Andrew Linn
Investigating English in Europe

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Andrew Linn

Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas

English in Europe, Volume 6

With contributions from
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Series preface

The biggest language challenge in the world today is English. School children are expected to learn it, and the need to succeed in English is often fired by parental ambition and the requirements for entry into higher education, no matter what the proposed course of study. Once at university or college, students across the globe are increasingly finding that their teaching is being delivered through the medium of English, making the learning process more onerous. Universities unquestioningly strive for a greater level of internationalization in teaching and in research, and this is in turn equated with greater use of English by non-native speakers. The need to use English to succeed in business is as much an issue for multinational corporations as it is for small traders in tourist destinations, and meanwhile other languages are used and studied less and less. On the other hand, academic publishers get rich on the monolingual norm of the industry, and private language teaching is itself big business. In the market of English there are winners and there are losers.

The picture, however, is more complicated than one simply of winners and losers. What varieties of English are we talking about here, and who are their 'native speakers'? Is there something distinct we can identify as English, or is it merely part of a repertoire of language forms to be called upon as necessary? Is the looming presence of English an idea or a reality, and in any case is it really such a problem, and is it really killing off other languages as some commentators fear? Is the status and role of English the same in all parts of the world, or does it serve different purposes in different contexts? What forms of practical support do those trying to compete in this marketplace need in order to be amongst the winners?

These are all questions addressed by the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project, which ran from January 2012 to October 2014. This international research network received generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust in the UK and was a partnership between the universities of Sheffield (UK), Copenhagen (Denmark) and Zaragoza (Spain), Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic) and the South-East Europe Research Centre in Thessaloniki (Greece). Each of the partners hosted a conference on a different topic and with a particular focus on English in their own region of Europe. During the course of the project 120 papers were presented, reporting on research projects from across Europe and beyond, providing for the first time a properly informed and nuanced picture of the reality of living with and through the medium of English.

The *English in Europe* book series takes the research presented in these conferences as its starting point. In each case, however, papers have been rewritten, and many of the papers have been specially commissioned to provide a series of coherent and balanced collections, giving a thorough and authoritative picture of the challenges posed by teaching, studying and using English in Europe today.

Professor Andrew Linn
Director, *English in Europe* project

Table of Contents

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Andrew Linn
1 Introduction

1.1 English and Europe

This book is being written at a time when both the challenge of communication across national borders and the notion of Europe as a meaningful economic and socio-political space are hot topics. In fact the role of English in the world has been described by a leading commentator as "the hottest possible" sociolinguistic issue (Blommaert 2010: 182).

It is generally acknowledged, whether individual commentators like the fact or not, that English is de facto the common language of Europe and indeed of the world beyond Europe, a point made forcefully by Barbara Seidlhofer in the opening words of her 2011 study of English as a Lingua Franca:

> It is now accepted as a fact that English, as a cause and consequence of globalization, currently serves as the most widespread means of international and intercultural communication that the world has ever seen. But this does not mean that it is uncontroversial. (Seidlhofer 2011a: ix)

There are two extreme positions concerning this "not uncontroversial" situation, as expressed by Saarinen (2014: 128): "English can be seen both as the hegemonic 'global English' and as the empowering 'international English'". Broadly speaking these are the positions taken by the two major professional stakeholders in the use of English, namely scholars of linguistics, and specifically a critical sociolinguistic voice (e.g. Macedo et al. 2003), and professional stakeholders, such as multinational corporations (Neeley 2012) and scientific publishers (Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada and Pló 2011). There is by now a well-established discourse surrounding the 'imperialistic' or 'hegemonic' role of English worldwide, associated with the writings of Robert Phillipson (Phillipson 1992; 2009) and others (see section 3.2.1), but this is of little interest to the English language teaching industry or the monopolistic journal publishers, whose millions are made on the unquestioned assumption that the world needs to communicate through the medium of English. Such a distinction between liberal academia and business realities isn't a clear-cut one however. In 2015 the Belgian rector of Maastricht University in the Netherlands made the case that, in his view, "universities in Europe are being choked by the laws that compel them to use their native language as the medium of instruction instead of English" (Day News 2015). Scholarly criticism and business motivation can and do collide, and nowhere more dramatically than in internationalized universities.

Few, if any, contributors to this book would view English as a single entity, as something which can be stated as being categorically one thing or another. 'English' might be everywhere, but it is increasingly seen as something specific to each individual person, both as an idea and as a practical reality (for a fuller discussion, see Ferguson 2015).

Across Europe, English is studied as a school subject. National and local policies vary as to when children begin their study of English and how much formal exposure they receive in the classroom, and the introduction of English to the curriculum is typically occurring at an increasingly earlier stage (Enever 2011). For 90 % of young Europeans (Blajan 2008) English exists above all as a compulsory school subject, a situation which has become more concentrated as the decades have past (see section 2.1). English may go on for some students to be an object of study in higher education and to be conceptualized as an academic discipline. Tellingly, it is virtually impossible to search the web for information about the university discipline of English across Europe because of the overwhelming number of hits providing information on courses taught *in* English. Regardless of a student's academic specialism, English may well be the medium of study, either by virtue of the available books and other learning materials being written in English, or possibly also as the language of instruction in class (see section 3.7). Between 2011 and 2013 there was a 38 % increase in the number of English-taught programmes in European higher education (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013: 4). Gazzola (2012: 144) reports that even in Italy, a part of Europe which has not witnessed such concerted efforts to implement English-medium instruction, 18 % of universities at that time offered Master's courses and 31 % PhD programmes taught entirely in English. One widespread notion of English is then as an *academic or professional inevitability*, and this tends to mean that for many educated Europeans the role and status of English are not in fact controversial ones. The presence of English is a fact of life, a sort of default aspect of living and studying in Europe in the 21st century. This is borne out by some of the quotations Kuteeva and McGrath give from students studying a range of disciplines, and for whom English is a "nobody's land", just a "professional language" (Kuteeva and McGrath 2014: 374–375). Other research has sought to get beneath the surface of this smooth veneer of English as a simple professional tool and has pointed out that operating through English imposes an extra burden on non-native speakers in terms of the time taken to perform tasks, and it can also be a source of increased anxiety (e.g. Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010 on university students; Śliwa & Johansson 2014 on university staff). There doesn't appear to date to be European evidence of anxiety about the need to use English for professional purposes leading to depression and suicide as has been reported in South Korea (e.g. Miller 2011; Piller and Cho 2013: 23–24) as a result of 'English fever' (J.-K. Park 2009) or "fanatic fetishism" (J. S.-Y. Park 2009: 1), but the fact remains that English in the academic and professional sphere results in a range of individual lived realities, not all of them positive.

While it has been argued that international English is no longer the preserve of its native speakers or of its historic homelands, such as the UK and the USA, recent research has demonstrated that learners in Europe (e.g. Rindal this volume) and elsewhere (e.g. Haswell 2014) maintain an admiration for and dedication to native-speaker varieties. In section 3.5 we review the arguments for and against the proposal that English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is now an independent variety of the language, deracinated from its historic homelands and no longer presided over by native speakers. The English native speaker emerged as a shadowy figure of authority in the 19th century (Hackert 2012) and has remained a looming presence in both the theoretical study and the teaching and learning of languages to this day. It may be that rumours of the demise of native speaker models across Europe are misplaced, but certainly the idea of native-speaker English and the reality of it for individual language users are also complex.

Our focus is on Europe, which provides us on the one hand with a clearly delimited geographical context but also a highly varied linguistic and political landscape. We are taking Europe to be the continent as it is conventionally and historically understood, comprising 51 countries according to the Nations Online project (nationsonline.org), rather than the more recent 28-country political and economic union of the same name, which at the time of writing (June 2015) is under pressure with several of its member states on the verge of leaving the union, whether out of choice or out of economic necessity. The geographical area can be fairly straightforwardly defined – it is made up of those regions of the world which are not part of the other six continents – and the countries of Europe have certain historical characteristics in common. Education is widely available and has been for several generations. All have been involved in the idea of nationhood and the drive towards establishing separate and independent nations which has been a defining feature of the modern age. All have been involved in the major linguistic project associated with independence, namely standardization. All have more recently responded to a perceived need to teach English and to use it in their international relations and possibly in internal communication too.

As we shall see in more detail in section 3.1, the role and status of English across Europe provide a varied picture. Again a temptation to generalize about the role and status of English is undermined when we consider the surface variation evidenced by institutional and individual attitudes towards the phenomenon across the region. It was a chance conversation in 2009 about the very different status of and attitudes towards English in the Nordic countries on the one hand and South-East Europe on the other which led to the establishment of a research network to explore this role and status in more comparative detail.

1.2 The *English in Europe* project

The full title of that research network was *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?,* and it ran from 2012 to 2014, receiving generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust, a UK-based educational charity. The primary purpose of the network was to bring together researchers investigating particular domains for the use of English in Europe in order to share their insights via a series of focused conferences (for more on the idea of language *domains*, see section 4.4). Each conference took place in a different region of Europe, and, while on each occasion the papers presented did cover a variety of geographical contexts, the focus was on the region in which the conference was taking place. Taken as a whole, the network therefore aimed to cover significant ground and to view the 'English problem' in the round rather than as something which only affects specific isolated sectors or groups of people.

Each conference comprised a single session of papers so that debate could develop and the research community become more familiar with the full range of work being carried out in this field. The vision of the project coordinators was that the research community would grow, conference by conference. Each conference included some of the same contributors, allowing for continuity in the discussion, but on each occasion more researchers joined the English-in-Europe 'family'. By the end of the final conference in March 2014 some 120 papers had been delivered, many of which can be viewed on the project website (www.englishineurope.group.shef.ac.uk), and it could be felt with a degree of confidence that the sub-branch of sociolinguistics or applied linguistics dedicated to the study of the phenomenon of English in Europe had been pretty fully represented.

The conferences, dates and their locations were as follows:

- *The English Language in Europe: Debates and Discourses* (April 2012. Sheffield, UK)
- *English as a Scientific and Research Language* (December 2012. Zaragoza, Spain)
- *The English Language in Teaching in European Higher Education* (April 2013. Copenhagen, Denmark)
- *Responses to the Lingua Franca Role of English* (November 2013. Thessaloniki, Greece)
- *English in Business and Commerce: Interactions and Policies* (March 2014. Prague, Czech Republic).

Negotiations with the editors of the De Gruyter Mouton *Language and Social Life* series resulted in the establishment of a subseries dedicated to English in Europe, of which the present volume forms a part. After each of the conferences a group of editors assembled a collection of papers on the theme of the conference in question, some of which had started life in the associated conference, and others of which were specially commissioned. These collections, as well as a special issue of the journal *Multilingua* (Linn and Hadjidemetriou 2014), represent an abiding record of the work of this network, and constitute an invaluable starting point for researchers interested in exploring the changing role of English in Europe in those key domains. (See: Linn, Bermel and Ferguson 2015; Pló Alastrué and Pérez-Llantada 2015; Dimova, Hultgren and Jensen 2015; Sherman and Nekvapil 2017 forthcoming; Tatsioka, Seidlhofer, Sifakis and Ferguson 2017 forthcoming.)

However, these separate collections of papers do mean that common themes and commonalities of approach across the research field remain fragmented. The current book is therefore intended to overcome this shortcoming, if indeed that is what it is. It is intended to function both as a conclusion to the activities and publications of the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* network and as a starting point for subsequent work. We would even go so far as to suggest that its aim is to establish English in Europe as a distinct and distinctive field of enquiry, as a discrete object of study. The role and status of English will continue to morph in different ways, in different places and for different people, and those processes must continue to be observed, discussed and analysed, as the study, use and impact of English internationally are not going to diminish in significance any time soon. Europe as an economic, political, cultural, real and imagined entity is clearly also in an era of dramatic change, and the ramifications of that change for language behaviours also need to be observed, discussed and analysed in the years to come. It is our hope that this book will provide the means for that to happen.

1.3 Aims and contents of the book

This is at least the third book to be entitled *English in Europe*. The first of these (Cenoz and Jessner 2000), subtitled *the acquisition of a third language*, focused, as the title would suggest, on “the acquisition of English in continental Europe” (Cenoz and Jessner 2000: viii) and constituted a series of language acquisition case studies. In 2002 another book called *English in Europe* was published. This was edited by Manfred Görlach (Görlach 2002a) and involved chapters detailing the influence of English on sixteen European languages over the course of the previous half century. The aim of the present book is rather to consider the impact of the coexistence of English with those other languages and the impact of this coexistence on the people who use language rather than to consider the structure or acquisition of the languages themselves, although we will touch on this (e.g. in section 6.4). The chapters of those two earlier volumes (as also of the similarly titled De Houwer and Wilton (2011)) were the fruits of individual pieces of research by their authors. This book is the work of a community of researchers, sharing in the presentation of their work and their views, and something needs to be said without further ado about the somewhat unusual process of authorship.

Andrew Linn was the director of the *English in Europe* research network, overseeing its planning and delivery. It was therefore only fair that he should also take on responsibility for the planning and coordination of the book which concludes that project. Some of the present book was written by him (including chapter 6 and much of chapter 2), but the whole point of the project from which this book derives was to capitalise on the fact that there is a network of experts across the continent and beyond investigating the role and status of English. It would therefore have been ludicrous not to use this network in writing the book which reflects its thinking. Consequently, eighteen further contributors agreed to write short sections on those topics where they were the real specialists. The current book is a monograph, a single continuous text on a unified topic, but it is the work of several hands and consequently much more reliable and authoritative than it could possibly have been if one person had sought to synthesize the work of those scholars. Given the number of authors, there is no authorial 'I' here. We are a 'we'. However, I (Andrew Linn) would like to step out of this community of associates for one moment to acknowledge the enthusiasm and willingness of all those contributors to take part in this strange writing experience and to allow me to mess around with their prose in order to try to impose a unified style on the text.[1] Given the number of hands and minds involved in the production of this book, there will inevitably be some inconsistencies and even some contradictions, but that is fine. We may want to maintain that this is a unified field of enquiry, but it's not one serviced by a bunch of brainwashed servants of the cause, all singing the same anthem. In fact the debate and discussion which took place between the project director and the contributors was a real pleasure, and I hope that some of this passion and disagreement remains discernible in the veneered prose of the ensuing chapters.

We hope that the book is written in such a way that it can be understood and enjoyed by anyone with an interest in the topic, whether they be advanced researchers or interested non-specialists. We have tried to be accessible to a wide readership. There are two communities of reader who may well have a particular interest in the following pages: linguists working in related fields, and

1 I am grateful to the University of Sheffield for granting me research leave in order to complete this book.

those embarking on research in the field of English in Europe. With these two audiences particularly in mind, the book includes some sections which present new research, others summarizing research and also sections which explain key methodologies and approaches. We have not distinguished rigidly between sections for different audiences, but we hope that the headings and subheadings will clarify a way through the book for each individual traveller. For anyone interested in taking research in this field further, the book concludes with an exhaustive list of references, nearly 1000 of them, offering enough reading to last a lifetime!

Chapter 2 provides the historical context for understanding the role and status of English today. Present sociolinguistic realities are the result of what happened in the past. We are heirs to the interventions of our ancestors, and language planning decisions we make today will determine how English is taught, used and viewed in the future. We cannot over-emphasise the point that an awareness of historical processes must inform the work of anyone who is trying to understand why we are as we are and to prepare for what may happen in the future. The cultural historian Peter Burke (2004: 1) has made the point that the study of language shouldn't be left to the linguists, "because language is always a sensitive indicator – though not a simple reflection – of cultural change". We have already remarked that Europe is a changing entity. By studying the changing position of the language at the heart of communication within Europe, we may well shed valuable light on other historical processes affecting the ideas and realities of Europe. The individual sections of the historical chapter 2 correlate with the major strands of the *English in Europe* project: education (secondary and tertiary); scientific publication; business and commerce; and lingua francas in European history.

Chapter 3 is based on the view, taken by the vast majority of those who write about it in the context of its European users, that English is something fluid, slippery, hard to define, existing in the practices of its users, both non-native and native speaker, an object which is "polycentric" (Blommaert 2010). Of this idea of polycentricity Blommaert (2010: 62) writes:

> Such a view can profitably replace older views of hegemony, articulated, for example, in linguistic rights discourses where a single hegemony (that of English) and a single actor (the state) are seen as defining the patterns of sociolinguistic life. There is not much purchase in these views in an age of globalization, I am afraid.

This view of language, which we would regard as the prevailing view today, is the result of what Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 3) describe as a "paradigm shift" in the study of language in society, based on the foregrounding of mobility rather than stasis and the emergence of "a sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages" (Blommaert 2010: 180):

> Over a period of several decades – and often emerging in response to issues predating superdiversity [see section 3.8] – there has been ongoing revision of fundamental ideas (a) about languages, (b) about language groups, and (c) about communication. Rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups and communication.

The chapter opens with an exploration of the idea of a language ecology, an idea which has proved attractive since it was first coined by Einar Haugen (e.g. Haugen 1972) but which has gained currency as anxiety about ecological change and decay has accelerated and deepened in other sectors. Chapter 3 goes on to discuss various varieties of English, native-speaker and non-native-speaker, and the notion that English indeed transcends those traditional varieties (see especially section 3.8). The chapter concludes by asking the question as to whether Standard English and standards of English remain relevant concepts in this changed ecology.

Chapter 4 continues the theme of the changing research context and moves on from considering the language system per se to presenting some of the central debates and discourses, key amongst which is the issue of globalization, a much deployed term and consequently one which requires a rather more careful presentation in the context of discussions of English as a 'global' language. The changing role and status of English has impacted on language policy making (section 4.3) and also resulted in the emergence of new forms of language planning, such as the policy of 'parallel language use' (section 4.5). The impact of English across Europe has been such that there is a suggestion (Block 2014) that it is bound up with the emergence of a new class structure based on English proficiency (section 4.2).

Chapter 5 focuses on methods and approaches. Writing in 2006, Ricento called for "an understanding and use of multiple methods in exploring important questions about language status, language identity, language use, and other topics that fall within the purview of research" (2006a: 129). Hult and Johnson (2015b: 1) note that "specialists in language policy and planning", one of the parent disciplines for the study of English in Europe (see section 5.3):

> … have drawn upon a broad constellation of research methods that have roots in diverse disciplines such as anthropology, law, linguistics, political science, social psychology, and sociology (of language), among others, in order to conduct inquiry on problems or issues related to policy formation, interpretation, implementation, resistance, and evaluation.

This chapter in particular is intended to be of practical benefit to those developing research in this area, and so we have not simply provided an exhaustive survey of all possible relevant methods and considerations (see Hult and Johnson 2015a).

Rather we have here two sections which provide an overview of some of the best established and most productive approaches to investigating English in Europe, firstly qualitative and quantitative methods in general (section 5.1) and then corpus methods more specifically (5.2). After a brief section on the parent field of Language Policy and Language Planning (5.3), we go on to address two rather more focused ways of thinking about English in Europe which demonstrated wide currency in the course of the *English in Europe* network project. The first of these has proved particularly influential in more recent years as truly interdisciplinary approaches have begun to crystallize, namely an economic perspective (see e.g. Grin 2003; Grin, Sfreddo and Villaincourt 2010), and it has been suggested (Park and Wee 2012: 22) that the most fruitful studies of global English have been precisely those which have engaged with non-linguistic theoretical frameworks. The second is Language Management Theory, a long established approach to thinking about language behaviours and associated in particular with work carried out in Prague (see Kaplan 2011).

> Throughout school, university and work environment, European non-native speakers of English are thus moving in a complex matrix of seemingly conflicting linguistic, communicative, sociocultural and pedagogic principles, needs and challenges. Traditionally familiar pillars of security, which non-native speakers were accustomed to lean on, are giving way to a cacophony of possibilities.
> (Kohn 2011: 77)

This quotation very eloquently expresses the rich diversity of experiences and instances of communication facing those who use English across Europe, and we have already drawn out this diversity as a central tenet of the current book. Some have gone further down the route of *superdiversity* and consider communication to be so diverse that it is only linguistic *features* rather than any idea of discrete languages which are a proper object of analysis (e.g. Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller 2011). “Languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements”, argue Makoni and Pennycook (2006: 2). These are persuasive and challenging analyses, adding up to an intellectually invigorating and socio-politically challenging reassessment of the very nature of language, and we will return to contributions to these debates in the course of the book. However, while the lived reality for a German teenager might be a mixing of words and forms which transcends any traditional homogenous version of a language as a clearly delineated set of standard forms, the idea of individual languages lives on. In school and in university students are taught in and about language x or y. In the workplace there is a strong shared notion that a document or a meeting is in language w or language z. So, we will be exploring and embracing the view of language use in reality being an individual and context-specific adoption of a selection of forms or features, but we also accept that normally functioning Europeans (as opposed to sociolinguists!) inhabit a world in which traditional structures still provide the organising principles: nations, nationalities, religions, languages. We agree with Blommaert, Leppänen and Spotti (2012: 10) that, despite the apparent dissolution of many of the structures which characterise modernity, there appears to be "a strengthening of the nation state (or of interstate systems) as a guardian of order – something we can see clearly in fields such as immigration and asylum, security policies, welfare and education – and language emerges as a critical battlefield in almost all of these fields …". Consequently the heart of our book is a large-scale case study in which we consider the full range of issues explored in the earlier chapters from the point of view of a specific region, namely the Nordic countries, to see how these ideas play out in the context of actual institutions and social systems. Chapter 6 considers the history of English in the Nordic countries before going on to address the context for the use of English and then the key domains of language use informing the structure of the *English in Europe* network.

There are several reasons for adopting the Nordic countries as our case study. This is the part of Europe which regularly tops the English proficiency league tables, but it is also the part of Europe where some of the most critical views about an imperialistic or hegemonic English have emerged. This is a region where English is long established as an object of study in school and university but also a region in which there are several academic centres (at the universities of Copenhagen, Roskilde and Stockholm, for example) studying the role and impact of this long exposure to English. This is the region whose language planning the principal author of this book has been studying for two decades now, but it is also the region which provided the most extensive contribution to the *English in Europe* project. In the course of the five conferences on English in Europe, 26 (21.9 %) of the papers were on Nordic topics, and 29 (24.4 %) of the first-named authors were based in one of the Nordic countries. This can only partly be explained by the fact that one of the conferences was organised from and located in Denmark. The reality is that there has been over the past several years a particularly rich vein of investigation into the role and status of English in language policy making and in professional contexts in the Nordic countries. The reverse side to this state of affairs is of course the fact that there remains more work to be done in other national and in pan-European contexts, but for now the countries of the North provide our primary laboratory and the source of many of our major insights. As Martin (2012: 189) observes:

> The fact that all the Nordic countries separately and all together have seen it necessary to either legislate or otherwise attempt to influence the status of their various languages at the beginning of the new millennium reveals that problems exist.

Our survey of the contexts and agendas for the investigation of English in Europe concludes with a brief consideration of the way ahead, what we have learned and what we still need to know more about. We hope that this final chapter in particular will function as a source of inspiration for those hoping to do research in this field.

We conclude this chapter as we began, with the words of Jan Blommaert who, writing in 1999, called for "the historiography of language ideologies" (1999: 1) and wrote of the ambition "to add to the history of language and languages a dimension of human agency, political intervention, power and authority, and so make that history a bit more political". Writing a decade later about globalization and English in the world, Mufwene (2010: 31–32) was still calling for "more historical depth than is exhibited in the current linguistics literature", mirroring Holborow's concern that "many linguists write out history" (1999: 87), and so it is to this dimension that we now turn.

2 Historical context

Andrew Linn

2.1 The study and teaching of English in the schools

2.1.1 Research context

Research into the history of the teaching and learning of English across Europe is very patchy, and this is certainly a field where plenty of work remains to be done.[1] The best known publication here is probably A. P. R. Howatt's 1984 *A history of English language teaching*, and this does focus on Europe up to the early twentieth century, but Howatt notes in his preface that the book "has had to adopt a specific and therefore limited perspective" (Howatt 1984: xiii). Nonetheless, in its second revised edition (Howatt and Widdowson 2004) it remains the standard point of departure for any researchers wishing to explore this field. *The teaching of English from the sixteenth century to 1870* (Michael 1987) concentrates on the teaching of the language to native speakers in Britain and America and is based on textbooks written during the period in question. An earlier pioneering study, starting from a position where "the history of language teaching itself has hardly been treated" (Kelly 1969: 2), sets itself the very ambitious task of surveying *25 centuries of language teaching 500 BC – 1969*, and concentrates on "teaching ideas" rather than the practical experience of teaching and learning languages. Methods and theories of language teaching have tended to form the principal object of study in the relatively few surveys of this topic. Tangible evidence of the process of language teaching and learning in the past resides in the surviving textbooks and treatises. Records of the experience of individual teachers, let alone individual pupils, are not readily available. However, research into the historical relationship between languages and their users has been developing over the past two decades, and this endeavour now bears the name of *historical sociolinguistics* (or *sociohistorical linguistics*). From 2015 this research field can boast a journal (*The Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*) as well as two book series (*Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics* (2013); *Historical Sociolinguistics: Studies on Language and Society in the Past* (2014)). These publication outlets are very new at the time of writing, but

1 Note the establishment in 2015 of the *AILA* [Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée] *research network for the history of language learning and teaching* [HoLLT – http://www.hollt.net/]

it is to be hoped that growing opportunities to discuss and disseminate insights into the experience of language users in the past will lead to more studies of the historical *experience* of language learning. The history of ideas has a nasty habit of being the history of those who had those ideas and not of those whose lives and behaviours were affected by them.

The history of English study in *Germany* is the one major national exception to the general shortage of published research in this area. In 1984 Friederike Klippel produced a substantial study of English learning in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, again with the emphasis on teaching materials and pedagogical methods (Klippel 1994). More specific studies have followed in the wake of this overview. For example, Sabine Doff has investigated foreign language education for girls in the nineteenth century (e.g. Doff 2002; Doff 2005), and there is a monograph study of language learning amongst German immigrants to America, where once again the emphasis is on the methods used in the language guides written for this constituency of would-be learners of English (Franz 2005). Konrad Macht's exhaustive treatment of the history of methods in the teaching of English in turn lies behind the emphasis on methods adopted in the subsequent literature (Macht 1986–1990), but Hüllen (2005) is an attempt to site language learning in Germany in a broader intellectual context.

