immers vast dat het Nederlands een sterke positie blijft behouden in de eerste cyclus van het wetenschappelijk onderwijs, het zogenaamde bachelorniveau. Bovendien moeten we vaststellen dat het kamp van de pleitbezorgers van het Engels en dat van het Nederlands zich niet als volstrekte antagonist ten opzichte van elkaar opwerpen. Beide 'kampen' blijken vrij genuanceerd te denken. Verder is er de jongste jaren in het publieke debat een toenemende aandacht te bespeuren voor taalcompetenties in het algemeen en voor de relatie tussen vaardigheden tot verwerking van complexe talige informatie en de vaardigheden die nodig zijn om complexe feiten in de buitentalige werkelijkheid te analyseren. Daaraan wordt steeds vaker de verwachting gekoppeld dat universiteiten een eigen, expliciet taalbeleid gaan ontwikkelen.

De bovenstaande elementen wettigen de conclusie dat er ruimte is voor een bredere maatschappelijke consensus in de richting van een parallel gebruik van talen, waarbij geen enkele taal ook het Engels niet kan pretenderen de andere volledig te verdringen. We pleiten in elk geval voor het ontwikkelen van een discours dat niet uitsluitend gericht is op de belangen van de eigen taal als cultureel gegeven, maar voor een betoog dat rekening houdt met de reële processen en uitdagingen zoals ze in de academische wereld worden ervaren. Onze beleidsvoorstellen moeten zich richten tot de academische wereld en mogen dus niet worden gepercipieerd als gericht tegen die wereld. In de ontwikkeling van een

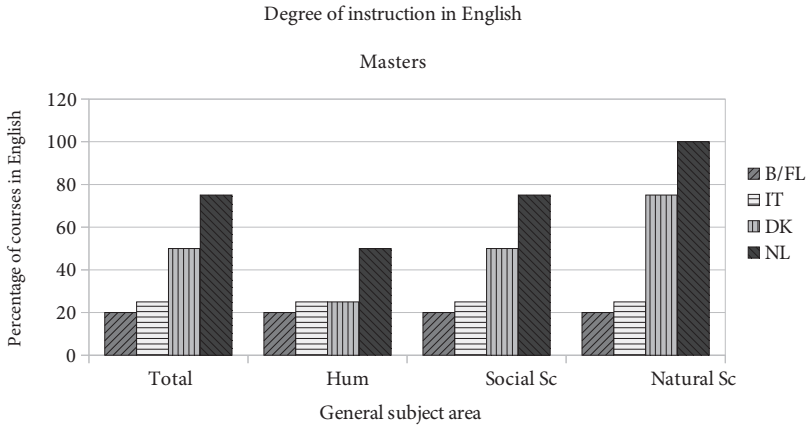
dergelijk beleid kan EFNIL een actieve rol spelen, met name door gunstige voorwaarden te scheppen, bijvoorbeeld door het verzamelen en beschikbaar stellen van betrouwbare en vergelijkbare referentiegegevens voor alle talen en landen.

This contribution will focus on the situation concerning the use of languages in tertiary education and in scientific research within the Dutch language area, which has been characterised by an increasing use of English during the past few decades. It is not my aim to go into extensive detail and to overwhelm the reader with facts and figures. I will try instead to position the Dutch language area by comparing the Dutch situation with that of other European languages. I will not limit myself to the actual facts, but will also offer a survey of the ongoing debate on language use within universities in the Netherlands and Flanders. Without any doubt this topic is one of the major language-related social issues facing both societies. Last but not least I will use the situation as we know it in the Dutch language area as a stepping-stone towards the European level and try to formulate answers to crucial questions which are of common interest for all of us: “Should and can something be done?”, “Which conditions will we have to observe in order to be successful?” and “Is there a part to play in all this for EFNIL?”

1. Facts and figures: positioning the Dutch language area within Europe

Let us start with the situation within our language area as compared to other language areas, within a range that extends from countries with a relatively low level of English use in academic contexts to those with the highest level. This task is not an easy one, due to the lack of reliable and comparable data for the various countries and the absence of reliable longitudinal data that could illustrate change over the last few decades. This survey is based primarily on the data of the European Language Monitor (ELM) of EFNIL, as collected and published within ELM2. These ELM data are the result of surveys which used different categorisations and methods. Therefore I have tried to re-order the information in order to make it more comparable. The figures that are included below therefore have only a relative, indicative value.

Fig. 1: Approximate overview of the situation 2012–2013.



The chart in Figure 1 compares the ELM2 data for Flanders and the Netherlands with those for Italy and Denmark. Italy is a country with a relatively low degree of English use within the university system, a situation which is more or less representative of several *Latin* Member States such as France, Spain and Portugal. Denmark, on the contrary, is one of the Scandinavian countries, and these countries have a reputation for having a high degree of English use at university level. The first bar represents the situation in Flanders and the last one the situation in the Netherlands. The countries of comparison are to be found in the middle of the diagram: the second is Italy and the third is Denmark. The bars of this figure show the level of English used in these countries at the master's level, and distinguishes between the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. The first series represents the overall situation, and includes all categories.

At a glance, one can see that Flanders and the Netherlands are quite different when it comes to the academic use of English, at least until 2012. Further on in this article I will address developments that have been taking place since 2012. At least until the beginning of 2012 the situation in Dutch-speaking Belgium seems not to differ much from that which characterises countries with a relatively low level of English use in universities, such as Italy. The situation of the Netherlands, on the contrary, is completely different. The Dutch situation is more comparable with the one observed in the Scandinavian area. The available data even seem to indicate that Holland is the non-Anglo-Saxon European country with the most

extensive English-language presence in the academic world. The number of study courses offered in English in the Netherlands is second only to the English-speaking Member States Ireland and the UK.

For the Dutch language area there are also longitudinal data available, at least providing a comparison between 2001 and 2007. These data were the result of a comparative study among the most important universities in the Netherlands and Flanders, organised by the Commission CVN, the body that co-ordinates the implementation of the Cultural Treaty between the Netherlands and Flanders. The study of 2001 was reproduced among exactly the same institutions in 2007.

These data offer important material, enabling us especially to assess and evaluate the situation as it exists in the Netherlands. Concerning master's studies we see an enormous increase of English between 2001 and 2007; between 60% and 100%. This is an indication that the shift towards English has taken place during the last 15 years or so, and was closely related to the introduction of the bachelor/master structure resulting from the so-called Bologna process. The fast and extensive *anglicisation* at master's level contrasts with the more stable situation at bachelor's level. The total share of English in the lower academic tier remained low, at around 10%. Between 2001 and 2007 the situation was quite stable, with no significant changes in the distribution of English and Dutch as languages of instruction. The universities declared that they did not expect much change in the near future. These data offer evidence for the conclusion that even at the 'pro-English' Dutch universities – as compared with the universities in the other countries – the national language still occupies an important position as the language of instruction, at least in the first tier of tertiary education.

For Flanders the study organised by the CVN shows a static situation both at master's and at bachelor's level, with almost no change between 2001 and 2007, when the percentage of English used was about 20%. This is the direct result of the official regulation that ruled that a study or discipline was allowed to offer no more than a maximum of 20% of its courses in a language other than Dutch. While most Flemish universities declared themselves to favour a less rigid regulation, we can see that it was nevertheless well observed.

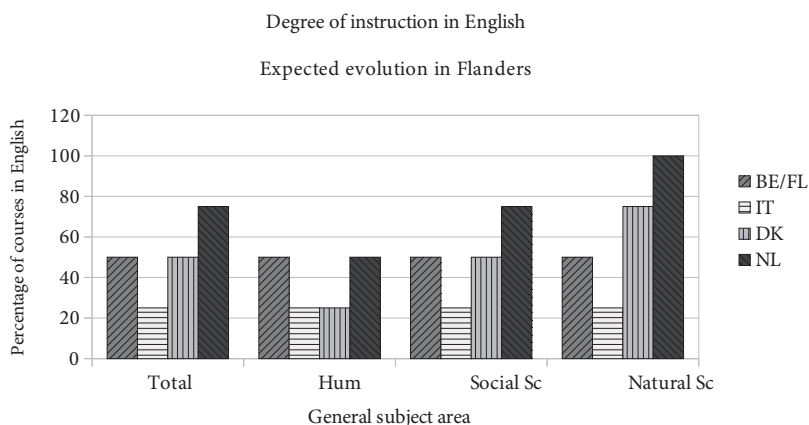
As already stated, this remained the case until 2012. As a result of the increasing pressure of internationalisation and global competition felt by Flemish universities and research centres, the Flemish official regulation was modified and is now less restrictive with regard to the use of languages other than Dutch, which in practice means English in almost all cases.

The new regulation distinguishes between disciplines with a so-called Dutch language regime on the one hand and non-Dutch disciplines on the other. For a discipline to be considered as belonging to the Dutch language regime a maximum of 18% of the courses at bachelor's level and up to 50% at master's level can be given in English. The non-Dutch disciplines are allowed to go beyond the percentages of 18% and 50% and can even be entirely in English. The total number of non-Dutch disciplines cannot exceed 6% of the total number at bachelor's and 35% at master's level. Moreover, there is an additional restrictive condition in that they can only be allowed if there is at least one comparable course of study within the Dutch language regime, i.e. one that satisfies the regular criteria of up to 18 or 50% English. This is seen as a guarantee that for all disciplines and studies students will still have the opportunity to choose the Dutch language regime, i.e. that they are never forced to follow a non-Dutch course of study because there is no Dutch alternative.

The reader will have noticed by now that this new Flemish regulation offers many opportunities for universities to offer more English in their interactions with students, at a regular basis and to a level that will make Flanders more similar to the Netherlands. As this regulation came into practice only two years ago, the real situation is still evolving and remains generally below the maximum levels stipulated in the regulation, since not all disciplines can change the language of instruction of their courses with such little notice. Still, one can expect the share of English to increase considerably during the next few years. The result will be that the Flemish region will, to a certain extent, close the gap with the Netherlands. To be more precise, one can expect the Flemish region to develop in the direction of the status quo in Scandinavia and to move away from that of countries such as Italy or France. This is more or less reflected by Figure 2 below.

At this moment it is difficult to determine whether the shift towards English will be equally fast and thorough in all disciplines and directions. One could imagine, for instance, that the humanities might remain below the maximum level that is officially allowed. It is almost certain that the evolution towards English will be fast, not to say immediate, within the natural sciences. The new official regulation uses the same maxima for all studies, without distinguishing between the humanities, social and natural sciences. As far as natural sciences are concerned, this means that Flanders will remain somewhat behind in comparison to the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, even if the allowed maxima have all been realised.

Fig. 2: *Expected evolution in Flanders from 2013 onwards.*



2. The ideology behind the figures: initial conclusions

The facts and figures that we have mentioned thus far allow us to draw a few provisional conclusions. Our first conclusion is that, although the Dutch language area, and the Netherlands in particular, belong to the regions in Europe where the shift towards English has been particularly strong, the position of Dutch itself remains strong, and particularly as the language of instruction in the first tier of tertiary education. Many people within the university system are convinced that Dutch should remain the language of reference at bachelor's level. We see that the academic world in the Netherlands is somewhat hesitant to shift towards English at that level, at which the use of Dutch is not only considered crucial for the future of Dutch as a language of science, but also for the integration of the academic world with society at large.

Perhaps in hearing our percentages of the use of English as a language of instruction readers from other countries will form the impression that the Netherlands, and perhaps even Flanders, are strongly committed to abolishing their language altogether, at least as languages of science, scientific production, education and communication. This in my view is not the case, at least not in such a forthright way. The important presence of English on one level does not exclude a strong position for Dutch at other levels. In the Netherlands the situation is more complex and more nuanced than a superficial analysis would seem to indicate. The complexity of the actual situation should be taken into account

in a political analysis of what is really at stake, when we come to consider the real dangers, challenges and consequences that result from this language shift, both for the future of our official languages and for the quality of scientific education and research.

This provisional conclusion allows us to move from the situation as it is represented by statistics, towards more personal and emotional convictions and arguments: in other words, towards the ideologies behind the reality of the statistics. The shift from Dutch to English is defended in the context of an explicit means-goal oriented argument. The shift is defended as a necessary means to reach an explicit goal: to improve the quality and the international position of our scientific institutions in a world characterised by increasing global competition. In almost all cases this line of discourse is embedded in a wider ideological axiology that focuses strongly on economical values and in particular on economic growth. In this set of convictions our economy is rapidly moving towards a so-called knowledge economy, which increasingly considers scientific research as instrumental to economic opportunities within this knowledge economy.

An important question is whether the language shift really contributes to the realisation of the declared goal, i.e. whether we have any indication of a strong means-goal relationship between these two entities. For the universities within our language area there seem to be important indications that there is at least a strong parallelism between the language shift and the international ranking and reputation of academic institutions. If we compare the data of well-known international ranking lists, such as for instance “The ranking web of universities”, during the past few years, we see a permanent improvement in the ranking position of Dutch universities. During the recent past more institutions from the Netherlands have entered the top 100 and the ranking position of individual institutions tends to improve over the years. According to the most recent version of the ranking web, nine institutions from the Netherlands are now members of the top 100 best European institutions and two of them have even entered the elite group of the top 10 of European universities.

One can argue that the ranking lists are not really representative of the intrinsic quality of a course of study, discipline or of a faculty or university and that many of these ranking lists tend to be too selective in the criteria that they use as quality indicators. I am aware of this kind of criticism regarding the methodology and the variables that are or are not being taken into account, and indeed I largely agree with this kind of criticism. Even if ranking lists were reliable beyond any possibility of doubt, we should not be tempted by the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy, i.e. the figures would still not be decisive to establish once and for all a causal

instrument–goal relationship between the language shift and the international ranking position of our universities.

For our goal as policy-makers this is nevertheless an important indication for the kind of difficulty we are likely to face. As long as there is at least a parallelism between the language shift on the one hand and an improved ranking position or reputation of the institutions on the other, this parallelism will offer a strong motivation for the management of the universities and other decision-makers, such as the various ministers of science and education, to maintain this kind of policy and even to reinforce it. For language policy experts it is important to be aware of this. It means that in order to be successful in defending and reinforcing the position of our national languages in this field, strong arguments will be needed. These arguments will need to address the whole nexus of academic and scientific excellence. At any case, we will not be successful if our argumentation is limited to a discourse that almost exclusively focuses on the interest of our language as a cultural entity and its future perspectives, even more so when this discourse has a negative, more or less alarmist tone. This alarmist kind of discourse would allow our opponents to categorise our arguments as neo-luddite attempts to stop an inevitable evolution towards economic and social progress.

3. Ideologies and their arguments: the ongoing debate

I will now try to go somewhat deeper into the matter and to describe the ongoing political debate in the Netherlands and Flanders. I will try to describe the position from both sides: those who are in favour of more English at university-level, and those who are opposed or critical and suspicious of this development. I imagine that the lines and types of argumentation will be very recognisable for most readers, regardless of the country or language area they come from.

Those who are in favour typically use a type of argument that focuses strongly on the economy and especially on economic growth, on the inevitability of internationalisation, increasing global competition, both between academic institutions and within the world of scientific research. This kind of discourse considers competition almost automatically to be a condition or stimulus for quality, even at the expense of collaboration. The buzzword that is most often used is *excellence*. In this type of discourse *more English* is the inevitable price we have to pay to continue to play an important role in this globalising world.

The arguments of those who defend the role of the national language, in our case Dutch, are of a different character. They show a strong focus on cultural and social aspects. Aspects belonging to this kind of discourse are for instance the protection of the full functionality of our languages, their importance as decisive

parts of our immaterial cultural heritage and as markers of identity, equal rights and opportunities and democratic participation of all layers and classes of society, the fact that universities and scientific research are largely funded by public authorities and/or belong to the public sector. For this reason, it is argued, they should account for their activities and prove their legitimacy towards society at large. This line of argumentation also tends to focus on the importance of the use of the student's mother tongue as a determiner of the quality of education and research, and on the importance of Dutch as cognitive instrument whose use is a basic condition for sophisticated thinking as well as for the subtle, nuanced transmission of knowledge. Last but not least, it emphasises the integration of most disciplines within the Dutch-speaking civil society: the vast majority of academics are involved in a professional activity within the Dutch language community, in which they also need to communicate professionally with people who do not belong to their discipline. Think of engineers in a production department of a plant or surgeons in a hospital.

As described above, the two lines of argument seem to be diametrically opposed and mutually exclusive. Fortunately, this is not really the case in the public debate in the Netherlands and Flanders. Those who are in favour of more English are usually not opposed to Dutch in all situations. Many of them recognise and accept that it is crucial to continue to use the national language in many contexts. Those who defend a strong position for Dutch tend to think in a similar nuanced way. They are typically not opposed to English. They even explicitly recognise the importance of excellent skills in English for today's students and scientists. This nuanced approach of both sides creates a good basis for establishing a larger consensus within our societies about the role of Dutch and English in tertiary education and scientific research. However, in order to reach this consensus a number of important distinctions will have to be made.

In the first place we need to distinguish between the first and second tiers of academic education: in other words, between the bachelor's and the master's level. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the need for English is more pronounced at the master's level and in the preparation of a PhD than in the first level of university education. The importance of Dutch at that level is considerably less contested.

Furthermore, we need to distinguish between different activities and communicative situations within the scientific sector. As far as purely scientific publications are concerned, almost everyone within our language area is convinced of the necessity of English. In this purely scientific communicative context, we are dealing with members of a scientific community or discipline who report their

findings to their colleagues, i.e. to experts who belong to the same scientific community. Only a few sectors can rightly claim to be an exception to that rule, in that they continue to feel an intrinsic need to continue to publish in Dutch. These are disciplines which are strongly embedded within Dutch society and culture, e.g. Dutch language and literature, cultural sciences, history and the scientific study of national juridical systems and traditions.

However, scientists are involved in a larger range of communicative contexts, and not all of them are limited to colleagues within the same discipline. In our language area there is an equally strong consensus regarding the necessity for scientists to participate in the public debate on crucial issues in society and additionally to push for the exploitation or use of their scientific insights more generally within society. A necessary, though in itself still insufficient, condition for this is the use of the language or languages which dominate(s) the public space of the country or region, and are used by the non-specialised press and media. These are of course our national languages.

It is our conviction that the distinctions between activities and communicative contexts as intended above can contribute to reaching a wider consensus concerning the use of various languages within tertiary education and scientific research. This possible consensus can only be based on an approach of complementarity, i.e. '*Dutch AND English*' rather than '*Dutch OR English*', which means the acceptance of the model of the parallel use of languages, in which no language, not even English, is entitled to replace all other languages in all possible communicative situations. As a member of the Dutch language community I notice our approach approximating very closely to the way of thinking within the Scandinavian countries, where this model of the parallel use of languages is similarly receiving more and more attention. This comparability of situations should be an excellent stimulus for collaboration between the Netherlands, Flanders and the Scandinavian countries.

4. Recent developments in the public debate: the new skills for the 21st century and the gap between ideally needed and really present level of skills

New accents have recently entered the public debate concerning the use of languages in the academic world. One of them is the level of language skills and linguistic competence students should have in order to successfully complete a course of academic study. There is an increasing awareness – confirmed by research data – that a large number of students starting a course of instruction have insufficient language skills for their study. In order to be successful in any

scientific discipline, one must be able to conceptualise information at a high and often abstract level, to be able to distinguish between essential information and non-essential detail, and in general to be able to establish multiple and complex relationships between sentences which relate to equally complex relationships between facts and phenomena in the external world.

This observation has led many to accuse secondary schools of not offering pupils the necessary competence basis for tertiary study, or even – in some cases – the linguistic competence to participate fully and actively in today's complex society. Other observers believe that this accusation is at least exaggerated. They point out that the academic world itself has a responsibility in all this. There is an increasing awareness that the language competences which students and scientific researchers need to master are at least partly specific to scientific activities and should therefore be part of scientific education itself. In other words, universities should not only educate and train people within a certain knowledge domain or scientific discipline, but should also train them in order to acquire a more generalised academic level of thinking. This implies meta-education in cognitive and argumentative skills that are fundamental to scientific activities.

Following this line of argument, we maintain that scientists also need translation skills, i.e. the competence to communicate about their specialised scientific or technological domain with non-specialists, and ultimately with the general public. These communicative skills have to be considered integral parts of the competences and requirements which highly educated and specialised professionals need in modern society. If this claim makes sense it should be accepted that the acquirement of these skills has to be an integral part of professional education and training, and not only a precondition that is expected from secondary schools and for which this school level can be entirely held responsible!

A result of these new aspects within the debate is that the language issue has gained importance as a crucial challenge for the future and is seen in a much broader perspective than the 'Dutch or English' dilemma. This increased attention is even reinforced by another new aspect within the recent public debate. We are witness to a shift in emphasis within scientific education from an exclusive focus on the acquisition of specialised knowledge (and auxiliary sciences such as mathematics) towards the need for a wider, more extensive range of skills and competences. They are held to be crucial in a society that is characterised by vastly increasing levels of complexity and speed of change, making the professional future uncertain and unpredictable, even for highly qualified and educated professionals. This shift in attention has led to a change of focus in favour of skills that are centred on creativity, inventiveness and innovation. Again these creative and

innovative capacities are strictly correlated with specific, high-level language and communication requirements. In this way language skills are becoming crucial aspects of what in the public debate in the Netherlands is known as the so-called new skills for the 21st century.