Until the end of the nineteenth century and beyond, debates about the teaching of English, its desirability and methods for carrying it out as effectively as possible, were intimately tied in with those concerning other foreign languages, specifically French. The major study of the history of foreign language education in France consequently deals with foreign language teaching methods in general from the 1820s up to the present day (Puren 1988). This history of language teaching methods in France is divided into four sections, dealing respectively with "traditional", "direct", "active" and "audiovisual" methods, and we will consider the "procession-of-methods" (Howatt and Smith 2014: 76) approach in more detail in a moment.

2.1.2 Main historical developments

The rise to prominence of English as the first foreign language of Europe has been relatively rapid, fired by developments in the wider socio-political, intellectual and economic environment. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, following "humble beginnings on the Antwerp quaysides" (Howatt 1984: 10), English as the "new" foreign language (Klippel 1994: 40) was studied by very few Europeans. Materials for teaching and learning English were certainly produced across Europe (see table in Howatt 1984: 63) in a sort of geographical wave or "ripple effect" (Haas 2008: 215), fanning out from those countries physically closest to Britain, but we have to assume that the market was a small and unreliable one in its earliest phases. Increased interest in learning English during the eighteenth century (the "so-called quiet period" (Hüllen 2005: 63–72) when it was still not yet a school subject) came from two quarters: the business community and cultured society. Trade with the English-speaking world increasingly called for some practical competence in English. Studying the language was predominantly a private endeavour, although Klippel (1994: 47) does note the establishment in the final third of the eighteenth century of commercial schools in Hamburg and in Berlin with provision for modern languages. For those with cultural pretensions, a desire to read British scholarship in the original language became more intense as the eighteenth century wore on, and Howatt (1984: 64) points out that "the real breakthrough" for English in Europe came about towards the end of the century when interest in English literature, primarily Shakespeare, became "almost an obsession" (ibid.). Jan Franz is similarly hyperbolic on the subject of this passion for all things English which he describes, following Klippel, as "a wave of Anglophilia"[2], which in turn led to ever increasing numbers of Germans visiting England in search of cultural and intellectual stimulation. These developments may have led to a hunger for the study of English, but it remained a largely private undertaking, based on the study of textbooks (Franz 2005: 53), which came to constitute an increasingly lucrative market, albeit "more of a patchwork of local examples than a solid linear tradition" (Linn 2006: 76).

The story of the growing dominance of English amongst language learners in Germany is one replicated in much of Europe, at different rates and in different periods with different local nuances; we will look in more detail at the Nordic history in section 6.2 below. English teaching in specialist schools in the early nineteenth century led to provision for modern languages in the final years of the grammar school and in the new *Realschulen* [secondary modern schools] (Klippel 1994: 282–283; Hüllen 2005: 87–91), thanks to school reforms in the latter part of that century. As the twentieth century wore on, English won out over French and other locally and/or politically important foreign languages and came to be studied earlier and earlier in the school system.

This simplistic linear depiction of the unstoppable triumph of English in the course of a century has unfortunate consequences, however. It is in danger of appearing an inevitability, as if it possesses a dynamic of its own which educational policy makers and teachers have simply had to roll over and accept. Simensen (2010) describes the development of English teaching in Norway, for

2 eine Welle der Anglophilie

example, as “a success story”, but she does note the resultant anxiety about potential ‘domain loss’ (see section 6.5 below) which has blown up in its wake. A less triumphalist, post-modern account of the history of English teaching and learning needs to emphasise the variety and the exceptions and the failures, and it is important that the ‘irresistible rise’ account be offset by alternative histories. Doff’s analysis (Doff 2008) of the success of the (male, middle-class) Reform Movement is a good example of alternative history writing: the Reform Movement methods were first pioneered in the context of higher education for girls which lay beyond the constraining grip of state regulation.

2.1.3 The “procession-of-methods”

We have already noted the strong emphasis in the existing literature on the linear development of language teaching methods, a triumphalist version of history in which method succeeds and replaces method. This approach, the “procession-of-methods” leading to various “method mythologies”, has recently come in for criticism (Howatt and Smith 2014). Howatt and Smith suggest an alternative approach to the history of English Language Teaching (ELT), “a periodization approach” (Howatt and Smith 2014: 77) designed to reconceptualize ELT as characterized by paradigm shifts, by a series of breaks. Each of their periods, however, functions as a collection of methods. Thus, the *Classical Period* comprises the Grammar-Translation Method and the Classical Method, and The *Reform Period* comprises the Natural, Berlitz and Direct Methods. It is true that their periodization approach is more flexible than a unilinear one, but their commitment to “maintain a continuity with existing thinking in the profession” (78) does not allow for the sort of situated view of living with English we advocate in this book and which requires an approach emphasising the lived experience of people communicating with each other in specific places and for specific reasons. Like it or not, the methods approach dominates existing historical studies, and so we need to summarise it here.

The period from the mid-eighteenth century up to around 1880 is referred to as the *Classical Period*. For much of this period English was something of a minority sport across Europe with language learning meaning the study of the classical languages (hence the name given to this period) and increasingly of French. Given that the classical languages, Latin and Greek, had monopolized language teaching in Europe for centuries, it was inevitable that the first methods in the modern period for teaching the modern languages should be based on those used for Latin and Greek, adopting a word-and-paradigm model, designed to show how words behave according to morphological class. In the mid-nineteenth century this word-based method of language teaching was replaced by a clause-based approach, spearheaded by Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775–1849) in his 1831 *Schulgrammatik der deutschen Sprache* [School grammar of the German language], which soon attracted supporters and emulators outside Germany. The first grammar of English to be written in English, William Bullokar's 1586 *Bref Grammar for English*, deliberately described English as if its structure were the same as Latin in order to prove that English was as worthy as Latin (Robins 1994), and this rationale certainly motivated some of the materials produced for the study of the modern languages during the period in which the study of modern languages was seeking recognition in the groves of academe.

In the 1830s what came later to be called (often pejoratively) the Grammar-Translation Method also entered the scene. This approach, associated with the practical (i.e. involving lots of *practice*) grammars of Franz Ahn (1796–1865) and Heinrich Ollendorff (1803–1865), was innovative and in fact very welcome, designed as it was to enable those without formal language training to learn the given language quickly (Linn 2006: 78). The Ahn and Ollendorff methods were also highly marketable, dominating sales "for almost half a century, until the emergence of specialist language schools like Berlitz in the 1880s and 1890s" (Howatt 1984: 13). Despite the weak position of English in the schools and universities (see next section) of Europe during the Classical Period, the production of language materials was a brisk business, resulting in nearly 900 new grammars of English during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century (Michael 1991: 12). The majority of these works, however, were very much like the others – they afford "a melancholy picture of men's proneness to copy one another, and to repeat obvious errors because they seem honoured by age" (Widgery 1888: 7) –, very often written in response to some local or specialized need, reinforcing our view that learning and using English has always been a situated and not a generic experience.

By the 1880s, the teaching of the modern languages had become professionalized in much of Europe. The admission of modern languages to the school curriculum necessitated the training of teachers to service that curriculum and consequently the appointment of professors of modern languages in the universities as part of the process which tied the university sector to the service of "the nation states and their knowledge needs" (Saarinen 2014: 128). These first professors (see Linn 2008) sought inspiration from the 'new philology', an approach to studying language rooted in the young discipline of phonetics and emphasising the study of practical, real world language issues in contrast to the emphasis of the previous generation on the historical study of written data. We will return to this development at university level in the next section. The method of language teaching championed by the so-called Reform Movement grew out of the challenge laid down for the profession by Wilhelm Viëtor (1850–1918) who published his reform pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* [Language Teaching Must Start Afresh!] under the pseudonym *Quousque Tandem* in 1882 (an English translation can be found as the appendix to Howatt 1984). There was a strong appetite for reform and for a move away from the tedious artificial sentences, translation and grammar exercises associated with the earlier method, towards exposure to genuine foreign language material and to free expression at the core of the language class. The reformers were highly organised, galvanised in part by the active involvement of the new professors of modern languages, and they formed journals and held meetings and actively implemented reform principles in the schools of Europe, particularly in Germany, but as the pages of the journal *Phonetische Studien* [Phonetic studies] (later entitled *Die neueren Sprachen* [The modern languages]) attest, also more widely (e.g. in Austria, Sweden, Spain) (see Linn 2016). The emphasis on practical spoken language use also inspired the Berlitz method, used in the language schools constituting the Berlitz empire, and also the variety of methods of the early twentieth century broadly described as 'direct', i.e. not based on translation.

The Reform Movement is "generally considered the last thorough and extensive reorientation of language teaching in continental Europe" (Doff 2008), and from 1920 the focus for the development of methods for teaching and studying English lay beyond Europe. In this *Scientific Period* (Howatt and Smith 2014: 85–88) the context and agendas moved to Asia, thanks in large part to "a remarkable triumvirate of expatriate language teaching theorists…: Michael West in Bengal, Lawrence Faucett in China, and – especially – Harold E. Palmer in Japan" (Howatt and Smith 2014: 85), and so beyond our scope. The Oral Method of Palmer would lead to the Situational, Audiolingual and Audio-Visual approaches and so to the "range of curriculum design principles and teaching methods" (Adamson 2004: 608) encapsulated under the umbrella term *Communicative Language Teaching*.

2.1.4 New approaches to this history

Howatt and Smith (2014) seek to overcome the procession-of-methods view of the history of English language teaching by carving this history up into periods, but this is possibly to move in the wrong direction, towards generalization and away from the necessary attention to microhistory. To be fair to Howatt and Smith, they do point to "a need for further decentring and localization of ELT history via accounts of practice and theory in multiple contexts" and "a recognition of the importance of history of institutions and of the ELT 'business'" (93). A funded project (2012–2014), *The History of Modern Language Learning and Teaching in*

Britain,[3] as well as the existence of an association for the history of French as a foreign language (*La Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Étrangère ou Seconde*) may help to support more work in this field. Exploring the experience of language learners in the past may seem self-indulgent when the needs of language learners today loom large before us, but studying and teaching foreign languages is not invented anew with each generation (as the procession-of-methods tends to suggest). It is both a shared challenge and an individual experience throughout space and time.

Andrew Linn

2.2 English as a university subject

2.2.1 Research context

Research into the emergence and expansion of English as a university subject in Europe is similarly hit-and-miss, with some institutions and national traditions well documented and others not so. There is however one major comparative study of this topic, the result of a Europe-wide collaboration under the auspices of the European Society for the Study of English, namely the two-volume *European English studies: Contributions towards the history of a discipline* (Engler and Haas 2000; Haas and Engler 2008). This collaborative project recognises the fact that a unified European history doesn't exist and indeed would be very problematic to construct, although it does at least provide the historical evidence for comparison and the investigation of commonalities.

The fact of the matter is that English entered the university syllabus across Europe at different times, for different reasons and in competition with different disciplines and political positions. As we shall see in chapter 6, the introduction of English Studies in Nordic universities was relatively straightforward, beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century in response to the need to educate teachers of English for the schools, and the subject found fertile ground for steady, unimpeded development and growth. In Romania, similarly, the educational reform of 1880 raised the profile of modern foreign languages alongside the other modern subjects, and university departments soon followed in response to this. However, by the early 1950s, under Soviet influence, there was only one English department left (Bucharest), and Russian had been introduced as the first com-

3 http://historyofmfl.weebly.com/

pulsory foreign language where previously the choice had been between French, German and English. In 1956 other foreign languages were reintroduced to the secondary schools, and this in turn necessitated the reestablishment of university English departments. By the early 1970s there were ten university departments of English in Romania as well as teacher training colleges, and the study of English was on a strong footing across the educational sector until these developments went into reverse under changed political conditions in the period from 1978 to 1989, reducing the number of departments from twelve to four and leaving "a pervading sense of helplessness" (Gavriliu, Hulban and Popa 2000: 250). Because of the variety of local and national conditions, *European English studies* is rather a collection of individual national histories, and we shall call on these in this section. In an earlier collection of national surveys (Finkenstaedt and Scholtes 1983), Thomas Finkenstaedt suggested that research into the history of English in the universities of Europe was not a serious priority:

> I do not think that research into the history of English Studies lies at the centre of our subject, nor that vast research programmes should be developed in this particular field – wasting even more taxpayers' money. I have the feeling, however, that it will not do much harm to English Studies if one or two people in each country take a closer look at the origin and progress of these studies.
> (Finkenstaedt 1983: 6)

The premise of the present book is that English is one of the major sociocultural challenges of our day, and that the policy of the EU to ignore that is a case, ostrich-like, of sticking its head in the sand. English is what it is today because of how it has been conceptualized, rhetoricized, taught, studied and promulgated in the past, so at some level English in Europe today is the offspring of how it has been managed historically. The universities have been the principal institutions Europe-wide in this process, and so we suggest that unpicking that past in order to plan for the future is emphatically not a waste of "even more taxpayers' money". *European English studies* has provided the comparative data, though, as Haas and Engler (2008: ii) point out, "much remains to be done, especially where local, regional and international, rather than national, developments are concerned".

2.2.2 Historical overview

The university sector is the locus for probably the most intensive contemporary debate surrounding the role and impact of English. This debate concerns the use of English in teaching and in scientific publication, and these issues have formed the basis for volumes of papers within and beyond the *English in Europe* project (e.g. Plo Alastrué and Pérez-Llantada 2015; Dimova, Hultgren and Jensen 2015). The status of English in the universities of Europe has been contested ever since it first entered the scene as a serious academic pursuit in the nineteenth century. The principal issue in the earliest stages also concerned its value and its status vis-à-vis other languages, not, however, as a language of instruction but as an object of study. Paradoxically, concern about the value of English in advanced education was voiced most strongly in Britain.

In 1880, the year in which educational reforms in Romania provided for the teaching of modern foreign languages in the schools, in British universities "English as an autonomous academic discipline did not exist" (Doyle 1986: 92). This isn't quite the whole story as chairs in English had been established in the new London colleges as early as the 1820s, and the new colleges in the major provincial towns and cities of England (later to become the 'red brick' universities) also offered some form of teaching in English later in the century. The Reverend Thomas Dale (1797–1870), "a lackluster cleric" (Court 1992: 52), occupied the new chair of English at University College, London from 1828 and also at King's College from 1835. These were respectively in 'English Language and Literature' and 'English and History', so English *tout court*, "as a novel cultural form to resolve a number of problems posed for the functioning of national institutions between 1880 and 1920" (Doyle 1986: 110–111) was late to arrive amongst the disciplines of British universities. There were reformers at Oxford who were passionate advocates for the modern subjects, but equally there were those who strenuously resisted the introduction of English to the curriculum, fearing that it would provide "a miserably inadequate training, however well taught" (quoted in Palmer 1965: 111). Thus it was not until 1894 at Britain's oldest university, some seven hundred years after it was founded, that an English curriculum was finally drawn up, comprising ten papers, some of them conspicuously challenging (e.g. Paper 7: *Gothic and unseen translations from Old and Middle English*) to reassure detractors who eyed English as a suspiciously 'soft option', and others catering for more modern interests (e.g. Paper 6: *History of the English Literature to 1800*). English, as a simple adjective, has always been and remains to this day a problematic label for a course of study, suggesting as it does anything to do with England and the language originally associated with that country and thus allowing for turf war between champions of literature, language, area studies, etc. These discipline-internal tussles, which anyone who has worked in the English department of a UK university will recognise all too readily, are a good example of English as a repertoire of functions and not a monolithic entity, even in an institutional setting founded on definitions and boundaries.

English as a foreign language in the university system of Europe poses different questions and sets up different disciplinary boundaries to those evident in Oxford in the 1880s and 1890s. The conflict between “doing English where it is the mother tongue and where it is a foreign language” is one of the “three persistent conflicts” Engler (2000: 6) identifies in the history of university-level English Studies. The other conflicts are between autonomy and public service and of European versus global cultural integration. It was public service which really launched English in European universities, and Haas (2000: 363) concludes that across the region “continental English Studies was first established because of a need for teachers”.

However, English was already being offered sporadically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in some of the universities of Europe (including most of the protestant universities of Germany (Hüllen 2005: 64)), but at that time the conflict was between ‘proper’ academic disciplines on the one hand and practical skills on the other. In the eighteenth century, where English teaching was offered, it was firmly amongst the practical skills to be acquired by a young gentleman of society, along with such things as dancing, fencing and horse-riding. English was taught by the so-called language masters, poorly paid teachers on inadequate contracts who offered language teaching wherever possible and not because it was an integral feature of the universities’ programme of teaching. Very often the language masters were expected to teach several languages as local needs required. Thus in the early 1720s the language master at Jena in Germany, “a university with a remarkable tradition of language teaching” (Haas 2008: 70), one Johann Elias Greiffenhahn (1687–1749), had published teaching materials for French, English and Italian, based on a sort of general grammar principle (Strauß 1991: 209), and appears to have made a success of his teaching career, but nonetheless he had to teach for ten hours a day to make ends meet and was denied appointment to a chair. In Austria, as a further example, the ad hoc teaching of foreign languages in the 17th and 18th centuries embraced French, Italian and Spanish but not English until its introduction at the University of Vienna in 1825 (Markus 2000: 145). So English became a university subject in Continental Europe in order to service the needs of the schools and against a history of low-prestige low-priority provision.

As we have already noted in the context of Romania, the development of English studies in the universities of Europe, both apparent advances and retrograde steps, has been strongly swayed by factors quite external to the study of the language per se, just as the role and status of English more generally has been informed by a variety of social, cultural, political and economic factors. Saarinen (2012), for example, charts the phases of higher education in Finland and sets out the language policy issues arising from each of these phases. The language issues are shown to have been secondary to the wider political concerns, e.g. national awakening in the later nineteenth century, which prioritized Swedish and Finnish as languages of instruction, and the period of "regional policy and Anglo-American reorientation" which prioritized English as the language of internationalization where previously it had been German and before that Latin (Saarinen 2012: 242).

The first professorship of English was held by the first scholar who was able to complete his habilitation solely in English. This was the German revolutionary, Hermann Behn-Eschenburg (1814–1873), who sought refuge in Switzerland and became first extraordinary professor at the University of Zürich in 1851 and then in 1855 a full professor at the newly founded Eidgenössische Polytechnische Schule (later ETH Zürich). English was seen as a key part of a radical, modern education in a forward-looking country and thus found a professional foothold in the context of political radicalism. Behn-Eschenburg taught literature (Engler 2008: 60) and claimed to be one of the first Europeans to read Charles Dickens in English (Foltinek 2013: 253), but he also published language teaching materials, not least an 1854 *Schulgrammatik der englischen Sprache für alle Stufen des Unterrichtes berechnet* [School grammar of the English language intended for all levels of education] which entered several editions. The first doctorate on an English topic in the German-speaking world to be awarded to a woman (1878) was also in Switzerland.

Political developments continued to create the context for the evolution of English studies. It has been suggested (Haas 2000: 352) that the establishment of a chair of English studies at Strasbourg in 1872 was inspired by the city being reclaimed for the German Empire following the Franco-Prussian war and the reopening of the university that year in a new spirit as Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität. On the other side of the political divide, defeat for France gave rise to the necessary educational reforms enabling the establishment of English studies at the universities of Lille, Lyons and the Sorbonne in the 1880s (Bonel-Elliott 2000: 71–72). Following the First World War and independence for a number of central and eastern European countries (Haas 2000: 353), new universities in which English studies found a natural place were established across that region. At Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic, for example, English Studies was one of the first departments to be opened on the foundation of the university in 1919. English was of course not only associated with industrialization and the march of modernity, but as an acceptable object of study it had the fundamental advantage of not being German in a context where international academic agreements with Germany had been nullified by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. The 1920s saw chairs and teaching programmes in English established at Ljubljana (Slovenia), in Poland (Krakow, Poznan, Warsaw), Slovakia (Bratislava), L'viv (Ukraine, then

Poland), Lithuania (Kaunas), Italy (Turin), Bulgaria (Sofia), Denmark (Aarhus), Serbia (Belgrade), and this process continued with added impetus in the wake of the Second World War, with the radical educational agenda of the 1960s and the entry of the UK and Ireland into the EU in 1973. In the Eastern Bloc, developments between the 1950s and the 1980s were rather different and the fate of English in the universities ebbed and flowed with successive local political developments (Haas 2000: 355).

2.2.3 Three national case studies (Spain, Greece and Ukraine)

The history of English in the universities of western and northern Europe has been more fully documented than those further south and east, and it is in western and northern Europe that the role and status of English has been most comprehensively problematized in more recent years, as we will see throughout this book. However, it is the local variation that is striking, and we are drawing out the situatedness of English as a phenomenon, so, before moving on to consider the role of English as an international means of communication in the next section, we will focus on English in the higher education system of three example countries: Spain and Greece (both central to the *English in Europe* project) and Ukraine, a country delicately poised at the time of writing between the West and the European Union on the one hand and allegiance to the Russian Federation on the other.

The study of English in Spain prior to the nineteenth century was less extensive than in some parts of northern Europe, but the motivation of those who did learn some English appears to have been the same as elsewhere. The sixteenth century witnessed the anti-protestant activities of the Spanish Inquisition and, by association, "English literature remained virtually unknown to Spanish writers and intellectuals" (Monterrey 2000: 34) in that period. The accession of the Bourbon prince Philip to the Spanish throne in 1700 ensured the dominance of France and French during the eighteenth century, and it was not until the end of the century that English was deemed worthy of notice and was introduced in some professional training colleges, the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País* [Economic Societies of Friends of the Country]. English (and also German) was a purely ancillary language, however, of some relevance to crafts- and tradesmen, and no specialist staff were engaged to teach it (Monterrey 2000: 35). Even by the mid-nineteenth century, following the school reform of 1845, English remained a low-level option alongside German, Greek and Hebrew, and, where some provision was made for its teaching (such as on the Canary Islands where trading patterns made it worthwhile), it remained in the hands of those without any formal qualification as language teachers. It was not until the 1950s that English was established as a discipline in Spanish universities, a development at least in part informed by a gradual thawing of Spanish political relations (see Monterrey 2000). A British Council Office was established in Madrid in 1940 after the end of the Civil War, and greater openness to Anglophone culture resulted from the signing of a major economic and military agreement between Spain and the USA in 1952. English was introduced at the University of Salamanca from 1952 as one of four optional foreign languages. By the end of the decade the universities of Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza had followed suit, and "by the end of the sixties, English could be read in almost all the traditional Spanish University districts" (Monterrey 2000: 40).

Higher education in Greece is highly centralized, and private university institutions are not recognized by the state, although there are a number of colleges which offer teaching towards degrees validated by overseas institutions. Although there are over twenty university institutions in Greece today, there is significant student mobility to study in other countries. In 2012 6 % of all tertiary level students in Greece were studying outside Greece (OECD 2014: 460), which is a high proportion compared with other countries of Europe, and this is despite the fact that, due largely to domestic economic constraints, the number of Greek students studying abroad dropped from 34,200 in 2010 to 22,000 in 2012, of whom over 36 % were studying in the UK.[4] Key to this phenomenon is the appetite for English amongst Greek students and their parents. Parkin-Gounelas (2008: 141) reported that "by the early 1990s, more Greek pupils were taking the Cambridge ESOL exams [...] than all the rest of Europe put together", a statistic it is hard to replicate today, but these various facts and figures do add up to the fact that the appetite for the English language and for English-language education in Greece has been voracious.

The first English department in Greece was based on British Council funding in 1937 for the Byron Chair of English at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The British Council has been instrumental in providing infrastructure, both institutional and human resources "for more than 75 years and [has] helped more than 100 million people in 100 different countries improve their English skills and build their confidence" (British Council website). Its activity has been subject to sustained criticism as a prime example of 'linguistic imperialism' since Robert Phillipson published his book by that name in 1992 and then revisited in 2009. Parkin-Gounelas (2008: 138) notes that the British Council carried significant influence in Greece for half a century, although the Byron professorship

4 http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_wsite1_1_28/09/2012_463650 – accessed 26 November 2014.

was curtailed on the outbreak of the Second World War. Again demonstrating the importance of local conditions for the role and status of English, the ensuing Civil War ensured that a new Byron professor was not employed until 1952 with the appointment by the British Council of Bernard Blackstone, author amongst other things of *Byron: A survey* (Blackstone 1975) and *Practical English prosody: a handbook for students* (Blackstone 1965). As well as the British Council-appointed staff, American scholars were appointed to the programme by the Fulbright Commission, and Fulbright and British Council funding also played a significant role in the establishment of English at the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki from 1951. Here the head of department was until 1982 the local British Council director, ensuring the direct realization of the British Council ethos in the university. Increasing demand for English, fuelled in part by the growth of tourism in Greece and large numbers of family members in the USA and Australia, has led to "departments fifty times their original size" in the twenty-first century (Parkin-Gounelas 2008: 141).

"The world's largest private educational company"[5] is Education First (EF), and a major part of their business is the provision of English language teaching and English-language education. In 2014 EF published the fourth edition of its *English Proficiency Index* (EPI) which has been measuring national level competence in English since 2007. EF have now started to publish national trends in English proficiency, and in 2014 the list of those countries "trending down" in this regard was topped by Norway and Ukraine. We will return to Norway in chapter 6, but we will consider Ukraine here, as our third and final case study for the situatedness of English study. Ukraine comes in at 44th out of 63 countries in the 2014 EPI, the lowest-ranked country in Europe and only one of two European countries in the 'low proficiency' category (the other being Russia). Proficiency in English amongst the population, according to EF's methods, stands at 48.5 %, down from 53.08 % in 2013, with males being more proficient than females, bucking the global trend. The headline statistic is surprising in the light of recent ethnographic research (2010–2011) suggesting that English and the learning of English have high prestige in Ukraine, indeed that English has a higher status than Russian or Ukrainian (Goodman 2013: 5), and that, based on that study, there is no sense in which English is felt to constitute a negative or pernicious influence on the local languages (see also Tarnopolsky and Goodman 2014). Writing about a teacher of English at a university in Ukraine, Goodman notes the changing role and status of English, possibly a factor in this apparently anomalous situation:

5 http://www.ef.co.uk/about-ef/ – accessed 26 November 2014.