In this way the public debate concerning language use in science and scientific education has undergone an important change. It is not exclusively centred on Dutch or English anymore, but addresses more fundamental issues, such as the relationship between language competence on the one hand and sophisticated thinking or active and passive processing of complex information on the other. This competence is needed in any language that is being used within the scientific community, and it is likely that it can better be acquired in one's own native language(s) and can afterwards be transferred to the other language systems that we learn to use. This is not an argument in favour of a monolingual approach. On the contrary, modern research provides evidence that plurilingual people, especially those who acquired more than one language at a very young age, organise their brains in more complex ways. All this tends to have a positive influence on non-linguistic cognitive processes as well, e.g. on mathematical thinking.

These changes have had a positive influence on the public debate. The challenges at stake are now far less frequently considered a form of black-and-white opposition, but rather as part of a more sophisticated approach, in which there is space for Dutch and English and other languages as well within the paradigm of the parallel use of languages. In the Netherlands this has led to the expectation that universities and scientific institutions should have an explicit language policy that fully addresses the fundamental challenges mentioned above. It is the conviction of my institution that, in the stipulation of the objectives and in the elaboration of policy measures, an important role can be played by language-planning institutions such as the member organisations of EFNIL, and indeed by EFNIL itself, as a platform not only for the exchange of experiences and reflections, but also as a collaborative platform for the formulation of policy programmes which go beyond the scope of one specific language area or member state of the EU.

I hope to have convinced the reader of this contribution that, in order to have a chance of being successful, EFNIL and its member institutions should change their discourse from an alarmistic and more or less neo-luddite type of discourse, that tends to consider all evolution as a threat and a sign of decay, towards a more open strategy that aims at collaborating with the policy- and decision-makers within the world of science as such, including the ministries of science and education and also the management of the universities and scientific institutions themselves.

Allow me to end my contribution with a suggestion for EFNIL. What could be its specific role in this crucial area for the future of our languages? First of all, it has to continue to collect and interpret the necessary empirical data, since successful policies cannot be formulated in a vacuum but need to be based on a sound knowledge of the facts. EFNIL is already involved in these efforts, mainly by collecting and distributing the data that are part of the European Language Monitor (ELM). This effort has proved its usefulness and should be continued and even reinforced, preferably with the support of the European Union. In my view, EFNIL should go further and should have the explicit ambition of contributing to setting the agenda regarding this crucial issue. The challenge for EFNIL and indeed for all of us would then be to find answers to the challenges at stake. How can we develop a policy line that can really work? The Taalunie is eager to collaborate with all of its sister institutions in answering this question. If we learn to co-operate, we can achieve more. Or to use the motto of the United Dutch Provinces of the 17th and 18th century: *concordia res parvae crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur*, or “harmony allows small things to grow, whilst discord makes great things fall apart”.

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Panel discussion

John Simpson (Moderation)/Ina Druviete/Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen/Francesco Sabatini/Gerhard Stickel

Panel discussion: Language use in university teaching and research: What future do we want?

Over the past two days we have heard many facts and opinions on the use of language in university teaching and research. In this panel discussion, a number of experts from EFNIL will discuss the whole issue of the use of languages in university teaching and research both from their own perspective and in the wider context, informed no doubt by the talks we have heard over the past two days. My name is John Simpson, from the UK, and I will continue to regard myself optimistically as part of the solution, and not part of the problem.

We have four panellists today, bringing us their experience from several different language groupings and geographical regions of Europe. Please allow me to introduce them:

- Professor Gerhard Stickel is our President. He comes from Germany, and was formerly the Director of the Institut für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim.
- Professor Francesco Sabatini, from Italy, is currently Honorary President of the Accademia della Crusca, of which he was President between 2000 and 2008. Professor Sabatini is also Emeritus Professor of the University of Rome Tre.
- Ina Druviete, from Latvia, is both a respected linguist and a politician. She has published widely on linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language planning. Ina was Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Latvia, a post she also held from 2004 to 2006, and again in 2014, when she was known especially for her educational reform.
- Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen, from Denmark (though originally from Germany), is Director of the Dansk Language Council. She is a prolific writer of language issues and has led numerous language projects over the years, including our own ELM project.

Each panellist will introduce an aspect of our topic. Sabine will introduce us to some new initiatives being taken around the world to ensure that language use in universities allows students the best environment in which to learn; Gerhard will look back at the linguistic situation in Europe over the centuries, and how this has affected communication between countries, especially on the level of

scientific enquiry; Francesco will talk about the current situation in Italy and in Europe generally, and will offer a detailed breakdown of the issues; and Ina will draw attention to the ways in which the Latvian Government seeks to ensure the development of Latvian while at the same time engaging in a dynamic dialogue with other European scholars and researchers. Each speaker may of course also address different or wider issues as well.

John Simpson: *First of all, may I introduce Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen. Sabine has been studying recent initiatives around the world to assist students faced with a bewildering linguistic situation, in which the dominance of English in the scholarly world can be regarded as a threat to the future security of their own language. Sabine, what has been the response to this issue in Denmark?*

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen: Thank you. One answer to the question posed in the title of this panel discussion, “Language use in university teaching and research: what future do we want?”, might be found in new language strategies that are being developed at Danish universities. Instead of focusing on the use of either English or Danish as the language of instruction and the language of science, Danish universities have started to integrate language competence in other languages into the curriculum of various study programmes.

John Simpson: *This sounds like a novel approach. How does it work?*

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen: Well, the lack of interest among Danish students in foreign languages such as French, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian has, since 2005, been a serious concern, not only for university teachers and policy-makers, but also for Danish businesses. Several studies have shown that Danish companies risk losing business due to the lack of language skills amongst their employees, and suggestions have been put forward of ways to add more foreign language training to the curricula of, for instance, engineers and business managers. Thus, the University of Roskilde has extended the curriculum of students of law, economy and social sciences to include, in addition, language studies, and the University of Copenhagen has developed a completely new language strategy that encourages supplementary language studies across all faculties.

John Simpson: *Are these language strategies that Denmark has devised itself?*

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen: The inspiration for the approach taken by the University of Copenhagen comes from the USA, from the universities of Yale and Columbia, and from Britain, from the London School of Economics. Yale and Columbia work in co-operation, sharing experts in various languages, thus supplementing each other’s curricula instead of competing against each other.

Language instruction is offered to students of all disciplines on an individual or a collective basis. The focus is on lesser-used languages, and the aim is to attract a special segment of students, namely those who for some reason wish to learn a supplementary foreign language. This might be because the most interesting research is done by a research group where for instance Chinese is spoken, or because a student wants to work in a company where the majority of employees speak Finnish. Another student might need the knowledge of Bengali to prepare for field studies, and yet another one could be interested in Czech because his family emigrated from there many years ago. Following this strategy there is no reason why Turkish medical students should not be supported while working on a project with the University of Ankara in Turkish.

All language skills in all departments are used and highly estimated: instances might include a native speaker of Bengali in the computer science department or a native speaker of Yoruba in the university administration. Language instruction takes place in many forms, from lecture-based courses to personal tutoring. When one of the universities cannot provide expertise in a particular language, the other university usually can, and instruction often takes place using distance education via Skype or other digital communication tools.

John Simpson: *This sounds like a stimulating environment for learning. What is the philosophy behind it?*

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen: The language strategies of these universities are not concerned with protecting the national language and not on the benefits of using English as a global language of science, but on the needs of the language users: about enabling them to reach their dreams and goals for life and to fulfil their role as citizens in their societies. If the view is based on the needs of the language users and their plans for the future, then linguistic diversity automatically comes into play. An environment that allows students to choose freely the means of expression that they consider relevant for their goals will necessarily foster language diversity, as the students will embrace the national language or any other language.

John Simpson: *And how would you go about developing a strategy like this in Denmark? Do the different competence levels of students present you with a complex issue?*

Sabine Kirchmeier-Andersen: It is true that developing a language strategy along these lines is not easily done. Students at Danish universities are on very different levels regarding language skills. Some still need to improve their skills in scientific English, whereas others are ready to meet new linguistic challenges. A large

group of exchange students and immigrants have the national language as their second language and English as their third. Mapping the actual needs of students and of administrative and scientific personnel is one of the first steps to be taken. One may be surprised at the diversity that emerges from the results. Mapping the language skills actually present at a university across faculties and making these skills visible is equally important and enlightening. The experiences at the University of Copenhagen have shown already that there exists much greater language diversity than expected and consequently also a stronger demand for better language skills. Bringing these other languages into play and supporting the language users in their quests is the next step. The effects of this strategy remain to be seen in the years to come.

John Simpson: *Thank you, Sabine. We move now from a prospect of new strategies for the future to an overview of the interplay of languages in Europe in the past. This is a subject that Professor Stickel has been considering for much of his working life – and doubtless earlier too! Gerhard, perhaps you can put the question of language use in university teaching into a wider historical perspective. Did we have these linguistic problems in the past, or is this something new for us to deal with?*

Gerhard Stickel: The present national languages were not always the media of instruction and publication at the European universities. Up until the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries, and in some countries right up until the nineteenth century, Latin was the dominant communicative medium of science and the humanities, and also the medium of teaching and discussion in higher education. This had the advantage of allowing for an easy exchange of ideas and concepts between scholars in the various linguistic regions of Europe. It allowed students of various *nationes* to study together at Bologna, Paris, Oxford or Prague. (Before the French revolution, *natio*, “nation”, was an ethnic concept rather than a political one.) Latin was also the language of politics, administration and religion, at least in most Catholic parts of Europe before the Reformation. This simplified the means of communication between the political, administrative and religious agents of the various countries and regions of Europe. Knowledge of Latin was, however, limited to a small elite. The vast majority of the people were illiterate. Literacy was closely connected to an understanding of Latin and sometimes of Ancient Greek. The diglossia of Latin and the domestic vernacular languages also meant a social division between a small number of educated scholars, administrators and clergymen and the vast majority of the uneducated masses.

John Simpson: *Many years ago we benefited from the hegemony of Latin. At what stage did the European vernacular languages begin to have an influence on the academic stage in our universities?*

Gerhard Stickel: Only yesterday we learned from Professor Librandi about how Latin was gradually replaced by Italian as a medium of instruction at the universities of this country. I myself have only rather general information on the development within the academic realm of other European countries. But in the German lands a first attempt to use German for academic teaching was made by the famous medical doctor Paracelsus in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This remained an isolated episode because of his many academic enemies who insisted on Latin as teaching medium. More than a hundred years later, scholars such as the jurist Thomasius (1655–1728) and the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754) lectured in German instead of Latin, in the face of protests from their academic colleagues.

It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the development of German as a language appropriate for all sciences and the humanities was finally achieved. Latin was not entirely abolished in the academic world until some decades ago. The theological departments of a few universities are said to have used Latin for some of their instruction in the recent past. At several universities, doctoral dissertations in several fields of the humanities could be written in Latin until recently, though only a very small number of students made use of this. However, these are only a few meagre remnants of the great history of Latin in the academic world of the German-speaking countries.

John Simpson: *The emergence of the vernacular languages was good in terms of national identity, but presumably this began to cause problems in cross-boundary communication?*

Gerhard Stickel: The development of the vernacular language as a medium of instruction and discussion in science and for the humanities was not the same for all European languages. Some languages gained a wider use and distribution than others. Scientists of smaller linguistic communities had to use another language when they wanted to be internationally recognised. Hungarian and Finnish scholars, for instance, used to publish in German until the last century, whereas Polish scientists and scholars preferred French.

John Simpson: *But in the modern world we are seeing the old hegemonies being replaced by the dominance of English. This erects barriers to the free flow of scientific and even general discourse. How much of a problem is this?*

Gerhard Stickel: It is important to remember that in the past the developing diversity of the various European languages and their increasing use in university teaching and research did not hamper progress in science and learning. In fact, it stimulated this progress. Nowadays, linguistic diversity in academia seems to be gradually going into reverse. There are obvious practical reasons for the increasing use of English as a kind of modern Latin in various scientific disciplines (I should say that I do not like the term *lingua franca*, which is often used in this context). Along with the modern communicative tools, it allows for a fast international exchange of scientific topics, questions and results. It also supports the mobility of researchers and students of these fields. However, the dominant use of English puts scientists with other native languages at a disadvantage. At first sight this might seem to be only a minor problem, since physics, chemistry and other sciences have additional semiotic means, such as mathematic formulas and graphic tools, by which to convey meaning. The explanatory wording between diagrams and formulae can be in rather simple English. The problem, however, is the tendency towards an exclusive use of English in several disciplines. This keeps the other European languages from keeping up to date with the progress made in science, where new terms and discoveries are only expressed in English.

John Simpson: *You have identified advantages in the growing diversity of languages within Europe. But surely the vernacular languages other than English suffer as their scope for development and experimentation is restricted by the dominance of English.*

Gerhard Stickel: This problem is even greater in the humanities that have only a small number of standardised terms and units. There, the basic concepts, terms and processes have to be verbally developed and explained. As a result, the creativity of the individual scholar is highly dependent on the language he or she uses. Research creativity is said to be about 20% higher in the native language of the individual scholar than even in a well-mastered foreign language. In addition, teaching and research in the humanities is also related to important works and theoretical traditions that are connected to individual languages. Since English is not a neutral medium but, especially in the humanities, is connected with certain trends the so-called mainstream in the Anglophone countries its increased use may lead to a loss of important European traditions of learning. It is a well-known fact that many European scholars follow their British and American colleagues in citing only from Anglophone literature whenever they publish in English.

John Simpson: *So is there an answer to this linguistic dilemma? How do we have the best of both worlds in the field of academic enquiry and teaching?*

Gerhard Stickel: In order to retain the advantage of the use of English as an international vehicular language and to minimise its disadvantages, teachers and researchers in all fields of higher learning should cultivate an advanced bilingualism by using both English and their native tongue in their teaching and publications. They should also encourage their students to adopt this bilingualism. In some fields of the humanities, even bilingualism is not sufficient: students and researchers in subjects such as Romance, Germanic, Slavic or Finno-Ugric philology, in history or in comparative literature need more languages than just their own vernacular and English. They will doubtless need even more languages in the future, unless the situation is brought under closer control.

John Simpson: *Professor Stickel, thank you very much for taking us through the history of linguistic dominance and diversification in Europe over the last thousand years and more.*

*I'd now like to move closer to the present, and to invite Professor Sabatini to explain to us something of the situation as currently experienced in Italy.*¹

Francesco Sabatini: Perhaps I can begin by extending my warmest greetings to those EFNIL members who are here today, particularly the President, Gerhard Stickel, and John Simpson and Johan van Hoorde, who have been my colleagues since the inception of the Federation.

It is my intention to convey the Italian perspective on the 'linguistic future' of our universities, both here in Italy and elsewhere in Europe.

The talks given here yesterday and this morning have demonstrated very clearly, and with an abundance of supporting evidence, the dangerous situation we find ourselves in if we are too quick to follow, without checks and balances, the fashion of teaching in what is termed an international language (more specifically, English), instead of our national language. This fashion is especially prevalent in Italy and it is getting out of control.

We can only make predictions and give indications for the future if we can identify precisely what the dangers are. Here too we must observe the maxim *primum non nocere* ('above all, do not harm'). This principle of ancient medicine remains relevant in other spheres, as espoused in the 'non-maleficence' propounded in the bioethics of the American philosopher Tom L Beauchamp.

1 I am grateful to Kate Precious for translating Professor Sabatini's contribution into English for these proceedings.

John Simpson: *Can you give us a summary of the principal issues facing the Italian language and other European languages in this period of English dominance?*

Francesco Sabatini: Yes, certainly. The dangers we face concern a number of issues:

- The quality of teaching, which will vary according to the mastery of English of both the individual tutor, who must teach in what will be, for a large percentage, an unfamiliar language, and the student, who must understand it. This will vary not just from person to person but from country to country.
- In many fields, the cost in terms both of financial resources and personal effort will be disproportionate to the dividends it will pay when future endeavours are likely to be carried out in the native language.
- A reduction in the use of the national language as a tool for analysis and deductive reasoning, particularly in the sciences and technologies. The relegation of the national language to being primarily a tool for the expression of emotions. (This was considered by Leibniz in his time to be a common limitation of national languages, as Professor Stickel has reminded us.)
- A general weakening of the appeal of studying the national language, if not linked to professional objectives.
- A degree of discrimination, which could become widespread in the community.

John Simpson: *These are very serious issues, as we have heard throughout this conference. Professor Sabatini, what in your view should we be doing to counteract these dangers?*

Francesco Sabatini: Assuming that these dangers are real, even if the extent will vary from one country to another, I believe that we must apply the following policies to our teaching methods:

A. In schools and places of further education:

- Great care should be taken to ensure a solid grounding in both the written and spoken form of the national language as a priority in all subject areas (keeping teaching in English to an absolute minimum in only small sections of the curriculum).
- A solid grounding in English but not to the exclusion of other subjects.
- Teaching of a second foreign language to a basic level, or encouragement to practise intercomprehension with speakers of similar languages.

B. In university teaching and scientific production:

- undergraduate courses should primarily be taught in the national language with only parts of the course or seminar being taught in English.
- the opposite should apply to postgraduate courses and doctorates, whilst ensuring that part of all courses are still taught in the national language.
- English should be reserved for only the highest specialisms, such as doctoral theses and scientific publication.

John Simpson: *It is often maintained that the present situation as regards English is parallel to the situation in medieval Europe when Latin was used as the prestige language of scholarly discussion. Do you share this view?*

Francesco Sabatini: This is not a view I share entirely. In fact, I believe we must challenge the increasingly widespread viewpoint that, in superior cultures, English is taking on the same role that medieval Latin held right up until the beginning of modern times. This arises from a misrepresentation of history (whether deliberate or accidental), since an analysis of the relationship between Latin and the European national languages actually reveals the opposite to be true. It is necessary to understand the facts, which I will summarise under two headings.

Firstly, during the medieval period, and even later, Latin enjoyed a unique position. No other language was as culturally significant or possessed the same tradition of rule-governed writing which could be taught. The vernacular Romance and Germanic languages, while demonstrably capable of producing expressive literature (mostly poetry) and being used for functional purposes (contracts, business and other administrative documents) did not possess the necessary lexicon and syntax to be suitable for philosophy, law or science (such as it was at the time). In addition, they did not have standardised spelling or grammar. At this point in history, these languages were still absorbing from Latin the mass of lexical and grammatical elements that would allow them subsequently to take on the same functions as this ‘master’ language.

Secondly, when the national languages attained this level of maturity (from around the 16th century), all the higher humanist and natural science fields began to abandon Latin in favour of the national languages, with the caveat that Latin was sometimes used to bring their message to a wider audience. Therefore, the arrival of true modern science (theoretical, critical and experimental) was accompanied mostly by the language that every thinker and researcher felt to be rich with register and the necessary ideas. And lessons, whether at university or not, followed suit.

John Simpson: *Thank you, Professor Sabatini, for expressing so clearly both the Italian and the wider European perspective. Different European countries have different*

attitudes to the amount of change that can be brought about by legislation. I come from a tradition where, for a number of reasons, legislation is not explicitly apparent in the sphere of language planning. Our last speaker, Ina Druviete, comes from the world of one of Europe's ancient but smaller languages, and has been extremely active in promoting its future.

Ina, we have a situation within Europe at the moment in which one language is dominant. Is a single strategy throughout all European nations – including the UK perhaps – possible to ensure that our different languages maintain their form, functionality, expressiveness, and even their beauty?

Ina Druviete: I would like to begin by considering the question whether it is possible to develop a common European approach to the expanding use of English in higher education at all. Who are these “we”, that seem to want a definite future? Multilingualism involving English is a global reality in almost all European countries, although there is no reliable theory accounting for how models of national languages and English coexist in different countries, and so no policies have been designed and implemented to bring this about. All countries are unique with regard to their language situation, and countries are unique with regard to their approach to English in different sociolinguistic domains.

John Simpson: *There must be differences within the Baltic states as to the choice of language in university teaching.*

Ina Druviete: There are indeed marked differences even among the Baltic states. Estonia is moving towards a dominance of English in MA and PhD studies and research, while at the same time allocating state-financed study places for work principally in Estonian; Lithuania and Latvia prefer a more moderate approach. Indeed, Latvia could be called a language-centred country and society, which embodies a “language as heart and core” approach both in official language policy and in public opinion.

There are obvious historical, geopolitical and psychological reasons for this, and these attitudes cannot be changed voluntarily in a short period of time, even if policy-makers, scholars, NGO activists or others would like to do so. Only twenty years have passed since Latvian speakers were subjected to overt or covert Russification and the sociolinguistic functions of Latvian were restricted. The re-established Republic of Latvia put a lot of well-considered and systematic effort into ensuring the maintenance of Latvian in a very competitive language situation. Both historical experience and the high profile of language issues in everyday discourse heavily influence attitudes towards the English language as a newcomer in Latvia's language market.