> … in Soviet times, choosing English as a university major made her an object of ridicule. After Ukraine became an independent country, however, knowing English brought Lena tangible economic power and material benefits, despite her “limited” experience or qualifications. She framed English as more than a route to survival and prosperity; it was for her a financial savior.
> (Goodman 2013: 2)

Things change quickly, and between 2013 and 2014 Ukraine was subject to significant political upheaval. Public protests in November 2013 in support of greater integration with Europe, including calls for ‘European education’ (Goodman 2013: 315–319), escalated over the ensuing months, leading to full-scale revolution, the abdication of the country’s president and continuing conflict and unrest. It would not be surprising in this highly charged and troubled context if the learning of English were not a priority and indeed that the association of English with the EU and with the USA might tarnish its prestige, although this link is difficult to prove in the short term. It is clear that the higher education sector is facing serious challenges, such as the need to complete courses before the winter in case there is no heating (Bridget Goodman, personal communication).

Although L’viv, western Ukraine, was politically part of Poland following the First World War and its university known as Jan Kazimierz University, a chair in English was established here in 1924 as part of a restructuring process in the Faculty of Philosophy, and its first occupant was Shakespeare specialist Władysław Tarnawski (1885–1951). As was the case in Germany, girls’ schools occupied a significant place in the emergence of English as a school and university discipline with English classes and activities provided at the single-sex Kiev Fundukleyevska Gymnasium in the nineteenth century, leading to some of its alumnæ introducing English courses during the Soviet era at St Vladimir University (now Taras Schevchenko University), where the first departments of foreign philology were established in the 1930s (Buniyatova, Vorobyova and Vysotska 2008: 168). During the 1940s and 1950s foreign language institutes for the training of language teachers were also established in the country. Despite the inevitable lack of access to Anglophone culture, from the 1950s English became the principal foreign language in the Ukrainian education system, and other foreign languages tended to be studied only outside the major urban centres. Research into both English language and English literature is widespread and vibrant in Ukraine in the 21st century (Buniyatova, Vorobyova and Vysotska 2008: 173–177). In Linguistics, isolation from American influences during the mid-twentieth century ensured a smooth transition from Structuralism to Functionalism as the principal approach to language structure, and “English Studies in Ukraine have escaped the ubiquitous presence of derivational trees in the language classroom” (Buniyatova, Vorobyova and Vysotska 2008: 174).

Having established the general institutional framework for the development of the teaching and learning of English in the universities of Europe, we will go on in section 2.5 to consider the development of English as the principal means of communication amongst Europe's scholars. First of all, though, as we build the historical context for understanding the role of English today, we consider the place of English among the historical lingua francas of Europe.

Jeroen Darquennes

2.3 Lingua francas of Europe

This section provides an overview of languages that were and/or still are used as a lingua franca in Europe, i.e. as a "form of language serving as a means of communication between speakers of different languages" (Swann et al. 2004: 184). Inspired by Truchot's account of the language history of Europe (cf. Truchot 2008: 9–74), the overview is chronological in nature. Starting with classical antiquity we subsequently home in on the nature and the use of lingua francas in the Middle Ages, early modern Europe, the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Given the limited space, this overview of the history of lingua francas in the European realm is inevitably both inexhaustive and parsimonious. Focusing mainly on Western Europe, its main purpose is to shed some light on 'languages of wider communication' that were used in the centuries preceding the rise of English as a ubiquitous lingua franca, partly to reinforce the point that the current role and status of English is a historical accident and partly also to act as a corrective to any view that English has any special properties or qualities which recommend it for that role.

2.3.1 Classical Antiquity

For lack of sources, much of Europe's language history prior to the 8th century BC still lies in the dark. The study of social and individual language use in that period is to a great extent subject to educated guesses. When it comes to Greek and Roman civilization, however, the study of literary and other manuscripts has helped scholars to gain more documented insights into the social role and use of Greek and Latin as well as some of the vernaculars that were used in those periods. One of the topics that appeals to a researcher's imagination when investigating Europe's language history is the spread of Latin as a lingua franca. While its use was originally limited to the city of Rome and the neighbouring parts of

Latium, the well-organised Romans from the 3rd century BC onwards succeeded in combining the expansion of the Roman Empire outside of today's Italy with the spread of Latin. Inspired by the Greeks, the Roman colonizers founded cities in which Latin functioned as the administrative language, the language of education, culture and the economy. Also in the more rural areas Latin was used as a prestige language alongside the different vernaculars (cf. Wolff 1970: 38–39). The situation of contact between Latin and the vernaculars that manifested itself throughout the Roman Empire had an impact on the nature of both Latin and the vernaculars (cf. Auerbach 1958: 188). Intense language contact in Gaul and on the Iberian peninsula eventually led to the development of different pluri-areal varieties of Latin. The development of these varieties of Latin (in a generalizing way one could also say: the early precursors of the Romance languages as we know them today) was speeded up in the period following the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 410 AD.

2.3.2 Middle Ages

What the example of the Romans shows is that the spread of a language as a language of wider communication is favoured by the status and the prestige attached to this language as a spoken and a written language in domains of language use such as politics, administration, education, culture and the economy – what we might now refer to as 'high-stakes domains'. The fact that Latin – which was only used by a minority of the population and in the course of time became a language without a community (cf. Burke 2004: 43–44) – kept on playing a role as a lingua franca after the fall of the Roman Empire is largely due to its firm status as an administrative language in the previous centuries. In the political-administrative units that came into existence in the centuries following Roman rule, the rulers and their representatives needed a common language to safeguard administrative unity in their linguistically sometimes highly diverse territories. Next to that, the use of Latin as the administrative language of the Roman Catholic Church, and as the language used in liturgy as well as in the few schools that were run by monastic orders, helped to secure its role in society (cf. Truchot 2008: 15–16). Meanwhile, however, the importance of the vernaculars rose. The use of vernaculars increasingly extended beyond the domains of private language use. In order to deliver their religious message to the worshippers whose knowledge of Latin was generally either limited or even non-existent, clerics made use of vernaculars next to the official language of the Church. For the sake of local landlords, oaths written in Latin were translated into vernaculars. Through favouring the production of epic poems, love poems, and other forms of cultural *divertisse-*

ment, the feudal aristocracy contributed to the use and the written elaboration of vernaculars. The urbanization that gained momentum towards the end of the Middle Ages was flanked by an economic revival that also had a postive impact on the further development and the spread of supraregional vernaculars (cf. Truchot 2008: 17–18). A well-known example in this respect is the use and the spread of Low German [*Niederdeutsch*] as a trade language used in the cities that were part of the Hanseatic League.

From the 13th century onwards the Hanseatic League, a north-German trading organization, started to establish a trading network in northern Europe and the Baltic area. This network ranged from Bruges (Brugge) to Novgorod. With the exception of Novgorod, where Russian was used, the Hanseatic League managed to secure a solid position for German (in its Low German form) in its trading network. It thus contributed to a considerable extent to its international prestige. In Scandinavia, for example, German acquired the status of a language used in diplomacy and for treaties as well as the status of an educational language [*Bildungssprache*] of the bourgeoisie and the nobility. The succesful economically-inspired language policy of the Hanseatic League was, however, not supported by an international language policy on the part of the Holy Roman Empire, a political conglomeration that comprised most parts of the German linguistic area. Due to a lack of political support on the side of the Holy Roman Empire as well as a colonially inspired shift of the trade routes from northern Europe and the Baltic Sea areas to the Atlantic Ocean, the influence of the Hanseatic League's trading empire started to wane in the 16th century (cf. Darquennes and Nelde 2006: 62–63). French would soon take over the role of Low German as a lingua franca. Its influence would, however, be much greater and would benefit from the linguistic side-effects of the Reformation on the one hand, and conscious language policy initiatives of those in power on the other hand.

2.3.3 Early modern Europe

At the beginning of the 16th century, Martin Luther and other protestant reformers such as Calvin and Zwingli caused a schism in Western Christianity. This schism had an impact on language use in the Church and beyond. As Rooryck (2013: 186) reports, there was a tendency in the Reformed countries to start using colloquial language in church instead of Latin. Science became the domain in which Latin (i.e. the post-classical variety of Latin) was mostly used. In non-Reformed countries an opposite tendency could be observed. In France, for example, the use of Latin was consciously pushed back to liturgy and theology. With the aim of avoiding linguistic confusion, the decree of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 called for the use of French in legal acts. French gradually started to be used as a language of science and philosophy. Scholars were looking for a modern language in order to transfer their knowledge. The establishment of the Académie française in 1635 as an institution meant to contribute to the stabilization and uniformization of French backed up its spread. So did the language policy of Louis XIV who aimed at turning French into the new Latin. During the 72 year reign of France's Sun King, French was exported to the colonies and advanced to become the language of diplomacy and international politics.

An interesting fact in the history of the (spread of) the French language is that scholars who did not share the political views of Louis XIV started to publish and distribute their ideas in their own language outside of France. Descartes, for example, is known to have published works in the university town of Leiden in the Netherlands, a country that, as Rooryck (2013: 190) with a reference to Israël (2001) notes, became the publishing centre *par excellence* for French periodicals in the era following the introduction of printing. French developed into a prestigious international scientific language and into one of the main carriers of the ideas of the European Enlightenment in the 17th and the 18th century. At the same time, the use of Latin as a language of science started to wane (cf. Burke 2004: 58–59).

The leading role of French as a scientific language became apparent in the German realm where French was preferred over German by leading scholars such as Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) (cf. Geier 2009). The Academy of Sciences in Berlin showed a preference for the use of French and awarded a prize to Antoine de Rivarol (1753–1801) for his essay on the universality of the French language – an essay that contains the famous sentence "Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français" [that which is not clear is not French] (cf. Calvet 1987: 74). The prize was awarded in 1784, 5 years before the French Revolution would spread the idea of "one state, one nation, one language" all over Europe. As a reaction to the growing influence of French in the upper reaches of German society, a number of German intellectuals founded language societies [*Sprachgesellschaften*] that concentrated on purifying German from French influences.

2.3.4 Nineteenth century

The language cultivation activities on German territory in the 17th and 18th centuries laid the foundations for a more overtly experienced cultural patriotism that would arise in the 19th century under Prussian rule after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire. Aside from the multilingual Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia managed to boost the international prestige of the German language, the standardization of which had proven to be much more complicated than the standardization of French (cf. Mattheier 2003 for details). It was not so much the colonial expansion of the Prussian state but rather its preponderance in the field of science and technology that added renewed lustre to German in those eastern and northern European areas where it was traditionally a prestigious language (cf. Darquennes and Nelde 2006: 63). But even though the international status of German rose considerably on the verge of the 20th century, it needs to be stressed that it still did not reach the international status of French. Throughout the nineteenth century, French maintained its status and prestige as an international language of diplomacy and as a language of high culture. French was the preferred language of the members of the nobility and the bourgeoisie who – much like in the previous century – hired home teachers [*précepteurs*] to pass on the language to their children (cf. Fumaroli 2003; Rjéoutski and Tchoudinov 2013). In a century in which institutionalized education became directed to the masses and added to the spread of state languages, French became a solid part of school curricula all over Europe. Despite the fact that “France’s position as the undisputed heavyweight in Europe was challenged” by the newly unified Germany, the power of the British empire and the growing influence of the US in international politics (cf. Wright 2006: 38–39), French – more than German and English that were also rather widely taught as a foreign language – was still considered to be a must for those striving for upward social mobility.

As well as a concern for institutionalized (foreign) language learning, the nineteenth century also witnessed attempts to introduce artificial languages to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages. Urged on by the peace movement which took an aversion to the destructiveness of modern warfare and favoured the development of an “international lingua franca that might unite the world without giving any existing national languages and, thus, their mother-tongue speakers undue privileges” (Vikør 2004: 332), two so-called *a posteriori* languages (i.e. languages that are modelled on existing languages) came into being: Volapük (established in 1880 by a German priest named Martin Schleyer (1831–1912)) and Esperanto (established in 1887 by L. L. Zamenhof (1859–1917)). Volapük had a rather short international career at the end of the nineteenth century. Esperanto was more succesful. It is still actively used by members of the Esperanto community today but has never been taken into use at the level of supranational organizations such as the European Union or the Council of Europe that were established in the period following the Second World War (cf. Vikør 2004).

2.3.5 Early twentieth century

The Great War and to a much greater extent the Second World War brought an end to the international rise of the German language that had begun under Prussian rule mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century (cf. Ammon 2015 for details). The position of French was also weakened because of the dominant role of English in international politics and diplomacy following the First World War and, most certainly, World War II. The loss of prestige to which French has been subject in the course of the twentieth century is discussed in an illuminating way in Wright (2006).

As already stated, this overview of the history of lingua francas in Europe is very succinct and, therefore, has many gaps. It only reflects the language history of Europe in a broad way (cf. Baggioni 1997 for a much more detailed discussion). Hardly any attention has been given to the situation in Eastern Europe and the role of Church Slavonic as a lingua franca in Eastern Christendom. Nothing has been said about the language policy of the multilingual Austro-Hungarian Empire, cross-border communication in the Scandinavian countries, or the effects of the colonial spread of languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and – to a certain extent – also Dutch on their use and prestige in Europe. The influence of Russian in the more northern parts of Europe in the 19^{th} century has also not been touched upon. The same goes for the attempts to install Russian as the homo sovieticus' language of inter-ethnic communication during the Cold War. On top of that, readers should be aware of the fact that research in the field of historical sociolinguistics (cf. Furrer 2002; Glück 2013; McLelland and Smith 2014a) shows that the repertoires and the strategies used by people in previous centuries to communicate with speakers of a language different than their own were much more varied than one might imagine. The outcomes of this kind of research deserve to be much more intertwined with overviews of the history of lingua francas in Europe and also deserve to be taken into consideration by those who reflect on the future language policy of Europe in general, and language learning and teaching strategies in today's Europe in particular.

Ulrich Ammon

2.4 English as a language of science

2.4.1 The status of English and competing languages in science in history and present times

To avoid misunderstanding and awkward phrasing we begin this section with the definition of a few central terms: *anglophone countries* refers to the "inner-circle English-speaking countries" (in the sense of Kachru 1986 – see section 3.2.2 for more on that), i.e. USA, Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (excluding borderline cases like South Africa; cf. Crystal 2003: 60); *standard English* comprises the inner-circle standard varieties, especially their written standard; *Anglophones* are the speakers with native-like skills of (inner-circle) standard English; and *non-Anglophones* or *non-Anglophone countries* refer to the negations of both sets. It will become sufficiently clear from the context whether the terms *science* (or *science proper*) and *scientist* are used in the narrower sense (excluding the social sciences and especially the humanities or, respectively, the scholars) or in the wider sense (including them). The latter happens especially in compounds like *scientific language* or *language of science*.

Looking back into European history, as we did in the last section, we find Latin as the language of science and a real Europe-wide lingua franca, i.e. practically without native speakers, from the Middle Ages till well into the 17th century. In the course of the 16th century some vernacular languages started to become national languages in the context of nation building and to be used for scientific and other public communication (see Linn 2013). Among them French stood out and became what we might call a European "pseudo" lingua franca, to stress that it had a (substantial) portion of native speakers, in addition to the non-natives (who made it a lingua franca). It 'ruled' being followed and accompanied mainly by English, well into the 19th century, when German rose too, rather quickly, taking on similar functions. Thus, in the second half of the 19th century we find a "triumvirate", as Michael Gordin (2015: 49) calls it, of the three pseudo lingua francas – English, French and German – which dominated international scientific communication in Europe, and actually all around the world, with somewhat different preferences for various sciences (cf. for details Ammon 2013; Gordin 2015). The seeming equilibrium of these three languages, which shared scientific functions rather equally with their use seemingly unthreatened, was thrown out of balance by the First World War and – following in its wake – Nazism and the Second World War. English now took the lead, rising continuously to the status of dominant and, in more recent times, unchallenged global (but still pseudo) lingua franca of science, and beyond.

A rough indicator of the global rank order of the languages of science is their world-wide share in science publications (science in the narrower sense, including mathematics). Figure 2.4.1 shows the proportions for the five top scientific languages over more than a century. The proportion of German is probably exaggerated for the beginning of the 20th century and the proportion of English for recent times, both due to the location of periodical bibliographies or data banks – in Germany or, respectively, in the USA and Britain – which served as sources. There are studies which have found biases in favour of English for recent sources (e.g. Sandelin and Sarafoglou 2004). But the tendency of proportions is certainly represented correctly here.

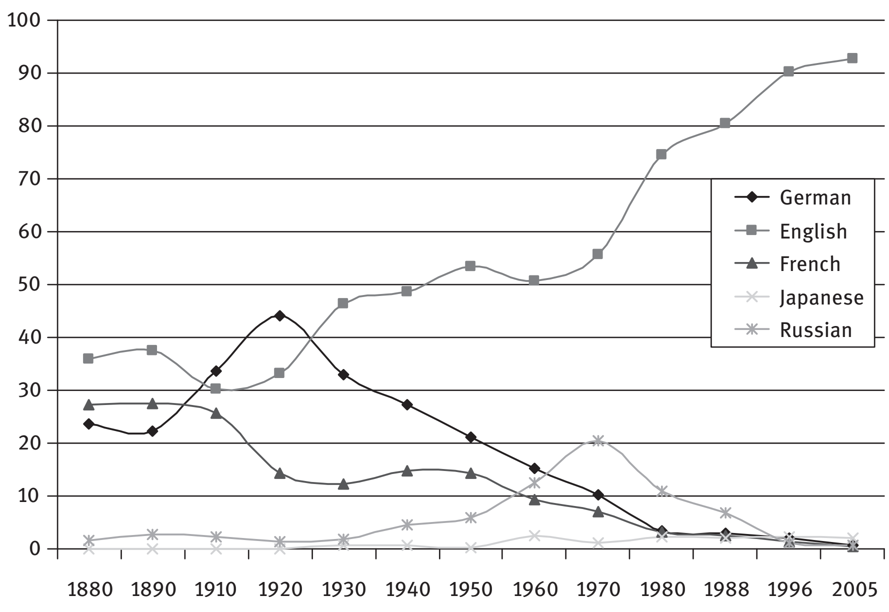


Figure 2.4.1: Proportions of languages in publications of the natural sciences worldwide 1880–2005 (based on *Biological Abstracts, Chemical Abstracts, Mathematical Reviews, Index Medicus* and *Medline, and Physics Abstracts*)

The main reason why English prevailed to an ever growing extent seems obvious enough: the two world wars which devastated the 'motherlands' of the two competing languages, especially France and Germany, followed by Nazism in Germany which expelled its own and Austria's top scientists. Most of them went to the USA, which escaped the horrors largely unscathed and – in comparison to competing countries – even strengthened. The crucial underlying factor for the rise of English was the USA's growing economic superiority as the basis for scientific development. If this is true, English would even without the two wars and Nazism have become the dominant global language of science, though more gradually, because of its countries' superior economic and scientific potential and, therefore, their central role in scientific communication. The economic imbalance was also the main reason why Russian declined again, after raising its head for a while (see Figure 2.4.1) during the Soviet Union's competition with the USA in the Cold War, and fell back to the level of the other languages which maintained residual international significance for scientific communication (more of them in Figure 2.4.2).

However, reducing the explanation to economic strength is, of course, a simplification, since a country's or language community's scientific strength has a more direct impact on a language's function for scientific communication and does not develop entirely in line with economic strength. Scientific leadership can continue after a country's economic decline, as long as knowledge and skills prevail – but not for long. The Nobel Prizes can be taken as a rough indicator here: German scientists kept reaping considerable shares even after their country was broke after the first war – but no longer after World War II. US scientists then won a growing share, and even regularly the lion's share (see the Wikipedia articles for Nobel Prizes in the various sciences).

In addition to economic and consequently scientific superiority, other factors supported the rise of English as the globally dominant language of science. One of them is the US scientists' abstinence from learning foreign languages starting after the First World War when studying German stopped on all educational levels as part of the American war strategy, but was deepened once more through the US universities' abolishment of foreign language requirements beginning in the 1960s, with other Anglophone countries following suit. As a consequence, scientists who wanted to cooperate with the globally leading scientific centre had to learn and use their language.

The shift to English has been more rigorous for the sciences proper than for the social sciences and especially the humanities. Indicators for this difference are again the global proportions of languages in academic publications. Thus, the data for social sciences still show noticeable proportions of languages other than English, as Figure 2.4.2 indicates, which roughly mirrors reality, in spite of the fact that the periodical bibliographies or abstract services serving as the sources are less representative globally than for the natural sciences.

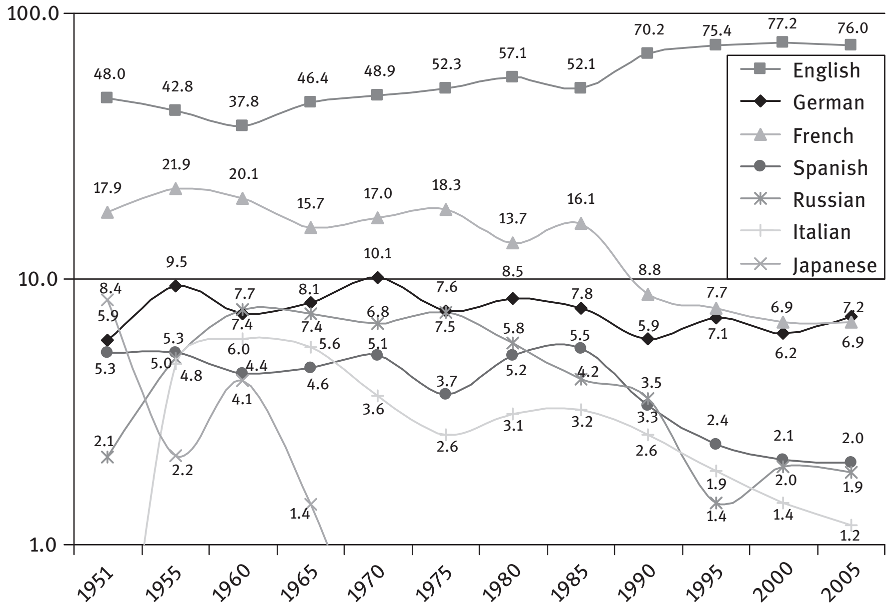


Figure 2.4.2: Proportions of languages in social sciences publications worldwide 1951–2005. (Abscissa logarithmic; proportions of other languages < 1 % all the time; rank order following 2005; Source: *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences* (*IBSS*))

Especially the French-, German-, Russian- and Spanish-speaking social scientists still publish in their own languages to a considerable extent (cf. Ammon 1998: 170–179). This seems even truer for the arts and humanities. There are ample indications for these subjects, mainly from questionnaire though not really representative studies, that these languages still play an acknowledged role internationally. Thus, for German, 'niche subjects' [Nischenfächer] for international communication have been identified, like classical archaeology, philosophy, European history and, of course, German studies (Ammon 2015: 603–623).

Reasons for differences in the degree of Anglicization of different subjects seem obvious, but have not been tested in rigorous empirical studies, so there is ample opportunity for further research here. They are, hypothetically, that the social sciences or the humanities deal more with regional or national questions than science in the narrower sense, and can therefore rather make do with national languages for less international readership. Also, their texts require more comprehensive language skills than the texts of science proper for which formal languages, especially of mathematics, have more weight. Therefore, humanities scholars are more hesitant than scientists to shift to a foreign or unfamiliar language for their professional communication. This is why traditional languages of science like French or German continue to be used by their own language communities and therefore – because relevant texts are being produced in the languages – are still studied and at least read internationally.

2.4.2 Linguistic justice, fairness and the challenges of a solution

It seems obvious, and experts are in agreement, that there is no turning back the wheel against English, at least not in the foreseeable future. Even huge languages (in terms of native speakers), like especially Chinese, have no chance, let alone others which have been mentioned as candidates, like Spanish. The main reason is that scientists all around the world, including the Chinese, Spanish etc., have invested heavily in English. In the face of the likely perseverance of the present language constellation (cf. Ammon 2010; de Swaan 2002), the pseudo character of English as a lingua franca, mentioned above has become an issue among non-Anglophones and has been discussed under headings like *linguistic justice* (Van Parijs 2011) and *fairness* (Fiedler 2010).

It cannot seriously be doubted that non-Anglophones are at a linguistic disadvantage in scientific communication – and beyond (cf. e.g. La Madeleine 2007). Their difficulties in text production grow with their languages' linguistic distance from Standard English, and with different text conventions which even exist in languages linguistically related to English (Clyne 1987). Other disadvantages are perhaps less obvious, like the Anglophone publishers' competitive advantage vis-à-vis publishers of non-Anglophone countries or – even subtler – the developing skewed history of science including false notions of substantial contributions. Examples not from the sciences proper but from sociolinguistics have been pointed out by Roland Willemyns (2001: 339–340), like that Charles "Ferguson is credited in most studies as the inventor of the concept *diglossia* (1959) when in fact the concept and its implications were known since ca 1890–1930 in French Hellenistic studies" or that "Joshua Fishman is credited as the founder of the Sociology of Language, yet [Marcel] Cohen published *Pour une sociologie du langage,* a thick volume [in 1956, i.e. more than ten years!] before Fishman began his impressive series of publications in English" (cf. also Durand 2001). Willemyns stresses, however, that he does not question the value of the two Americans' contributions but just the false belief of their total originality.

There have been various proposals to compensate for linguistic inequality. Jonathan Pool (1987: 17) even suggested that "the native speakers [of English] could be required to pay [extra] taxes", but conceded the difficulty of implementation. In a similar vein all the rigorous proposals for more justice or fairness have been declared impractical, except perhaps a global campaign, especially among the Anglophones, to support the non-Anglophones linguistically and to show more tolerance toward their stylistic peculiarities (compare the contributions to Carli and Ammon 2007). Philippe van Parijs (2011: 207–209) has tried to cool tempers by reasoning that linguistic injustice would gradually decrease or even abide hand in hand with the overall advantages of a common language. Looking back into history can also help cool tempers. A case in point is the American and the British Associations for the Advancement of Science move to the League of Nations in 1921 to consider promoting Esperanto as the global language of science, for which they gave the following reason: "The acceptance of any modern national language would confer undue advantages and excite jealousy [...]. Therefore an invented language is best" (*Science* 60, 1922: 1416). As we know today, the French staged the finally successful opposition (Lins 1988: 49–61), probably because they still hoped that their own language would win the day. Later on, Hitler and Stalin brutally suppressed the Esperanto movement, hoping to spread their own languages, not only for science (Lins 1988).

In spite of abstaining from putting too much blame on the Anglophones, the search for more linguistic fairness should continue. Also, linguists should not only enthuse about linguistic diversity as a wealth, which has become popular in their own professional interest, but the original biblical myth's negative evaluation of language diversity, i.e. as a punishment, should not be forgotten, especially with respect to social multilingualism. But even the popular claim that individual multilingualism entails the advantage of cognitive wealth, suggested by Wilhelm von Humboldt or Benjamin Lee Whorf, needs closer scrutiny, especially with respect to science. Though there is no doubt about different languages' different categorization (for everyday use), their relevance for scientific knowledge, if not shown convincingly, can – justly – come under polemical fire as a "language hoax" (McWhorter 2014).

Nigel Holden

2.5 English in multilingual European economic space

> "The clamour of the marketplace has no difficulty reaching our ears".
> (Braudel 1983: 25)

Over the years the position of English as a *lingua franca* in the European context both "as a construct and as a reality" (Pakir 2009) has been "hotly debated" (Mauranen and Ranta 2009: 1) among linguists.[6] In so far as it has been applied to world business in general and European business in particular, the term *lingua franca* is incapable of even hinting at the multi-faceted role that English plays. This has little to do with the empirical fact that Europe is "linguaculturally [...] an extremely diverse area" (Seidlhofer 2010: 355); rather it arises from the fact that the notion of *lingua franca* is out of step with the operations of markets and the attendant "sheer pace, scope, self-enveloping intensity and boundary-defying capability of modern business connectivity" (Holden 2016: 290). In this section we are focusing on the value of the idea of a lingua franca to explain business communication throughout European history. We will return to the idea of English as a lingua franca in contemporary contexts, and indeed in the context of business communication, when we go on to look in more detail at varieties of English and repertoires for communication in chapter 3.

2.5.1 Some general points about language and business

This general proposition sets the scene: "every day in the domain of worldwide business, millions of cross-cultural interactions take place, linking buyers with suppliers and suppliers with customers and an array of stakeholders. Relationships are forged and networks are consolidated." These buyers, suppliers and stakeholders "are engaged in immense acts of knowledge sharing, involving the cross-cultural blending and integration of information, perceptions and – in a high proportion of cases – *mistaken impressions*" (slightly adapted from Holden and Glisby 2010: 49). From this we can deduce that modern business communication – both globally and within Europe – is, as a facet of corporate life, concerned with three linguistically significant activities: *networking, knowledge sharing* and *relationship management*. All three communication activities, which are briefly

6 With thanks to Dr Terry Mughan of the University of Canada for a valuable exchange of ideas.

discussed below, engage millions of people worldwide and are of enormous consequence for business in today's world.

Networking is not just the activity of extending and expanding one's set of business contacts, but the corporate quest of creating pathways to all the resources that firms need: for today, next week, next year and certainly for a future beyond the foreseeable in order to stay viable. Such resources include customers, staff with appropriate skills and talent, finance, knowledge (e.g. on competitors, the latest innovations, etc.). This is no casual activity. Firms – especially multinational corporations like VW, Microsoft, Samsung, etc. – employ thousands of staff, regardless of their nominal job function, on networking in this sense 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

Knowledge in its explicitly business context refers to a fusion of hard and soft knowledge that firms transfer and share. For simplicity's sake let us say that 'hard' knowledge refers to documented data, facts and figures. Such data involve, say, estimates of costs, budgets, forecasts, marketing reports, customer feedback and so forth. By contrast 'soft' knowledge refers to more elusive factors which relate to experience, feelings, intuitions, assumptions, impressions and values (Holden 2002: 88). Knowledge, both hard and soft, and its potential value can get lost, be distorted or misunderstood in language barriers, which are in general not so much absolute as randomly leaky regardless of whichever common language predominates in interactions.

Relationships in business facilitate multiple and often simultaneous exchange processes among combinations of buyers, suppliers and stakeholders. The key elements of exchange are in essence the product or service in question, money, information, knowledge. The management of these exchange processes involves short episodes (such as flurries of e-mail exchanges) or longer term ones, which might involve an executive being attached to a project team or being assigned to a period of residence in another country. Furthermore, the attendant discourse of "rapport-building" (Spencer-Oatey 2000) is underpinned by what might be called task-oriented bonhomie – business language at its most ornamented. Under relationship management one can include the linguistically significant activity of negotiation – the art of agreeing when and how to do business – though this conception would not be acceptable to those for whom negotiation is 'about getting to yes'.

In everyday business practice these three activities are not discrete functions. They perpetually reinforce each other. Figure 2.5.1 is a representation of these three facets of communication activity, the cogged wheels suggesting that they inevitably intermesh.

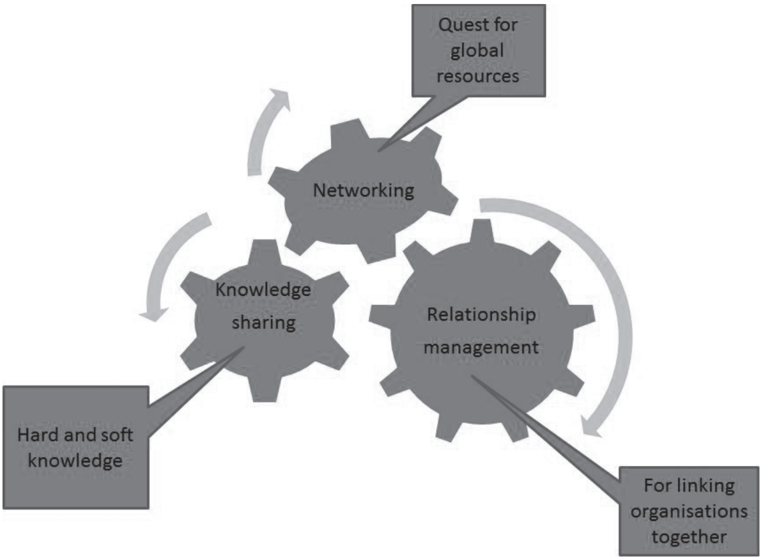


Figure 2.5.1: Business communication and three key globe-spanning activities

The internationally-operating business executive is simultaneously a relationship builder, "knowledge worker" (Drucker 1959)[7] and networker, regardless of whether he or she has a marketing or sales role, is in human resources or even R&D (an increasingly geographically dispersed activity). In other words, networking, knowledge sharing and relationship management can be seen as both generic and task-specific. The associated language behaviour is specific to the business domain, the shared expertise and the length of the business relationship (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010), and has (at least) three key aims:

- to facilitate a conducive atmosphere for interactions (Holden 2002: 275–277)
- to inspire trust (Child 2001)
- to secure and maintain "common cognitive ground" (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995: 14).

Figure 2.5.2 captures in pragmatic space these three aims in the context of relationship management. The sinuous line suggests for conceptual purposes that the securing of common cognitive ground is conditional on the existence of mutual trust, which is itself a product of a conducive atmosphere for collaboration.

7 Cited in: http://www.economist.com/blogs/schumpeter/2012/08/z-business-quotations-2

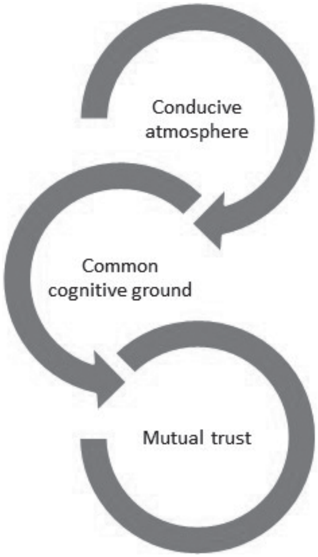


Figure 2.5.2: Three interlinked facets of relationship building

In practical reality the endeavours of networking, relationship management and knowledge sharing are often performed in multicultural teams using English. By way of an atavistic aside, this distinctly corporate mode of English "has something of the character of a hunting plan" (Bronowski 1981: 45), involving the deployment of verbal messages – notably instructions – among the "hunters" to achieve the corporate equivalent of a kill: a sale, a contract, a technological break-through, a new structure or the take-over of a competitor. Since time immemorial business has always been a hunt: for markets and something new to offer to buyers.

Interpersonal cross-cultural interactions in *any* business setting proceed on the basis of oral translations, formal and informal, and even thanks to "working misunderstandings" (Batteau 2000) among various languages in interplay, whereby – this is important – those translations in free-flowing cross-cultural exchanges are "spontaneous, *ad hoc* and improvised" (Holden and Michailova 2014), in short part of a repertoire of communication tools. Under such conditions the language behaviour of business executives is *overwhelmingly tactical* and absolutely not "strategic", unless it is a question of initiating on the spot a strategic shift in a relationship, something that is in any case normally determined *in advance* by corporate headquarters.

All the language behaviour associated with our three key activities – networking, knowledge sharing and relationship management – serves the explicit, goal-seeking purposes of organisations. To regard any of it as being tantamount to "informal chat" (Charles 2007) gives a misleading impression. The manner of delivery may be free and easy, but the content – the message – has unmistakeable intention behind it. After all, to paraphrase Chomsky (1976: 64), we cannot really understand acts of speech communication without an appreciation of the intention behind them. Language behaviour even has a pronounced instrumental purpose in the not infrequently social context of business socialization – that key locale of task-oriented bonhomie *par excellence* – where one often listens to "the babble" of one's actual or potential business partners "as if their utterances were actually scintillating!" (Holden 2016: 293). If only we could say that it is more or less straightforward to specify the language of business. But it isn't; far from it, and this view of the context dependence of business communication, its "situatedness" is firmly in line with the view of language taken elsewhere in this volume.

2.5.2 English in European multilingual economic space

There is no other language that can currently compete with English to accomplish all these activities, which can include the by no means insignificant task of being "the official corporate language of several Europe-based multinational companies (MNCs)" (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010), in Europe's extensive multilingual economic space. It is surely quite true in the context of business that in the EU "the dominance of English is not fuelled by ideological positions as much as by practical pragmatic reasons underlying the choice of English as the vehicle of communication" (Wodak 2008: 4).

As Seidlhofer (2010: 36) points out, "it is simply not the case that English emanates from the native-speaker 'centre' in a way that is designed to benefit its native speakers." Hence, business people of different European countries use English for practical convenience and economic advantage, when it comes to cross-cultural business. It is problematic, however, to refer to this English-for-business-in-Europe as Euro-English (see section 3.2.3 for more on this category), which can connote, on the one hand EU-specific "serpentine sentences and eurocratic waffle" (*Economist*, 2011)[8] and, on the other, some sort of basic, cross-culturally neutral English, used by business people who are presumed to be satisfied with simplified language choices to facilitate communication.

8 http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2011/09/euro-english

On this point it is unfortunate to find "typical BELF – (Business English as a Lingua Franca) – discourse" being "characterised as simplified English" (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010). This is scarcely better than lumping English together with sundry trade languages in world history and referring to it as a "makeshift language" (Jespersen 1968: 233). It is clear that key cross-cultural tasks such as knowledge-sharing, relationship management and networking – not to mention running major international corporations – require sophisticated language usage in terms of linguistic and pragmatic competence.

Whether viewed as a language of business or language of transnational management, English in Europe holds a highly significant position: it is the language which formally and informally is the most translated into and out of for business purposes, the language therefore the most switched into and out of. Accordingly, the use of English in these translational and switching modes is perpetually creating and recreating linguistic space across Europe for the facilitation of inter-firm competition and collaboration. Were no language to have this status, the opportunity costs and transaction costs to European countries would be very considerable and even prohibitive for small business enterprises.

2.5.2.1 *Lingua Franca*: Provenance and aspects of usage

Historically, the term *lingua franca* "seems to have been applied to an Italian trade language in the eastern Mediterranean region in the early modern period" (Bloomfield 1979: 473). Lockwood takes up the tale:

> Although Italian never became the source of any creole, it has the distinction of being associated with Lingua Franca, the first known pidgin. This was one of the languages which Gulliver tried out on the Lilliputians. It arose in the ports on the Riviera from Marseilles to Genoa and was widely used in the Levant from the time of the Crusaders down to the eighteenth century.
> (Lockwood 1972: 42)

Seidlhofer (2011a: 81) adds that ""franca" comes from Old French "franc" meaning "free" and lives on in Italian "franco", as does Italian lingua, that is "tongue, language." The word "free" is held to suggest freedom "from connections with particular countries and ethnicities" (Vikør 2004: 329). Interestingly, this "Italianism was a commodity" (Braudel 1981: 131). It was both "fashion and snobbery" for wealthy families of resident immigrants to send their sons to Padua to learn Italian, the language of "the ruling families who governed trade and politics" (Braudel 1981: 132). This is a case of a *lingua franca* being sustained for reasons of social ostentation as much as economic advantage.

Throughout the ages the purpose of *linguæ francæ* in general has been to help create "coherent trading zones" (Braudel 1983: 138) and so "spread areas of intercommunication" (Curtin 1986: 88). These are important points. One did not learn or engage in *linguæ francæ* to specialise (as it were) in dealing with one or two important business partners, but with as many partners as was feasible. Then as now, business people knew that "to engage in several activities was a sensible way of spreading risks" (Braudel 1981: 320). English today allows business people to forge multiple connections on a scale and with a speed undreamt of half a millennium ago – not to mention even twenty years ago!

In those pre-capitalist times the most sought-after commodity was *news*, "a luxury commodity was worth more than its weight in gold" (Braudel 1981: 365), which was often passed on in confidence: "political news, military news, news of the harvest or about expected merchandise" (Braudel 1983: 409). It may not look like it, but these observations tell us a good deal about the purposes to which business people put language then *and* now. First, the quest for reliable up-to-date information suggests the frequent use of language as an instrument of enquiry to interrogate informants and verify their utterances.

The point here is that the merchants had to be very good at listening comprehension as distinct from "mere" speaking proficiency in their own language, a foreign language or even a *lingua franca*. Second, updates of news forced business people to revise their plans and assessments. This would be reflected in conversations marked by the future orientation of business language use: "what do we do, if […]?", "Now we have no choice, but to […]". Just as the past tense is the primary occupational modality of the historian, so for the business person, for whom even yesterday is in a manner of speaking history, the future tense is his or her principal shaper of thought and action: it is the mode for weighing up options; the mode of anticipation, speculation and decision.[9]

Seidlhofer (2011a: 3) has wisely pointed out that "the global spread of English [which] is unprecedented and unparalleled" and comparisons with "Latin, French, Arabic and other lingua francas in earlier times simply do not hold" (see the last section for a fuller discussion of other lingua francas). That is certainly true, as far as the world of international business is concerned, in which domain the term *lingua franca* needs to be treated with some caution. It far better suits the polyglot character of "the swift patois of the markets" (Mantel 2009: 91) of earlier ages, when:

– markets were more far clearly demarcated as " favoured terrains of supply and demand" (Braudel 1983: 26)

9 Cf. Steiner (1975: 22), "The past tense of the verb is the sole guaran*tor of history.*"

- the key commercial activity was "cross-cultural brokerage" (Curtin 1986: 247), involving the trade of commodities (including slaves by the million)
- "capitalism and rationality" (Braudel 1983: 575) had yet to make their stamp on business organisation and methods
- instantaneous global means of communication had yet to transform economic life, business thinking and the nature of international management.

But that is not all. Geographically the lingua franca was confined to the littoral of the Mediterranean: to be precise, to some 30 major ports engaged in maritime trade.[10] It is unlikely to have penetrated far inland, where even prominent cities (such as Paris, Madrid, Vienna or Milan) did not act as bustling cosmopolitan entrepôts to be compared with Smyrna, Genoa or Barcelona. In other words, it was emphatically *not* a general language of the trade routes, which criss-crossed the mainland of Europe.

Furthermore, this shore-hugging *lingua franca* was not even used at all by the generality of the commercial classes directly engaged in the sea-borne trade. By far the greater part of its speakers would have been agents in the trading networks, who actively conducted the cross-cultural trade ('did the haggling') and, very importantly, chivvied and cajoled to ensure that cargoes, as negotiated, were loaded, all properly packed and labelled, on the correct vessel. Of the entirety of all those engaged in trade – the merchant houses, vendors, bankers, borrowers, creditors, shippers and so forth, agents as the key cross-cultural communicators constitute a distinct numerical minority.[11]

The correspondence between the trading houses and their agents was preoccupied with three issues: "weights, measures and currencies" (Braudel 1983: 156). It follows then that its oral counterpart in far-flung places, namely the *lingua franca*, reflected those self-same commercial priorities. So it was that the everyday use of the *lingua franca* involved 'perpetual calculation' (Braudel 1983: 171) and conversion of quantities (currency exchange rates alone varied from city to city). The efficacy of the lingua franca was directly related to agents' skills in arithmetical manipulation in their cross-cultural haggling. It is also a very moot point whether the *lingua franca* was mutually intelligible throughout its port-based locales of use. For example, there were "higher barriers between the Latin-based languages and the Arabic or Turkish of Muslim Lands" (Abulafia 2011:

10 Source: map of the trading links of the Florence/Leghorn-based Saminiati firm in the 17th century, in Braudel (1983: 185).

11 Ironically, as Braudel (1983: 165) points out, a good deal of the European sea-borne trade was actually in the hands of middlemen, who were themselves ethnic minorities, notably Jews, Armenians and Parsis as well as Italian communities in France and Spain.

486). The lingua franca was in fact nothing more than geographically dispersed non-standard varieties of Italian without inflexions.[12] Did the merchants of Chios understand their counterparts in, say, Tripoli or Constantinople?

On the matter of correspondence, it is easy to overlook the fact that this was voluminous. For example, the forty years' correspondence of the Italian merchant Francesco Datini (c. 1335–1410) – the most complete extant collection – consists of "some 150,000 letters [...] 300 deeds of partnership [...] 400 insurance policies and several thousand bills of lading, letters of advice, bills of exchange and cheques" (Origo 1957: 11). This bears out the conviction that, given "the slow pace and uncertainty of the mails [...] the prime requirement was to send and receive large numbers of letters" (Braudel 1983: 410). In the case of Datini his letters were "in Latin, French and Italian, in English and Flemish, in Catalonian, Provençal and Greek, and even a few in Arabic and Hebrew" (Origo 1957: 83). All this suggests that the written word in various vernaculars played an overwhelmingly important role in cross-cultural business communication in the times we are talking about. *Linguistically, it was the contents of commercial correspondence that really determined trade, not facility in the lingua franca, useful as that was in ad hoc contact-making and haggling.*

This Mediterranean *lingua franca* died out through lack of demand as a result of wars in the 18th century and the promise of the great markets opening up in the New World. In its heyday it was in terms of its main users the makeshift occupational language of predominantly one distinct class of commercial actors, namely agents; with regard to geographical distribution it was overwhelmingly confined to a scattering of ports; concerning its lexicogrammatical composition it was non-standard: that is so say it was not of a form considered by the educated classes to be correct or acceptable for other domains of life. If that had *not* been the case, it would have developed at least to some extent as a language of philosophy, science and literature as well as government and administration. Nor did it even establish itself as the corporate language in any of the great merchant houses; it evidently did not have the cross-linguistic power for that purpose.

And yet, in its way, the *lingua franca* served its fundamental purpose for several hundred years; of that there can be no doubt. But it was destined to die an economic and ergonomic failure, though it lives on as a linguistic curiosity as well as a theoretical concept in the language sciences. Notably, the English language has been characterized as the *lingua franca* of business in Europe. But this is a remarkable deduction, bearing in mind that *lingua franca* was in practice an ad hoc mercantile variety used by a numerically minor subset of all available

12 Cf. part of the definition of *lingua franca* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1970): "A mixed language used in the Levant, consisting largely of Italian words deprived of their inflexions".

commercial protagonists *and nothing more*. To what extent then can such a maritime commercial lingo, created for solely bargaining and networking and in all probability of restricted areal intelligibility, serve as an adequate descriptor of pan-European business English today with all its word-building power and multipurpose flexibility?

2.5.3 Is 'lingua franca' a misdesignation?

English is continually creating new linguistic space in Europe's multilingual economic space. It abets knowledge sharing, facilitates relationship management and gives direction to networking within every business sector. It is Europe's principal socio-economic influence for creating cross-linguistic connectivity and closeness among otherwise multilingual arrays of buyers, suppliers and stakeholders. It is also, at the level of companies such as Philips, Nokia and Siemens which operate globally, a fully-fledged company-specific language of management (i.e. for directing the activities of their multicultural, and so multilingual, workforces). Hence, this European business English is in reality a confection of languages for special purposes (see Sager, Dungworth and McDonald 1980: 63–69). At everyday working level it is in a constant state of being translated formally and informally into and out of all other major European languages. In this sense it is in interplay with those languages. This is not the same as being as being in direct competition with them.

There is an analogy to be drawn between English in European business today and the development of computer science. Until the invention of HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) in 1990, there was no way in which it was possible to link documents to other computers, especially when these had different operating systems (Isaacson 2014: 410–411). The various languages of Europe – the separate business languages – may be likened to independent operating systems. The English language has become, in a manner of speaking, the accepted hypertext facilitating communication among linguistically disparate entities on a scale and with an intensity previously unimaginable. Just as HMTL had to happen in order to further the possibilities of the digital realm, so English, to paraphrase Halliday (2003: 309 in Seidlhofer 2010: 356), has become what it is because of what it had to do.[13]

Future researchers must decide to what extent this critique of English as a *lingua franca* has validity or not. Either way, this section has tried to point up

13 Halliday's exact words were "language as it is because of what it has to do".

some very rich areas of research for those linguists interested in the nature of language in cross-cultural business interactions. There can be little doubt that a study of the sociolinguistic context of the Mediterranean lingua franca briefly outlined above would produce sorely needed insights into the nature of cross-cultural business communication in pre-modern Europe. As for the nature and function of language in networking, relationship management and knowledge sharing, there is a great deal to be learnt in a formal sense. It is virtually virgin territory. A final research topic suggests itself here: a study of the use of tense by business protagonists in cross-cultural interactions.

Andrew Linn

2.6 Summary: The importance of a historical approach

There are perhaps two overarching insights to draw from this chapter. The first is an encouraging one for would-be students of English in Europe: a huge amount of work remains to be done. Whether the focus be the history of formal language teaching and learning or the use of languages as means of international communication, there is a great deal that we are yet to find out. Others have also noted what a wealth of research questions and research topics await someone interested in the history of language learning and teaching, a field which has now acquired its own acronym (HoLLT)[14]. Thus McLelland and Smith (2014b: 2), following Stern (1983: 76) state that "while there has been some progress in a few areas, much remains to be done, especially in Britain".

The history of linguistics is itself a fairly youthful discipline with the first textbook on the topic appearing less than half a century ago (Robins 1967). Being established as it was in the 1960s and 1970s at the height of the Chomskyan era, it was perhaps inevitable that linguists would concentrate on those earlier approaches to language which were particularly relevant to them, namely theory and analysis. The history of more applied language work was not subject to the same intensity of investigation. The development of ideas about language in classical antiquity came about to a large extent as a result of the need to teach languages. It could therefore be argued that it is in fact applied linguistics which has the most ancient history, but recent historical accounts of applied linguistics tend to adopt a much more limited time perspective, e.g. de Bot's 2015 *A history of*

14 See http://www.hollt.net/ for the international research network with that name.

applied linguistics which, despite its main title, only goes back to the 1980s. While this chapter has provided a way into the history of the teaching and learning of English in Europe, as a step in the right direction, plenty of research opportunities lie ahead.

Historical sociolinguistics is an even newer field than the history of linguistics (see section 2.1.1). As Jeroen Darquennes notes above, there is much that we can learn from language practices, behaviours and attitudes of the past which can prevent us making the same mistakes in the future, and this must be one of the key reasons for according historical study the importance we do in this book. Language learning, and language planning more broadly, do not begin afresh with each new generation. As McLelland and Smith (2014b: 1) also note, "charting the history of language teaching and learning will [...] make us all better informed in facing challenges and changes to policy now and in the future". As well as trying to learn the lessons provided by the historiography of applied linguistics, there are lessons to be learned from how languages and language repertoires were used and conceptualized in the past. If formal structures around language learning do not begin anew with each generation, then that is even truer of less formal language practices. The challenge of communicating with speakers of other languages has been a part of the lived experience of using language since the earliest times.

The other key insight, alongside the fact that there is more to do and that the past can and should inform the present and the future, is that, in the words of section 3.1.1 below, the past does not present "a uniform picture". The teaching and learning of English has ebbed and flowed across Europe and through the years. The preferred lingua francas (or linguæ francæ) have ebbed and flowed from place to place and from context to context. Turning to the past and the rich variety of practices encountered there causes us to ask fundamental questions about some central sociolinguistic categories of our own time. English as a Lingua Franca has become a central notion in both theoretical and applied research on multilingual contexts, but looking at the past has caused us to ask in this section whether 'lingua franca' is in fact a "misdesignation" (2.5.3), at least in business communication, and whether we should rather speak in terms of "pseudo lingua francas" (2.4.1). As well as offering us a rich array of case studies, the past also provides a laboratory in which to test our key theories.