John Simpson: *Latvia has certainly experienced much change over the past few decades, and it must have been hard to develop new strategies for the changing realities. What is the situation in Latvia now?*

Ina Druviete: According to the data collected in the Adult Education Survey (2011), carried out by the Central Statistical Bureau, 95% of Latvian adults aged between 25 and 64 know at least one foreign language, but 5% do not know any foreign language (judged by speakers' own self-perception). According to the latest data available from the EU Statistical Office Eurostat (2013), at least one foreign language is known on average by 65.7% of the EU population. As regards knowledge of foreign languages, Latvia is third in the European Union, immediately after Lithuania, where at least one foreign language is known by 97.3% of the population, and Luxembourg, where at least one foreign language is known by 98.9%.

The above mentioned survey states that the majority of the Latvian population – 46% – know two foreign languages. This is followed by 36% of the population who know one foreign language. However, three and more foreign languages are known by 13% of adults. The majority of adults – 57% – know Russian; 49% know English; but only 18% of the population know German. At present two foreign languages are compulsory in all general education and vocational schools. The first, obligatory foreign language is English; the second foreign language is a matter of free choice. Since the school year 2014–15 English has been taught from the first grade in schools. The final, centralised examination in English is obligatory for all graduates of secondary schools.

John Simpson: *Legislation – with which you have been particularly involved in recent years – has led to a new view of the balance of languages in Latvia. How does this work?*

Ina Druviete: The *Law on Institutions of Higher Education* (2006) allows our universities to develop additive multilingualism, while at the same time protecting Latvian as the main language in education. Section 56 states:

(3). The study programmes of state-funded institutions of higher education shall be implemented in the official language. The use of foreign languages in the implementation of study programmes shall be possible only in the following cases:

- Study programmes which are acquired by foreign students in Latvia, and study programmes which are implemented within the scope of cooperation provided for in European Union programmes and international agreements may be implemented in the official languages of the European Union. For foreign students, the acquisition of the official language shall be included in the study course compulsory component if

studies in Latvia are expected to last longer than six months or to exceed 20 credit points.

- Not more than one-fifth of the credit-point component of a study programme may be implemented in the official languages of the European Union: in this part final and state examinations may not be included, nor the writing of qualifying, bachelor and masters works.
- Study programmes which are implemented in foreign languages are necessary for the achievement of the aims of the study programme in conformity with the educational classification of the Republic of Latvia for such educational programme groups: language and cultural studies and language programmes. The licensing commission shall decide the conformity of the study programme to the educational programme group.

This formulation ensures that Latvia does not to repeat the approach of most European states, which have almost lost their official languages in higher education and science and are now trying to restore their functions. However, this approach has been subjected to criticism, too.

John Simpson: *And the future? How does Latvia expect to build on this foundation?*

Ina Druviete: In 2011 the Latvian Parliament (Saeima) adopted amendments to the *Law on Institutions of Higher Education* that will introduce several important changes in regulations concerning the activity of institutions of higher education; these changes are aimed at improving the quality of education. The Law sets forth stricter rules for developing and licensing study programmes and for the selection of academic staff. Since 1 September 2014, at least 5% of the academic staff of each institution of higher education must have been foreign visiting professors, visiting associate professors, visiting docents and visiting lecturers who have held an academic position at an EU-accredited institution of higher education outside Latvia during the previous five years. There are no language proficiency demands for visiting professors; however, in order to occupy permanent positions among the faculty, high-level Latvian language skills are required.

The point is not about how “to reconcile national language pride with English language usage”² but how to maintain language, in this case specifically the Latvian language, in a situation of marked language competition with two world languages (Russian and English) with much higher economic value. If the language functions poorly in certain sociolinguistic domain (in this case – in higher education) this

2 Wee, L./Lim, L./Goh, R.B.H. (eds.) (2013): *The politics of English*. (= Studies in World Language Problems 4). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, chapter 16 “Conclusion”, 308.

domain loss has a direct impact on several other domains (e.g. science) and the quality of the respective language in general (e.g. terminology processes, academic writing, scientific popular literature et al.). Taking into account a hierarchically subordinated education system (pre-school, basic, secondary, vocational, higher, lifelong education) linguistic transformation in one phase inevitably would be followed by changes in language teaching and learning ideologies and practices throughout the system. Therefore Latvian sociolinguists, being aware of the detrimental effects of subtractive bilingualism in higher education, urge governments to take appropriate steps in order to protect the full-blooded functioning of the official languages in all phases of systems of education and also of research.

John Simpson: *Thank you, Ina, for that description and explanation of Latvia's detailed language strategy.*

This panel discussion has brought together many of the themes of the conference as a whole. Over several conferences, and indeed from the very beginnings of EFNIL as an organisation, we have been aware of the problems of language dominance – in terms of language diversity, language development, the maintenance of functionality in numerous domains, and indeed in many other areas. Within EFNIL this has never been an “elephant in the room”, but has always been openly discussed by all parties. This conference has been an opportunity for members to explain the effect of linguistic dominance within the university system, but of course linguistic dominance affects many other aspects of life. Different countries have different views on how to handle the issue, and it has been good to hear – both from our panel of experts and from the floor – what solutions are being sought and how our combined experience can be brought to bear on what might otherwise remain an intractable issue. Thank you all for your contributions today.

The Florence Resolution

The Resolution of Florence concerning Language Use in University Teaching and Research (in 26 European languages)

The resolution presented here in 26 European languages summarizes and concludes the discussion that the members of EFNIL had at their 12th annual conference at the Accademia della Crusca in Florence on 27th and 28th September 2014. Since problems that the present language use in the academic world of many countries causes are far from being solved the discussion will, of course, go on.

bg	български	hr	hrvatski jezik	no – Bokmål (Bokmål)	Norsk
cs	čeština	is	íslensk	no – Nynorsk (Nynorsk)	Norsk
da	dansk	it	italiano	pl	polski
de	Deutsch	lv	latviešu valoda	pt	português
el	ελληνικά	le	Lëtzebuergesch	ro	română
et	eesti keel	lt	lietuvių kalba	sk	slovenčina
en	English	hu	magyar	sl	slovenščina
fi	Suomi	mt	Malti	sv	svenska
fr	français	nl	Nederlands		

Резолюция от Флоренция относно Езиците, използвани за университетско обучение и научни изследвания

Днес в цяла Европа се наблюдава тенденция към все по-широка употреба на английския език в академичната среда – за обучение и научен обмен. Това тежнение е по-силно изразено в областта на естествените науки, отколкото в хуманитаристиката. Тенденцията да се възприема една политика „само на английски език“ в научните публикации и при провеждането на международни (и дори на национални) конференции придобива бързо масов характер. При това положение няма съмнение, че напредъкът, постигнат в международното общуване, е за сметка на всички други езици освен английския.

Подобна е ситуацията и в областта на социалните и хуманитарните науки. Възможно е в не-англоезичните страни да изглежда, че принадлежността към международната научна общност изисква използването на английски език в тази сфера вместо съответните национални езици.

Това все по-разпространено схващане представлява съвсем реална опасност за другите езици и култури, и присъщите им начин на мислене и световъзприятие. Английският език не е неутрално средство за общуване с всякаква цел. Използването предимно или само на английски език води до пренебрегване и забравяне на важни традиции, концепции и методи, разработени на други езици. Нещо повече, учените и преподавателите от англоезичните страни могат лесно да задават основната насока на изследванията в различните дисциплини, т.е. да се налагат при определянето на темите и проблемите от най-голямо значение. А вече е доказано, че това оказва влияние върху отпускането на финансова помощ за научни изследвания в други страни.

- ЕФНИЕ, асоциацията на главните институции за официалните езици на много европейски страни, наблюдава с дълбоко безпокойство актуалната тенденция към употреба на английския като език за академично обучение в не-англоезични страни. Тази тенденция да се използва английски език за университетско обучение и научни изследвания вместо книжовните езици на съответните държави ограничава сферите на употреба и развитието на тези езици, като по този начин **застрашава**

езиковото многообразие на Европа, което е от съществено значение за културното многообразие и богатство на нашия континент.

- ЕФНИЕ напълно признава практическата полза от английския език като помощен в общуването между преподаватели и изследователи, които нямат друг общ език. **Призовава, обаче, към предпазливост по отношение на използването на ограничени разновидности на английския език** като основно или единствено средство за преподаване и публикуване в други езикови среди, тъй като това обезценява другите езици и постепенно ги прави все по-негодни за употреба в академичната сфера. Излишно е да се каже, че това създава допълнително напрежение за преподавателите и другите обучители, както и за студентите, което може да потисне креативността им.
- ЕФНИЕ признава **предимствата от използването на английския език като средство за международно общуване, особено в т. нар. «твърди» науки**, където дори една опростена форма на английски може да бъде от полза при разясняването на други международни семиотични системи, като например математически изрази, химически формули, таблици и схеми. Въпреки това, използването на други езици освен английския в тези области трябва да бъде насърчавано, за да им се даде възможност да продължат развитието на научния си дискурс на високо равнище и да направят научните проблеми и резултати достояние на широката общественост.
- Учените би трябвало да използват родния си език и в допълнение езици, съответни на контекста на изследванията им. Не е необходимо да избягват напълно английския, но би следвало да разглеждат употребата му като „второстепенен път“ за изтъкване на значимостта на аргументите и изводите си.
- В този дух ЕФНИЕ **категорично** призовава академичните и държавните власти в не-англоезичните европейски страни да насърчават преподавателите и студентите да използват националните си езици в сферата на научните изследвания и университетското обучение.
- В интерес на културното и езиковото многообразие на Европа, ЕФНИЕ се обръща и към преподавателите, студентите и администрациите на университетите в англоезичните страни с призив **да се стремят към изучаването и използването на други европейски езици**. Това ще спомогне за опазването на езиковото многообразие на Европа и на свързаните с него ценности.

(одобрена от Общото събрание на ЕФНИЕ в Академия дела Круска на 28-ми септември 2014 г.)

Florentská rezoluce týkající se používání jazyků na univerzitách a ve výzkumu

Po celé Evropě roste tendence používat angličtinu jako jazyk akademické výuky a výzkumu. Tato tendence je silnější v přírodních vědách než v humanitních oborech. Sklon k přijímání politiky “používat výhradně angličtinu” ve vědeckých publikacích a jako jediný jazyk mezinárodních (a dokonce i národních) konferencí se rychle šíří. Za této situace není pochyb, že pokrok dosažený v oblasti mezinárodní komunikace jde na úkor všech ostatních jazyků.

Ve společenských a humanitních vědách je situace obdobná. Zdá se, že neanglicky mluvící země, které chtějí být součástí mezinárodní vědecké obce, dávají přednost spíše používání angličtiny než národních jazyků.

Tento stále rozšířenější postoj představuje velmi reálné jazykové, kognitivní a kulturní riziko. Angličtina není neutrální univerzální prostředek komunikace. Převládajícím nebo dokonce výlučným používáním angličtiny jsou ignorovány nebo zapomenuty důležité tradice, koncepce a postupy vyvinuté v jiných jazycích. Kromě toho se může stát, že hlavní proud nejrůznějších disciplín, které určují, která témata a oblasti jsou nejvíce relevantní, bude ovládnut mluvčími z anglofonních zemí. A jak se již ukázalo, tato situace může mít vliv na přidělování finanční podpory pro výzkum v jiných zemích.

- EFNIL, asociace hlavních institucí zabývajících se úředními jazyky mnoha evropských zemích, považuje současný trend používání angličtiny jako jazyka akademické výuky v neanglofonních zemích za velice znepokojující. Tendence používat angličtinu namísto standardních jazyků jednotlivých zemí v univerzitní výuce a výzkumu omezuje domény těchto jazyků a jejich rozvoj, a tím ohrožuje jazykovou rozmanitost Evropy, která je zásadní pro kulturní rozmanitost a bohatství našeho kontinentu.
- EFNIL plně uznává praktičnost používání angličtiny jako pomocného jazyka pro komunikaci mezi vědci a učiteli, kteří nemají společný jazyk. Nicméně varuje před používáním varianty omezené angličtiny jako dominantního nebo výlučného prostředku komunikace při výuce a v publikacích v jiném jazykovém prostředí, neboť to devalvuje ostatní jazyky a snižuje to jejich vhodnost používání ve vědeckém kontextu. Netřeba připomínat, že to rovněž znamená zátěž jak pro učitele a ostatní vzdělavatele, tak pro studenty, jejichž kreativitu to může brzdit.

- EFNIL uznává výhody používání angličtiny jako mezinárodní prostředku komunikace, zejména v tzv. “tvrdých” vědách, kde i zjednodušená forma angličtiny může být užitečná při objasňování jiných mezinárodních sémiotických komunikačních systémů, jako např. matematických výrazů, tabulek, chemických vzorců a grafických návrhů. Nicméně je nutné vedle angličtiny podporovat i používání jiných jazyků v těchto oblastech, aby i v těchto jazycích bylo možné vést rozvinutou vědeckou komunikaci a seznamovat v nich veřejnost s vědeckými problémy a výsledky vědecké práce.
- Vědci by měli používat své mateřské jazyky a vedle toho i jazyky odpovídající kontextu jejich studia. Není nutné, aby se úplně vyhýbali angličtině, ale použití angličtiny by měli považovat až za sekundární možnost, jak prokázat relevantnost svých argumentů a zjištění.
- EFNIL proto apeluje na akademické a politické orgány v neanglofonních zemích Evropy, aby ve výzkumu a studiu podpořily používání příslušných národních jazyků studenty i učiteli.
- V zájmu kulturní a jazykové rozmanitosti Evropy EFNIL také apeluje na profesory, studenty a vedení univerzit v anglofonních zemích, aby věnovali úsilí studiu a používání ostatních evropských jazyků. Přispějí tím k zachování jazykové rozmanitosti Evropy a jejích hodnot.

(schváleno Valným shromážděním EFNIL, Accademia della crusca, 28. září 2014)

Firenzeresolutionen vedrørende sprogbrugen i undervisning og forskning på universiteterne

I hele Europa er der i dag en voksende tilbøjelighed til at anvende engelsk som den akademiske undervisnings og forsknings sprog. Denne tendens er stærkere i naturvidenskaberne end i humaniora. Tendensen til at anvende en "kun engelsk-politik" i videnskabelige publikationer og som det eneste kommunikationsmiddel på internationale (og endda nationale) konferencer vokser hurtigt. I sådanne situationer er der ingen tvivl om at fremskridtene i international kommunikation sker på bekostning af alle andre sprog end engelsk.

Situationen er tilsvarende i samfundsvidenskab og humaniora. I ikke-engelsktalende lande kan behovet for at være en del af det internationale videnskabelige samfund synes at kræve brug af det engelske sprog snarere end andre nationale sprog.

Denne voksende holdning udgør en meget reel sproglig, kognitiv og kulturel risiko. Engelsk er ikke et neutralt kommunikationsmiddel til alle formål. Ved den fremherskende eller endda eksklusive brug af engelsk bliver vigtige traditioner, begreber og metoder der er udviklet på andre sprog, ignoreret eller glemt. Desuden kan mainstream indenfor de forskellige discipliner fastlæggelsen af de temaer og problemer der anses for mest relevante let blive domineret af talere fra engelsktalende lande. Dette har allerede vist sig at påvirke fordelingen af finansiel støtte til forskning i andre lande.

- EFNIL, sammenslutningen af de centrale institutioner for de officielle sprog i mange europæiske lande, ser med dyb bekymring på den nuværende tendens imod anvendelsen af engelsk som sprog i den faglige undervisning i ikke-engelsktalende lande. Tendensen til at bruge engelsk i universitetsundervisning og -forskning i stedet for de forskellige landes standardsprog begrænser disse sprogs domæner og deres udvikling og **truer derved den sproglige mangfoldighed i Europa** der er afgørende for den kulturelle mangfoldighed og rigdom på vores kontinent.
- EFNIL anerkender fuldt ud den praktiske brug af engelsk som hjælpesprog i kommunikationen mellem forskere og lærere der ikke har noget andet fælles sprog. **Det advarer imidlertid mod anvendelsen af reducerede varieteter af engelsk** som dominerende eller eksklusivt medium for undervisning og publicering i andre sproglige miljøer fordi det devaluerer de andre sprog og

gør dem gradvis mere og mere uegnede i den videnskabelige diskurs, for ikke at tale om at det også lægger ekstra pres på lærere og andre undervisere, lige som på studerende, hvis kreativitet kan blive hæmmet.

- EFNIL **anerkender fordelene ved at bruge engelsk som et internationalt kommunikationsmiddel, især i de såkaldte ”hårde” videnskaber**, hvor selv en forenklet form for engelsk kan være nyttigt til at forklare andre internationale tegnsystemer, såsom matematiske udtryk, tabeller, kemiske formler og grafiske design. Men der skal tilskyndes til at andre sprog end engelsk anvendes på disse områder for at gøre det muligt for disse sprog fortsat at udvikle et højt niveau i den videnskabelige diskurs og også at gøre videnskabelige problemstillinger og resultater tilgængelige for offentligheden.
- Forskere skal bruge deres modersmål og derudover sprog der passer i ind i deres fags sammenhæng. Det er ikke nødvendigt at undgå engelsk helt, men de bør regne brugen af engelsk for en sekundær vej til at vise relevansen af deres argumenter og resultater.
- EFNIL appellerer derfor **på det kraftigste** til de akademiske og politiske myndigheder i ikke-engelsktalende lande i Europa om at opmuntre lærere og elever **til at bruge deres nationale sprog til forskning og studier**.
- Af hensyn til den kulturelle og sproglige mangfoldighed i Europa appellerer EFNIL også til universitetslærere, studerende og forvaltninger på universiteterne i de engelsktalende lande **om at drive studier i og anvendelse af andre europæiske sprog**. Dette vil bidrage til at bevare den sproglige mangfoldighed i Europa og dets værdier.

(vedtaget på EFNIL's generalforsamling på Accademia della Crusca 28. September 2014)

Florentiner Resolution zum Sprachgebrauch in der akademischen Lehre und Forschung

In ganz Europa gibt es derzeit eine zunehmende Tendenz, Englisch als Sprache akademischer Lehre und Forschung zu verwenden. Diese Tendenz ist in den Naturwissenschaften stärker als in den Geisteswissenschaften. Die Tendenz zum “English only” in wissenschaftlichen Publikationen und zu Englisch als ausschließlichem Verständigungsmedium auf internationalen (und sogar nationalen) Konferenzen nimmt rasch zu. Hierbei geht der Fortschritt in der internationalen Kommunikation zweifellos zulasten aller anderen Sprachen.

Die Lage ist ähnlich in den Gesellschaftswissenschaften und Geisteswissenschaften. In nicht-englischsprachigen Ländern scheint das Bedürfnis, Teil der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft zu sein, den Gebrauch von Englisch anstelle der anderen Landessprachen nach sich zu ziehen.

Diese zunehmende Einstellung stellt ein reales sprachliches, kognitives und kulturelles Risiko dar. Englisch ist kein neutrales kommunikatives Allzweckmedium. Durch den vorherrschenden oder sogar ausschließlichen Gebrauch von Englisch werden wichtige in anderen Sprachen entstandene Traditionen, Konzepte und Methoden ignoriert oder vergessen. Hinzu kommt, dass die Hauptrichtung der Themen und Probleme, die als besonders wichtig gelten, leicht durch Sprecherinnen und Sprecher aus den englischsprachigen Ländern dominiert werden kann. Dies hat sich schon als Einfluss auf die Zuweisung von Forschungsmitteln in anderen Ländern gezeigt.

- EFNIL, die Vereinigung der zentralen Institutionen für die offiziellen Sprachen vieler europäischer Länder, betrachtet die derzeitige Tendenz zum Gebrauch von Englisch als Sprache der akademischen Lehre in nicht-englischsprachigen Ländern mit großer Sorge. Dieser Hang, Englisch anstelle der Standardsprachen der verschiedenen Länder in der akademischen Lehre und Forschung zu verwenden, schränkt die Gebrauchs- und Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten dieser Sprachen ein und gefährdet so die sprachliche Vielfalt Europas, die für die kulturelle Vielfalt und den kulturellen Reichtum unseres Kontinents wesentlich ist.
- EFNIL anerkennt den praktischen Nutzen von Englisch als Hilfssprache für die Verständigung zwischen Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern, die nicht über eine gemeinsame andere Sprache verfügen. EFNIL warnt jedoch

vor dem Gebrauch vereinfachter Formen des Englischen als dominantem oder ausschließlichem Unterrichts- und Publikationsmedium in anderssprachigen Umgebungen, da es die anderen Sprachen entwertet und sie nach und nach für den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs ungeeignet macht. Im Übrigen erzeugt dies einen zusätzlichen Druck auf Lehrende und Studierende, deren Kreativität hierdurch beeinträchtigt werden kann.