If this book had a watchword, it would be *variety*. Studying English in Europe requires us to harness a variety of separate subdisciplines (see section 4.1) of linguistics as well as neighbouring disciplines. "[...] Conceptual and methodological tools borrowed from various disciplines need to be appropriately integrated and applied to real-world problems and challenges involving language, which by definition, are embedded in all aspects of society and social life" (Ricento 2006b:

9). We are forced to acknowledge the variety of local and individual responses to the presence of English in the language ecology of Europe and to the availability of English as part of individuals' language repertoires. Even seen as a bounded entity, it has long been recognised that English exists in numerous different local, national and international varieties (chapter 3). The danger with taking this approach, realistic and responsible though we firmly believe it to be, is that we lose the humanizing sense of a shared experience. For all our postmodern sense of alienation, of existing as individuals, shaping the world to our individual ends, we do not want to lose sight of what links us to others in different places and different times, addressing challenges which may vary in the detail but which are common to us as human beings. Dealing with a variety of languages and trying to communicate as best we can in a world where failure to communicate is the norm may manifest itself for me here and now, but I am not alone, and I can learn from other individuals and from institutions both today and in the past. The historian of linguistics Vivien Law has suggested that it is precisely the study of the past which serves to rehumanize us as linguists and protect us from one-sided, isolated interpretations of the world in which we live. This is the principal value of the historical approach we are advocating in this chapter, and we will finish with Law's formulation of this idea:

> Each of us assumes that our experience of the world is uniquely well-rounded [...] As we get older, we realise that everyone secretly holds the same view [...] whole generations assume that their particular way of looking at the world is the only right one. We lose a great deal by going along with this collective one-sidedness. [...] By 'trying on' the ideas of a great range of people from the past we cultivate an ability to see things from another person's point of view, a skill which we can carry over into everyday life.
> (Law 2003: 7)

3 Standards, varieties and repertoires

Josep Soler-Carbonell

3.1 English in the language ecology of Europe

3.1.1 Not a uniform picture

As we saw in the last chapter, the role and status of English have, for a variety of reasons, been in the ascendant over the past century, such that the position of English in the language ecology of Europe is today unquestioned. It is highly visible and used in key areas of society, including business and politics (e.g. Kankaaranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2013), media and entertainment (e.g. Crystal 2003), and education, especially higher education (e.g. Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Although the majority of the polities in the continent would be classified as 'expanding circle' countries in Kachru's (1992) categorization, English has become a "hypercentral" language (De Swaan 2001) given the fact that many multilingual speakers (in Europe and beyond) are competent in it to some extent and have it in their repertoire (a key notion throughout the present book).

That said, however, it is also possible to argue that English does not occupy the same position in all countries in Europe, and nor is it used everywhere for the same purposes. In other words, in order to capture the full complexity of the position of English in Europe's language ecology, it is important to acknowledge that the picture is not a uniform one. The aim of this opening section of chapter 3 is to give a summary of the position of English in Europe, focusing on three key regions: the Nordic countries, Eastern Europe, and Mediterranean Europe.

The length and scope of this section do not allow for an extended and in-depth treatment of the subject, nor for a thorough examination of the sociolinguistic realities and historical development of the English language in these three areas, although these issues will be covered further elsewhere in the book. However, we will illustrate that English is certainly not known to the same extent in these different geographic contexts by making use of publicly available statistics from two main sources: the Eurobarometer surveys (European Commission 2006; 2012d) and the English Proficiency Index, compiled from 2011 to 2014 by the private provider of English language teaching, Education First. Before doing so, we will first flesh out a key idea to further develop in this chapter: the notion of *repertoire* as applied to knowing a language (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert and Backus 2011) and place it in the context of seminal literature in the field of language ecology. This will be helpful in framing the discussion of the position of English in Europe's linguistic ecology and to connect it to recent theoretical sociolinguistic debates.

3.1.2 An ecological and repertoire approach to knowing English

The ecological approach to the study of language is canonically associated with the work of Einar Haugen (e.g. 1972), who defines language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (Haugen 1972: 325). Importantly, Haugen acknowledges that languages exist in the minds of their "users", and they function insofar as they relate users to one another and to their natural environment (Haugen 1972). So there are two key aspects in Haugen's approach to the ecological study of language: the psychological pole and the sociological one.

Since Haugen's initial proposal, the application of the ecological metaphor to the study of language has been developed further by different authors and it has taken different directions. It was in the 1990s that the approach really came to the fore (e.g. Bastardas-Boada 1996; Calvet 1999; Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001; Halliday 1990; Mühlhäusler 1995). Some have suggested that an ecological approach is an indispensable condition for multilingualism to thrive and for as many languages as possible to coexist peacefully (e.g. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996). Indeed, Hornberger (2002) notes that the ecological metaphor is well placed to provide an ideological framework for the implementation of multilingual language policies.

In this context, because of its international dimension, English has been sometimes presented as a language that invades naturally occurring language ecologies across the world, impacting negatively on the development of other languages (e.g. Pennycook 1998; Tollefson 2013). Phillipson (2006) adopts a biological metaphor to illustrate that English might be seen as a "cuckoo" in the language ecological nest of European higher education, squeezing out other national languages in that context. By contrast, other authors see the development and use of English internationally as something positive and, indeed, inevitable (e.g. De Swaan 2001; Van Parijs 2011). These latter authors note that humanity does need a world lingua franca to effectively communicate with one another, and that at this point in time, English is the language that is best positioned to fulfil that function.

What seems to be missing in both of these lines of argumentation, however, is a grounded perspective of what it actually means to know or even to have a language. Other critically minded authors have recently offered a useful characterization of this issue (e.g. Blommaert 2010). Drawing on the notions of *communicative competence* and *repertoire* (Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Hymes 1972) Blommaert and Backus (2011) propose that we should look at what it means to "know" a language from a biographical and repertoire point of view. So, rather than picturing languages as abstract, named entities, these authors invite us to see them as a complex set of repertoires. This means that:

> […] the 'language' we know is never finished, so to speak, and learning language as a linguistic *and* a sociolinguistic system is not a cumulative process; it is rather a process of growth, of sequential learning of certain registers, styles, genres and linguistic varieties while shedding and altering previously existing ones.
> (Blommaert and Backus 2011: 9, emphasis in the original)

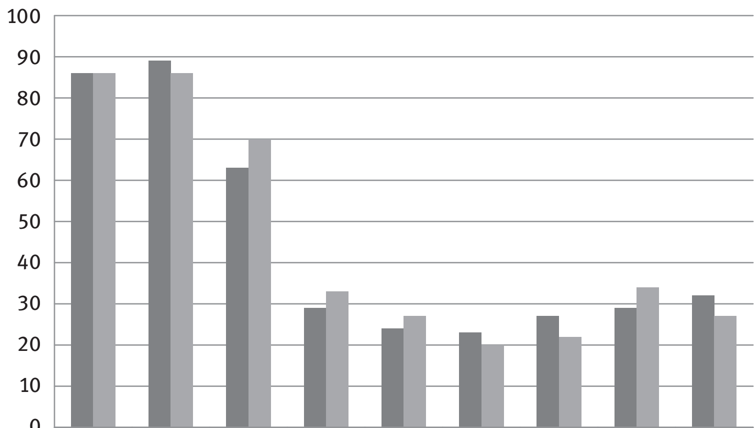
To Blommaert and Backus, 'knowing a language' indexes the paths and trajectories of a speaker's biography, and this applies equally to both monolingual and multilingual speakers. Knowledge of language (or language varieties) is captured in this framework at different levels: from "recognizing" and "minimal" competence to "partial" and "maximal" competence.

Extending this view from individual speakers to the societal level, we are in a better position to understand how particular societies have incorporated different languages in their collective repertories. To do so, a full historical and sociological account would be required – as suggested by Haugen's 1972 "ecological questions" (Haugen 1972: 336–337), and doing this for each and every region presented here lies far beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice to say that it is important to understand that the position of English in the European language ecology varies, and this variation is contingent on the historical trajectories that each society and polity has taken, which has shaped a particular language ideological place for English within each of them, hence our strong emphasis in this book on the importance of the historical perspective.

3.1.3 Knowledge of English in Europe: three contexts

Europeans and their languages are two special 'Eurobarometers' (243 and 386 respectively) by the European Commission (2006 and 2012) in order to map the linguistic knowledge of European citizens. Both editions of the Eurobarometer show that English is the most commonly known foreign language in Europe, with 38 % of the populace claiming that they are able to speak it. The 2012 edition shows that there is a divide in terms of language skills between the northern and southern parts of Europe. In the first area, most countries are above (or well above) the EU average (25 %) of speakers who are proficient in at least two languages other than their mother tongue; in the latter, most countries are below (or well below) that average.

Homing in on the three different contexts in focus in here, we can see that the position of English in each of these areas, and the shape that multilingualism takes in them, is quite different. In the Nordic countries, knowledge of English is widespread, whereas in the countries of southern Europe, English is known to a significantly lesser extent. In Eastern Europe, the level of English is not much higher, but in many countries of the region other languages are also relatively well known, including German in the Czech Republic and Hungary, and Russian in Poland and the Baltic states. See Figure 3.1 for a graphic illustration.

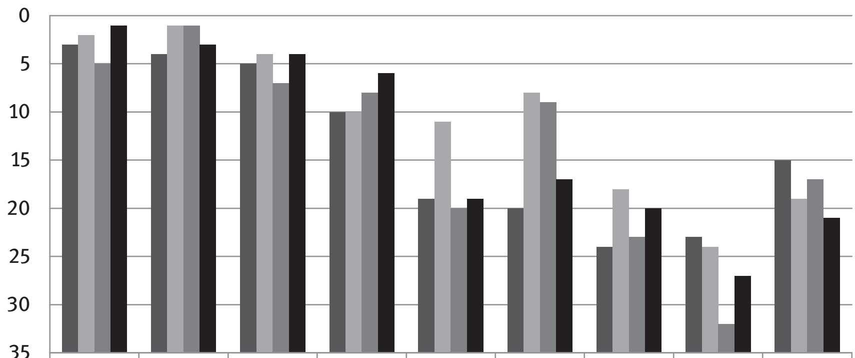


	Denmark	Sweden	Finland	Poland	Czech Republic	Hungary	Spain	Italy	Portugal
Eurobarometer 2006	86	89	63	29	24	23	27	29	32
Eurobarometer 2012	86	86	70	33	27	20	22	34	27

Figure 3.1: Knowledge of English in three European contexts. (Source: European Commission (2006 and 2012)).

As can be seen, the population in Denmark and Sweden is highly proficient in English (almost 90 % of them claim to speak it), whereas the Spanish and Hungarians do not fare so well, with percentages around 20 %. If we turn to the English Proficiency Index (EPI), the picture does not change considerably (see Figure 3.2). Based on two different online tests, the EPI calculates the average knowledge of English country by country. Methodologically, the index is slightly problematic as it biases the results in favour of those members of the population with access to the Internet and computer and IT skills (Education First 2014: 42). This means that the score of each individual country may not reflect the general knowledge of English amongst its population, and may be skewed towards the upper level. However, it is still useful as a means of offering a broad overview of the situation in each region as regards competence in English, but the methodological design of the surveys is probably the reason why there is some important degree of fluctuation in the results for several of the sampled countries in the different editions.

On the basis of the test results, Education First offers a ranking of the countries in the world according to their English proficiency level. In all four editions so far, the Nordic countries have always appeared in the top five of the ranking (with the only exception of Finland in 2013, which occupied position number 7). Thus, they are constantly ranked as “very high proficiency” countries. Eastern and central European countries fluctuate, but they tend to be ranked as “high proficiency” countries. By contrast, in Mediterranean Europe, countries are normally ranked at the “moderate proficiency” level.



	Denmark	Sweden	Finland	Poland	Czech Republic	Hungary	Spain	Italy	Portugal
2011	3	4	5	10	19	20	24	23	15
2012	2	1	4	10	11	8	18	24	19
2013	5	1	7	8	20	9	23	32	17
2014	1	3	4	6	19	17	20	27	21

Figure 3.2: Ranking of countries in Europe according to the *EPI*. (Sources: Education First (2011, 2012, 2013, and 2014)).

In the 2011 edition, there were a total of N=44 countries; in 2012, N=54; in 2013, N=60; and in 2014, N=67. Looking at the results, it appears that countries such as Denmark and Sweden are well above the average of knowledge of English in Europe. The division between the other areas, however, is slightly blurred, with

Poland closer to the results of the Nordic countries and the Czech Republic and Hungary closer to Mediterranean Europe (at least in the 2014 edition of the EPI).

3.1.4 Unity and diversity

It was noted at the start of this section that English occupies an undoubtedly central position in the European language ecology, but that, at the same time, it does not have the same role everywhere. This is almost a cliché, but it is important in our ongoing research not to lose sight of it and to be aware of the fact that the position of any language, and particularly world languages, is always relative to the reality of the local linguistic ecology. In other words, English is more of a "hypercentral" language in certain parts of Europe than in others (Haberland 2014). In order to account for such differences and understand why English is so widely known in certain parts of Europe (e.g. the Nordic countries) and not as well known in others (e.g. southern European countries), one needs to look at the historical and sociological developments in each of these areas (see especially chapters 2 and 6 of the present book). These are the elements that have shaped the particular position of English in their local language ecological environment. And just as individuals' language repertoires are shaped by their linguistic biography (Blommaert and Backus 2011), so too countries and societies.

Whether the spread of English in Europe and throughout the world is a force for good or not is something that has been and continues to be extensively debated, and is indeed a key driver for this book. Proponents of the two opposing views on this matter (and of all stages in between) abound. At any rate, as Crystal (2003) notes, in principle it is possible to imagine a world linguistically united by a common lingua franca where linguistic diversity can thrive, with specific functions for local languages. In areas where knowledge of English is widespread (e.g. Denmark), it does not seem that this is replacing the local language (for more on these debates see sections 4.4 and 4.5). However, there might be a certain erosion of speakers' multilingual skills; in other words, people might tend to rely more on knowledge of their L1 and English alone, and thus depend "exclusively on English-speaking sources to understand the rest of the world, due to the decreasing familiarity with other major languages" (Jørgensen 2013: 55). Important as this seems, it remains to be seen to what extent this will be the case and what the actual consequences will be, and ongoing research is needed to monitor developments.

Heiko Motschenbacher

3.2 Early approaches to conceptualizing English in Europe

While the use of English as a language of wider communication in Europe increased strongly after the Second World War and has continued to do so ever since, at the same time, the strong but complex relationship between English, cross-European communication and identity formation has given rise to various academic perspectives on and conceptualizations of English in Europe. In this section we outline three early such perspectives, leaving more recent theorizations (in terms of English as a Lingua Franca or postmodernist conceptualizations) to a more detailed description in subsequent sections. The perspectives discussed here view English in Europe in the light of: 1. linguistic imperialism; 2. the World Englishes paradigm; and 3. the Euro-English debate. These approaches are perhaps no longer in the vanguard of linguistic discussions of English in Europe, but still they are essential in the sense that they have significantly shaped later theoretical developments, which largely represent reactions to these earlier approaches (and their shortcomings).

3.2.1 English in Europe and Linguistic Imperialism

The use of English in Europe is embedded within the specificities of Europe as a multilingual macro-context. In contrast to the multilingualism found in other parts of the world, European multilingualism is heavily structured by national orientations to societal monolingualism that are only slowly giving way to alternative discourses. These orientations cause a hierarchization of languages that generally sees those languages on top which are official national languages, whereas languages that do not fulfil this function are located at the bottom. English and French rank highest in this hierarchy as (de facto) EU working languages, with English increasingly predominating. They are followed by the remaining 22 official EU languages, which are national languages of certain EU member states (Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish). National languages of non-EU countries rank lower, as they do not enjoy official EU status (e.g. Albanian, Bosnian, Icelandic, Montenegrin, Norwegian, Serbian). At the bottom of the hierarchy, one finds regional and minority languages, ranging from those that enjoy at least some official recognition by the EU or certain nations down to those that are unacknowledged (often exogenous minority languages) (Ammon 2006b: 221–222). Such hierarchical descriptions of European multilingualism are an outcome of European nations competing for the wider recognition and transnational use of their official languages.

The promotion of national languages has often been backed up by discussions of linguistic human rights (see Phillipson 1998; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997), i.e. the notion that communication in one's first language (L1) is considered a fundamental human right in need of protection. Traditionally, this reasoning has been used to argue in favour of minority language protection. More recently, it has also been applied to counter the ever-growing influence of English as a transnational European language, which works to the detriment of the use of other European national languages in transnational communication. However, claiming linguistic human rights in a self-centred fashion poses a serious obstacle to communication between speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds, not just because it de facto rules out intercultural communication but also because it constitutes a decidedly uncooperative strategy that carries little prestige and may be perceived as a prioritization of national over transnational values. The EU's promotion of multilingualism through foreign language education is unlikely to reduce this problem, because, in practice, people can learn only a small number of foreign languages, and linguistic human rights are also not preserved when foreign languages other than English have to be used.

Supporters of linguistic human rights take issue with the continuing spread of English in transnational communication, which they perceive as a threat to multilingualism, equating it with a process of cultural homogenization as an outcome of British and/or US American linguistic imperialism (for the homogeny position, see Phillipson 2003a/b; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2003). Polemical outcomes of this argument, such as labelling English in Europe a "killer language" or a "lingua frankensteinia" (Phillipson 2008a/b), have lately drawn considerable criticism. Many researchers find the idea that the spread of English today is connected to a spread of Anglo-American culture unconvincing, especially if it is claimed that native speakers of English are the main agents behind these developments (e.g. Dewey 2007; Friedrich 2007, 2009; Graddol 2006; Kirkpatrick 2006; Saraceni 2008). Debates on linguistic imperialism tend to ignore why people take up English and how they do it, namely, in local appropriation (Pennycook 2003: 516). Most people learn English either via their national education system or voluntarily as a foreign language, maybe in order to increase their professional opportunities and communicative reach. These motivations are remote from neo-imperialist forces or the spreading of an Anglo-American mindset (see also Pennycook 2011: 516; Yano 2009: 253). It can be concluded that the top-down goal of EU multilingualism contrasts markedly with the bottom-up drive towards English in Europe, and it is doubtful whether the former stands any realistic chances of successful implementation in the face of the latter.

The argument that non-native speakers are disadvantaged in contexts where they either have to interact or compete with native speakers of English is of greater moment than that of Anglo-Americanization through English (Gnutzmann 2008: 81–83; Seidlhofer 2012), even though it may be less the case than is popularly believed (see House 2008: 70). However, this problem is not specific to English but affects all languages that are learned as foreign languages. Furthermore, it can be counter-argued that the communicative reach that English provides for its users is a clear advantage that outweighs the disadvantages non-native speakers may have to face (Mukherjee 2008: 114).

House (2003) strongly argues against the notion of English as a threat to other European languages. Taking into account the function of a certain language in people's lives, she draws on the distinction between "languages of identification" and "languages of communication" (originally taken from Hüllen 1992), claiming that a speaker's L1 serves as a language of ethnic/national identification while English as a foreign language generally fulfils the pragmatic function of communicating with people from outside one's speech community. Due to their different functions, it is argued, the two language types are unlikely to compete and can therefore exist side by side without one encroaching on the domains of the other.

Although this functional distinction seems to have great explanatory power (national languages are indeed only marginally threatened by English as a Lingua Franca on the national level), this argumentation needs to be viewed critically (see also Fiedler 2011). It is too simplistic to state that the use of one's L1 is purely symbolic and not also a matter of communication. Conversely, it is implausible to suggest that the use of ELF solely serves communicative purposes and is devoid of identification processes. A clear-cut distinction of these two categories of languages is therefore highly problematic, especially with relation to English (cf. Jenkins 2006; Pennycook 2007b: 104).

The question of whether the spread of English poses a threat to other European languages cannot be answered in general, and again we see that the role of English in Europe is not in any way uniform. On European soil, English is clearly a threat to minority languages in Anglophone nation states (for example, Welsh, Scots and Scottish Gaelic in the UK, Irish in Ireland). Minority languages in non-Anglophone nation states (German in Italy, Sorbian in Germany etc.) are first and foremost threatened by the respective national language(s) in their immediate surroundings, not by English. European national languages are also unlikely to be threatened by English on the national level, where they are typically firmly established and institutionalized. On the transnational European level, the spread of English indeed works to the detriment of other European languages. But only a handful of languages can be threatened by English in this respect (namely French, German and, to a lesser extent, Italian, Russian and Spanish), because most European national languages such as Finnish, Latvian, Polish or Slovenian are not commonly used as languages of wider communication. Accordingly, it is mainly the larger language communities that are heard to complain about the growing influence of English on the transnational level (Ammon 2006a/b). Smaller language communities are less likely to find fault with this situation, because a promotion of languages other than English would mean an extra burden of foreign language learning for them.

A concentration on English as the (potentially) sole European lingua franca could help avoid hegemonic multilingualism (i.e. the dominance of a small number of larger languages) and the language-based rivalries associated with it. It is clear that such a development cannot take place when a national variety like British English is used as a reference point for transnational communication, since it would clearly privilege the UK over other European nations. In other words, there is a need for greater recognition of non-national, non-native uses of English in Europe.

3.2.2 English in Europe and the World Englishes Paradigm

The linguistic human rights approach treats English in Europe as a macro-social issue, often without looking at its structural dimension or local interactional practices. While interactional practices at the social micro-level are regularly foregrounded in ELF research (see Section 3.8), the structural level plays a more prominent role in the 'Euro-English' approach, which relates the discussion of English in Europe to the potential identification of a linguistic variety. Before discussing this latter approach in detail, it is necessary to outline the basic tenets of the World Englishes paradigm, as the notion of Euro-English is firmly based on assumptions that are associated with this model (see also sections 3.3 and 3.4 for more discussion).

Kachru's (1985) classic model of the three concentric circles of World Englishes categorises Englishes in relation to acquisition patterns, domains, standardization and, most significantly, by nation. According to the model, inner circle Englishes (English as a native language (ENL)) are spoken as L1 in countries where English is the default medium for private and public communication. These Englishes (British English (BrE), American English, Australian English, etc.) are codified and standardized and generally provide norms for foreign language learners of English. Outer circle Englishes are used as second official languages (English as a second language (ESL)) in countries that have a historical connection to the former British Empire (e.g. India, Nigeria, Singapore). They usually form a component in speakers' multilingual repertoires and are, as a consequence, influenced by the speakers' L1s. Outer circle Englishes are typically in a process of developing their own linguistic norms, thereby emancipating themselves from BrE as the normative reference point. Finally, expanding circle Englishes are used in all countries that lack a British colonial past. Here English is acquired as a foreign language (EFL), i.e. typically through active language learning in formal education and primarily for purposes of international communication (for example, in politics, science or tertiary education). Expanding circle Englishes have so far not developed norms and therefore depend on inner circle varieties as exonormative standards. In terms of speaker numbers, the expanding circle is clearly in the majority. This raises consequential questions concerning the legitimate 'ownership' of English, which was traditionally seen to be in the hands of the native speakers (Widdowson 1994).

As far as European uses of English are concerned, Ireland and the UK belong to the inner circle, whereas Malta is part of the outer circle. Malta is unique in Europe as the only country that shows large-scale bilingualism with English (as opposed to Ireland, where English is also co-official but bilingualism is rarer due to the low frequency of Irish speakers). All other European countries, where English is spoken as a foreign language, belong to the expanding circle.

Kachru's circles model has been highly influential and its terminology has proven to be a practical tool for discussing the use of English in many parts of the world. However, this very practicality is also an aspect that can be criticised in the face of complex local sociolinguistic realities (see, for example, Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2003; Park and Wee 2009; Pennycook 2003a; Saraceni 2010; Yano 2009; and, for an overview, Motschenbacher 2013: 12–14). For English in Europe, a fundamental shortcoming of the circles model is that it does not cover transnational uses of English as found in ELF communication, which potentially involves European speakers from all three circles. It was Kachru's aim to treat outer circle varieties of English around the world in a more egalitarian light, not viewing them in terms of deficit, i.e. as learner varieties, foreigner talk or interlanguage. This may have been a noble cause in itself, but it is a partial business, as expanding circle Englishes and transnational uses of English, i.e. uses of English that predominate in Europe as a whole, are not granted similar recognition.

The pluralization of the notion of English, expressed in the by now common form *Englishes* (turning the non-count noun *English* into a count noun), today dominates research on English varieties around the world (Saraceni 2010: 41). The concomitant focus on the establishment of new national Englishes has also been called the "heterogeny position" (Pennycook 2007a: 104). One of the major problems associated with this reasoning is that it is firmly based on the concept of the nation, as Englishes are named after the nations in which they are spoken (for example, as Australian English, Indian English, Nigerian English). It is not structural linguistic similarity or difference but rather political boundaries that decide what to call a national variety of English. Transnational similarity and intranational variation are downplayed in such national variety labels, even though they may be extensive (see, for example, Pennycook 2004: 28). The processes of national categorization have made Englishes around the world potential ingredients for the discursive construction of the nation. But a model that is based on the concept of the nation is bound to lose some of its explanatory power in times in which sub- and transnational identities become more important, as is the case in Europe today.

3.2.3 Euro-English

Euro-English, in the sense of a European variety of English, has so far mainly been used as a hypothesized concept. On the negative side, sceptics have equated it with interference-prone learner English or likened it to a Pidgin English (e.g. Görlach 2002: 150–152). Other researchers have been more positive about Euro-English, suggesting that, even if the empirical basis is so far at best inconclusive, such a variety is likely to evolve in the future (e.g. Modiano 2006; Yano 2009: 249). Central to the Euro-English debate is the question of whether the non-native English uses across Europe constitute a variety in their own right that may one day acquire the same status as other World Englishes. The original research aim was to study Euro-English empirically in order to detect its typical features, which may later be used as a point of reference for codification and/or language teaching (Seidlhofer 2002: 297). However, the initial goal of creating an endonormative model for European English, i.e. raising the English used by non-native European speakers from its norm-dependent to a norm-developing or, in the end, norm-providing status, no longer figures prominently among current researchers of English in Europe. As the Euro-English approach has recently lost academic support (e.g. Seidlhofer 2009b), its discussion at this point has to be seen as a largely historical account of how certain scholars previously conceptualized English in Europe (but see van den Doel and Quené 2013 for a recent investigation along these lines).