- EFNIL anerkennt die Vorteile, die der Gebrauch von Englisch als internationalem Kommunikationsmedium besonders in den so genannten 'harten' Naturwissenschaften bietet, wo sogar eine vereinfachte Form des Englischen hilfreich sein kann, um andere internationale semiotische Systeme wie etwa mathematische Ausdrücke, Tabellen, chemische Formeln und grafische Darstellungen zu erläutern. In diesen Bereichen muss jedoch zum Gebrauch anderer Sprachen neben Englisch ermutigt werden, damit auch diese Sprachen sich für einen hochrangigen wissenschaftlichen Diskurs und zur Veröffentlichung wissenschaftlicher Probleme und Ergebnisse für die Allgemeinheit weiterentwickeln.
- Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler sollten ihre eigenen Sprachen verwenden und dazu Sprachen, die dem Kontext ihrer Forschungen angemessen sind. Sie brauchen nicht völlig auf Englisch zu verzichten, sollten aber den Gebrauch von Englisch nur als zusätzlichen Weg sehen, um die Bedeutung ihrer Überlegungen und Ergebnisse aufzuzeigen.
- EFNIL appelliert deshalb mit allem Nachdruck an die akademischen und politischen Instanzen in den nicht-englischsprachigen Ländern Europas, ihre Lehrenden und Studierenden zum Gebrauch ihrer jeweiligen Landessprachen für Lehre und Studium anzuhalten.
- Im Interesse der kulturellen und sprachlichen Vielfalt Europas appelliert EFNIL auch an Professorinnen und Professoren, Studierende und Universitätsleitungen in den englischsprachigen Ländern, andere europäische Sprachen weiterhin zu erforschen und zu verwenden. Dies wird zu Bewahrung der sprachlichen Vielfalt Europas und seiner Werte beitragen.

(angenommen von der Generalversammlung von EFNIL am 28. September 2014 in der Accademia della Crusca)

Διακήρυξη της Φλωρεντίας σχετικά με τη Γλωσσική χρήση στην πανεπιστημιακή διδασκαλία και έρευνα

- Στις μέρες μας εμφανίζεται στην Ευρώπη μια όλο και μεγαλύτερη τάση να χρησιμοποιούνται τα αγγλικά ως γλώσσα διδασκαλίας και έρευνας. Η τάση αυτή είναι πιο ισχυρή στις θετικές επιστήμες απ' ό,τι στις ανθρωπιστικές. Η υιοθέτηση της πολιτικής «μόνο αγγλικά» στις επιστημονικές δημοσιεύσεις καθώς και της αγγλικής ως αποκλειστικού μέσου λόγου στα διεθνή (ακόμη και στα εθνικά) συνέδρια παρουσιάζει ραγδαίες αυξητικές τάσεις. Σε τέτοιου είδους περιστάσεις δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι η πρόοδος που επιτυγχάνεται στη διεθνή επικοινωνία κερδίζεται εις σε βάρος όλων των άλλων γλωσσών πλην της αγγλικής.
- Η κατάσταση είναι παρόμοια στις κοινωνικές και τις ανθρωπιστικές επιστήμες. Στις χώρες όπου δεν μιλιούνται τα αγγλικά η ανάγκη του να είναι κανείς μέλος της διεθνούς επιστημονικής κοινότητας φαίνεται να απαιτεί τη χρήση της αγγλικής παρά της/των εθνικής/ών γλωσσών.
- Αυτή η εντεινόμενη τάση ενέχει έναν πολύ πραγματικό γλωσσικό, γνωστικό και πολιτισμικό κίνδυνο. Η αγγλική δεν είναι ένα ουδέτερο μέσο επικοινωνίας για κάθε σκοπό. Με την αγγλική να κυριαρχεί ή να χρησιμοποιείται αποκλειστικά, αγνοούνται ή περιπίπτουν στη λήθη σημαντικές παραδόσεις, έννοιες και μέθοδοι που αναπτύχθηκαν σε άλλες γλώσσες. Επιπλέον, οι ομιλητές των αγγλόφωνων χωρών μπορούν εύκολα να επιβληθούν σε διάφορα επιστημονικά πεδία εκπροσωπώντας κυρίαρχες τάσεις και καθορίζοντας ποια θέματα και ποια προβλήματα είναι άξια προσοχής. Αυτό ήδη έχει γίνει φανερό ότι επηρεάζει την κατανομή των οικονομικών πόρων που διατίθενται για την έρευνα σε άλλες χώρες.
- Η EFNIL, η Ομοσπονδία των κεντρικών φορέων για τις επίσημες γλώσσες πολλών ευρωπαϊκών χωρών, παρατηρεί με βαθιά ανησυχία αυτή την τάση που διαμορφώνεται, να χρησιμοποιείται δηλαδή η αγγλική ως γλώσσα της ακαδημαϊκής διδασκαλίας σε μη αγγλόφωνες χώρες. Αυτή η τάση χρησιμοποίησης της αγγλικής αντί των πρότυπων γλωσσών των διάφορων χωρών κατά την πανεπιστημιακή διδασκαλία και έρευνα περιορίζει τα πεδία αυτών των γλωσσών και την ανάπτυξή τους, και με αυτό τον τρόπο **θέτει σε κίνδυνο τη γλωσσική ποικιλότητα της Ευρώπης**, η οποία είναι αναγκαία για την πολιτισμική ποικιλότητα και τον πολιτισμικό πλούτο της ηπείρου μας.

- Η EFNIL αναγνωρίζει πλήρως την πρακτική υφή της χρήσης της αγγλικής ως επικουρικής γλώσσας σε περιπτώσεις επικοινωνίας ανάμεσα σε επιστήμονες και ακαδημαϊκούς δασκάλους οι οποίοι δεν μιλούν καμιά κοινή γλώσσα. Εφιστά την προσοχή, όμως, στη χρήση απομειωμένων ποικιλιών της αγγλικής ως κυρίαρχων ή αποκλειστικών μέσων διδασκαλίας και δημοσίευσης σε περιβάλλοντα άλλων γλωσσών, καθώς αυτό απαξιώνει τις εν λόγω γλώσσες και βαθμιαία τις καθιστά όλο και περισσότερο ακατάλληλες για τον επιστημονικό λόγο. Περιττό να ειπωθεί ότι αυτό επιβάλλει επιπρόσθετη πίεση στους/στις δασκάλους/ες και τους/τις άλλους/ες εκπαιδευτικούς καθώς και στους/στις φοιτητές/τριες με πιθανές επιβλαβείς συνέπειες για τη δημιουργικότητά τους.
- Η EFNIL αναγνωρίζει **τα πλεονεκτήματα της χρήσης της αγγλικής ως διεθνούς μέσου επικοινωνίας, ειδικά στις λεγόμενες «σκληρές» επιστήμες**, όπου ακόμη και μια απλοποιημένη μορφή αγγλικής μπορεί να βοηθήσει στην επεξήγηση άλλων σημειωτικών συστημάτων όπως μαθηματικών εκφράσεων, πινάκων, χημικών τύπων και διαγραμμάτων. Εντούτοις, θα πρέπει, μαζί με την αγγλική, να ενθαρρυνθεί η χρήση και άλλων γλωσσών σε αυτά τα πεδία, προκειμένου και σε αυτές τις γλώσσες να συνεχίσει να αναπτύσσεται επιστημονικός λόγος υψηλού επιπέδου και να εκλαϊκεύονται τα επιστημονικά προβλήματα και τα αποτελέσματά τους στο ευρύτερο κοινό.
- Οι ακαδημαϊκοί δάσκαλοι θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούν τις μητρικές τους γλώσσες καθώς και γλώσσες που είναι κατάλληλες για το ερευνητικό πεδίο με το οποίο ασχολούνται. Δεν είναι απαραίτητο να αποφεύγουν εντελώς τα αγγλικά, αλλά θα πρέπει να θεωρήσουν τη χρήση της αγγλικής μόνο ως ένα δευτερεύοντα δρόμο, προκειμένου να αποδείξουν τη συνάφεια των επιχειρημάτων και των ευρημάτων τους.
- Με ειλικρινές ενδιαφέρον για την πολιτισμική και γλωσσική ποικιλότητα της Ευρώπης, η EFNIL καλεί τους/τις καθηγητές/τριες, τους/τις φοιτητές/τριες και τις διοικήσεις των πανεπιστημίων στις αγγλόφωνες χώρες **να προάγουν τη μελέτη και τη χρήση άλλων ευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών**. Αυτό θα συμβάλει στη διατήρηση τόσο της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας στην Ευρώπη όσο και των αξιών που συνδέονται με αυτήν.

(εγκρίθηκε από τη Γενική Συνέλευση της EFNIL στην Accademia della Crusca στις 28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2014)

Firenze resolutsioon ülikoolide õppe- ja teadustöö keelekasutuse kohta

Kogu Euroopas kasvab suundumus kasutada akadeemilise õppe- ja teadustöö keelena inglise keelt. See tendents on tugevam reaalvaldkonnas kui humanitaarias. Suundumus kasutada põhimõtet “ainult inglise keel” teaduslikes väljaannetes ja rahvusvaheliste (ja isegi rahvuslike) konverentside suhtluskeelena kasvab kiiresti. Sellises olukorras ei ole kahtlust, et edasiminekuks rahvusvahelises suhtluses saavutatakse kõigi teiste keelte arvelt.

Sotsiaal- ja humanitaarteadustes on teineteisele sarnane olukord. Tahe kuuluda rahvusvahelisse teaduskogukonda paistab mitte-inglise-keelt-kõnelevates riikides tekitavat vajaduse kasutada riigikeelte asemel inglise keelt.

Selline hoiak kujutab endast väga tõsist riski keelele, mõttemaailmale ja kultuurile. Inglise keel ei ole igaks otstarbeks sobiv neutraalne suhtlusvahend. Inglise keele valdava või lausa ainukasutamise korral jäetakse kõrvale või isegi unustatakse teistes keeltes välja kujunenud olulised tavad, põhimõtted ja meetodid. Lisaks võivad eri distsipliinide põhisuundades, kus on määratletud kõige olulisemaks peetavad teemad ja probleemid, domineerima hakata ingliskeelsetest riikidest pärit teadlased. Praeguseks on täheldatud suundumuse mõju teistes riikides teadustööks eraldatavale rahalisele toetusele.

- EFNIL, kuhu kuuluvad paljude Euroopa riikide ametlike keelte kesksed institutsioonid, suhtub murelikkusega praegusesse tendentsi kasutada inglise keelt hariduskeelena mitteingliskeelsetes riikides. Suundumus kasutada ülikooliõppe ja teaduses inglise keelt riigikeelte asemel piirab nende keelte kasutusvaldkondi ja arengut ning **ohustab seega Euroopa keelelist mitmekesisust**, mis on tähtis meie maailmajao kultuurilise mitmekesisuse ja rikkuse jaoks.
- EFNIL peab põhjendatuks inglise keele praktilist kasutamist abikeelena suhtluses teadlaste ja õpetlaste vahel, kellel ei ole muud ühist keelt. **Ühendus hoiatab aga inglise keele lihtsustatud variantide kasutamise eest** õppetegevuse ja publikatsioonide põhi- või ainukeelena muudes keelekeskkondades, kuna see vähendab teiste keelte väärtust ja muudab nad teadusdiskursuses järk-järgult vähem sobivaks. Iseenesest mõista on inglise keele kasutamine keerukam õpetajate ja teiste haridustöötajate, aga ka õpilaste jaoks, kelle loovusele võib see takistuseks saada.
- EFNIL tunnistab **inglise keele kasutamise eeliseid rahvusvahelise suhtluse keelena, eriti nn kõvades teadustes**, kus isegi inglise keele lihtsustatud

vorm võib olla abiks teiste rahvusvaheliste semiootiliste suhtlussüsteemide selgitamisel, nagu näiteks matemaatilised avaldised, tabelid, keemiavalemid ja graafiline disain. Samas peab julgustama teiste keelte kasutamist peale inglise keele neis valdkondades, et vastavates keeltes oleks jätkuvalt võimalik arendada kõrgetasemelist teadusdiskursust ja anda teadusprobleemidest ja -tulemustest teada ka laiemale avalikkusele.

- Teadlased peaksid kasutama oma emakeelt ja lisaks sellele ka oma valdkonna konteksti sobivaid keeli. Inglise keelt ei pea täielikult vältima, aga inglise keelt peaks käsitlema kui teist võimalust oma väidete ja järelduste olulisuse selgitamisel.
- Seega pöördub EFNIL **tungivalt** akadeemiliste ja poliitiliste ametkondade poole Euroopa mitteinglisekeelsetes riikides, et nad julgustaksid õpetajaid ja õpilasi **kasutama teaduses ja õppes oma riigikeeli**.
- Euroopa kultuurilise ja keelilise mitmekesisuse huvides paneb EFNIL ingliskeelsete riikide ülikoolide õppejõududele, üliõpilastele ja administratiivtöötajatele südamele **jätkata teiste Euroopa keelte õpet ja kasutamist**. See aitab kaasa Euroopa keelilisele mitmekesisusele ja väärtuste säilimisele.

(EFNILi peaassamblee poolt heaks kiidetud Accademia della Crusca's 28. septembril 2014)

Resolution of Florence concerning language use in university teaching and research

Throughout Europe there is nowadays an increasing tendency to use English as the language of academic instruction and research. This tendency is stronger in the sciences than in the humanities. The tendency to adopt an “English-only policy” in scientific publications and as the exclusive medium of discourse in international (and even national) conferences is growing fast. In such situations, there is no doubt that progress made in international communication is won at the cost of all languages other than English.

The situation is similar in the social sciences and the humanities. In non-English-speaking countries the need to be part of the international scientific community can seem to require the use of the English language rather than the national languages.

This growing attitude represents a very real linguistic, cognitive, and cultural risk. English is not a neutral all-purpose medium of communication. By the predominant or even the exclusive use of English, important traditions, concepts and methods developed in other languages are ignored or forgotten. In addition, the mainstream of the various disciplines determining those themes and problems considered most relevant can easily become dominated by speakers from Anglophone countries. This has already been shown to influence the allocation of financial support for research in other countries.

- EFNIL, the association of the central institutions for the official languages of many European countries, regards the current tendency towards the use of English as a language of academic instruction in non-Anglophone countries with deep concern. This tendency to use English instead of the standard languages of the various countries in university teaching and research restricts the domains of these languages and their development and thus **endangers the linguistic diversity of Europe** that is essential for the cultural diversity and wealth of our continent.
- EFNIL fully acknowledges the practical use of English as an auxiliary language for communication between scientists and scholars who have no other language in common. **It cautions, however, against the use of reduced varieties of English** as the dominant or exclusive medium of teaching and publication in other linguistic environments, as this devalues the other languages

and gradually makes them more and more unsuited for scientific discourse. Needless to say, it also puts additional strain on teachers and other educators as well as on students whose creativity may be hampered.

- EFNIL acknowledges **the advantages of using English as an international medium of communication, especially in the so called ‘hard’ sciences**, where even a simplified form of English can be helpful in explaining other international semiotic systems such as mathematic expressions, tables, chemical formulas and graphic designs. However, the use of other languages in these fields beside English must be encouraged, in order to allow those languages to continue to develop a high-level scientific discourse and to also publicise scientific problems and results to the general public.
- Scholars should use their native languages and in addition languages appropriate to the context of their studies. It is not necessary to avoid English totally, but they should consider the use of English to be only a secondary route for demonstrating the relevance of their arguments and findings.
- EFNIL therefore appeals to the academic and political authorities in the non-Anglophone countries of Europe **in the strongest terms** to encourage teachers and students **to use their respective national languages for research and studies**.
- In the interest of the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe, EFNIL also appeals to professors, students and administrations of universities in the Anglophone countries **to pursue the study and use of other European languages**. This will help to preserve the linguistic diversity of Europe and its values.

(approved by the General Assembly of EFNIL at the Accademia della Crusca on 28 September 2014)

Firenzen julkilausuma yliopisto-opetuksen ja tutkimuksen kielet

Englannin kielen käyttö akateemisen opetuksen ja tutkimuksen kielenä on lisääntymässä kaikkialla Euroopassa. Tämä tendenssi on vielä selvempi luonnontieteissä kuin humanistisissa tieteissä. Pyrkimys omaksua ”vain englantia -politiikka” tieteellisissä julkaisuissa ja ainoana keskustelukielenä kansainvälisissä (ja jopa kansallisissa) konferensseissa on lisääntymässä nopeasti. Näissä tilanteissa on epäilemättä käynyt niin, että englannin asema kansainvälisessä yhteydenpidossa on vahvistunut kaikkien muiden kielten kustannuksella.

Tilanne on samankaltainen yhteiskuntatieteissä ja humanistisissa tieteissä. Muita kieliä kuin englantia puhuvissa maissa tarve olla osa kansainvälistä tieteilistä yhteisöä edistää mitä ilmeisimmin englannin kielen käyttöä kansallisten kielten sijasta.

Tämän asenteen vahvistuminen on erittäin todellinen lingvistinen, kognitiivinen ja kulttuurinen riski. Englanti ei ole neutraali, kaikkiin tarkoituksiin sopiva kommunikaation väline. Englannin kielen hallitseva tai jopa yksinomainen käyttö vaikuttaa siihen, että muilla kielillä kehitettyjä tärkeitä perinteitä, käsitteitä ja menetelmiä väheksytään tai ne unohdetaan. Voi käydä myös niin, että eri alojen valtavirta – joka määrittelee relevanteimpina pidetyt aiheet ja ongelmat – on englanninkielisten maiden edustajien dominoima. Tämän on jo osoitettu vaikuttavan tutkimuksen taloudellisen tuen kohdentamiseen muissa maissa.

- EFNIL, monien Euroopan maiden virallisten kielten keskeisten laitosten yhteistyöverkosto, on hyvin huolissaan nykyisestä tendenssistä käyttää englantia akateemisen opetuksen kielenä muissakin kuin englanninkielisissä maissa. Se että eri maiden kielten sijasta pyritään yliopisto-opetuksessa ja tutkimuksessa käyttämään englantia, rajoittaa näiden kielten käyttöalaa ja niiden kehitystä ja **vaarantaa** siten **Euroopan kielellistä monimuotoisuutta**, joka on olennainen maanosamme kulttuuriselle monimuotoisuudelle ja hyvinvoinnille.
- EFNIL hyväksyy täysin sen, että ne tutkijat ja opiskelijat, joilla ei ole mitään muuta yhteistä kieltä, käyttävät englantia viestinnän apukielenä. **EFNIL varoittaa kuitenkin, että yksinkertaistettua englantia ei käytettäisi** vallitsevana tai yksinomaisena opetuksen ja julkaisujen kielenä muissa kieliympäristöissä, koska tämä heikentää muita kieliä ja tekee ne vähitellen yhä sopimattomammiksi tieteelliseen keskusteluun. Tarpeetonta sanoa, että se myös vaikuttaa

opettajien ja muiden kasvattajien samoin kuin opiskelijoiden tyyliin, jolloin luovuus saattaa kärsiä.

- EFNIL hyväksyy sen, että **englannin kielen käyttö kommunikaation kansainvälisenä välineenä on hyödyksi varsinkin niin sanotuissa ”kovissa” tieteissä**, joissa jopa yksinkertainen englanti voi olla hyödyksi, kun esitellään muita kansainvälisiä semioottisia järjestelmiä, kuten matemaattisia kuvauksia, taulukoita, kemian kaavoja ja graafisia esityksiä. Näillä aloilla täytyy kuitenkin kannustaa muiden kielten käyttämiseen englannin ohella, jotta mahdollistetaan tulevaisuudessakin se, että näillä kielillä edistetään korkeatasoista tieteellistä keskustelua ja valotetaan tieteellisiä ongelmia ja tuloksia myös suurelle yleisölle.
- Opiskelijoiden tulee käyttää äidinkieliään ja lisäksi muita tarkoitukseen sopivia kieliä opinnoissaan. Ei ole tarpeen välttää englantia kokonaan, mutta englannin kielen käyttöä tulee pitää vain toissijaisena väylänä, kun opiskelijat esittelevät tuloksiaan ja perustelevat niitä.
- EFNIL vetoaa siten Euroopan ei-englanninkielisten maiden akateemisiin ja poliittisiin auktoriteetteihin, että he **mitä painokkaimmin** rohkaisevat opettajia ja opiskelijoita **käyttämään kansallisia kieliään tutkimuksessa ja opinnoissa**.
- Euroopan kulttuurisen ja kielellisen monimuotoisuuden nimissä EFNIL vetoaa myös englanninkielisten maiden professoreihin, opiskelijoihin ja yliopistojen hallintoon, jotta myös näissä maissa pyritäisiin **opiskelemaan ja käyttämään muita Euroopan kieliä**. Tämä auttaa säilyttämään Euroopan kielellistä monimuotoisuutta ja sen arvoja.

(hyväksytty EFNILin yleiskokouksessa Accademia della Cruscassa 28. syyskuuta 2014)

Résolution de Florence concernant L'usage des langues dans l'enseignement et la recherche à l'université

Dans toute l'Europe, l'emploi de la langue anglaise dans l'enseignement et la recherche est de plus en plus répandu. Cette tendance est plus forte dans le domaine des sciences que des lettres. La tendance visant à adopter exclusivement la langue anglaise dans les publications scientifiques et en tant que moyen de communication exclusif dans le cadre des conférences internationales (et même nationales) progresse rapidement. Dans de telles circonstances, il est clair que les progrès effectués en matière de communication internationale le sont aux dépens de toutes les langues autres que l'anglais.

La situation est semblable en ce qui concerne les sciences sociales et les lettres. Dans les pays non-anglophones, l'utilisation de l'anglais plutôt que des langues nationales peut sembler nécessaire pour faire partie de la communauté scientifique internationale.

Ce phénomène grandissant représente un réel risque au niveau linguistique, cognitif et culturel. L'anglais n'est en effet pas un moyen de communication universel et neutre. En raison de l'usage prédominant voire exclusif de l'anglais, des traditions, des concepts et des méthodes importants élaborés dans d'autres langues sont méconnus ou oubliés. En outre, le courant dominant des diverses disciplines – c'est-à-dire les thèmes et les problèmes considérés comme étant les plus pertinents – peut aisément être dominé par les anglophones. Il a déjà été démontré que cela avait un impact sur l'allocation des aides financières destinées à la recherche dans d'autres pays.

- Cette tendance actuelle consistant à faire de l'anglais la langue de l'enseignement universitaire dans les pays non-anglophones préoccupe grandement la FEILIN, l'association des institutions centrales pour les langues officielles de nombreux pays européens. Cette inclination à utiliser l'anglais plutôt que les langues usuelles des différents pays dans l'enseignement et la recherche universitaires restreint les domaines de ces langues ainsi que leur développement et met ainsi **en danger la diversité linguistique de l'Europe** qui est pourtant essentielle à la diversité et à la richesse culturelles de notre continent.
- La FEILIN reconnaît tout à fait l'usage pratique de l'anglais comme langue supplémentaire de communication entre des scientifiques et des spécialistes

n'ayant aucune autre langue en commun. **Elle met par contre en garde contre l'usage d'un anglais simplifié** en tant que moyen dominant ou exclusif d'enseignement et de publication dans d'autres environnements linguistiques car cela dévalorise les autres langues et les rend de moins en moins adaptées à un usage scientifique. Il va sans dire que cela met également une pression supplémentaire sur les enseignants et autres formateurs ainsi que sur les étudiants, ce qui est susceptible de nuire à leur créativité.

- La FEILIN reconnaît **les avantages d'utiliser l'anglais comme un moyen de communication international, tout particulièrement dans les sciences dites «dures»**, où même une forme simplifiée d'anglais peut s'avérer utile pour expliquer d'autres systèmes sémiotiques internationaux tels que les expressions mathématiques, les tables, les formules chimiques et les graphiques. Toutefois, il convient d'encourager l'utilisation d'autres langues que l'anglais dans ces domaines afin de permettre à ces langues de continuer à faire évoluer un discours scientifique de haut niveau et de rendre les problèmes et les résultats scientifiques accessibles au public.
- Les étudiants devraient utiliser à la fois leur langue maternelle et des langues adaptées au contexte de leurs études. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'éviter l'anglais complètement mais ils ne devraient considérer l'usage de l'anglais que comme une alternative pour démontrer la pertinence de leurs arguments et de leurs conclusions.
- C'est donc **avec force** que la FEILIN demande aux autorités universitaires et politiques des pays européens non-anglophones d'encourager les enseignants et les étudiants **à utiliser leurs langues nationales respectives dans le cadre de la recherche et des études**.
- Dans l'intérêt de la diversité culturelle et linguistique en Europe, la FEILIN demande également aux professeurs, étudiants et administrations des universités des pays anglophones **de continuer à étudier et à pratiquer les autres langues européennes**. Cette démarche aidera à préserver la diversité linguistique de l'Europe ainsi que ses valeurs.

(Approuvée par l'Assemblée Générale de la FEILIN à l'Accademia della Crusca le 28 septembre 2014)

Firentinska rezolucija

o

Uporabi jezika u visokom školstvu i znanosti

Širom Europe zamjetna je izrazita sklonost uporabi engleskoga jezika u akademskom poučavanju i znanosti. Ta je sklonost izraženija u prirodnim nego u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima. Politika prihvaćanja engleskoga jezika kao jedinoga jezika znanstvenih publikacija i diskursa na međunarodnim (pa i nacionalnim) konferencijama iznimno se brzo širi. Nedvojbeno je takva politika dovela do napretka međunarodne komunikacije, ali nauštrb svih ostalih jezika.

Čak i u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima u zemljama neengleskih govornih područja uporaba engleskoga jezika doima se preduvjetom za uključenje u međunarodnu znanstvenu zajednicu i često preteže nad uporabom nacionalnih jezika.

Takav prevladavajući stav nosi dakako i vrlo stvarne jezične, kognitivne i kulturne opasnosti. Engleski jezik nije ni neutralan ni svenamjenski medij sporazumijevanja. Predominantnom ili čak ekskluzivnom uporabom engleskoga jezika bivaju zatomljene ili zaboravljene mnoge važne tradicije, koncepti i metode razvijene na drugim jezicima. Štoviše, izvorni govornici engleskoga jezika nerijetko diktiraju glavne smjernice pojedinih disciplina, ključne za procjenu relevantnosti određenih tema i problema, što se već pokazalo odlučujućim pri dodjeli financijske potpore istraživanju u neanglofonim zemljama.

- EFNIL, udruženje središnjih institucija za službene jezike mnogih europskih zemalja izražava svoju duboku zabrinutost zbog trenutačne izražene sklonosti poučavanju i obrazovanju na engleskome jeziku u visokom školstvu u neanglofonim zemljama. Uporaba engleskoga jezika u mjesto vlastitoga standardnoga jezika u visokoškolskom obrazovanju i znanosti ograničava područje uporabe tih standardnih jezika i njihov razvoj te tako **ugrožava jezičnu raznolikost Europe** koja je srž kulturne raznolikosti i bogatstva našega kontinenta.
- EFNIL priznaje praktičnost uporabe engleskoga jezika kao pomoćnoga jezika komunikacije među znanstvenicima i istraživačima koji nemaju drugoga obostrano razumljivoga jezika. No EFNIL se **protivi uporabi reduciranih inačica engleskoga jezika** kao dominantnoga ili jedinoga jezika poučavanja i publiciranja u neengleskim govornim područjima jer to obezvrjeđuje druge jezike i postupno ih čini sve neprikladnijima za znanstveni diskurs. Treba

dati da takav pristup poučavanju zahtijeva dodatan napor i od poučavatelja i od učenika, čija kreativnost tako često biva ograničena.

- EFNIL priznaje **prednosti uporabe engleskoga jezika kao međunarodnoga komunikacijskoga medija, osobito u prirodnim znanostima**, kad je nerijetko i pojednostavljena inačica engleskoga jezika korisna u objašnjavanju drugoga znakovnoga sustava poput matematičkih izraza, tablica, kemijskih formula ili grafičkoga dizajna. Unatoč tomu, i u ovim se područjima mora poticati uporaba nacionalnih jezika kako bi i oni nastavili razvijati znanstveni diskurs visoke razine te približavati znanstvene probleme i rezultate istraživanja široj javnosti.
- Znanstvenici bi se trebali služiti i svojim materinim jezicima i drugim jezicima prikladnima kontekstu vlastitoga istraživačkoga područja. Nije nužno potpuno izbjegavati engleski jezik, ali nužno je engleskomu jeziku pristupati kao sekundarnomu kanalu predstavljanja vlastitih istraživačkih pristupa i rezultata.
- EFNIL stoga **snažno apelira na akademska i politička upravna tijela neanglofonih europskih zemalja da potiču i štite uporabu vlastitih nacionalnih jezika u znanosti i obrazovanju**.
- Kako bi se očuvala kulturna i jezična raznolikost Europe, EFNIL apelira na profesore, studente i uprave sveučilišta anglofonih zemalja **da potiču izučavanje i uporabu drugih europskih jezika**. To će svakako pridonijeti očuvanju jezične raznolikosti Europe i njezinih vrijednosti.

(odobreno na Generalnoj skupštini EFNIL-a, Accademia della Crusca, 28. rujna 2014)

Flórensályktunin varðandi tungumálanotkun í háskólakennslu og rannsóknum

Um alla Evrópu er nú á dögum vaxandi tilhneiging til þess að nota ensku sem tungumál fyrir akademíska kennslu og rannsóknir. Þessi tilhneiging er sterkari innan raunvísinda en hugvísinda. Tilhneigingin til að taka upp “eingöngu-ensku stefnu” í vísindalegum útgáfum og sem eina miðil fyrir umræðu á alþjóðlegum (og jafnvel þjóðlegum) ráðstefnum vex hratt. Við slíkar aðstæður leikur enginn vafi á því að framfarir sem verða í alþjóðlegum samskiptum vinnast á kostnað allra annarra tungumála en ensku.

Staðan er svipuð innan félagsvísinda og hugvísinda. Í löndum þar sem enska er ekki töluð getur þörfin fyrir að vera hluti af alþjóða vísindasamfélaginu virst krefjast notkunar ensku frekar en þjóðmálanna.

Í þessari vaxandi afstöðu birtist mjög raunveruleg málræn, hugræn og menningarleg áhætta. Enska er ekki hlutlaus samskiptamiðill sem hentar í hvaða tilgangi sem er. Yfirgnæfandi notkun eða jafnvel notkun ensku eingöngu getur valdið því að litið sé framhjá mikilvægum hefðum, hugtökum og aðferðum sem þróuðust á öðrum málum eða að þær gleymist. Auk þess geta málnotendur frá enskumælandi löndum auðveldlega orðið ráðandi í meginstraumum ýmissa greina – sem ákvarða hvaða viðföng og vandamál talin eru skipta mestu máli. Þetta hefur þegar sýnt sig að hafi áhrif á úthlutun fjárstuðnings til rannsókna í öðrum löndum.

- EFNIL, samband meginstofnana fyrir opinber tungumál margra Evrópuríkja, lítur með þungum áhyggjum á núverandi tilhneingingu til að nota ensku sem tungumál fyrir akademíska kennslu í löndum þar sem enska er ekki þjóðartungan. Þessi tilhneiging til að nota ensku í stað ríkjandi tungumála hinna ýmsu landa við háskólakennslu og rannsóknir þrengir svið þessara tungumála og heftir þróun þeirra og **stefnir þannig tungumálalegum fjölbreytileika Evrópu í hættu**, sem er ómissandi fyrir menningarlega fjölbreytni og auðlegð meginlands okkar.
- EFNIL viðurkennir fyllilega hagnýta notkun ensku sem hjálparmál fyrir samskipti milli vísinda- og fræðimanna sem ekki tala önnur sameiginleg tungumál. **Það varar hins vegar við notkun takmarkaðra afbrigða af ensku** sem ríkjandi eða eina miðils fyrir kennslu og útgáfu í öðrum málumhverfum þar sem þetta rýrir gildi hinna tungumálanna og gerir þau smám saman meira og meira ónothæf fyrir vísindalega orðræðu. Að sjálfsögðu leggur það einnig auknar

byrðar á kennara og aðra fræðara sem og á nemendur sem getur orðið til þess að sköpunarkraftur þeirra takmarkist.

- EFNIL **samþykkir kostina við notkun ensku sem alþjóðlegs samskiptamiðils, sér í lagi í raun- og heilbrigðisvísindum**, þar sem jafnvel einfaldað form af ensku getur komið að gagni við að útskýra önnur alþjóðleg samskiptatáknkerfi, svo sem stærðfræðiformúlur töflur, efnafræðiformúlur og grafíska hönnun. Hins vegar verður að hvetja til notkunar annarra tungumála en ensku á þessum sviðum til þess að gera þeim tungumálum kleift að halda áfram að þróa vísindalega orðræðu á háu stigi og einnig til að birta almenningi vísindaleg vandamál og niðurstöður.
- Fræðimenn ættu að nota sínar þjóðtungur og að auki tungumál sem eru viðeigandi í samhengi rannsókna þeirra. Það er ekki nauðsynlegt að sniðganga ensku algjörlega en þeir ættu að hugleiða notkun ensku sem aðeins annarrar leiðar til að sýna fram á gildi röksemda og uppgötvana sinna.
- EFNIL skorar þess vegna **eindregið** á akademísk og pólitísk yfirvöld í þeim löndum Evrópu sem hafa ekki ensku að móðurmáli að hvetja kennara og nemandur til að **nota þjóðartungumál sín við rannsóknir sínar**.
- Í þágu menningarlegs og málræns fjölbreytileika Evrópu skorar EFNIL einnig á prófessora, stúdenta og stjórnsýslur háskóla í enskumælandi löndum **að leggja fyrir sig nám og notkun annarra evrópskra tungumála**. Það mun hjálpa til við að viðhalda málrænum fjölbreytileika Evrópu og gilda hennar.

(samþykkt af Aðalfundi EFNIL í Accademia della Crusca, hinn 28. September 2014)

Risoluzione di Firenze sull'uso delle lingue nell'insegnamento e nella ricerca universitaria

In tutta Europa si assiste oggi a una crescente tendenza, più forte nelle discipline scientifiche che in quelle umanistiche, a usare l'inglese come lingua dell'insegnamento e della ricerca accademica. Questa tendenza a considerare l'inglese come unica lingua da usare per le pubblicazioni scientifiche e come esclusivo mezzo di comunicazione nei convegni internazionali (e anche nazionali) è in forte aumento. Non c'è dubbio che in questi contesti i vantaggi ottenuti sul piano della comunicazione internazionale dall'uso dell'inglese avvengono a spese di tutte le altre lingue.

Nelle scienze sociali e nelle scienze umane la situazione è simile. Nei paesi non di lingua inglese la necessità di far parte della comunità scientifica internazionale sembra richiedere l'uso della lingua inglese al posto di quelle nazionali.

Questo atteggiamento costituisce un vero pericolo sul piano linguistico, cognitivo e culturale. L'inglese non è un mezzo di comunicazione neutro, adatto a ogni scopo comunicativo. Attraverso l'uso generalizzato o addirittura esclusivo dell'inglese vengono ignorate o dimenticate importanti tradizioni, concetti, metodologie che sono state formulate in altre lingue. Inoltre le linee di sviluppo fondanti di diverse discipline – che determinano i temi e problemi cui dare rilievo – possono facilmente cadere sotto il dominio dei parlanti di paesi anglofoni. Ed è stato già dimostrato che questo influenza la distribuzione dei finanziamenti per la ricerca negli altri paesi.

- L'EFNIL, l'associazione delle istituzioni linguistiche nazionali di molti paesi europei, guarda con profonda preoccupazione all'attuale tendenza a usare l'inglese come lingua dell'insegnamento accademico nei paesi non anglofoni. La tendenza a usare l'inglese anziché le lingue standard dei diversi paesi per l'insegnamento e la ricerca universitaria limita gli ambiti d'uso di queste lingue e quindi **mette in pericolo la diversità linguistica dell'Europa** che è invece di fondamentale importanza per la diversità culturale e il benessere del nostro continente.
- EFNIL riconosce pienamente l'utilità dell'inglese come lingua ausiliaria per la comunicazione fra scienziati e studiosi che non hanno un'altra lingua comune. **Mette in guardia, tuttavia, verso l'uso di varietà ridotte dell'inglese** come mezzo privilegiato o addirittura esclusivo per l'insegnamento e per le pubblicazioni in altre situazioni linguistiche, perché questo toglie valore alle altre

lingue e le rende pian piano inadatte per la prosa scientifica. E non è necessario aggiungere che ciò aumenta la pressione cui sono sottoposti gli insegnanti e chiunque abbia una funzione didattica, e anche gli studenti che la cui capacità di astrazione e ideazione può risultare disturbata.

- EFNIL riconosce **i vantaggi dell'uso dell'inglese come mezzo di comunicazione internazionale, specialmente nelle cosiddette "scienze dure"**, dove anche una forma semplificata di inglese può essere utile per spiegare sistemi semiotici internazionali come espressioni matematiche, tavole, formule chimiche e grafici. Tuttavia in questi casi accanto all'uso dell'inglese deve essere incoraggiato quello delle altre lingue per permettere ad esse di continuare a sviluppare un linguaggio scientifico di alto livello e anche di riuscire a far conoscere e a portare al grande pubblico problemi e risultati scientifici.
- Gli studiosi dovrebbero **usare le loro lingue native** e, in aggiunta, quelle più appropriate al loro campo di studio. Non è necessario evitare l'inglese ma è necessario che l'uso dell'inglese sia considerato solo come una via secondaria per dimostrare l'importanza delle loro argomentazioni e dei loro risultati.
- L'EFNIL pertanto rivolge un **appello alle autorità accademiche e politiche** dei paesi europei non anglofoni affinché insegnanti e studenti vengano incoraggiati a **usare le loro rispettive lingue nazionali per l'insegnamento, la ricerca e lo studio**.
- L'EFNIL, nell'interesse della diversità linguistica e culturale d'Europa, **fa anche appello a professori, studenti e personale amministrativo** delle università dei paesi anglofoni **affinché perseguano lo studio e l'uso delle altre lingue europee**, in modo da contribuire a conservare la diversità linguistica europea e i valori che essa porta con sé.

(approvato dall'Assemblea Generale dell'EFNIL presso l'Accademia della Crusca il 28 settembre 2014)

Florences rezolūcija par valodu lietojumu studiju procesā un pētniecībā universitātēs

Mūsdienās Eiropā palielinās tendence izmantot angļu valodu kā akadēmisko mācību un pētniecības valodu. Šī tendence ir spēcīgāka eksaktajās nekā humanitārajās zinātnēs. Strauji pieaug vēlme pieņemt “tikai angļu valodas politiku” zinātniskajās publikācijās un kā ekskluzīvu diskursa līdzekli starptautiskās (un pat nacionālās) konferencēs. Šādās situācijās nav nekādu šaubu, ka progress starptautiskajā komunikācijā ir panākts uz citu valodu rēķina.

Līdzīga situācija ir arī sociālajās un humanitārajās zinātnēs. Valstīs, kurās nerunā angļu valodā, var šķist, ka nepieciešamība būt daļai no starptautiskās zinātniskās sabiedrības liek izmantot angļu, nevis citas valodas.

Šī pieaugošā attieksme rada ļoti reālu lingvistisku, kognitīvo un kultūras risku. Angļu valoda nav neitrāls universāls komunikācijas līdzeklis. Lietojot pārsvarā vai tikai angļu valodu, tiek ignorētas vai aizmirstas būtiskas tradīcijas, jēdzieni un metodes, kas izstrādātas citās valodās. Turklāt dažādu disciplīnu galvenajos virzienos var viegli sākt dominēt pārstāvji no valstīm, kurās runā angļu valodā – nosakot tēmas un problēmas, ko uzskata par būtiskākajām. Jau ir pierādīts, ka tas ietekmē finansējuma piešķiršanu pētījumiem citās valstīs.

- EFNIL (Eiropas Nacionālo valodu institūciju federācija), daudzu Eiropas valstu centrālo valsts valodas institūciju asociācija, pašreizējo tendenci izmantot angļu valodu kā akadēmisko mācību valodu valstīs, kurās nerunā angļu valodā, uztver ar dziļām bažām. Tendence lietot angļu valodu, nevis attiecīgo valstu standartvalodas universitātēs studiju un pētnieciskajā darbā, ierobežo šo valodu lietojumu un attīstību, tādējādi **apdraudot Eiropas valodu daudzveidību**, kas ir būtiska mūsu kontinenta kultūras daudzveidībai un labklājībai.
- EFNIL pilnībā atzīst angļu valodas kā papildu jeb palīgvalodas lietojuma lietderību saziņai starp zinātniekiem un izglītības darbiniekiem, kuriem nav citas kopīgas valodas. **Tā tomēr brīdina par pārāk lielu angļu valodas** kā dominējoša vai ekskluzīva mācību un publikāciju līdzekļa lietošanu citās lingvistiskajās vidēs; tas devalvē attiecīgovalstu valodas un pakāpeniski padara tās arvien vairāk un vairāk nepiemērotas lietojumam zinātnē. Lieki teikt, ka tas rada arī papildu slodzi pedagogiem, kā arī studentiem, kuru radošums var tikt ierobežots.

- EFNIL atzīst **priekšrocības, kādas sniedz angļu valodas kā starptautiska saziņas līdzekļa lietojums, īpaši tā sauktajās „precīzajās” zinātnēs**, kur pat vienkāršota angļu valodas forma var būt noderīga, skaidrojot starptautiskas semiotiskas komunikācijas sistēmas, piemēram, matemātiskās izteiksmes, tabulas, ķīmiskās formulas un grafisko dizainu. Tomēr jāveicina citu valodu lietošana šajās jomās paralēli angļu valodai, lai ļautu turpināt attīstīt augsta līmeņa zinātni šajās valodās un arī popularizēt zinātniskās problēmas un informēt par pētījumu rezultātiem plašu sabiedrību.
- Zinātniekiem vajadzētu lietot savu dzimto valodu un citas valodas, kas nepieciešamas viņu pētījumu kontekstā. Nav pilnībā jāizvairās no angļu valodas, bet jāapsver iespēja izmantot angļu valodu tikai kā sekundāru ceļu, lai pierādītu savu argumentu un secinājumu būtiskumu.
- Tāpēc EFNIL aicina akadēmiskās un politiskās institūcijas Eiropas valstīs, kurās nerunā angļu valodā, **stingri rosināt** docētājus un studentus **izmantot savu valstu oficiālās valodas** pētniecībai un studijām.
- Lai nodrošinātu kultūras un valodu daudzveidību Eiropā, EFNIL arī aicina profesorus, studentus un universitāšu administrāciju valstīs, kurās runā angļu valodā, **turpināt citu Eiropas valodu pētīšanu un lietošanu**. Tas palīdzēs saglabāt valodu daudzveidību Eiropā un tās vērtības.

(Apstiprināts EFNIL Ģenerālajā asamblejā Accademia della Crusca 2014. gada 28. septembrī.)