Modiano (2006, 2007, 2009) is one of the most ardent promoters of the establishment of a Euro-English variety which, in its structural divergence from ENL, may serve as a means of constructing a European identity (see also Graddol 2001; Piette 2004). For mainland Europe, Modiano (2009) envisages a future scenario similar to developments in the outer circle, claiming that traditional English language teaching and its normative orientation towards native standards have prevented Euro-English from becoming a variety in its own right (Modiano 2009: 209):

> [T]he establishment of a mainland European variety of English can be developed along the same lines as second-language varieties have been codified and standardized in Africa and Asia. If one attempts to superimpose postcolonial theory onto a mainland European scenario, much fruitful insight can be gained. Thus, I propose wholeheartedly that it is high time that the postcolonial imagination which championed the rise of second-language varieties across Africa and Asia be imported to Europe.
> (Modiano 2009: 214)

Modiano seems to favour a top-down procedure, i.e. he envisages that an official declaration of Euro-English as a legitimate variety would lead to its further systematization and divergence from native varieties (see also Ferguson 2009: 123). A necessary prerequisite for establishing Euro-English is in his eyes the "de-Anglicization" of English (Modiano 2009: 213; see also Ammon 2000). Moreover, he highlights the fact that the EU has officially adopted the contrary view, namely that English should only flourish as a language of national culture, whereas a loss of its (British/Irish) culture-specificity in cross-cultural European communication is implied to be an undesirable trend.

There is some justification in Modiano's position if one considers that English is firmly implemented as a school subject across European nations, proficiency levels of Europeans are comparatively high and English increasingly plays a role in Europeans' everyday communication. However, assigning outer circle status to Europe is undesirable in the light of the criticism brought up against the World Englishes paradigm, the greatest problem being its strong focus on the nation as a classificatory tool, which is incompatible with transnational uses of English.

Some researchers have tried to find structural evidence for Euro-English as a variety. Potential features are discussed in Jenkins, Modiano and Seidlhofer (2001), among them, for instance, the dropping of third person singular verb inflections (*she go*), omission of articles, interchangeable use of *who* and *which* as relative pronouns, replacement of gerunds with infinitives (*look forward to see*), or *isn't it?* as a universal tag (see also Seidlhofer 2003: 208).

Mollin's (2006, 2007) work sets out to test empirically whether Euro-English qualifies as a candidate for a new outer circle variety. This is done on three levels that Mollin deems necessary for the formation of an endonormative Euro-English standard: 1. domain expansion; 2. nativization (i.e. the formal linguistic adaptation to the local context of use); and 3. institutionalization (i.e. acceptance as a norm). Mollin diagnoses that on all three levels, Euro-English does not yield evidence for variety status. To test this for the structural linguistic side, she analysed a corpus consisting of European Commission press conferences and contributions to online discussion groups (400,000 words). Stereotypical Euro-English features such as the use of non-count nouns as count nouns (*two informations*) show relatively low frequencies and are mostly restricted to particular speakers. This induces Mollin to consider such features as idiosyncratic learners' errors rather than legitimate features of a Euro-English variety. Similar studies by Dröschel (2011), Durham (2007) and Rosenberger (2009) on the use of English as an intranational lingua franca in Switzerland also failed to find conclusive evidence for the formation of a Swiss variety of English, which makes the formation of a pan-European English variety even less plausible.

Mollin's work has drawn considerable criticism (see, for example, Modiano 2007; Seidlhofer 2009b), even though the finding that there is no such thing as a Euro-English variety can be considered well received in the research literature on English in Europe. The criticism therefore does not so much focus on Mollin's findings but more on how she has approached the subject theoretically (World Englishes paradigm) and methodologically (corpus choice and size).

Recapitulating the approaches outlined in this section, one can conclude that none of them has succeeded in improving the situation for non-native speakers of English in Europe. By contrast, their building on essentialist, nation-oriented concepts further entrenches the dominant discourses that see native speakers as the only legitimate owners of English.

We now go on to look in more detail at what characterises so-called 'native' and 'non-native' varieties of English at the formal or structural level before returning to the wider questions of transnational English at the heart of this book.

Gabriel Ozón

3.3 Native speaker English

The native speaker is a crucial concept in linguistics, figuring prominently in the delimitation of objects of study and approaches of different branches of linguistics, as well as functioning as a reference point for the description and analysis of languages. In the last 30 years, however, the concept has been on the receiving end of much criticism. This criticism is in part a reaction to the realization (particularly within the field of World Englishes) that the 'tidiness' suggested by the distinction between native- and non-native speakers is untenable, as has been demonstrated time and again in multilingual contexts, particularly postcolonial ones. This has resulted in making "native speaker bashing" (Hackert 2012: 12) almost fashionable today.

This section discusses the centrality of the concept and looks at some of the challenges that have emerged in attempting a definition. We then move on to survey the rise and fall of the native speaker and the future of the concept with respect to its role in recent research trends.

3.3.1 A useful and elusive concept

Before the 1980s, Hackert (2012) tells us, there was an unproblematic understanding of what a native speaker was: someone who had acquired a language early, a fact that automatically granted them authority in grammatical judgements about the language in question. From this perspective, a native speaker of a particular variety is a representative exemplar of that variety: the 'shorthand' version of a community of speakers who speak that variety. Native speakers are normally assumed to be monolingual (one is a native speaker of a single language).

Some problems are immediately observable in this preliminary definition:

i. If structurally identifying languages/dialects is difficult, then a definition of the native speaker by similar structural criteria would be impossible. And circular, as pointed out by Escudero and Sharwood-Smith (2001: 277).
ii. Cases of language attrition are also challenging: can people lose their native-speaker status if they move away from their speech community and stop using the language they acquired first? Or is it the case that once a native speaker, always a native speaker? Conversely, can one attain native-speaker status, or does one need to be born a native speaker?
iii. Competence in a language is often linked to literacy, writing skills, and education in the standard variety. However, these qualities do not seem to be central to native speaker status: traditional dialectology looked for 'best examples' of native speakers of dialects in non-mobile older rural males (NORMs).

In view of these problems, a less ambitious definition has been proposed, whereby 'native speaker' simply means 'proficient user of a particular language'. This still captures the "area of judgmental agreement of conventions" (Hanks, cited in Paikeday 1985: 4), while removing the 'native' element. The native speaker then becomes a reference point, a linguistic ideal, a yardstick to measure both linguistic behaviour and degree of deviations.

Not all linguists are interested in variation, and yet the concept of the native speaker has also provided them with a useful tool for the study/definition of linguistic competence, understood as idealized, homogeneous, invariable linguistic behaviour. An often-quoted passage illustrates this: "[l]inguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly [...]" (Chomsky 1965: 2–3). The job of the linguist is to account for the linguistic knowledge this ideal speaker-listener holds in their mind.

On a related note, it is worth noticing that many other fields in linguistics (besides syntax) also rely on some notion of the native speaker. As discussed, in syntax, only native speakers are fully competent users of a language. In sociolinguistics, the interaction between a 'native speaker' and their 'speech community' is essential to an understanding of variation. In ELT/EFL, the native speaker is often the explicit target. In creolistics, a rough and ready distinction between pidgin and creole languages is that the former have no native speakers. In language acquisition, there are claims that (early) acquisition of a first language is fundamentally different from the acquisition of additional languages (for a summary, see Eppler and Ozon, forthcoming).

The native speaker is then a very commodious and accommodating concept, but it is not without problems, as we now go on to discuss.

3.3.2 The problem with the native speaker

3.3.2.1 Grammaticality

The idea of a native speaker has often been associated with mystical connotations of "intuitions absorbed with mother's milk" (Guralnik, quoted in Paikeday 1985: 18). A native speaker has been conceptualized as an informant gifted with special and often infallible grammatical insights, the arbiter of acceptability/grammaticality. Only linguistic hypotheses supported by native speaker intuitions are worth considering. The native speaker is systematic, consistent, and incurs no lapses: as Cassidy wrote in his *Song of the native speaker,* "Hail to the Native Speaker,/ He can never go wrong!" (see Paikeday 1985: 93–94).

Still, the problem with this conceptualization of the native speaker is that it is no more than that: an idealization, a (useful) concept devoid of objective reality. As Paikeday memorably put it, "*native speaker* is as arbitrary and elusive a concept as Abominable Snowman, except, of course, there is nothing illogical or improbable about the Snowman becoming a reality someday" (1985: 3).

3.3.2.2 Acquisition

The mode of acquisition of a language has been central in defining a native speaker: a native speaker is 'born' into a language. Despite terminological imprecision ("mother tongue", "native language", "first language"), mode of acquisition (the claim goes) would normally correlate with level of proficiency/attainment.

There is widespread agreement that first language acquisition (L1A, i.e. that of the native speaker) differs from second language acquisition (L2A) with respect to certain typical characteristics, as Eppler and Ozon (forthcoming) report:

– L1A is faster than L2A.
– As opposed to L1 learners, L2 learners can rely on more metalinguistic (L1) knowledge and more developed cognitive skills.
– L1A does not require formal instruction.
– In L2A (but not in L1A), fossilization of specific non-target like linguistic features is common.
– Whereas all L1 learners attain full competence, this is not the case for most L2 learners.
– At the same time, most L2 learners will make mistakes attributable to L1 influence (*cross-linguistic influence*).

These and other observations have made a group of researchers claim that L1A and L2A are fundamentally different (the so-called Fundamental Difference Hypothesis, Bley-Vroman 1990). There is then something special about native speakers and attainment. However, studies within the context of World Englishes have challenged these observations. To begin with, there are many speakers who have acquired English as a first language, but whose English still differs significantly from traditional standard (British, American) English, such as seen in (e.g.) Singapore, India and Hong Kong. Additionally, there are many speakers in postcolonial contexts who have acquired another language as L1, but now use English dominantly, or even exclusively: are we to classify them as non-native speakers?[1] This is discussed in more detail below.

3.3.2.3 World Englishes

The whole field of World Englishes was conceived based on the distinction between native- and non-native speakers of English, as seen in e.g. Quirk et al's (1972) ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles of World English. Native speakers are seen as the 'owners' of the language which, besides linguistic competence (and its attendant authority), also involves possession and control. Even while nativization and the emergence of endocentric standards have been saluted

1 Consider also the case of language attrition (discussed above).

in the New Englishes, when these varieties "are described as *the other tongue* or *nativized varieties*, the English of the ethnic Anglos is still there in the background as the central reference point" (Rampton 2003: 107).

To take Kachru's model, the reference point is to be found in the Inner Circle, or native speaker varieties, which constitute "the traditional bases of English dominated by the 'mother tongue' varieties of the language". These varieties are spoken in the UK as well as in America, Australia, New Zealand, and other British colonies where the pre-colonial population was displaced, resulting in most people having English as L1.

However, as Graddol (2006: 110) points out, by the turn of the century, Kachru's model was already failing to capture the increasing importance of the outer circle (i.e. second-language speakers in countries like India), and the degree to which 'foreign language' learners (i.e. the 'expanding circle') in some countries – especially Europe – were becoming more like second language users (see also section 3.4).

The status of the native speaker was further challenged by the emergence of the English as a Lingua Franca paradigm (see section 3.5 for more). By necessity, a lingua franca has no native speakers.[2] It is hard to disagree with Brutt-Griffler and Samimy when they claim that "the more English becomes an international language, the more the division of its speakers into 'native' and 'nonnative' becomes inconsistent" (2001: 105).

3.3.3 Life and death of the English native speaker

Hackert (2012) traces the emergence (and first mention) of 'native speaker' to the second half of the 19th century. At the time, the notion was "an important way of conceptualizing and labelling a particular linguistic identity and drawing boundaries between some speakers and others".

As for the death of the native speaker, Paikeday's (1985) book *The native speaker is dead!* has been instrumental in spreading those rumours. However, much as Mark Twain famously wrote of himself,[3] Svartvik and Leech (2006: 235) suggest reports of the death of the native speaker are grossly exaggerated. It is not so much that the native speaker is dead, but rather that, in a fast changing world,

2 In an increasingly globalized world, it is not just the definition of 'native speaker' that is under strain. The (traditional) definition of 'L2 users', i.e. those using a language for communication within their own country, is also less and less realistic.

3 "The *report* of my death was an exaggeration."

the concept itself has stopped representing a theoretically useful reality. These considerations are discussed next.

3.3.3.1 Death of the native speaker? The 'democratic' argument

The argument has been put forcefully that (i) linguistic intuitions are not the monopoly of native speakers, and that (ii) 'nativity' should be seen as no more than another name for competence or proficiency. Arbiters of grammaticality are thus first and foremost proficient users of languages. A lot of them are also native speakers. Put differently, being a native speaker is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition guaranteeing accurate grammaticality judgements. Gimson (quoted in Paikeday 1985: 73) argues for the need to recognise "natural" native speakers as well as "honorary" native speakers.

In the same spirit, Inner Circle Englishes can also be conceived of without the need for positing native speakers as the main users of these varieties. Rather, we can conceptualize the group of Inner Circle speakers as a group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' (regardless of how they acquired or use the language). Proficiency can increase over time, and by equating native speaker status with linguistic competence, there would be no contradiction in calling someone a self-made native speaker.

3.3.3.2 Death of the native speaker? The demographic argument

Native speakers of English no longer 'own' the language, and thus seem to be losing influence. ELF studies have emerged as a response to the fact that fewer and fewer interactions now involve a native speaker (Graddol 2006: 87). However, besides increasing ELF use, other reasons for this include:

i. the population of non-native speakers now comfortably exceeds the number of native speakers;
ii. the gap between the world population of non-native speakers and that of native speakers is widening year by year (Svartvik and Leech 2006: 236). At this pace, native speakers of English could soon form an even smaller proportion of the speakers of English world-wide.

Government and educational policies have both affected, and reacted to, the changing linguistic landscape. Graddol (1999: 92) reports that the language policies pursued by the Council of Europe aim to foster large-scale 'plurilingualism', and encourage European citizens to learn two languages in addition to their mother tongue. Enter English, which has become the 'first foreign' language in education systems across Europe, often replacing another language in that position. This has resulted in a major increase in the number of non-native speakers of English in Europe.

3.3.4 The future of the English native speaker: recent research trends

It seems safe to assume that some current trends will continue, and the native speaker may not automatically be regarded as the authority to which non-native speakers defer in matters of linguistic intuition, appropriateness and correctness.

The tradition of 'native-speaker bashing' also appears to be in good health. For example, a recent collection by Holliday et al (2015) has come up with the label 'native-speakerism', which reifies a set of attitudes (or "ideology") which assumes that native speakers have a special claim to the language itself.

However, the concept of 'native speaker' English is still too useful to be jettisoned, offering a ready-made reference point or benchmark. Worth mentioning is research by Gries and Deshors (2014), who put forward a new, evidence-based methodology which does not rely on grammaticality judgements but rather on actual performance data. By means of a statistical regression procedure, these authors manage to investigate systematic deviations between native- and non-native speakers in language production, with an unprecedented degree of granularity and high predictive accuracy. Their research essentially tries to provide answers to the question 'what would a native speaker do?'.

It may well be true, then, that reports of the death of the native speaker are an exaggeration.

Gabriel Ozón

3.4 European Englishes

3.4.1 European varieties of English: the 'other' native speakers

The notion of 'English in Europe' typically conjures up EFL or ELF settings. Very rarely is it used to refer to English as a Second Language (ESL) varieties, which can result in the idea of 'English in Europe' excluding the native(-like) varieties of (e.g.) Malta, Gibraltar, Cyprus and Germany.

The early 2000s have seen a new research impetus for challenging and rethinking established categories in this field, particularly with respect to (i) classification of a variety as ESL or EFL, and (ii) the applicability of (World) Englishes models to the European context (e.g. Schneider 2003, 2007). Can these models (largely designed for post-colonial varieties) be applied to (and their predictions verified for) European varieties of English? This is discussed in the second part of this section, which also provides an opportunity for discussing exciting new research synergies between World Englishes, (first/second) language acquisition, and contact-induced language change.

The third part of this section provides a brief description of the above-mentioned varieties, illustrating some of their distinctive features, discussing the role English plays in their particular historical and socio-political context, and revisiting the traditional EFL-ESL dichotomy in the context of recent research outlined in the second part. The fourth part of this section offers a summary and prospectus.

3.4.2 European varieties of English: closing a paradigm gap

According to a criterial yardstick (developed in Buschfeld 2014, and based on Mollin 2006, 2007), ESL varieties differ from EFL varieties in that the former exhibit the following characteristics:

1. Expansion in function
   - Widespread societal bilingualism
   - Intranational use of English in several domains (e.g. education, administration, media, interethnic communication)
2. Nativization of linguistic features
   - Considerable number of distinctive characteristics on all levels of language use (phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, pragmatic)
   - Societal spread of these characteristics
   - Systematicity of these characteristics
   - Orientation towards a local norm may start to develop
3. Ways of language acquisition
   - More natural than in typical EFL countries
4. Institutionalization
   - Acceptance of characteristics as local norm
   - Codification.

Buschfeld (2014) goes on to suggest that EFL varieties can be identified as evolutionary in Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model *despite the lack of a colonizing* *power*. Schneider's model may therefore be applied to EFL varieties if we consider that the necessary settler strand (usually coextensive with a colonial past) can be functionally replaced by extra-territorial (e.g. Internet) and intra-territorial (e.g. language policy) forces, which trigger mechanisms comparable to those in post-colonial varieties.

Recent case studies appear to confirm this assumption in two ways. First, in countries without a postcolonial background (Namibia, Thailand, the Netherlands, or the Nordic countries), the use of English goes far beyond its traditional EFL role and English is much more significant than in other EFL countries (cf. Buschfeld and Kautsch 2014; Edwards 2011; Kirkpatrick 2008; McArthur 2003; Qiong 2004), or even countries with a colonial background like Pakistan or Bangladesh (Görlach 2002; Mollin 2006). Secondly, a colonial background does not necessarily lead to the development of prototypical second-language varieties.

Buschfeld (2014) suggests that within (World) Englishes research more importance should be ascribed to the general forces of globalization operating world-wide (Blommaert 2010; Bruthiaux 2003). These same ubiquitous, globalizing forces are seen in many other scenarios.

3.4.3 European varieties of English: case studies

3.4.3.1 Maltese English

The varieties of English that are spoken in Malta (MaltE) occupy a continuum between an acrolectal (or edulectal) variety (exonormatively close to RP and British English (BrE)) and a basilectal variety (characterized by typical learner features and contact features with Maltese, see Bonnici 2010). As Krug (2015) describes, acrolectal MaltE typically correlates with higher socioeconomic strata. However, in recent times, more and more young people from all social strata are attending university, such that the correlation between acrolectal variety and socioeconomic class is more observable in older than in younger speakers.

MaltE is a 'young' variety of English. Malta became a British colony in 1814, but despite British colonial rule, MaltE was not transmitted by a settler community, "nor did it develop early in the colonial era in a newly formed community" (Krug 2015: 42). Italian was the official language in Malta until 1934, when it was replaced by two co-official languages: English and Maltese. MaltE thus coexists with Italian and Maltese.

Bilingualism is the norm rather than the exception in Malta. For the vast majority of the population, MaltE is a second language. Krug (2015) reports that

MaltE is increasingly conceived as a distinct variety by its own speakers, having become an identity-carrier for the speech community.

While 90 % of the population claim competence in English (with varying degrees of proficiency), Sciriha and Vassallo (2006) report that only 9 % of the population use English as a main language at home, and about 1 % of the population claim that English is their only L1. A significant majority of the current educated elite learned English as a second language, with Maltese more prominent in primary schools, while English is increasingly more prominent in secondary schools and at tertiary level (Krug and Rosen 2012: 121).

According to Krug (2015: 45), MaltE is typically classified linguistically as undergoing nativization (Phase III in Schneider's 2007 model). This raises the question of whether MaltE should be considered a first- or second-language variety of English. Despite the undisputed presence of L1-speakers, MaltE consistently patterns with second-language varieties (see Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2012). Krug suggest labelling MaltE an 'indigenized L2'.

Some of the phonological features of MaltE include (i) clear /l/ in all positions, (ii) syllable-coda devoicing, (iii) a lower degree of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables than in other varieties, and (iv) stress and intonation patterns that diverge from both RP and General American. These features are mostly transferred from Maltese, although some of them are shared by Maltese, Italian and Sicilian. A prominent morphosyntactic feature is seen in (v) WANT constructions with a subjective pronoun in the dependent clause (mainly in questions and offers, e.g. *Do you want I stand over there?*). The MaltE lexicon is closer to BrE, with younger speakers going for AmE variants (e.g. *truck/lorry, sick/ill, forwards/forward*).

3.4.3.2 Gibraltar English

Gibraltarians have traditionally felt strongly British, and have always rejected any suggestion that they are Spanish, as indicated by the referenda of 1967 and 2002, in which 99.6 and 98.5 % of inhabitants (respectively) described themselves as British (Levey 2015: 51). Gibraltarians see no paradox in identifying as British yet frequently choosing to speak in Spanish.

English is the only official language in Gibraltar, yet Spanish and the local (Spanish-based) variant Yanito still remain the most common forms of expression in the home domain and in informal contexts. Gibraltarians are renowned for their codeswitching, but since English is seen as the prestige language, its use is increasing, particularly among younger speakers (Levey 2008).

As in the case of Malta, age also plays a part in explaining language variation in Gibraltar. Older speakers (more likely not to have pursued further education) prefer to speak in Spanish or Yanito, whereas the younger generations have been educated in English and are therefore more comfortable using English in everyday life, and less comfortable speaking formal Spanish in non-colloquial environments (Levey 2015).

Gibraltar was ceded to the British crown under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). During the Second World War, the whole civil population of Gibraltar was evacuated for the duration of the war. The majority went to the UK, where they were obliged to speak English. In 1969, Franco's Spanish government blockaded Gibraltar for 13 years, creating and or intensifying hostility and resentment towards Spain. As contact with Spain and its language decreased, so language contact with the UK increased. After the blockade was lifted in 1982, a new speech community emerged with a stronger national identity and with higher English language confidence and competence. Levey (2015: 66–7) reports that English has been making strides on the island, and these days it is difficult to find young Gibraltarians who are not reasonably fluent.

Phonologically, Gibraltar English is characterized by (i) mergers in vowels, particularly in the older generation (KIT/FLEECE, FOOT/GOOSE), (ii) no schwas or weak forms, (iii) epenthetic vowel before words beginning with /s/ + consonant (e.g. *strong* = [eˈstron], (iv) clear /l/ in all positions, although this is changing in the younger generation (Levey 2015: 58–60).

3.4.3.3 English in Cyprus

Cyprus, another Mediterranean island, provides an additional case study for exploring the concept of 'English in Europe'. Buschfeld's (2013, 2014) work on Cypriot English is useful for revising taxonomies and proposing synergies between the paradigms of (World) Englishes and (Second) Language Acquisition. Buschfeld's claim is that strict separation between second-language varieties of English and learner Englishes is inadequate, which she illustrates by demonstrating that English in Cyprus defies classification as either a learner language or a second-language variety (as measured on the basis of a criteria catalogue for variety status developed in Buschfeld 2013 on the basis of Mollin 2006, 2007).

Cyprus was a British colony between 1878 and 1960, and therefore susceptible to significant influence by the English language. Despite this, there have been some socio-political peculiarities: Buschfeld (2014) reports that (i) English has never been the *de jure* official language of the island, and (ii) the socio-political setting has always been characterized by resistance against foreign rule and the preservation of a unique and powerful Greek-Cypriot identity (Stamatakis 1991; Terkourafi 2007). The latter point means that there has been no gradual assimilation of identity and linguistic behaviour. With the Turkish invasion of 1974 (and the subsequent division of the island), most of the Turkish-Cypriots moved to the occupied northern part of Cyprus, and English lost its role as a bridge between the Greek and Turkish communities. In addition to that, strong public resentment emerged against the still widespread entrenchment of the English language, which led to a gradual decline in the role, functions, and use of English. This accounts for the role of speaker age in explaining English language use in Cyprus: the older (60+) generation uses local features to a much stronger extent than younger Cypriots, the younger generations receiving significantly less exposure to English after 1974.

Buschfeld (2014: 189) argues that English in Cyprus is moving away from second-language variety status, and becoming a learner variety. This view is based on a number of observations, including (i) while bilingualism is still common in Cyprus, the role and functions of English have been receding; (ii) while corpus studies have revealed the existence of 40 ‘local characteristics’ of English in Cyprus, these are mainly used by the older generation of Greek Cypriots; (iii) while up to 1974, young Cypriots could be exposed to preschool contact with the English language, today’s generation learns English mainly through formal schooling; (iv) there is no orientation towards local linguistic norms, and no evidence of the emergence of local creative writing in the local variety of English (as required by Schneider’s model).

Some of the ‘local characteristics’ of English in Cyprus (Buschfeld 2013) are:
- BrE influence in pronunciation
- /r/ realised as a trill in non-pre-vocalic environments
- KIT-FLEECE vowel merger
- no schwa in unstressed syllables
- word-final consonant cluster reduction
- omission of subject pronouns
- use of definite article with place nouns

3.4.3.4 English in Germany

According to a recent report by the European Commission (2006), 56 % of German respondents describe themselves as able to have a conversation in English, which places German speakers of English in the top bracket of proficiency in Europe. Furthermore, recent research (Berns 1988; Hilgendorf 2005) has also suggested that the status of English in Germany might be changing from EFL to ESL status.

Kautzsch (2014) attempts to verify this claim, applying the same methodology as Buschfeld (2014), i.e. assessing the status of English in Germany with regard to bilingualism, exonormative orientation, and nativization.

This research reveals a situation that is the mirror image of the status of English in Cyprus. Whereas Buschfeld (2014) described the move from an ESL variety to an EFL variety in Cyprus, Kautzsch (2014) found that despite its non-postcolonial past, English in Germany is moving beyond its status of learner English (EFL) into gaining ESL status, a situation that is explained by intra-territorial forces such as policy makers, educators, local companies or the media, as well as extra-territorial forces such as the Internet and international pop culture (Kautzsch 2014: 207).