Resolutioun vu Florenz iwwert De Sproochegebrauch am universitären Enseignement an an der universitärer Recherche

A ganz Europa gëtt et hautgesdaags ëmmer méi eng grouss Tendenz, als Sprooch vum universitären Enseignement a vun der universitärer Recherche Englesch ze benotzen.

Dës Tendenz ass méi staark an den Naturwëssenschafte wéi an den Humanwëssenschafte. D'Tendenz, exklusiv Englesch fir wëssenschaftlech Publikatiounen an als exklusiv Sprooch op internationalen (an och nationale) Konferenzen ze huelen, entwéckelt sech ëmmer méi séier. An esou Situatioune steet fest, datt Fortschrëtter bei der internationaler Kommunikatioun op Käschte vun allen anere Sprooche wéi Englesch ginn.

D'Situatioun ass vergläichbar an de Sozialwëssenschafte an an den Humanwëssenschafte. An net engleschsproochege Länner schénge de Besoin, un der internationaler wëssenschaftlecher Communautéit deelzehunn, de Gebrauch vun der englescher Sprooch aplaz vun der nationaler Sprooch méiglecherweis néideg ze maachen.

Dës ëmmer méi manifest Haltung stellt e ganz konkrete Risiko duer op sproochlech, kognitivem a kulturellem Plang. Englesch ass keen neutraalt a polyvalent Kommunikationsmedium. Duerch den dominanten oder souguer exklusive Gebrauch vum Englesche gi wichteg Traditiounen, Konzepter a Methoden ignoréiert oder vergiess, déi an anere Sproochen entwéckelt goufen. Doriwwer eraus kann de Schwéierpunkt vun deenen ënnerschiddlechen Disziplinne problemlos dominéiert gi vu Spriecher aus engleschsproochege Länner, an zwar doduerch, datt si déi Sujeten a Problemer festleeën, déi si fir relevant halen. Dës Entwécklung huet schonns dozou gefouert, datt an anere Länner d'Allocatioun vun enger finanzieller Ënnerstëtzung fir Fuerschungszwecker beaflosst gouf.

- D'EFNIL als Federatioun vun de wichtegsten Institutioune fir offiziell Sproochen aus e sëllege europäesche Länner suivéiert mat grousser Suerg déi aktuell Tendenz, Englesch als Sprooch vum universitären Enseignement an net engleschsproochege Länner ze benotzen. Dës Tendenz, am universitären Enseignement an an der universitärer Recherche aplaz vun de Standardsprooche vun den eenzelne Länner Englesch ze huele féiert dozou, datt all

déi Beräicher, an deenen dës Sproochen normalerweis benotzt ginn, méi a méi limitéiert ginn. Datselwecht gëlt och fir d'Entwécklung vun dese Sproochen. Domat ower gëtt déi sproochlech Diversitéit vun Europa a Fro gestallt. Dës sproochlech Diversitéit hirersäits ass wesentlech fir déi kulturell Diversitéit an de kulturelle Wuelstand vun eisem Kontinent.

- D'EFNIL ass duerchaus averstan mam aktuellen Asaz vun der englescher Sprooch als Hëllefssprooch fir d'Kommunikatioun tëscht Wëssenschaftler a Studenten, deene keng aner gemeinsam Sprooch zur Verfügung steet. D'EFNIL warnt allerdéngs virdrun, reduzéiert Varietéite vum Engleschen als déi haaptsächlech benotzten oder souguer ausschliisslech Sprooch vum Enseignement a fir Publikatiounen an anere sproochlechen Environnementer ze gebrauchen, well doduerch déi aner Sproochen entwäert ginn an no an no dofir gesuergt gëtt, datt dës Sproochen ëmmer manner fir de wëssenschaftlechen Diskurs geeegent sinn. Dobäi muss net speziell ernimmt ginn, datt doduerch den Enseignanten an anerem Léierpersonal grad wéi och de Studenten en zousätzlechen Drock opgelueden an hir perséinlech Kreativitéit behënnert gëtt.
- D'EFNIL apprécieiert d'Avantagë vum Gebrauch vun der englescher Sprooch als internationale Medium vun der Kommunikatioun, absëns an de sougenannten „haarde“ Wëssenschaften, an deene souguer eng vereinfacht Form vum Englesche kann nützlich si fir aner international semiotesch Systemer wéi mathematesch Begrëffer, Tabellen, chemesch Formelen a graphesch Zeechnungen z'erklären. Allerdéngs muss de Gebrauch vun anere Sproochen nieft dem Engleschen an dese Beräicher encouragéiert gi fir datt och dës Sproochen d'Méiglechkeet kréien, hire sophistikéierte wëssenschaftlechen Diskurs weiderzuentwéckelen a wëssenschaftlech Problemer a Resultater dem breede Public a Form vu Publikatioune méi no ze bréngen.
- Studente sollten hir Mammesprooch benotzen an donieft Sproochen, déi dem Kontext vun hiren Etuden adaptéiert sinn. Et muss net drëms goen, déi englesch Sprooch komplett z'évitieren, mee si sollten de Gebrauch vun dëser Sprooch nëmmen als zweet Méiglechkeet gesi fir d'Pertinenz vun hiren Argumenter a Resultater duerzestellen.
- D'EFNIL fuerdert dowéinst déi akademesch an déi politesch Autoritéiten an den net anglophone Länner an Europa energiesch an nodrécklech op, d'Enseignanten an d'Studenten z'encouragéieren, fir hir Recherchen an Etuden hir jeweileg national Sprooch ze benotzen.
- Am Intressi vun der sproochlecher a kultureller Diversitéit an Europa fuerdert d'EFNIL donieft d'Enseignanten, d'Studenten an d'Administratioune vun den

Universitèiten an den engleschsproochlege Länner op, och weiderhin aner europäesch Sproochen ze studéieren an ze gebrauchen. Dat dréit dozou bäi, déi sproochlech Diversitéit vun Europa an déi domat verbonne Wäerter z'erhalen.

(approuvéiert vun der Assemblée générale vun der EFNIL den 28. September 2014 bei der Accademia della Crusca zu Florenz, Italien)

Florencijos rezoliucija dėl kalbų vartojimo mokslo ir studijų srityse

Studijų ir mokslo tyrimų reikmėms šiuo metu Europoje vis dažniau vartojama anglų kalba. Ši tendencija itin išplitusi tikslųjų ir gamtos mokslų srityse, kiek mažiau – humanitariniuose moksluose. Tendencijos vartoti tik anglų kalbą vis didėja: anglų kalba rengiamos mokslo publikacijos, šia kalba vyksta tarptautinės (kartais net ir nacionalinės) mokslinės konferencijos. Neabejotina, kad dėl to nukenčia visos kitos kalbos.

Socialiniuose ir humanitariniuose moksluose susidariusi panaši padėtis. Ne anglakalbėse šalyse poreikis tapti tarptautinės mokslo bendruomenės dalimi lemia dažnesnį anglų, o ne kitų kalbų pasirinkimą.

Stiprėjančios nuostatos susijusios su realiomis kalbinėmis, kognityvinėmis ir kultūrinėmis grėsmėmis. Anglų kalba nėra neutrali visoms reikmėms pritaikyta bendravimo priemonė. Dėl vyraujančio ar netgi išskirtinio anglų kalbos vartojimo ignoruojamos arba pamiršamos svarbios kitų kalbų tradicijos, atmetami joms būdingi principai ir sąvokos. Be to, pačių svarbiausių įvairių mokslo sričių pagrindinės kryptys, temos ir problemos gali būti lemiamos anglakalbių valstybių mokslininkų. Tokios tendencijos jau matyti iš paramos mokslo tyrimams skirstymo.

- EFNIL, pagrindinių Europos valstybių oficialiųjų kalbų institucijų federacija, reiškia susirūpinimą dėl dabartinių tendencijų vartoti anglų kaip dėstomąją studijų kalbą. Anglų kalbos vartojimas vietoj bendrinės kalbos universiteto studijose ir moksle riboja nacionalinių kalbų vartojimo sritis ir šių kalbų plėtrą ir tai kelia pavojų Europos kalbinei įvairovei, kuri yra mūsų žemyno esminė kultūrinė įvairovės ir gerovės sąlyga.
- EFNIL visiškai pripažįsta anglų kalbos, kaip pagalbinės bendravimo kalbos tarp mokslininkų ir studentų, negalinčių bendrauti kita kalba, praktinio vartojimo reikšmę. Vis dėlto kelia susirūpinimą supaprastintų anglų kalbos variantų vartojimas, tokios anglų kalbos vyravimas studijose ir mokslo publikacijose kitose kalbinėse aplinkose. Tai nuvertina kitas kalbas ir palaiapsniui jas išstumia iš mokslinio diskurso. Be to, tai kelia papildomą įtampą dėstytojams ir kitiems pedagogams, taip pat gali daryti neigiamą poveikį studentų kūrybiškumui.
- EFNIL pripažįsta anglų kalbos kaip tarptautinio bendravimo kalbos privalumus, ypač tiksluosiuose ir gamtos moksluose, nes net ir supaprastintas anglų kalbos variantas gali būti priimtinas kalbant apie tarptautines semiotines

komunikacines sistemas, tokias kaip matematinė raiška, chemijos formulės ar grafinis dizainas. Vis dėlto ir šiose srityse greta anglų kalbos turi būti skatinamas kitų kalbų vartojimas, plėtojamas aukšto lygmens mokslinis diskursas šiomis kalbomis, taip pat esminiai mokslo klausimai ir tyrimų rezultatai turi būti skelbiami visuomenei suprantama kalba.

- Mokslininkai turi vartoti savo gimtąsias kalbas, taip pat kitas kalbas, atsižvelgdami į savo tyrimų srities kontekstą. Suprantama, kad anglų kalbos neįmanoma išvengti, tačiau jos vartojimas galėtų būti papildomas būdas skelbti savo tyrimų išvadas ir argumentus.
- EFNIL kviečia ne anglakalbių Europos šalių akademines ir politines institucijas ryžtingiau skatinti dėstytojus ir studentus vartoti savo nacionalines kalbas studijose ir mokslo tyrimuose.
- Palaikydama daugiakalbės ir daugiakultūrės Europos poreikius, EFNIL taip pat kviečia anglakalbių valstybių dėstytojus, studentus ir aukštųjų mokyklų administraciją plėtoti ir skatinti kitų Europos kalbų studijas ir vartojimą. Tai padėtų išlaikyti kalbinę Europos įvairovę ir jos vertybes.

(Pritarta Generalinėje EFNIL asamblėjoje, vykusioje Accademia della Crusca, Florencijoje, 2014 m. rugsėjo 28 d.)

A Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetségének (EFNIL) állásfoglalása a felsőoktatásban és a kutatásban alkalmazott nyelvhasználattal kapcsolatban

Európa szerte egyre inkább terjed az angol nyelv használata az akadémiai képzésben és kutatásban. Ez a tendencia a természettudományokban erőteljesebben érvényesül, mint a társadalomtudományban. A “mindent-csak-angolul politika” elfogadása a tudományos publikációkban és az angol kizárólagos használata a nemzetközi (sőt akár a hazai) konferenciákon is egyre gyakoribb. Ebben a helyzetben kétségtelen tény, hogy a nemzetközi kommunikáció terén tapasztalt fejlődés a nemzeti nyelvek rovására történik.

A társadalomtudományok a humán tárgyakkal hasonló helyzetben vannak. A nem angolul beszélő országok számára úgy tűnhet, hogy a nemzetközi tudományos közösséghez való csatlakozási igény sokkal inkább az angol nyelv használatát feltételezi, mint a nemzeti nyelvekét.

Ennek a hozzáállásnak a terjedése valós nyelvi, kognitív és kulturális kockázatot hordoz magában. Az angol nem egy semleges, minden célnak megfelelő kommunikációs közvetítő nyelv. Fontos nemzeti hagyományok, fogalmak és módszerek vesznek a feledés homályába az angol elsődleges illetve kizárólagos használata miatt. Ráadásul az angolszász országok anyanyelvi beszélői így könnyen dominanciát szerezhetnek a különböző tudományágak fő irányzatai felett is, meghatározva e területek legaktuálisabb témáit és problémáit. Már látható annak a jele, hogy ez a tendencia a különböző országok kutatásra fordított forráselosztását is befolyásolni képes.

- Az EFNIL nevű szervezet, a Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetségéként mély aggodalommal figyeli a nem angolszász európai országban megfigyelhető tendenciát, az angol nyelv térhódítását az egyetemi képzésekben. Az angol nyelv térhódítása az egyetemi oktatásban és a kutatásban korlátozza az egyes országok nemzeti nyelveinek használati köreit és fejlődését, ezzel pedig **veszélyezteti Európa nyelvi sokszínűségét**, ami alapvetően szükséges kontinensünk kulturális sokszínűségének és gazdagságának megőrzéséhez.
- A Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetsége teljes mértékben elismeri az angol nyelvgyakorlati hasznosságát, az angolt mintegy a tudósok közötti kommunikációt segítő közvetítő nyelvként, amikor más közös nyelvet nem beszélnek a résztvevők. **Figyelmeztet azonban az angol egyszerűsített változatainak**

használatában rejlő veszélyekre is, ha a tanítás és publikálás során majdnem kizárólagosan használt nyelvet más nyelvi környezetekre is kiterjesztik, mert ez az angolon kívüli nyelvek leértékelődéséhez vezethet, amelyek a folyamat során egyre kevésbé lesznek alkalmasak a tudományos diskurzusokban való használatra. Természetesen mindez tovább terheli a tanárokat és oktatókat, valamint azokat a diákokat, akiket ez korlátozhat kreativitásuk kibontakozásában.

- A Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetsége a nemzetközi kommunikáció eszközeként elismeri az angol nyelv használatának előnyeit elsősorban az ún. kemény tudományokban, ahol még az angol egyszerűsített formáinak használata is segítséget jelenthet más nemzetközi jelrendszerek magyarázatában, mint amilyenek például a matematikai kifejezések, táblázatok, kémiai képletek, vagy grafikus ábrák. Mindazonáltal más nyelvek használatát is ösztönözni kell ezeken a területeken annak érdekében, hogy a nem angol nyelvek is kifejlesszék a magasabb szintű tudományos diskurzusok nyelvezetét, és hogy ezeken a nemzeti nyelveken is eljuthassanak a szélesebb társadalmi csoportokhoz a megjelentetett tudományos témájú problémák illetve eredmények.
- A tudósoknak a saját anyanyelvüket, valamint a kutatásaikhoz, tanulmányaikhoz megfelelő nyelveket kellene használniuk. Nem szükséges az angol teljes elvetése, viszont az angolnak csak másodlagos szereplőnek kellene lennie érveléseik és következtetéseik bemutatásakor.
- A Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetsége mindezek miatt a nem angolszász európai országok tudományos és politikai döntéshozóihoz fordul, hogy a **leghatározottabban** ösztönözzék az oktatókat és tanulókat **saját anyanyelvük használatára kutatásaikban és tanulmányaik során**.
- Európa kulturális és nyelvi sokszínűségének, értékeinek megőrzése érdekében a Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetsége az angolszász országok professzoraihoz, tanulóihoz, egyetemi adminisztratív személyzetéhez is intézi jelen felhívását, hogy ösztönözze őket is **más európai nyelvek tanulmányozására és használatára**. Ez segíthet megőrizni Európa nyelvi sokszínűségét és értékeit.

(A Nemzeti Nyelvi Intézetek Európai Szövetségének Közgyűlése 2014. szeptember 28-án fogadta el a jelen állásfoglalást az Accademia della Crusca nevű tagintézmény firenzei székhelyén.)

Ir-Rizoluzzjoni ta' Firenze dwar l-Użu tal-Lingwa fit-Tagħlim u r-Riċerka fl-Università

Fl-Ewropa kollha qed tiżdied it-tendenza li jintuża l-Ingliż bħala l-lingwa tat-tagħlim u r-riċerka akkademika. Din hi aktar b'saħħitha fil-qasam xjentifiku milli fil-qasam umanistiku. It-tendenza li tiġi adottata politika ta' 'Ingliż biss' f'pubblikazzjonijiet xjentifiċi u bħala mezz waħdieni tad-diskors f'konferenzi internazzjonali (u anke nazzjonali) kulma jmur qed tikber b'rata mghaġġla. F'sitwazzjonijiet bhal dawn, m'hemmx dubju li l-progress li sar fil-komunikazzjoni internazzjonali kien ta' dannu għal-lingwi kollha, hliet għall-Ingliż.

Dan is-sitwazzjoni hi simili fix-xjenzi soċjali, kif ukoll fil-qasam umanistiku. Fil-pajjiżi fejn l-Ingliż mhux lingwa nattivha, aktarx tissaħħaħ l-idea li, biex tifforma parti mill-komunità xjentifika internazzjonali, jeħtieġ tuża l-Ingliż u mhux il-lingwi nazzjonali.

Din l-attitudni, li qed narawha dejjem tikber, twassal għal riskju lingwistiku, konjittiv u kulturali reali hafna. L-Ingliż mhuwiex mezz ta' komunikazzjoni newtrali u lanqas mhu adattat għal kull sitwazzjoni. Bl-użu predominanti jew anke esklużiv tal-Ingliż, jitwarrbu t-tradizzjonijiet, il-kunċetti u l-metodi żviluppati f'lingwi oħra. Apparti minn hekk, ix-xejra dominanti fid-dixxiplini varji – li tid-determina liema huma daww it-temi u l-problemi meqjusa l-aktar relevanti – tista' faċilment tkun iddominata mill-kelliema ta' pajjiżi Anglofoni. Dan diġà jidher li influwenza l-allokazzjoni ta' għajjnuna finanzjarja għar-riċerka fil-pajjiżi l-oħra mhux Anglofoni.

- Għall-EFNIL, l-assoċjazzjoni tal-istituzzjonijiet uffiċjali tal-lingwi uffiċjali ta' hafna pajjiżi Ewropej, it-tendenza attwali li jintuża l-Ingliż biss bħala l-lingwa tat-tagħlim akkademiku fil-pajjiżi mhux Anglofoni hu ta' thassib kbir. Din it-tendenza li, fit-tagħlim u fir-riċerka tal-universitajiet ta' dawn il-pajjiżi, jintuża l-Ingliż biss minflok il-varjanti lingwistiċi standard tagħhom, tirrestringi l-oqsma li fihom jintużaw dawn il-lingwi u l-iżvilupp tagħhom. B'hekk jiżdied il-periklu **li tonqos id-diversità lingwistika tal-Ewropa**, li hi essenzjali għad-diversità kulturali u għar-rikkezza tal-kontinent tagħna.
- L-EFNIL tagħraf għalkollox l-użu prattiku tal-Ingliż bħala lingwa awżiljarja għall-komunikazzjoni ta' bejn ix-xjenzati u l-istudjużi li m'għandhomx lingwa oħra inkomuni. **Madankollu, twiddeb kontra l-użu ta' varjetajiet limitati tal-Ingliż** bħala l-mezz dominanti jew esklużiv għat-tagħlim u

għall-pubblikazzjonijiet f'ambjenti lingwistiċi oħra. Dan idgħajjed il-valur tal-lingwi l-oħra u maż-żmien jagħmilhom ferm anqas adattati għad-diskors xjentifiku. M'għandniex xi nghidu, dan ipogġi wkoll piż akbar fuq l-għalliema u edukaturi oħra, kif ukoll fuq l-istudenti, u jista' jxekkllillhom il-kreattività tagħhom.

- L-EFNIL tagħraf **il-vantaġġi li hemm fl-użu tal-Ingliż bħala mezz internazzjonali ta' komunikazzjoni, speċjalment f'dawk li jissejhu x-xjenzi 'ibsin'**, fejn anke forma b'Ingliż sempliċi tista' tkun ta' għajnuna biex tispjega sistemi ta' komunikazzjoni semjotiċi oħra bħalma huma l-espressjonijiet matematiċi, it-tabelli, il-formoli tal-kimika, u d-disinji grafiċi. Madankollu, f'dawn l-oqsma wiehed għandu jhegġeg li jintużaw il-lingwi l-oħra, minbarra l-Ingliż, ħalli dawn ikunu jistgħu jiżviluppaw diskors xjentifiku ta' livell għoli, u jxerrdu l-informazzjoni fuq problemi u riżultati xjentifiċi għall-pubbliku ingenerali.
- L-istudjużi għandhom jużaw il-lingwa nattiv tagħhom, u lingwi adattati għall-kuntest tal-istudju tagħhom. M'għandhomx għalfejn jevitaw għalkollox l-użu tal-Ingliż imma għandhom jużawh biss bħala mezz sekondarju biex juru r-relevanza tal-argumenti u jesprimu l-konklużjonijiet tal-istharriġ tagħhom.
- Għalhekk, l-EFNIL tappella lill-awtoritajiet akkademiċi u politiċi fil-pajjiżi mhux Anglofoni tal-Ewropa **bl-aktar mod qawwi** biex iheggu lill-għalliema u lill-istudenti **jużaw il-lingwi rispettivi nazzjonali tagħhom fir-riċerka u l-istudju tagħhom.**
- Fl-interess tad-diversità kulturali u lingwistika tal-Ewropa, l-EFNIL tappella wkoll lill-professuri, l-istudenti u l-amministrazzjonijiet tal-universitajiet fil-pajjiżi Anglofoni **biex isegwu l-istudju u l-użu ta' lingwi Ewropej oħra.** Dan jgħin fil-ħarsien tad-diversità lingwistika u tal-valuri tal-Ewropa.