The resulting situation is one where (i) German-English bilingualism in education is spreading, (ii) the intranational use of English is growing (witness the increasing number of courses with English as medium of education (see section 3.7 for more on this phenomenon), but (iii) the orientation remains largely exonormative, even if directed towards two norms (BrE and AmE).

3.4.4 Prospectus

Research into different contact scenarios within Europe has shown that the 'paradigm gap' between (World) Englishes and (Second) Language Acquisition has to be resolved. The acknowledgement that language acquisition constitutes important theoretical background to the emergence of New Englishes has had its own proponents. For example, Thomason (2001) lists SLA strategies as one of the main "mechanisms" of contact-induced change and interference, whereas Winford (2002) discusses "indigenized" varieties, resulting from "untutored SLA," and views them as similar to interlanguages in classroom settings.

The psycholinguistic processes underlying the development of learner language and second-language varieties seem to be fundamentally similar. This assumption has recently experienced renewed research interest (e.g. Buschfeld 2013; Eppler and Ozon forthcoming; Groves 2010; Mukherjee & Hundt 2011; Nesselhauf 2009). (New) Englishes typically have emerged as second languages, and systematic language-contact effects emerge in bilingual speakers. SLA thus plays a special role in understanding the relationship between Englishes and language contact.

Alessia Cogo

3.5 English as a Lingua Franca in Europe

Today English is widely regarded as the most widespread lingua franca in the world and this is also true in Europe: English has become an intrinsic part of the European linguistic landscape and it constitutes an important resource for many Europeans. According to the European Barometer (European Commission 2012d) English is “the most widely spoken foreign language” (6), the first language learnt at school after the home language or mother tongue, and it is used outside formal education in international, professional and personal contacts, both in physical spaces and online communication. In fact, despite EU efforts to promote all its languages as equal, English remains the most widely employed language across contexts and modes of communication. The position of English in relation to other languages is a contentious issue in Europe, a fact which lies at the heart of this book, but, as we will suggest in the course of this section, it is less so when English is used as a lingua franca rather than a foreign language.

In this section we explore the concept and function of English as a lingua franca, emphasizing its contact nature and multilingual aspects, before analyzing the sociolinguistic work done in this field and moving on to a discussion of the debates surrounding this phenomenon.

3.5.1 What is ELF?

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is a common medium of intercultural communication used among speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds. Seidlhofer (2011: 7) places the emphasis on “use” by defining ELF as “any use of English among speakers of different first languages” and across all three Kachruvian circles (Kachru 1985). In fact, ELF speakers are considered language users in their own right, rather than deficient users of English according to “native-speaker norms”. And all language users can be ELF speakers, including native speakers, as long as the latter adapt and shape their use to the ELF context and situation.

ELF therefore is not conceptualized as a foreign language, as speakers do not learn it for the aim of emulating a native speaker (be it British, American or any other inner circle speaker) but to use it as a lingua franca, in intercultural contact situations. Furthermore, the emphasis is not on the learning (though speakers may still be learners as well as users and temporarily shift from one role to the other), as in language teaching or second language learning approaches, whereby any deviation from the standard is an 'error'. Instead of an emphasis on deficiency measured against the native-speaker model, language *use* is the crucial aspect in ELF communication, that is how speakers make use of their linguistic resources to communicate in intercultural situations.

ELF is therefore a *dynamic* medium of communication, which changes and adapts to different contexts and different repertoires of users, and *situational*, in that it emerges from the different constellations of speakers and contexts. Because of its inherent variability, adaptability and heterogeneous nature, ELF cannot be considered a variety, at least not in the traditional, canonical sense of the term. In fact, because of its flexibility and fluidity, researchers have emphasized the need to go beyond a static description of formal linguistic features and focus instead on the processes that facilitate and motivate communication. Recently, more attention has been placed on more complex processes, such as "languaging" (Cogo 2012a; Jenkins 2015; Seidlhofer 2011a), and on the pragmatic strategies used to co-construct and shape understanding, creatively exploiting multilingual resources according to users' needs and circumstances.

3.5.2 Sociolinguistic studies of ELF in Europe

English is obviously not the only lingua franca in the world today nor specifically in Europe (see sections 2.3–2.5 for more historical and contemporary cases), but it is *a* lingua franca that has grown in prominence particularly in the 21st century. It is the first lingua franca that is truly transnational, but in order to serve that purpose it differentiates and adapts to different local contexts. Insights into how ELF works, how it is used and the attitudes and ideologies related to it, may also be relevant to research into other lingua francas.

The range and volume of sociolinguistic studies into ELF communication have become quite considerable and have made findings available on various levels of analysis – mainly pronunciation, lexico-grammar and pragmatics. The findings have contributed to demonstrate how speakers effectively use and co-construct ELF in their own ways and the kind of processes at play in ELF communicative settings. Despite the initial attention on features resulting from corpus analysis, researchers today agree that ELF is not a variety or a unified medium of communication, and, therefore, that features are interesting mainly for the processes that ensure successful communication (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011a, among others). These are not random realizations, but "familiar processes of language variation in language use" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 108) and typical processes of natural languages especially in contact situations. The following analysis of different levels of ELF discourse, therefore, only becomes relevant for the processes that they emphasize and emerge from the findings.

Pronunciation was the first area to be investigated, and the seminal contribution of Jenkins (2000) opened up important discussions concerning intelligibility in spoken discourse. Jenkins's research was an empirical description of core aspects of pronunciation, that is those elements that are considered essential to ensure intelligibility, such as all consonants (excluding the dental fricatives), consonant deletion in initial clusters, vowel length distinction and nuclear stress. In addition to this, the study also identified accommodation as one key process of successful communication in ELF contexts (also cf. Cogo 2009). Findings had particular repercussions in the language teaching area, with other researchers and practitioners following the lead and trying to explore relevant applications for the classroom (e.g. Schaller-Schwaner 2015; Walker 2010).

One of the most common processes, especially in contact language situations, is *regularization*, which in ELF communication has been observed in lexico-grammatical analysis. For instance, in the pluralization of nouns which are not considered countable in English as a Native Language (ENL), such as "informations" or "advices". Or the interchangeable use of the relative pronouns "who" and "which", independently of whether the referent is a thing, a person or an animal (cf. Seidlhofer 2010 and 2011a). The use of the 3rd person Ø in present tense singular verb forms (cf. Breiteneder 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2012) supports "a regularization of the non-natural system of Standard English" (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006: 16) which does not present an -s morpheme in the other persons. However, this example also demonstrates the process of *redundancy reduction*, in fact the use of the 3rd person -s morpheme appears redundant because the person and number are already expressed in the subject. Moreover, these processes often underlie or are motivated by aspects of social identity and group membership – the use of 3rd person Ø, rather than 3rd person –s, may indicate detachment from an ENL orientation and closeness to an "ELF-group membership", as we will discuss later (cf. discussion of attitudes in 3.5.4). As we have seen, different processes often overlap and reinforce each other, as for the regularization and redundancy reduction processes, but other times they also contradict each other, as with increasing explicitness.

One of the tenets of ELF communication is that it is more about content than form, with a focus on the message and getting the message across rather than conforming to external ENL rules. ELF users, therefore, tend to take steps to enhance clarity in their communication, and various lexico-grammatical recurrences provide evidence of a tendency to *increase explicitness* with the aim of enhancing clarity. This can be done by increasing the presence of certain items of lexico-grammar, for instance by adding something to the structure, such as prepositions, nouns or adverbs, or by using more prominent aspects of the verb, such as the progressive. The process of increasing explicitness often makes use of redundancy in the system. For instance, adding nouns seems to be quite common, e.g. "is all in blue color with a balcony" (Vettorel 2014: 149), which aims at reinforcing the idea of blue being a colour. It could also be done by adding prepositions: "she told me about the problem" (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 90), with 'tell about', 'discuss about' and others as rather common constructions, especially since they enhance the idea of talking or discussing the topic, a wider area, rather than a specific aspect.

Increasing explicitness can be done by relying on verbs, with the aim of making them more prominent. For instance, Ranta (2006) shows that '-ing' is more frequent than simple present tense and she attributes this to the need to make the verb more prominent in the utterance. Her data shows that extending the use of the progressive, especially for verbs that in ENL terms are not 'allowed' in the progressive, seems to make the verbs more salient. For instance, the utterance "communication is su- so all-embracive a concept like air that we are breathing" (Ranta 2006: 108) places particular emphasis on the verb 'to breathe', at least by making it longer and adding the auxiliary. In these situations the progressive seems to be extended to cover an extra function: "adding the ending -ing and the auxiliary BE to a verb (any verb for that matter) gives the verb more prominence and salience in the speaker's utterance" (Ranta 2006: 112).

The same function can be attributed to other occurrences of lexico-grammatical aspects, such as using the phrasal marking instead of the inflectional in the comparative and superlative to make them more prominent, e.g. "more smart" instead of "smarter". Another is the use of suffixation with -ness, which is very widespread, with -ness being a very productive nominal suffix, together with -able and -ment. For instance, "forbiddenness" (Pitzl, Breiteneder and Klimpfinger 2008) and "Do I have any special talents? yup! onionness" (Vettorel 2014: 174).

The different realizations we have explored, as examples of processes underlying and motivating ELF communication, have been shown to also constitute instantiations of linguistic creativity, and the unconventional forms that are created follow the constitutive rules of language. In this sense, rather than describing these as deficient and foreign because of their non-conformity to ENL, these realizations should be regarded as creative use and construction of ELF, which is appropriate and effective in the contexts where they are used (cf. Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2009).

The processes motivating ELF communication are not only testimony to users' creativity but also give support to current theorizations of ELF as a complex, creative and dynamic medium of communication. Unlike early misconceptions of the nature of a lingua franca, which associated its use to simplification of the language, corpus work has demonstrated the complex and fluid nature of ELF, rather than its simplification. On the level of pragmatics, this is evident also in the construction of idiomatic expressions, which, being socio-culturally specific expressions usually referring to a local context, may be supposed to be irrelevant or neutralized in ELF communication. On the contrary, Cogo (2010) shows how very local expressions can be used and made relevant in ELF talk, such as "fleur bleue" which is translated and rendered relevant in interaction with skilful and sophisticated negotiation of meaning and use of multilingual resources. Similarly, Pitzl emphasizes that idiomaticity does occur in ELF but is of a different nature from ENL. Pitzl (2009) shows that idioms in ELF can vary formally from their ENL equivalents, but they can be "re-metaphorized" and thus their meaning made clearer or more explicit. She gives the example of "we should not wake up any dogs" which is a re-metaphorization of the ENL idiom "let sleeping dogs lie". Cogo's example (2010) of a negotiation of the idiomatic expression "in the same boat" shows how creatively changing an idiom "serves to establish a sense of playfulness and in-group belonging" (304), but it is also possible depending on and in relation to speakers' orientations and ideologies.

What clearly stands out from the research on pragmatics is the key aspect of negotiation of meaning in ELF communication. Despite initial reflections on ELF pragmatics, which stressed the importance of the "let-it-pass" strategy (the strategy whereby an interlocutor, who may not have understood the current speaker's utterance, does not raise the issue and lets it pass (see Firth 1996)), further work showed the widespread nature of meaning negotiation and the overall striving for achieving understanding, with a minimal use of "let-it-pass" only in non-consequential conversations. Research on negotiation of meaning focused on strategies aimed at solving non-understanding and strategies aimed at pre-empting non-understanding (Cogo and Dewey 2012: ch.5). Pre-empting strategies, though analytically difficult to identify, are extremely important in conversation, as they show how mutual understanding is not taken for granted. Instead, speakers engage in monitoring understanding and preventing problems at every stage of communication (Mauranen 2006). Various studies have researched the pragmatic strategies used by ELF speakers in naturally-occurring conversations, and findings agree on the recurrent use of certain strategies, such as repetition, paraphrasing and lexical suggestions (Björkman 2011b; Cogo 2009; Kalocsai 2011; Lichtkoppler 2007), code-switching and use of multilingual resources (Cogo 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Klimpfinger 2009) and the use of metadiscourse (Björkman 2013; Mauranen 2012) and others (cf. recent overviews of the field in Cogo 2015, and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011).

The research explored here shows how ELF communication relies on a number of processes that ensure and motivate effective communication, such as processes of regularization, redundancy reduction and increasing explicitness, among others. Research also shows that crucial work is done in order to negotiate meaning, ensure understanding and prevent misunderstanding by employing pragmatic strategies. These findings are firmly in line with the view expressed by Nigel Holden in chapter 2 in relation to the skill and inventiveness required by those using English as a language of business. In Jenkins's words, "proficient ELF speakers emerge from the research as skilled communicators. They innovate in English making full use of their multilingual resources to create their own preferred terms" (Jenkins 2011: 928). And it is to the research on multilingual resources that we now turn.

3.5.3 Sociolinguistic studies of ELF and multilingualism in Europe

Despite research on multilingual aspects of ELF, the relation between English and other languages in Europe has tended to be a rather difficult one, especially from a language policy perspective, with the EU formulating policies that are removed from the sociolinguistic realities of the European linguistic landscape. This has resulted in a mismatch between policies and practices (cf. Cogo and Jenkins 2010), a phenomenon which forms something of a leitmotif throughout this book. Here we focus on research on the sociolinguistic practices concerning ELF and multilingualism in Europe.

The sociolinguistic research at the intersection between ELF and multilingualism has emphasized the use of both overt and covert multilingual phenomena in ELF: the overt phenomena include code-switching or similar aspects, which clearly show the use of two or more languages in discourse. The covert phenomena, on the other hand, concern the influence of the user's multilingual resources on their communication, which nonetheless remains in English. For instance, some of the studies mentioned above investigate the use of overt strategies of codeswitching in negotiation and/or collaborative construction of meaning. Hülmbauer (2009) shows how users draw on their multilingual repertoire effectively by exploiting their shared non-nativeness. In other studies, especially in business contexts and among specific communities of practice, the issue of English nativeness is less relevant, while multilingual and international sensitivity, coupled with business knowledge, seem to be more prominent (Cogo 2016; Ehrenreich 2011).

Codeswitching practices are the most obvious overt strategies of multilingual alternation in ELF contexts. Cogo's 2009 study shows how codeswitching can be used as an accommodation strategy, how speakers make creative use of their multilingual repertoire and how this is central in maintaining social relations and constructing group membership. A similar emphasis on socio-cultural aspects is found in Klimpfinger's 2009 study, which analyses codeswitching from a conversation analytic perspective in the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) corpus, and she found that signalling culture is one of the common functions of codeswitching, together with specifying an addressee, appealing for assistance and introducing a new idea.

More covert phenomena of multilingual use include the exploitation of cognates. Cognates are words with similar form and meaning, and normally they also derive from similar roots so that they are etymologically related. Cognates can be particularly useful in ELF communication not only because their similarity can contribute to understanding in intercultural communication, but even in the case of false cognates they can help. Some kinds of cognates are called 'false friends' because they share pronunciation and form, but have different meanings in different languages. However, even cognates that are generally called 'false friends' can become 'true' friends, when similar meaning is shared in the linguistic resources of the speakers. For instance, the adverb 'grossly' in British English can be used in the sense of 'excessively', with a negative connotation, but as a 'true friend' it can mean 'roughly' or 'on the whole' and can be employed to support co-construction of meaning and effective communication (Hülmbauer 2011: 148). Therefore, cognates rely on commonalities in the different L1s of the speakers involved and although they are more covert manifestations of multi-competence, at least compared to other phenomena of language alternation, they remain effective multilingual resources in ELF communication.

Similar results were found in Kalocsai's study of Erasmus students in Hungary, where she showed that the creative use of codeswitching serves multiple socio-cultural functions as well as important group identity functions. Educational study abroad programmes, such as the Erasmus scheme, are a significant factor contributing to the use and construction of ELF contexts in European settings, in both physical and electronic communication, and this is a rich field for further study. These programmes facilitate communication among Europeans and provide interesting settings for ELF in contact with other languages.

Research in this area has also contributed to challenging the widespread assumptions that ELF is all about English, or that "English is enough" – positions that are not borne out in the sociolinguistic data. Instead, Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer describe ELF as more of a "partner language" (Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer 2008: 29), which complements rather than takes over other European languages. Cogo and Jenkins (2010) also find that the importance of multilingual competence is recognized by the participants as "relevant and essential in their functioning as European citizens" (2010: 289).

Recent sociolinguistic researches into multilingual aspects of ELF have taken a more post-modern perspective (see section 3.8 below) by exploring phenomena such as translanguaging in ELF contexts of super-diversity (see Cogo 2012a), a more flexible kind of language alternation that moves away from purist, fixed and systematic conceptualizations of 'English' specifically, and 'language' more generally, to more emergent, fluid and hybrid languaging practices (see Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010, among others). More recently, Jenkins (2015) has also emphasised a multilingual turn in ELF research more in line with these latest developments.

More studies are needed both at the interface between ELF and multilingualism and into the conceptualization of ELF from a multilingual perspective. Research, both earlier and more recent, shows that ELF is intrinsically *multilingual*, as speakers make meaning by drawing from various resources, and *translingual*, in that the interplay between multilingualism and 'English' defies the countability usually associated with individual languages, and possibly emphasizes translanguaging (the multilingual practices whereby languages are not used as separate systems, but as part of the same sociolinguistic repertoire – see García and Li Wei 2014) in more super-diverse contexts.

Finally, the most recent sociolinguistic research has also emphasised that investigations of language use should not be kept separate from in-depth explorations of practices, including attitudes, ideologies and power, at the local level, and here again a range of possible projects remain to be carried out. Although this section is only able to provide an overview of research in ELF, rather than an in-depth exploration of one specific community, a number of qualitative studies have already explored attitudes and ideologies in ELF, and these are the focus of our next section.

3.5.4 Attitudes, ideologies and controversies around ELF

Attitudes towards ELF have been explored among two categories of informant: linguist professionals, people who work or study in the area of linguistics generally conceived; and the non-professionals, people who work or study in other domains of expertise, such as business people, for instance. Jenkins' seminal 2007 study of English language teachers and students showed the rather critical perspectives of language teachers towards ELF, and how these are linked to ideologies of standard language and native speaker ownership, as well as their identity as language teachers.

Cogo's 2012 study (Cogo 2012b) confirms the different views and reactions between linguists and non-linguists, even among young people, who are generally found to construct positive orientations to different Englishes. Though mixed reactions were present, the young non-linguists in this study were generally positive towards ELF and could understand the implications of ELF research (change of ownership, language variation, etc.). The young linguists, however, showed more negative attitudes, reinforced by their perceptions of linguists as 'guardians of the standard' and native speakers as owners of a language, and other ideologies fostered by their 'foreign language perspective'.

When moving on to investigate attitudes among the non-linguist professionals, such as business people, more generally positive attitudes are found. Research with professionals, especially international business people, using ELF for work on a regular basis has emphasized that BELF (see section 3.5.6) is an integral and normal part of business knowledge and that content is considered more important than correctness according to native standards (Cogo 2016; Ehrenreich 2011; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010). English is viewed as a 'must', but research has also found that other languages contend for the position of official language, and this creates power struggles and situations of language gatekeeping, especially in intercultural communication among employees of multinational corporations (Cogo and Yanaprasart 2017 forthcoming; Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta 2012). Cogo and Yanaprasart's work emphasizes the role of language ideologies in different conceptualizations of English and multilingualism: first of all, as completely separate phenomena, ELF on the one hand and multilingualism on the other; secondly, as part of an ideology of language separation, whereby languages are fixed separate entities (such as "English", "German", "Italian" etc.); thirdly, as part of an ideology of one language as representation of one nation. These are some of the main ideologies still prevalent in European business contexts.

Debates around ideologies and other aspects of ELF research have also been published (Cogo and Saraceni in *English Today* 2008; Cogo (2012c) and Sowden 2012; Dewey 2013). One concerns the status of ELF as a variety and another concerns the possibility of teaching ELF. Like research on ELF in general, sociolinguistic work on ELF in the European zone also initially focused on the sociolinguistic description of lexico-grammar, pronunciation and pragmatic aspects. Descriptive work of this kind, facilitated by the compilation of ELF corpora such as VOICE (the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) and ACE (the Asian Corpus of English), gave the impression that ELF research simply involved describing a variety, and that variety would be hailed as another, opposing model, to the native speaker varieties. Research has shown that ELF is a co-constructed and fluid medium of communication which eschews definitions of variety, and even challenges the relevance of the concept for ELF communication itself.

In terms of language teaching, a common misunderstanding of ELF research is its aim – some speculated that ELF research aimed at replacing ENL as the model for English language education. Although sociolinguistic description has never been carried out with the aim of putting together a language model, it is only with more recent work that an ELF-oriented approach to language teaching became clearer (cf. Bayyurt and Akcan 2015; Bowles and Cogo 2015; Vettorel 2015). This is not about teaching *the language* per se, or a specific variety of English, but it is focused on raising awareness of different Englishes, language variation, fluidity and change. When language is taught, it needs to be appropriate to the context and to privilege pragmatic negotiation and intercultural aspects over specific items of lexico-grammar. An ELF-oriented approach to teaching is also not about a specific methodology, but about methodological approaches that need to be developed and adapted in relation to the contexts of teaching and learning.

3.5.5 Implications

For quite some time, there has been a general concern that English in Europe may be a threat to linguistic diversity. This is supported by statistics related to foreign language learning in European member states, which maintain that English "is by far the most taught foreign language in nearly all countries at all educational levels" (Eurydice/Eurostat 2012: 11). This has seemed to reinforce the idea that English itself is a serious threat to other European languages and acts as a deterrent for Europeans learning other languages. Phillipson (cf. 2003b), the major proponent of this position, has polemically called ELF a 'lingua frankensteinia' and argued that language policies should be put into place to limit English and protect and promote linguistic diversity in Europe. However, discourses of English encroaching on other languages have more recently been challenged by empirical studies on the role of English and multilingualism in Europe. Peckham et al. (2012) researched communities of Erasmus students in 'new member' countries, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, and found that ELF not only helps Erasmus students to gain entrance, establish and consolidate their communities of practice, but it also facilitates access to multilingual settings by providing opportunities to learn local languages. The Erasmus students in their study also showed appreciation of multilingualism by expressing preference for multilingual speakers rather than monolingual/native speakers of English.

Gnutzmann (2008) carried out a study of Europeans' attitudes towards English among staff and students at a German university and found that the majority of respondents have positive attitudes towards English in Europe. Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer's research also shows that "ELF does not undermine multilingual diversity but actually helps to sustain it" (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013: 399).

Finally, it is important to raise the question of how unique to a European context the research findings are, whether these aspects of ELF are something specifically European. Although most of the studies explored here are based on data collected in Europe, they also include participants from non-European backgrounds and they may not physically take place in a geographical area as such, but in non-geographical online communication. It would be interesting to see how representative these findings could be of other, non-European, contexts and if the multilingual perspective bears out outside Europe. Quite a few studies have been carried out in Asia (cf. Kirkpatrick's work), and while pedagogical implications have been and are being explored in other contexts, sociolinguistic work is still lacking in other continents and further work is needed into online communication in ELF.

Beyza Björkman

3.5.6 English as a Lingua Franca in the business domain (BELF)

Before leaving the topic of English as a Lingua Franca in Europe we will briefly focus our attention beyond academic ELF (ELFA) and on "the other most researched ELF domain" (Jenkins 2014: 30), namely business ELF or BELF. Jenkins goes on to make the point that research into this domain is more recent, so our insights into practices and attitudes here are less extensive than for ELFA.

As Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen (2015) point out, research on a 'shared language' in large multinational companies has come primarily from three disciplines, namely applied linguistics, international management and corporate communication (Kankaanranta et al. 2015: 127). While the same phenomenon is being investigated within these disciplines, the points of departure and research foci have been quite different. Research from international management has focused on challenges caused by using several languages within large multinational companies while corporate communication research has largely focused on "employee communication, crisis communication, investor relations communication and media relations" (Kankaanranta et al 2015: 127). As elsewhere in this volume, we will focus on some key studies from within applied linguistics, including the challenges of using English as a business lingua franca as reported in these studies.

Scholars working in the BELF paradigm have focused their investigations on actual business communication among individuals, by contrast with the type of research carried out in the two aforementioned disciplines. Focusing on individuals' everyday use of English as a vehicular language, applied linguists have investigated several phenomena, including the purposes for which English is used. An early BELF study focusing on a Finnish and a Swedish corporation conceptualized the notion of BELF as a linguistic resource for multiple purposes, such as working on the company's strategic goal. Just like ELF, BELF is a functional term and is highly context-bound. BELF is not a stable variety that can be described as such.

The main strand of BELF research has focused on how English is used as a common language in business interactions and how individuals achieve communicative effectiveness in such settings (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009; Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta 2006; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010; Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Louhiala-Salminen and Charles 2006; Pitzl 2005; Pitzl 2010). Investigating the notion of successful communication is by no means an easy matter, as the notion of competence is a "multifaceted" notion that may differ from competence as defined in general frameworks (e.g. Hymes 1972). In their study based on survey and interview data, Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) argue convincingly that "BELF competence" is predominantly about accurate presentation and delivery of business content and business-related vocabulary as well as conventions of the genres used in the business domain. Kankaanranta and Planken also discuss the notion of clarity, which was perceived by the subjects as lack of ambiguity, the absence or lack of low frequency complex vocabulary items, and the absence of dense discourse without sufficient repetition of key information. The aims the subjects reported were twofold: to get the job done and to achieve good rapport with their partners in business (see also Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Holden this volume). Grammatical accuracy was never mentioned among the aims. We should note, however, that while native-speaker-like production is generally not seen as a major issue *within* the company or a goal to work towards, it has been deemed important outside the company for company image purposes (Ehrenreich 2010).