(approvata mil-Laqgħa Ġenerali tal-EFNIL, fl-Accademia della Crusca, tat-28 ta' Settembru 2014)

Resolutie van Florence betreffende Taalgebruik in universitair onderwijs en wetenschappelijk onderzoek

Tegenwoordig is er over heel Europa een groeiende tendens te bespeuren om Engels te gebruiken als academische instructietaal en als taal voor wetenschappelijk onderzoek. Met name in de exacte wetenschappen neemt de voorkeur voor een beleid dat zich exclusief op het Engels richt hand over hand toe, niet alleen wat de taalkeuze betreft voor wetenschappelijke publicaties maar ook voor internationale (en zelfs nationale) conferenties. Het leidt geen enkele twijfel dat de winst op het terrein van internationale communicatie en uitwisselbaarheid van informatie in zulke situaties geboekt wordt ten koste van alle andere talen.

Hoewel deze tendens sterker is in de exacte wetenschappen, is de toestand in de sociale en geesteswetenschappen niet wezenlijk anders. De behoefte om deel uit te maken van de internationale onderzoeksgemeenschap lijkt het gebruik van het Engels in plaats van andere nationale talen onontbeerlijk te maken.

Deze evolutie vertegenwoordigt een echte dreiging, in zowel talig, cognitief als cultureel opzicht. Engels is geen neutraal medium voor alle communicatieve doelen. Het dominante en soms exclusieve gebruik ervan zorgt ervoor dat belangrijke wetenschappelijke tradities, concepten en methodes in de verdrukking komen en soms zelf geheel vergeten raken. Bovendien dreigt de mainstream binnen de verschillende wetenschappelijke disciplines – die goeddeels de wetenschappelijke agenda bepaalt – gemakkelijk gedomineerd te worden door sprekers uit het Angelsaksische gebied. Dat alles heeft al aantoonbaar invloed gehad op de allocatie van financiële middelen voor onderzoek, ook in andere dan de Angelsaksische landen.

- EFNIL, de federatie van centrale instellingen voor de officiële talen van de Europese landen, maakt zich ernstig zorgen over het toenemend gebruik van Engels als onderzoeks- en academische instructietaal in niet-Angelsaksische landen. Het gebruik van Engels in de plaats van de nationale standaardtalen, beperkt en begrenst de domeinen van deze talen en belemmert hun ontwikkeling. Op die manier vormt ze mede een bedreiging voor de taalverscheidenheid van Europa, dat een essentieel onderdeel vormt van de culturele diversiteit en het cultureel welzijn van ons continent.

- EFNIL erkent ten volle het praktisch nut van Engels als hulptaal voor communicatie tussen wetenschappers en onderzoekers die niet over een gemeenschappelijke taal beschikken. De Federatie waarschuwt echter tegen het gebruik van beperkte of vereenvoudigde variëteiten van het Engels als dominant of zelfs exclusief onderwijs- en publicatiemedium in andere talige omgevingen, omdat dit de andere talen zal devalueren en hen op den duur ongeschikt zal maken voor wetenschappelijk discours. Voor zowel onderwijsgevendens als voor studenten dreigt dit bovendien een extra stressfactor te vormen, die hun creatieve vermogens beperkt.
- EFNIL erkent de voordelen die het gebruik van Engels als internationaal communicatiemedium kan hebben, voornamelijk als het om de zogenaamde ‚harde‘ wetenschappen gaat, waar zelfs een vereenvoudigde vorm van Engels nuttig kan zijn bij het overbrengen van andere internationale semiotische communicatiemiddelen zoals wiskundige expressies, tabellen, scheikundige formules en grafieken. Toch moet ook in deze domeinen het gebruik van andere talen naast Engels aangemoedigd worden, om het die talen mogelijk te maken een hoogstaand wetenschappelijk discours te blijven ontwikkelen en over wetenschappelijke problemen en resultaten met en naar het grote publiek te communiceren.
- Geleerden moeten naast de andere talen die nodig zijn voor hun discipline, vooral ook hun moedertaal gebruiken. Hoewel ze het Engels natuurlijk niet helemaal hoeven uit te bannen of te vermijden, zouden ze moeten overwegen om dat Engels alleen te gebruiken als een secundaire weg om de relevantie van hun argumenten en bevindingen aan te tonen.
- Daarom doet EFNIL met klem een beroep op de academische en politieke autoriteiten in de niet-Angelsaksische landen om onderwijsgevendens en studenten aan te moedigen hun respectieve nationale talen te gebruiken binnen opleiding, onderzoek en studie.
- In het belang van de culturele en talige diversiteit binnen Europa doet EFNIL ook een beroep op de professoren, studenten en bestuurders van de universiteiten in de Angelsaksische landen om sterker in te zetten op de studie en het gebruik van andere Europese talen. Dat zal bijdragen aan het handhaven van de taalverscheidenheid en de daarmee samenhangende waardepluraliteit die eigen zijn aan Europa.

(goedgekeurd door de Algemene Ledenvergadering van EFNIL bij haar bijeenkomst bij de Accademia della Crusca in Florence op 28 september 2014. De Nederlandse Taalunie heeft een wat genuanceerder standpunt over dit onderwerp en heeft zich daarom onthouden)

Firenze-resolusjonen om språkbruk i undervisning og forskning i universitets- og høgskolesektoren

I hele Europa er det nå en økende tendens til å bruke engelsk som språket for akademisk undervisning og forskning. Denne tendensen er sterkere i naturvitenskapene enn humaniora. Tendensen til å ta i bruk en “kun engelsk-politikk” i vitenskapelige publikasjoner og som det eneste språket for diskurs på internasjonale (og selv nasjonale) konferanser, øker raskt. I slike tilfeller er det ingen tvil om at det man vinner i form av bedre kommunikasjon internasjonalt, skjer på bekostning av alle andre språk enn engelsk.

Situasjonen er lik for samfunnsvitenskapene og humaniora. I ikke-engelskspråklige land kan det virke som om behovet for å være en del av det internasjonale vitenskapelige miljøet krever bruk av engelsk fremfor nasjonalspråket.

Denne fremvoksende holdningen representerer en svært reell språklig, kognitiv og kulturell risiko. Engelsk er ikke et nøytralt kommunikasjonsmiddel som egner seg for alle formål. En overveiende eller sågar utelukkende bruk av engelsk fører til at viktige tradisjoner, begrep og metoder som er utviklet på andre språk, ignoreres eller glemmes. I tillegg kan hovedtendensen innen de ulike fagområdene – som avgjør hvilke tema og problemer som anses som mest relevante – lett bli dominert av personer fra engelskspråklige land. Det er allerede påvist at dette påvirker tildelingen av økonomisk støtte til forskning i andre land.

- EFNIL, sammenslutningen av sentrale institusjoner for de offisielle språkene i mange europeiske land, er svært bekymret for den nåværende tendensen til å bruke engelsk som akademisk undervisningsspråk i ikke-engelskspråklige land. Denne tendensen til å bruke engelsk i stedet for standardspråket i de ulike landene i undervisning og forskning i universitets- og høgskolesektoren innskrenker domenenene til disse språkene og hvordan de utvikler seg, og **setter dermed det språklige mangfoldet i Europa i fare**, et mangfold som er av avgjørende betydning for det kulturelle mangfoldet og den kulturelle rikdommen i vår verdensdel.
- EFNIL har stor forståelse for den praktiske bruken av engelsk som et støttespråk for kommunikasjon mellom forskere som ikke har noe annet felles språk. **EFNIL advarer imidlertid mot bruk av forenklede varieteter av engelsk** som det dominerende eller eneste undervisnings- og publiseringspråket i

andre språklige miljøer, fordi dette reduserer verdien av de andre språkene og gjør dem gradvis mindre egnet til vitenskapelig diskurs. Det legger også ekstra press på lærere og andre som underviser, og også på studentene som kan bli mindre kreative.

- EFNIL har stor forståelse for **fordelene ved å bruke engelsk som et internasjonalt kommunikasjonsspråk, særlig i naturvitenskapene**, der selv en forenklet form av engelsk kan være nyttig til å forklare andre internasjonale tegnsystemer, som for eksempel matematiske uttrykk, tabeller, kjemiske formler og g. Det må imidlertid oppmuntres til bruk av andre språk enn engelsk på disse områdene slik at disse språkene kan fortsette å utvikle en vitenskapelig diskurs på høyt nivå, og slik at vitenskapelige problemer og løsninger kan formidles til allmennheten.
- Forskere bør bruke sitt morsmål og i tillegg språk som er egnet innenfor rammene av forskningen deres. Det er ikke nødvendig å unngå engelsk helt og holdent, men de bør anse bruken av engelsk kun som et underordnet middel til å vise hvor relevante argumentene og resultatene deres er.
- EFNIL anmoder derfor de akademiske og politiske myndighetene i de ikke-engelskspråklige landene i Europa **sterkt** om å oppmuntre lærere og studenter **til å bruke sine respektive nasjonalspråk til forskning og studier**.
- Av hensyn til det kulturelle og språklige mangfoldet i Europa, anmoder EFNIL også professorer, studenter og universitetsadministrasjonene i de engelskspråklige landene **om å fortsette å studere og bruke andre europeiske språk**. Dette vil bidra til å bevare det språklige mangfoldet i Europa og dets verdier.

(godkjent av EFNILs generalforsamling på Accademia della Crusca den 28. september 2014)

Firenze-resolusjonen om språkbruk i undervisning og forskning i universitets- og høgskulesektoren

I heile Europa er det i våre dagar ein aukande tendens til å bruke engelsk som språket for akademisk undervisning og forskning. Denne tendensen er sterkare i naturvitskapane enn i humaniora. Tendensen til å ta i bruk ein “politikk med berre engelsk” i vitenskaplege publikasjonar og som det einaste diskursspråket på internasjonale (og endatil nasjonale) konferansar, er raskt aukande. I slike tilfelle er det ingen tvil om at det ein vinn i form av betre kommunikasjon internasjonalt, går ut over alle andre språk enn engelsk.

I samfunnsvitskapane og humaniora er situasjonen den same. I land som ikkje er engelskspråklege, kan det synest som trongen til å vere ein del av det internasjonale vitenskapsmiljøet krev at ein bruker engelsk heller enn nasjonalspråka.

Denne haldninga, som grip stadig meir om seg, utgjer ein svært reell språkleg, kognitiv og kulturell risiko. Engelsk er ikkje eit nøytralt kommunikasjonsmiddel som høver for alle føremål. Dersom ein i all hovudsak, eller endatil berre nyttar engelsk, blir viktige tradisjonar, omgrep og metodar som er utvikla på andre språk, ignorerte eller gløymde. Dessutan kan hovudtendensen i dei ulike fagområda – som avgjer kva tema og problem som er mest relevante – lett bli dominert av personar frå engelskspråklege land. Det har allereie vist seg at dette påverkar tildeling av økonomisk støtte til forskning i andre land.

- EFNIL, samanslutninga av dei sentrale institusjonane for dei offisielle språka i mange europeiske land, er svært uroa over den tendensen ein no ser til å bruke engelsk som akademisk undervisningsspråk i land som ikkje er engelskspråklege. Denne tendensen til å bruke engelsk i staden for standardspråket i dei ulike landa i undervisning og forskning i universitets- og høgskulesektoren, innskrenkar domena til desse språka og korleis dei utviklar seg og **set dermed språkmangfaldet i Europa i fare**, eit mangfald som er avgjerande for kulturmangfaldet og den kulturelle rikdommen i verdsdelen vår.
- EFNIL innser heilt og fullt at det er praktisk å bruke engelsk som støttespråk når forskarar som ikkje har noko anna felles språk, skal kommunisere med kvarandre. **Likevel åttvarar dei mot å bruke forenkla varietetar av engelsk** som det dominerande eller einaste undervisnings- og publiseringsspråket i andre språkmiljø, då dette nedvurderer dei andre språka og fører til at dei

gradvis blir mindre og mindre eigna til vitskapleg diskurs. Det seier seg sjølv at dette også legg ekstra press på lærarar og andre som underviser, og også på studentar som kanskje ikkje får utnytte kreativiteten sin fullt ut.

- EFNIL innser **fordelane med å bruke engelsk som internasjonalt kommunikasjonsspråk, særleg i naturvitskapane**, der endatil ei forenkla form for engelsk kan vere til hjelp når ein skal forklare andre internasjonale teiknsystem som matematiske uttrykk, tabellar, kjemiske formlar og grafiske framstillingar. Ein må likevel oppmuntre til å bruke andre språk i tillegg til engelsk på desse områda, slik at ein kan halde fram med å utvikle ein vitskapleg diskurs på høgt nivå på desse språka og slik at ein kan formidle vitskaplege problem og resultat til allmenta.
- Forskarar bør bruke morsmålet sitt og dessutan dei språka som eignar seg innafør rammene av fagfeltet deira. Det er ikkje naudsynt å unngå engelsk fullstendig, men dei bør sjå på bruken av engelsk som berre eit underordna middel til å vise kor relevante argumenta og resultata deira er.
- Difor kjem EFNIL med ein **sterk** appell til dei akademiske og politiske styresmaktene i dei landa i Europa som ikkje er engelskspråklege, om at dei oppmodar lærarar og studentar **til å bruke dei respektive nasjonalspråka sine til forskning og studiar**.
- Av omsyn til det kulturelle og språklege mangfaldet i Europa kjem EFNIL også med ein appell til professorar, studentar og universitets- og høgskuleadministrasjonar i dei engelskspråklege landa **om å leggje vinn på å studere og bruke andre europeiske språk**. Dette vil bidra til å ta vare på det språklege mangfaldet i Europa og dei verdiane som ligg i det.

(godkjend av EFNILs generalforsamling på Accademia della Crusca 28. september 2014)

**Europejska Federacja Narodowych Instytucji na rzecz Języka
(EFNIL)
Rezolucja Florencka
Użycie języka w dydaktyce uniwersyteckiej i badaniach
naukowych**

Obecnie w całej Europie daje się zauważyć rosnąca tendencja do użycia języka angielskiego jako języka dydaktyki i badań naukowych. Tendencja ta jest silniejsza w naukach ścisłych niż w humanistycznych. W naukach ścisłych wzmaga się dążenie do prowadzenia polityki “tylko język angielski” w publikacjach naukowych oraz podczas konferencji międzynarodowych (a nawet krajowych). W takich sytuacjach nie ma wątpliwości, że komunikacja międzynarodowa przebiega na korzyść języka angielskiego kosztem pozostałych języków.

Sytuacja jest podobna w naukach społecznych i humanistycznych. Wygląda na to, że w krajach nieanglojęzycznych dążenie, by być częścią międzynarodowej społeczności naukowej, wymusza użycie języka angielskiego, a nie narodowego.

Ta wzrastająca tendencja jest bardzo realnym zagrożeniem językowym, poznawczym i kulturowym. Język angielski nie jest neutralnym i uniwersalnym środkiem komunikacji. Jego dominacja, a nawet jego wyłączne użycie sprawia, że ważne tradycje, idee i metody rozwinięte w innych językach są ignorowane lub zapomniane. Ponadto główny nurt różnych dyscyplin decydujący o tematach i zagadnieniach uważanych za najistotniejsze może łatwo zostać zdominowany przez osoby z krajów anglojęzycznych, co z kolei odzwierciedla się w finansowaniu nauki w innych krajach.

- EFNIL, stowarzyszenie głównych instytucji dotyczących oficjalnych języków różnych krajów europejskich, z głęboką troską obserwuje współczesną tendencję do używania języka angielskiego jako języka dydaktyki uniwersyteckiej w krajach nieanglojęzycznych. Tendencja do używania angielszczyzny w miejsce języków różnych krajów w badaniach naukowych i nauczaniu akademickim zmniejsza obszary użycia tych języków, spowalnia ich rozwój i w ten sposób **zagroza zróżnicowaniu językowemu Europy**, tak istotnemu dla różnorodności kulturowej i bogactwa naszego kontynentu.
- EFNIL w pełni uznaje praktyczną stronę używania języka angielskiego jako języka pomocniczego w komunikacji między uczonymi i studium, którzy nie mają innego języka wspólnego. **Wpływa to jednak ujemnie na użycie zredukowanego języka angielskiego** jako dominującego lub jedyne języka nauczania i publikacji

w odmiennym (niż angielski) otoczeniu językowym, co z kolei degraduje te języki i powoduje ich stopniowe nieprzystosowanie do użycia w dyskursie naukowym. Nie trzeba dodawać, że powoduje to dodatkowy wysiłek u nauczycieli i innych osób uczących, jak i u studentów, których kreatywność może zostać zahamowana.

- EFNIL uznaje **zalety używania języka angielskiego jako międzynarodowego środka komunikacji, szczególnie w naukach ścisłych**, w których nawet uproszczona forma angielszczyzny może być pomocna w tłumaczeniu innych międzynarodowych semiotycznych systemów komunikacji, takich jak wyrażenia matematyczne, tabele, wzory chemiczne i oznaczenia graficzne. Jednak nie można odstąpić od użycia innych języków – poza językiem angielskim – na tych polach, ponieważ wiąże się to z rozwijaniem w tych językach dyskursu naukowego na wysokim poziomie oraz z upowszechnianiem problemów naukowych wśród szerokiej publiczności.
- Uczni powinni używać swych rodzimych języków oraz dodatkowo języków właściwych dla uprawianych przez nich nauk. Nie ma potrzeby całkowitego eliminowania angielszczyzny, powinno się jednak rozważyć używanie tego języka jako drugiego w odniesieniu do pokazywania ważnych wynalazków i argumentów.
- EFNIL apeluje zatem do władz akademickich i politycznych w krajach nieanglojęzycznych, by jak najpoważniej zachęciły nauczycieli i studentów **do stosowania języków narodowych w badaniach naukowych i dydaktyce**.
- Mając na względzie kulturową i lingwistyczną różnorodność Europy, EFNIL apeluje także do profesorów, studentów i do administracji uczelni w krajach anglojęzycznych **o kontynuowanie studiów nad innymi językami europejskimi oraz używania tych języków**. To pomoże zachować językową różnorodność Europy oraz jej system wartości.

(Rezolucja przyjęta przez Zgromadzenie Ogólne EFNIL w Accademia della Crusca w dniu 28 września 2014)

Resolução de Florença sobre Utilização de línguas no ensino universitário e na investigação

Em toda a Europa, existe atualmente uma tendência acentuada para utilizar o inglês como língua de ensino académico e de investigação. Esta tendência é mais forte na área das Ciências do que na área das Humanidades. A tendência para adotar uma política de uso exclusivo do inglês em publicações científicas, assim como meio exclusivo do discurso em conferências internacionais (e mesmo nacionais) está a crescer rapidamente. Em tais situações, não há dúvidas de que os progressos realizados na comunicação internacional são obtidos a expensas de todas as outras línguas que não o inglês.

A situação é semelhante no domínio das ciências sociais e humanas. Nos países não anglófonos, a necessidade de integrar a comunidade científica internacional pode requerer a utilização da língua inglesa, em vez da língua nacional.

O crescimento desta atitude representa um risco linguístico, cognitivo e cultural muito real. A língua inglesa não é um meio de comunicação universal neutro. Devido à utilização predominante ou até exclusiva do inglês, tradições importantes, conceitos e métodos desenvolvidos noutras línguas são ignorados ou esquecidos. Além disso, a determinação dos temas e problemáticas considerados mais relevantes em diversas disciplinas pode facilmente ser dominado por oradores de países anglófonos. Foi demonstrado como este facto influencia a atribuição de apoio financeiro para a investigação em outros países.

- A EFNIL, a associação das instituições centrais para as línguas oficiais de muitos países europeus, constata a atual tendência para a utilização do inglês como língua de ensino académico com profunda preocupação nos países não anglófonos. Esta tendência para utilizar o inglês em vez das línguas dos vários países no ensino universitário e na investigação restringe os domínios dessas línguas e do seu desenvolvimento e, por conseguinte, **põe em risco a diversidade linguística da Europa**, o que constitui um elemento essencial para a diversidade cultural e a riqueza do nosso continente.
- A EFNIL reconhece plenamente a utilização prática do inglês como língua auxiliar para a comunicação entre cientistas e académicos que não têm outra língua em comum. **Adverte, todavia, contra a utilização de variedades reduzidas de inglês** como meio exclusivo ou dominante de ensino e publicação noutros contextos linguísticos, na medida em que isto desvaloriza as outras

línguas e, gradualmente, as torna mais e mais inadequadas para o discurso científico. Escusado será dizer que tal facto coloca também uma pressão adicional sobre os professores e outros educadores, bem como sobre os estudantes cuja criatividade pode ser prejudicada.

- A EFNIL reconhece **as vantagens de se utilizar o inglês como meio de comunicação internacional, especialmente nas chamadas «ciências duras»**, em que mesmo uma forma simplificada do inglês pode ser útil para explicar outros sistemas semióticos internacionais, como expressões matemáticas, quadros, gráficos, ou fórmulas químicas. No entanto, deve ser incentivada a utilização de outras línguas nestes domínios, além do inglês, a fim de permitir que estas línguas continuem a desenvolver um discurso científico de alto nível e também divulgar problemas científicos e os seus resultados ao público em geral.
- Os académicos devem utilizar as suas línguas maternas e, adicionalmente, as línguas adequadas ao contexto dos seus estudos. Não é necessário evitar totalmente a língua inglesa, mas devem considerar a utilização do inglês apenas como uma via secundária para demonstrar a pertinência dos seus argumentos e conclusões.
- A EFNIL apela, por conseguinte, **de forma veemente**, aos académicos e autoridades políticas nos países não anglófonos da Europa para que incentivem os professores e estudantes **a usar as respetivas línguas nacionais para efeitos de estudo e de investigação**.
- No interesse da diversidade cultural e linguística da Europa, a EFNIL apela também a professores, estudantes e administrações das universidades nos países anglófonos para que **incentivem o estudo e a utilização de outras línguas europeias**. Tal contribuirá para preservar a diversidade linguística da Europa e os seus valores.

(aprovado pela assembleia geral da EFNIL na Accademia della Crusca, em 28 de setembro de 2014)

Rezoluția de la Florența cu privire la Utilizarea limbilor în învățământul universitar și în cercetare

Pretutindeni în Europa există astăzi o tendință tot mai pronunțată de a utiliza engleza ca limbă a instruirii academice și a cercetării. Această tendință este mai pronunțată în științele exacte decât în științele umane. Tendința de a adopta „politica folosirii exclusive a limbii engleze” în publicațiile științifice și ca mediu unic de expunere în conferințele internaționale (și chiar naționale) este în creștere rapidă. În acest context, nu încapе îndoială că progresul înregistrat în comunicarea la nivel internațional se realizează în dauna tuturor celorlalte limbi în afară de engleză.

Situația este asemănătoare în științele sociale și în științele umane. În țările în care nu se vorbește limba engleză, nevoia de a deveni parte a comunității științifice internaționale poate părea că face necesară utilizarea englezei mai degrabă decât a limbilor naționale.

Această atitudine tot mai pregnantă reprezintă un risc lingvistic, cognitiv și cultural extrem de real. Limba engleză nu constituie un mijloc de comunicare neutru și adecvat tuturor scopurilor. Prin utilizarea ei preponderentă sau chiar exclusivă, importante tradiții, concepte și metode dezvoltate în alte limbi sunt ignorate sau uitate. Mai mult, se poate întâmpla ca fluxul principal al diverselor discipline – care determină acele teme și probleme considerate cele mai relevante – să devină dominat de vorbitori din țările anglofone. Este cunoscut faptul că acest lucru influențează alocarea de sprijin financiar pentru cercetare spre alte țări.

- EFNIL, asociația instituțiilor centrale pentru limbile oficiale din multe țări europene, privește cu profundă îngrijorare tendința actuală de utilizare a englezei ca limbă de instruire academică în țările neanglofone. Această tendință de a folosi engleza în locul limbilor standard ale diverselor țări în învățământul universitar și în cercetare restrânge domeniile acestor limbi și dezvoltarea lor și astfel **periclitează diversitatea lingvistică a Europei**, care este esențială pentru diversitatea culturală și bunăstarea continentului nostru.
- EFNIL conștientizează pe deplin utilizarea practică a englezei ca limbă auxiliară pentru comunicarea între oamenii de știință și cercetătorii care nu au în comun nicio altă limbă. EFNIL **atrage totuși atenția împotriva utilizării unor varietăți reduse ale limbii engleze** ca mijloc dominant sau exclusiv în învățământ și în publicații în alte medii lingvistice, întrucât aceasta conduce

la devalorizarea celorlalte limbi și le face astfel tot mai neadecvate pentru comunicarea științifică. Nici nu mai este nevoie să spunem că acest fapt exercită o presiune suplimentară asupra profesorilor și a altor formatori, precum și asupra studenților, a căror creativitate poate fi stânjenită.

- EFNIL conștientizează **avantajele utilizării limbii engleze ca mijloc internațional de comunicare, în special în cadrul așa-numitelor științe „dure”**, în care chiar și o formă simplificată de engleză poate fi utilă în explicarea altor sisteme semiotice internaționale precum expresii matematice, tabele, formule chimice și reprezentări grafice. Cu toate acestea, utilizarea altor limbi pe lângă engleză trebuie încurajată, cu scopul de a le permite să continue să-și dezvolte un discurs științific de înalt nivel și totodată să facă cunoscute publicului larg probleme și rezultate științifice.
- Oamenii de știință ar trebui să-și utilizeze limba maternă, precum și limbile străine adecvate studiilor lor. Nu este necesar ca ei să evite cu totul folosirea limbii engleze, însă ar trebui ca ei să o considere numai ca un mijloc secundar pentru demonstrarea relevanței argumentelor și a descoperirilor lor.
- Ca urmare, EFNIL face apel, **în termenii cei mai categorici**, la autoritățile academice și politice din țările neanglofone ale Europei să încurajeze profesorii și studenții **să-și utilizeze limbile naționale pentru cercetare și studii**.
- În interesul diversității culturale și lingvistice a Europei, EFNIL face de asemenea apel la profesorii, la studenții și la factorii administrativi ai universităților din țările anglofone **să continue studiul și utilizarea altor limbi europene**. Aceasta va ajuta la prezervarea diversității lingvistice a Europei și a valorilor ei.

(Rezoluție aprobată de Adunarea Generală a EFNIL de la Accademia della Crusca din 28 septembrie 2014)

Florentská rezolúcia

O

používaní jazyka v univerzitnej výučbe a vo výskume

V celej Európe v súčasnosti vzrastá tendencia používať angličtinu ako jazyk akademickej výučby a výskumu, pričom táto tendencia je v oblasti prírodných vied silnejšia ako v humanitných odboroch. Rýchlo sa rozmáha aj “politika angličtiny” ako výhradného jazyka vo vedeckých publikáciách, ako jazyka medzinárodných (alebo dokonca národných) konferencií. V takýchto prípadoch niet pochyb o tom, že tento jav v medzinárodnej komunikácii sa udial na úkor všetkých ostatných jazykov okrem angličtiny.

Situácia je podobná v sociálnych aj v humanitných vedách. Potreba byť súčasťou medzinárodnej vedeckej komunity si od neanglicky hovoriacich krajín vyžaduje používanie anglického jazyka, a to viac než národných jazykov.

Tento rastúci trend predstavuje veľmi reálne jazykové, kognitívne a kultúrne riziká. Angličtina nie je neutrálnym univerzálnym komunikačným prostriedkom. V dôsledku prevládajúceho, alebo dokonca výhradného využívania angličtiny sa ignorujú alebo strácajú dôležité tradície, koncepty a metódy vyvinuté v iných jazykoch. Navyše nastolovaniu kľúčových tém a problémov tak dominujú anglicky hovoriaci účastníci. Takýto jav už preukázateľne ovplyvňuje pridelovanie finančnej podpory vo výskume v iných krajinách.

- EFNIL, asociácia hlavných inštitúcií pre oficiálne jazyky mnohých európskych krajín, s vysokým znepokojením sleduje súčasný trend používania angličtiny ako jazyka akademickej výučby v neanglofónnych krajinách. Tendencia využívať angličtinu v univerzitnej výučbe a vo výskume namiesto národných jazykov obmedzuje pôsobnosť jazykov a ich rozvoj. Tým **ohrozuje európsku jazykovú diverzitu**, ktorá je nevyhnutná pre kultúrnu rozmanitosť a bohatstvo nášho svetadielu.
- EFNIL plne rešpektuje praktické použitie angličtiny ako komunikačného jazyka medzi vedcami a odborníkmi, ktorí nemajú iný spoločný jazyk. **Varuje aj pred zjednodušenými formami anglického jazyka ako** dominantnými alebo výlučnými komunikačnými jazykmi vo výučbe alebo publikačnej činnosti v odlišných jazykových prostrediach. Dochádza tak k znehodnocovaniu ostatných jazykov, ktoré sa stávajú čoraz menej vhodnými pre vedecký diskurz. Netreba dodávať, že sa tak kladú ďalšie nároky na učiteľov a pedagógov, takisto ako aj na študentov, čo môže brzdiť tvorivý proces.

- EFNIL uznáva **výhody využívania angličtiny ako medzinárodného jazyka komunikácie, najmä v oblasti prírodných vied**, kde aj zjednodušená forma angličtiny môže byť užitočná pri vysvetľovaní ďalších medzinárodných semiotických systémov, ako sú napríklad matematické výrazy, tabuľky, chemické vzorce a grafické schémy. Avšak aj tu je dôležitá podpora národných jazykov, a to najmä v záujme rozvoja vedeckého diskurzu a tiež prezentácie vedeckých problémov a výsledkov širokej verejnosti.
- Vedci by mali používať svoj materinský jazyk a popri tom jazyky zodpovedajúce kontextu ich výskumu. Nie je nutné sa úplne vyhýbať angličtine, avšak mali by zvážiť využívanie angličtiny len ako druhotného jazyka – na preukázanie relevantnosti argumentov a poznatkov.
- EFNIL preto čo **najdôraznejšie** vyzýva akademické a politické orgány v neanglofónnych krajinách, aby učiteľov a študentov podporovali vo **využívaní svojich národných jazykov pri štúdiu a výskume**.
- V záujme kultúrnej a jazykovej rozmanitosti Európy EFNIL apeluje aj na profesorov, študentov a administratívne orgány univerzít v anglofónnych krajinách, aby študovali a **používali ostatné európske jazyky**, a tak prispeli k zachovaniu jazykovej rozmanitosti a hodnôt Európy.

(schválené valným zhromaždením EFNIL na Accademia della Crusca 28. septembra 2014)

Firenška resolucija o rabi jezika pri univerzitetnem poučevanju in raziskovanju

Dandanes po vsej Evropi narašča težnja po rabi angleščine kot jezika akademskega poučevanja in raziskovanja. V znanosti je močnejša kakor v humanistiki. Težnja, privzeti politiko rabe zgolj angleščine v znanstvenih publikacijah in kot izključnega sredstva razprave na mednarodnih (in celo domačih) konferencah, hitro narašča. V takih okoliščinah ni nobenega dvoma, da je napredek v mednarodnem sporazumevanju dosežen na račun vseh drugih jezikov razen angleščine.

Podobno je v družbenih vedah in humanistiki. V neangleško govorečih državah se lahko zdi, da potreba, biti del mednarodne znanstvene skupnosti, zahteva rabo angleščine namesto drugih nacionalnih jezikov.

Ta naraščajoča naravnost je zelo stvarno jezikovno, spoznavno in kulturno tveganje. Angleščina ni nevtralen medij sporazumevanja za vse namene. Z njeno prevladujočo ali celo izključno rabo so prezrte ali pozabljene pomembne tradicije, koncepti in metode, razvite v drugih jezikih. Poleg tega lahko prevladujoča usmeritev pri različnih strokah – ki določa, katere teme in problemi veljajo za najpomembnejše – zlahka postane predmet prevlade govorcev iz angleško govorečih držav. Pokazalo se je že, da to vpliva na dodelitev finančne podpore za raziskave v drugih državah.

- EFNIL, združenje osrednjih institucij za uradne jezike v številnih evropskih državah, spremlja sedanjo težnjo po rabi angleščine kot jezika akademskega poučevanja v neangleško govorečih državah z globoko zaskrbljenostjo. Ta težnja po rabi angleščine namesto standardnih jezikov različnih držav pri univerzitetnem poučevanju in raziskovanju omejuje področja teh jezikov in njihov razvoj ter tako **ogroža jezikovno pestrost Evrope**, ki je bistvenega pomena za kulturno raznolikost in bogastvo naše celine.
- EFNIL v celoti priznava praktično rabo angleščine kot pomožnega jezika za sporazumevanje med znanstveniki in akademiki, ki nimajo skupnega nobenega drugega jezika. **Vendar pa hkrati svari pred rabo reduciranih različic angleščine** kot prevladujočega ali izključnega sredstva pri poučevanju in objavljanju v drugih jezikovnih okoljih, saj to razvrednoti druge jezike in postopoma povzroči, da so čedalje bolj neprimerni za znanstveno razpravo. Ni treba posebej poudarjati, da je to tudi dodatna obremenitev za učitelje in druge izobraževalce ter študente, saj lahko ovira njihovo ustvarjalnost.

- EFNIL priznava **prednosti rabe angleščine kot mednarodnega sredstva sporazumevanja predvsem v tako imenovanih »eksaktnih« znanostih**, v katerih je lahko tudi poenostavljena oblika angleščine v pomoč pri razlagi drugih mednarodnih semiotičnih komunikacijskih sistemov, kot so matematični izrazi, preglednice, kemične formule in grafični prikazi. Vendar pa je treba na teh področjih poleg angleščine spodbujati rabo drugih jezikov, da bi tem jezikom še naprej omogočali razvoj znanstvenega diskurza na visoki ravni ter da bi lahko širšo javnost seznanjali z znanstvenimi problemi in izsledki.
- Akademiki bi morali uporabljati svoje materne jezike, poleg njih pa še jezike, ki ustrezajo okviru njihovega študija. Ni se jim treba v celoti izogibati angleščine, vendar pa bi morali razmisliti o njeni rabi kot le dodatnem načinu za dokazovanje pomembnosti svojih trditev in ugotovitev.
- EFNIL zato **najodločneje** poziva akademske in politične organe v neangleško govorečih državah Evrope, naj spodbujajo učitelje in študente **k rabi lastnih nacionalnih jezikov pri raziskavah in študijah**.
- EFNIL v prid kulturne in jezikovne raznolikosti Evrope tudi poziva profesorje, študente in uprave univerz v angleško govorečih državah, naj **si prizadevajo za študij in rabo drugih evropskih jezikov**. To bo pomagalo ohraniti jezikovno raznolikost Evrope in njenih vrednot.

(Potrdila Generalna skupščina EFNIL-a na Accademii della Crusca 28. septembra 2014.)

Florensresolutionen angående Val av språk i universitetsundervisning och forskning

Det finns idag en ökande tendens i Europa att använda engelska inom akademisk undervisning och forskning. Denna utveckling är starkare inom naturvetenskaperna än inom humaniora. Tendensen att enbart använda engelska i vetenskapliga publikationer och vid internationella (men även nationella) konferenser blir allt tydligare. I sådana sammanhang är det utan tvivel så, att det som den internationella kommunikationen vunnit på detta har varit på bekostnad av alla andra språk utom engelska.

En liknande situation råder inom samhällsvetenskap och humaniora. I icke engelskspråkiga länder kan behovet av att tillhöra den internationella vetenskapliga världen tyckas kräva att engelska används snarare än det egna språket.

Denna attityd, som är i tilltagande, innebär en språklig, kognitiv och kulturell risk. Engelska är inte ett neutralt kommunikationsmedel som kan användas vid alla tillfällen. När engelska är det förhärskande eller t. o. m. det enda språk som används, bortser man från eller glömmer viktiga traditioner, begrepp och metoder som utvecklats i andra språk. Huvudfaran i olika discipliner – som bestämmer vilka teman och problem som är mest relevanta – kommer dessutom lätt att domineras av talare från engelskspråkiga länder. Detta har redan visat sig påverka tilldelningen av forskningsanslag till icke engelskspråkiga länder.

- Europeiska samarbetsorganisationen för nationella språkinstitutioner i Europa, EFNIL, ser med djup oro på utvecklingen att engelska används mer och mer som akademiskt undervisningsspråk i icke engelskspråkiga länder. Denna tendens att använda engelska istället för de olika ländernas standardspråk i universitetsundervisning och forskning begränsar dessa språks domäner och deras utveckling och **hotar därmed Europas språkliga mångfald**, som är viktig för vår kontinents kulturella mångfald och välfärd.
- EFNIL erkänner helt och fullt det praktiska i att forskare och studenter använder engelska, när de inte har något annat gemensamt språk. **Men EFNIL varnar för användningen av reducerade varianter av engelska** som det dominerande eller enda språket för undervisning och publikationer i icke engelskspråkiga länder, eftersom övriga språk därigenom devalveras och gradvis blir allt mindre lämpade för vetenskaplig diskurs. Självfallet sätter detta

ytterligare press på lärare och andra utbildare såväl som på studenter, vars kreativitet kan hämmas.

- EFNIL erkänner **fördelarna med att använda engelska i internationell kommunikation, speciellt när det gäller ”hård” vetenskap**, där även en förenklad engelska kan hjälpa till att förklara andra internationella semiotiska system, såsom matematiska uttryck, tabeller, kemiska formler och grafiska figurer. Men användningen av andra språk förutom engelska måste uppmuntras även inom dessa områden, i syfte att göra det möjligt för alla språk att fortsätta att utveckla en diskurs på hög vetenskaplig nivå, men även att göra vetenskapliga problem och resultat tillgängliga för allmänheten.
- Forskare bör använda sitt modersmål och dessutom de språk som deras studier kräver. Det är inte nödvändigt att helt undvika engelska, men man bör överväga att först i andra hand använda engelska för att redovisa sina argument och forskningsresultat.
- Därför vädjar EFNIL **med emfas** till akademiskt och politiskt ansvariga i icke engelskspråkiga länder i Europa att uppmuntra lärare och studenter att **använda sitt eget språk i forskning och studier**.
- För Europas kulturella och språkliga mångfalds skull vädjar EFNIL även till professorer, studenter och universitetsförvaltningar i engelskspråkiga länder att **bedriva studier i och använda sig av andra europeiska språk**. Detta kommer att bidra till att den språkliga mångfalden i Europa och de värden som detta medför bevaras.

(godkänt av EFNIL:s generalförsamling den 28 september 2014 på Accademia della Crusca)

European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL): Members, associate member institutions and observer

For detailed information on EFNIL and its members see www.efnil.org

Member institutions grouped by country

Austria	<i>Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum</i> , Graz Austrian Centre for Language Competence <i>Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur</i> , Wien Federal Ministry for Education, Art, and Culture
Belgium	<i>Service de la langue française</i> , Bruxelles French Lan- guage Service <i>Nederlandse Taalunie</i> , Den Haag Dutch Language Un- ion (Flanders and The Netherlands)
Bulgaria	<i>Българска академия на науките, Институт за български език</i> , Sofia Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Bulgarian Language
Croatia:	<i>Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje</i> , Zagreb Insti- tute of Croatian Language and Linguistics
Cyprus:	<i>Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου</i> , Nicosia University of Cyprus
Czech Republic	<i>Ústav Českého národního korpusu Univerzity Karlovy</i> , Praha Institute of Czech National Corpus, Charles-Uni- versity
Denmark	<i>Dansk Sprognævn</i> , København Danish Language Council
Estonia	<i>Eesti Keelenõukogu</i> , Tallin Estonian Language Council <i>Eesti Keele Instituut</i> , Tallin Institute of the Estonian Language
Finland	<i>Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus / Forskningscen- tralen för de inhemska språken</i> , Helsinki/Helsingfors Research Institute for the Languages of Finland

France	<i>Délégation Générale à la langue française et aux langues de France</i> , Paris General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France
Germany	<i>Institut für Deutsche Sprache</i> , Mannheim Institute for the German Language <i>Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung</i> , Darmstadt German Academy for Language and Literature
Greece	<i>Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας</i> , Thessaloniki Centre for the Greek Language
Hungary	<i>Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Nyelvtudományi Intézet</i> , Budapest Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Institute for Linguistics
Ireland	<i>Foras na Gaeilge</i> , Dublin (the all-island body for the Irish language)
Italy	<i>Accademia della Crusca</i> , Firenze (the central academy for the Italian language) <i>CNR – Opera del Vocabolario Italiano</i> , Firenze The Italian Dictionary
Latvia	<i>Valst valodas komisija</i> , Riga State Language Commission <i>Valsts valodas aģentūra</i> , Riga State Language Agency
Lithuania	<i>Lietuvių Kalbos Institutas</i> , Vilnius Institute of the Lithuanian Language <i>Valstybinė Lietuvių Kalbos Komisija</i> , Vilnius State Commission for the Lithuanian Language
Luxembourg	<i>Institut Grand-Ducal, Section de linguistique</i> , Luxembourg Grand Ducal Institute, Linguistic Section
Malta	<i>Kunsill Nazzjonali ta' l-Ilsien Malti</i> National Council of the Maltese Language
Netherlands/Belgium	<i>Nederlandse Taalunie</i> , Den Haag Dutch Language Union
Poland	<i>Rada Języka Polskiego</i> , Warszawa Council for the Polish Language
Portugal	<i>Instituto Camões</i> , Lisboa (The institution for the promotion of Portuguese language and culture)
Romania	<i>Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistica</i> , Bucureşti Romanian Academy, Institute of Linguistics
Slovakia	<i>Jazykovedný ústav Ľudovíta Štúra Slovenskej</i> , Bratislava Slovak Academy of Sciences, Ludovit Stúr Institute of Linguistics

Slovenia	<i>Ministrstvo za kulturo – Sektor za slovenski jezik</i> , Ljubljana Ministry of Culture, Section for the Slovenian Language
Sweden	<i>Språkrådet</i> , Stockholm The Swedish Language Council
United Kingdom	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , Oxford <i>The British Council</i>

Associate member institutions

Iceland	<i>Íslensk málnefnd</i> , Reykjavik Icelandic Language Council
Norway	<i>Språkrådet</i> , Oslo Norwegian Language Council

Observer

Spain	<i>Instituto Cervantes</i> , Madrid
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