Let us now move on to the challenges reported in research from settings where English is used as a business lingua franca. As touched upon before, in BELF settings, communicative effectiveness seems most strongly associated with communicative skills, such as sufficient repetition of critical pieces of information, employing communicative strategies such as confirmation checks, and paraphrasing (see e.g. Pitzl 2010) rather than native-speaker competence. In fact, the first type of challenge we will discuss here has to do with native speakers. Some of the widely reported challenges seem to be related to, or even stem from, native speakers or native-speaker-like production in general. Scholars have reported on the problems posed by native-speaker-like language skills for non-native speakers, especially native-speaker-like pronunciation (Graddol 2012). Graddol documents in his report that business meetings in fact run more smoothly when no native speakers are present (2006: 115, see also Graddol 2012). For many non-native speakers, native speakers are more difficult to understand as they may not always succeed in accommodating to their interlocutors. Strategic skills such as the ability to check for understanding and ask for clarification, and paraphrasing play a pivotal role in all (B)ELF interactions (e.g. Pitzl 2010).

There is plentiful evidence from BELF studies that native speakers are only somewhat successful in employing accommodation strategies when speaking in business settings, and speak at a rather fast pace without enough repetition (e.g. Rogerson Revell 2007: 114–15). They need to avoid vocabulary and idioms with which a non-native audience would be unfamiliar (Rogerson-Revell 2007). This topic even received media coverage a few years ago when Lawrence Summers, the former president of Harvard University, said that, with English as a global language, there was little need for native English-speaking students to learn foreign languages to prepare themselves for international experience, focusing specifically on business.[4] Further discussion of Summers's statement isn't possible here, but it is of relevance in that it generated heated debate and sparked reactions from linguists, among them Michael Erard, who wrote the following in the Opinion Pages of the *New York Times*:

> Whether or not you think learning a language other than English is valuable, it's true that English has become the language of international communication. But that doesn't let native English speakers off the hook. In order for them to really benefit from the status of English as a global lingua franca, they still have linguistic investments to make. So if you're a native speaker of English [and that's your only language] accommodating your ear and your speech to those users of the global lingua franca is a cultural and linguistic skill. It requires practice; you don't automatically get it by virtue of being a native speaker. You have to learn how to hear around accents, word choices and grammatical patterns.[5]

What Erard says is very much in line with what BELF researchers have reported in numerous studies; that native speakers need to make these "linguistic investments" to be able to contribute to (B)ELF interactions, helping communicative effectiveness and smooth communication. This is true for most international domains in Europe and elsewhere in which English is the working language.

4 See the New York Times debate at http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/01/29/is-learning-a-language-other-than-english-worthwhile.

5 See the entire response by Erard at http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/01/29/is-learning-a-language-other-than-english-worthwhile/advice-for-native-english-speakers.

The second main type of challenge reported in BELF studies has to do with small talk and informal oral communication. Since small talk is to a large degree about rapport and building good relations (Spencer Oatey 2000, 2002, 2005), it is vital that business professionals know how to “small talk”. Pullin (2010) argues that in multinational, multilingual companies and business, informal small talk is key when building solid common ground (see also Konttinen 2012). In this sense, it is critical that business professionals are aware of the conventions of this spoken genre, as familiarity with different business genres has been reported to be an integral part of BELF competence (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010). Gimenez (2001) claims that small talk can serve as a strategy to establish financial viability and develop negotiator status. In fact, there seems to be empirical evidence for this: Ladegaard shows that small talk repeatedly occurred prior to the negotiation of price.

While technical talk based on the subject matter may leave less room for power asymmetries, informal oral communication and small talk have been reported to be particularly challenging by non-native speakers in BELF settings (Charles 2007). Being good at the business content may help mitigate any power imbalance between native and non-native speakers in core business talk. When the topics are not business-related however, non-native speakers may have difficulties with their spoken production, such as not knowing the right vocabulary to talk about everyday matters, or feeling uncomfortable in search of appropriate topics. There is evidence from research however that lack of high proficiency is not necessarily an obstacle in achieving successful talk. In line with the findings of ELF research, Pullin reports that the non-native speakers in her BELF study managed well in small talk and “negotiated meaning successfully [...] despite the limitations in mastery of the linguistic code” (Pullin 2010: 455). As has been pointed out, it is possible to train employees in large companies to equip them with the necessary communication skills and global competences, and this training should be introduced into business education (Kankaanranta et al. 2015: 143).

Building on the broader discussion of ELF above and of English in multilingual business environments from chapter 2, we have sought here to present some key recent case studies from the research literature on BELF. We have discussed two principal challenges: 1) the challenge of the native speaker and what kind of investments native speakers might need to consider for successful BELF interactions; and 2) the challenge of small talk, which is in most cases a result of lack of familiarity with the genre. In both cases, the conclusion from the research is that individuals wishing to operate successfully in such business settings need to be trained in communicative skills for both native and non-native speakers in order to enjoy the benefits of English as a vehicular language in business settings.

Ulrikke Rindal

3.6 Pronunciation

It is argued that in high proficiency European countries – the Nordic countries (see Chapter 6) and beyond – English is developing into *more* than a foreign language (Linn and Hadjidemetriou 2014). Practical competence and confidence in English language is enhanced following decades of exposure through the education system, spoken media and frequent travel. In such high proficiency countries in Europe we are thus moving away from an idea of English as a foreign language, while still being different from countries where English is an official *second* language. The English speaker status in such high proficiency European countries remains somewhere *in between* (Rindal 2013). In such transitional contexts – where English is neither a first, second or foreign language – what happens to its pronunciation?

3.6.1 Investigating non-native pronunciation

Since the status of English in Europe (beyond the UK, Ireland and Malta) has traditionally been that of a foreign language, research into how English is used in these contexts has usually been measured against a native speaker standard. However, instead of looking at what learners "fundamentally do not know compared to native speakers" (Moyer 2013: 1), researchers are increasingly interested in social-psychological factors such as identity, attitudes and motivation related to the development of L2 pronunciation.

In language attitude research, scholars have explored how listeners evaluate non-native pronunciation compared to native-speaker pronunciation. Results are tentative; standard native-speaker accents are often preferred by both native and non-native listeners, especially related to status and competence dimensions (Beinhoff 2013; Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck and Smit 1997; McKenzie 2006; Nejjari et al. 2012; Xu, Wang and Case 2010), but recognition is increasingly given to L1-accented English (McKenzie 2006; Xu, Wang and Case 2010), in particular among non-native speakers (Hendriks, Meurs and Groot 2015) and in particular when the accent is not very strong (Beinhoff 2013; Hendriks, Meurs and Groot 2015). The fact that it is at all possible to investigate evaluational reactions towards L1-influenced English pronunciation in countries where English has traditionally been considered a foreign language suggests that both linguists and non-linguists have conceptions of non-native accents with identifiable linguistic patterns. If European countries do in fact have their own L1-influenced accents of English, issues of social identity and group affiliation arise.

Within applied linguistics, research on identity and motivation related to the development of L2 pronunciation often focuses on the identity of the speaker as *learner*, and the challenges this learner is faced with when appropriating a language other than one's own. In these cases, the learner is often assigned status as an "other", someone whose goal is to take on another's language and access another's community (e.g. Norton and Toohey 2011), although focus is also given to learners' development of self and negotiation of new meanings with linguistic forms (e.g. Kramsch 2006, 2009). In such applied linguistics research, the object of investigation is largely the thoughts and feelings of the language user, mostly explored through *narratives*. However, in contexts where learners have access to an abundance of linguistic and evaluational resources, and a high level of practical competence and metalinguistic awareness (as in the high proficiency countries in Europe), it might be increasingly relevant to explore *language practice*, as in lingua franca research. In the English as a Lingua Franca community, language practice is a prevailing object of investigation, where analyses of linguistic exchanges are used to show how speakers with different first languages use linguistic strategies to ensure communication, while at the same time retaining their national or individual identities as non-native speakers (see section 3.5 above).

Arguably, researchers do not have to limit themselves to lingua franca exchanges to explore non-native accents; one could easily imagine that the negotiation of intelligibility on the one hand and retaining identity on the other is a more basic communicative trait of the individual non-native speaker.

3.6.2 Avoiding native-speaker accents

In countries where English traditionally has been considered a foreign language, it has often been a successful strategy to imitate a native speaker accent as closely as possible. However, there is increasingly a reluctance towards presenting native speaker accents as the ideal pronunciation in non-native-speaker contexts. Applied linguists argue that near-native pronunciation is unattainable for most L2 learners and that explicit instruction in pronunciation cannot eliminate foreign accent (Derwing and Munro 2005). Moreover, scholars also argue that native accents of English carry with them cultural identities that learners do not necessarily want to adopt (e.g. Bex 2008, Dürmüller 2008). Although advanced language learners might be *able* to mimic native speaker accents, they might not always want to be perceived as native speakers (Piller 2002). Putting on an accent means putting on an identity, and a native-speaker accent does not necessarily reflect the identity of a non-native speaker (at least not all the time). Some L2 speakers *choose* to keep some L1 influence or other variation in their accent in order to preserve and project self-image and/or group affiliation (Moyer 2013).

In a study which explored pronunciation issues among Norwegian adolescents (Rindal 2013; Rindal and Piercy 2013), it was found that only a minority *wanted* to speak standard southern British English even though they considered this accent to be the most prestigious English variety. This accent was associated with school and formality, and learners who overtly targeted it were perceived to be "trying too hard" (Rindal 2015: 237). They found that General American English was a more available target accent, but most learners would make sure their accent was not *too* American either. In fact, several of these advanced language learners claimed to not pick any well-established native-speaker variety as a target for their own pronunciation, but rather attempt to use a *neutral* accent of English, arguing that they did not want or did not need to be associated with any native-speaker variety or culture.

Of course, there is no such thing as a neutral accent. But the *desire* to have one when speaking a second or later language is interesting and worth paying attention to.

3.6.3 Being *neutral*

Accent is not always an intentional choice; native speakers might find it difficult to "get rid of" marked geographical or social accent characteristics, and non-native speakers might find it difficult to attain these same characteristics. L2 speakers need a certain amount of linguistic competence and exposure in order to access a range of language forms and their attached meanings. Phonological variation by an L2 speaker could therefore, at least in part, be explained by limited linguistic or meta-linguistic knowledge of English pronunciation or limited opportunities to rehearse an accent. Learners of English might just not be *able* to consistently imitate a native accent entirely, even though they have picked one out as their target. The Norwegian students in Rindal and Piercy (2013), for instance, produced a lot more American English variants than they intended, and some of them reported to have "settled" for an American accent because British forms were inaccessible.

This unintended American-influenced L2 English accent does not really come as a surprise to anyone. In most European countries, American influence – in particular through import of popular culture – increased dramatically during the second half of the 20th century and is consequently now the dominant source of English influence (Graedler 2002). Like L1 speakers, L2 speakers are susceptible to linguistic exposure, and their accent will most likely reveal some of their linguistic reality. What is perhaps more surprising is that European adolescents do not all have American accents (with more or less L1 influence). It seems accent evaluation in Europe has not kept up with developments in linguistic practice; standard southern British English (the variety many learners still think of as R(eceived) P(ronunciation)) still retains its position as the most prestigious native-speaker accent for L2 speakers, and learners still target this accent because of its status. Learners in Rindal (2014a), for instance, reported to aim towards a British English accent because it was considered the "original" English and associated with formality and education (and consequently likely to generate better grades in English class). The insistence on targeting a less accessible accent due to its perceived prestige shows that non-native speakers, similarly to native speakers, reproduce traditional language attitudes and make language choices based on such attitudes.

Consequently, we should consider the possibility that variation in a competent learner of English is deliberate. In line with suggestions from the more recent research on L2 accent and identity referred to above, learners might not wish to imitate a native accent of English unconditionally, as this would be to adopt too much of another's identity. In fact, this was the reason for some of the Norwegian students to not aim at any geographically recognisable accent, but rather attempt a *neutral* accent of English. Their strategy seemed to be to blend some of the available resources into an "undetectable" accent, what one student described as "a cleaner form of English, that there isn't anything dialect-distinctive about it [...] you sort of have to find that thing in between" (Rindal 2014a: 324).

3.6.4 Patterned L2 variation

So, what could this "in between" look like? One alternative is that learners of English might mix the two most widely recognised (meaning both 'familiar' and 'renowned') varieties of English, namely southern standard British English and General American, creating something which is sometimes referred to as "Mid-Atlantic English" (see, e.g., Modiano 1998). However, rather than a strategy of mixing standard native-speaker accents, a desire to speak a *neutral* accent of English reflects a sentiment among a group of students not really being that bothered about native speaker targets. This sentiment reflects an identity of a speaker of English as an international language, for whom it is unnecessary to pretend to come from the UK or the USA. Linguistically, competent non-native speakers, such as adolescent L2 speakers in high-proficiency European countries, might choose linguistic resources from available native and non-native varieties of English, and negotiate the meanings of these resources on a more local level (Rindal 2010, Rindal and Piercy 2013) as part of their phonetic repertoire. This social sensibility and linguistic aptitude calls for innovative approaches to the English used in such contexts, ones that take into account that English, despite being a second or later language, is a social practice.

Similarly to what speakers do in their L1, it is likely that advanced language learners will also attempt to constantly compromise to audience and context by accommodating their accent (tempo, phonology, prosody, word choice, etc.), while still retaining enough of their desired image or identity. Phonologically, the result is an L2 pronunciation where one can detect variants that might sound *like* American English or British English or both – but rarely imitated *entirely*, as well as varying degrees of L1 influence, reflecting a speaker's linguistic heritage. In a context where the status of English is hybrid, fluid, in between first, second and foreign language like in the high-proficiency European countries, speakers' use of English, too, is characterized by hybridity, negotiation and variability. Despite traditionally being defined as learners of English as a foreign language, adolescents in high-proficiency European countries challenge the traditional notion of language *learners*; there is something systematic going on in their use of English. Although there is a great degree of variability in their pronunciation, it is variability used in systematic and meaningful ways.

3.6.5 Suggestions for future research on pronunciation

As the reviews and discussions in this section suggest, L2 accent is not only a result of the ability to perceive phonological distinctions and mimic these; it is also influenced by sociocultural and social-psychological circumstances related to the individual learner. This opens up a vast field at the intersection of sociolinguistics and English language education in dire need of investigation. Future research might shed light on how factors such as identity, attitudes and motivation affect the development of L2 pronunciation. Some of these issues have been touched upon in this section, but they all require further investigations.

For instance, although there has been some research into attitudes towards L1-influenced English accents, results are inconclusive; more of these investigations are needed, especially with participants who share the accent being evaluated. Furthermore, previous research has indicated that lack of consistent imitation of a native-speaker accent might be deliberate. There is a need to explore such claimed deliberate variation in L2 pronunciation further; not only the awareness and agency of the non-native speaker, but also whether such deliberate variation patterns into 'new (European) Englishes' reflecting the linguistic heritage of different L1 speaker groups, and what these Englishes sound like. These issues are closely related to advanced language learners' communicative competence – a highly-valued concept in English language education that emphasises students knowing a range of linguistic forms and when to use which forms. Research is needed into L2 use of English across situations with different interlocutors in order to explore how pronunciation might vary according to context and audience. In particular, researchers might address the individual's L2 strategies and styles.

Since previous research into these issues is limited, and since the issues are complex processes including social, cultural and psychological factors, they are probably best explored using qualitative approaches (see section 5.1). Quantitative approaches used for instance to map desired target accents among a larger population are also very interesting, but researchers should take care when developing the research design: when participants are targeted by a researcher *because* they are non-native speakers, they are likely to try to meet expectations by fulfilling the identity of just that – a non-native speaker. They might report *one* variety as target if they are asked to do so, although in reality they might use resources from two or more. Or they might avoid native-speaker accents altogether in real life, but never say so in a research context because they are not asked. Furthermore, although attitude experiments might elicit significant preference for standard native-speaker accents, non-native speakers might still not want to make these prestigious accents their own. Investigations of attitudes towards L2 accents should therefore be combined with investigations into participants' desires for own L2 pronunciation.

The most obvious participants to target for exploring language variation and change in non-native pronunciation are the language users who challenge established practices. What *adolescents* do with language is likely to reflect linguistic trends that tend to predict future linguistic changes (Kirkham and Moore 2013), and they should therefore have a leading role in future innovative applied linguistics research.

David Lasagabaster

3.7 English-medium instruction (EMI)

In an attempt to improve English proficiency across Europe, English-medium instruction (EMI) has been embraced as the best solution, because it allows more time to be devoted to English without taking up additional time in an already crammed curriculum. Dearden (2014: 2) defines EMI as "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English".

EMI is believed to boost students' motivation to learn English, to improve their specific language terminology, to enhance their intercultural competence, to foster implicit and incidental learning by centring on meaning and communication, to trigger high levels of communication among teachers and learners and among learners themselves, and last but not least, to improve overall English competence, especially students' speaking skills (Lasagabaster 2008: 32). In EMI programmes English is used as a medium for learning content, and the content is used in turn to learn English. And all these benefits are believed to be reaped without having any detrimental effect on content learning.

At tertiary level, an additional purported benefit, related to the internationalization process, usually comes to the fore. Internationalization has become a key objective for higher education institutions, as we have encountered elsewhere in the course of this book, and, in this global trend, EMI is often seen to be the best tool to compete internationally (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013a). As a result of this situation, during the last two decades EMI has rapidly spread throughout education systems all over the world, but this process has been especially remarkable in the European context (Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen 2014a; Smit and Dafouz 2012). However, there are striking differences between the north and the south of Europe. Whereas EMI is quite common in Central and Northern European countries (especially in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden), Southern European countries have undergone a slower development both at pre-university (Pérez-Cañado 2012) and university (Wächter and Maiworm 2014) levels.

Changing the language of instruction from the local language to English has an enormous impact not only on stakeholders (students, teaching staff and administration personnel), but also on society as a whole (Wilkinson and Walsh 2015: 11). At the institutional level, decisions have to be made on the required foreign-language competence of teaching staff and students, how administrative support is going to be guaranteed, and whether only some specific subjects or entire programmes are to be delivered in English (Tange 2012). At the local level, large numbers of international students can have a significant impact on a city. Although the pros (the prestige of the host institution is enhanced, the local economy is boosted, and civil authorities take advantage of the situation to boast about the attractions of their locations) usually outweigh the cons, there may also be negative outcomes, as Wilkinson (2013: 20) bluntly puts forward in the case of Maastricht in the Netherlands. In this Dutch town the increasing number of German-registered cars parked in residential areas displacing local residents' vehicles has caused resentment and even vandalism against German cars. However, the importance attached to internationalization clearly holds sway.

At the national level, language policy may also be affected by EMI and, in fact, some governments in Northern Europe have felt the need to take measures to curb domain loss for the local language (see section 4.4 and chapter 6). A second major concern has to do with the impact of EMI on language and content learning, the main focus of the following sections.

3.7.1 EMI at pre-university level

The effects of the implementation of EMI programmes have been more widely analysed in primary and, above all, secondary education than at university level. Nonetheless, there is an outstanding imbalance between the number of studies focusing on English learning and those on content learning, to the detriment of the latter.

3.7.1.1 English learning

Most of the research undertaken on EMI programmes has investigated the English-language competence achieved by students. Since (high) school students usually add their content teaching in English to the traditional English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom, and therefore have a greater exposure to the foreign language, results indicate that EMI students outperform their EFL counterparts in the different English language skills. It should also be mentioned that on some occasions EMI students have a higher language proficiency even before entering the programme, a significant variable that not all the studies have controlled and which may obviously have a bearing on comparisons between EMI and EFL students (Merino 2014).

In their reviews of the literature Dalton-Puffer (2011), Merino (2014) and Pérez-Cañado (2012) conclude that EMI students are particularly better at receptive and productive lexicon, morphology, reading, writing skills, and oral production. Pronunciation, however, does not profit from EMI, because in the vast majority of programmes teachers are non-native speakers, and they are usually content rather than foreign-language specialists, which is why they tend to pay little heed to this aspect of the language.

One of the main reasons put forward to explain these positive linguistic outcomes has to do with EMI students' higher degree of motivation, irrespective of whether they are selected or not to take part in the programme (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2014a). EMI seems to bolster a richer learning environment in which English is used for communicative purposes (which goes beyond the traditional completion of language activities) and this triggers students' motivation and their desire to improve their foreign language abilities. If students are interested in the topic dealt with in the EMI classes, they will be motivated to acquire the language to communicate with the teacher and with each other in order to accomplish their learning objectives. The additional exposure and an enhanced motivation thus interact and help to improve EMI students' language proficiency.

3.7.1.2 Content learning

Since the vast majority of researchers on the impact of EMI have been applied linguists, content learning has received much less attention than foreign language learning, so there is more work to be done on this topic. Two additional factors also account for the scant research on content: the rather recent implementation of EMI programmes in most European contexts and the lack of standardized tests for content learning assessment (Dafouz, Camacho and Urquia 2014).

When it comes to content learning the main concerns expressed by stakeholders have to do, firstly, with the alleged simplification of content due to the fact that teachers are less competent in English and, secondly, with the lessening of students' cognitive involvement because of their learning through a foreign language. Even in those countries where there has traditionally been a high proficiency in English, there is concern about teachers' English proficiency and the limited pool of teachers willing to teach EMI courses due to the additional effort required to deliver classes in a foreign language (Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot 2006; Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2011).

Merino (2014) reviewed several European studies in which different content subjects were taught in the foreign language (English in the vast majority of cases) at pre-university level and concluded that EMI students obtained results similar to those of students taught in their L1. Three different reasons are typically provided to explain such positive outcomes: EMI students are disposed to be more motivated, they develop a higher frustration tolerance, and their intensified mental activity (due to the need to learn the content in English) may facilitate content processing. The cognitively demanding and language-enriched environment provided by EMI seems to foster cognitive development (Jäppinen 2005) and to help to overcome the linguistic hurdles that may arise in the learning process.

However, on many occasions the integration of content and language learning is more theoretical than factual (Dalton-Puffer 2011). Although dual specialization in both content and the foreign language is available in some countries, this is not the case in many European contexts. Therefore, teacher training colleges should have this in mind and provide European schools with specialists trained in both language and content.

In any case, the conclusion to be drawn is that content outcomes are less conclusive than language outcomes at pre-university level, although it can be stated that, generally speaking, there appears to be no negative effect of EMI on content learning. It is also worth noting that, due to the recent implementation of EMI in many contexts and its novelty, these results may have been biased by the fact that all the stakeholders (teachers, students, parents, educational authorities) were highly motivated and did their best so that these pioneering experiences would obtain good results. As Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006: 91) put it, "It is not clear whether this type of programme will have similar outcomes in the schools that started their programmes at a later date". Further research is clearly needed.

3.7.2 EMI at university level

At tertiary level the implementation of EMI programmes has some major objectives: to raise the international profile of the institutions in an attempt to climb university rankings, to attract both foreign students and teaching staff, and to strengthen cooperation with foreign partner institutions, to name but the most prominent ones. With such objectives in mind, European universities have taken the plunge and have decidedly opted for the implementation of EMI.

In their third study aimed at mapping EMI provision in Europe (the previous ones appeared in 2002 and 2008), Wächter and Maiworm (2014) underlined the exponential growth in the number of EMI programmes in the last decade. These authors surveyed 1155 higher education institutions from the 28 EU member states. The figures indicated that the Central Western and the Nordic countries had the largest numbers, Central Eastern and, in particular, the Baltic countries were catching up fast, whereas Southern Europe clearly lagged behind. The authors concluded that "the north-south divide observed in the previous two studies clearly remains" (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 17). EMI was more predominant in Master's level (80 %) than in Bachelor programmes (20 %), and it was more popular in the sciences than in the humanities.

It has to be noted that the number of research studies on EMI at tertiary level is still limited, but there is an increasing body of researchers who have taken up the task of assessing how EMI is affecting both language and content learning.

3.7.2.1 English learning

Contrary to the case at pre-university level, the amount of research on English competence is limited and it is mainly based on teachers' and students' beliefs. According to Dafouz, Camacho and Urquia (2014: 225), the reason is that in higher education degrees "foreign language competence is viewed as a *requisite* rather than an expressed learning outcome". University content teachers deem that they cannot be held accountable for language teaching, while they also underscore that the EMI syllabus does not mention language goals and makes no reference to language skills (Airey 2012).

However, and although "university-level students are expected to have a high level of English language proficiency" (Smit and Dafouz 2012: 3), in many Southern European contexts this is not the general impression. In the study mentioned above, Wächter and Maiworm (2014) state that the majority of the directors of EMI programmes surveyed rated students' proficiency as good or very good, domestic students proficiency being more positively assessed than that of foreign students, except in Spain, France, Italy and Turkey, where foreign students were considered to have a better command of English.

These results tally with those obtained by Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011, 2014b) who observed that Spanish university stakeholders largely agree on the need to improve English language proficiency with a view to having more effective EMI programmes. Nevertheless, the English proficiency of both domestic and foreign students is regarded as sufficient by the directors of EMI programmes (Wächter and Maiworm 2014) who highlighted the heterogeneity of students' English proficiency as one of the problems to overcome. The lack of ability to cope with this diversity is one of the main challenges faced by many university lecturers.

3.7.2.2 Content learning

In tertiary education the number of research studies focused on content learning in EMI contexts is even less than in primary and secondary education. The widespread belief is that, although learning content through the foreign language complicates the process (Airey 2009), the required additional linguistic effort eventually bears the expected fruits.

In the Nordic context (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), although differences have been found when teaching in English or in the local language at university level, "no one has so far been able to document a decline in standards of teaching and learning" (Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen

2014a: 13). In an interesting study Airey (2009) observed that undergraduate learners attending physics lectures delivered in Swedish (L1) and English considered that language played no important role in their learning process and that content was not affected by the language used as means of instruction.

In Southern Europe the teaching staff involved in EMI courses also widely believe that content is learnt as well as in L1 classes (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2011, 2013b), and the few studies carried out with the explicit aim of comparing content learning in L1 and EMI classes seem to confirm these beliefs. Dafouz, Camacho and Urquia (2014) compared EMI and Spanish-as-first-language-medium students at a university in Madrid to conclude that the language of instruction did not compromise students' learning of academic content. Thus, the little empirical evidence available seems to support the effectiveness of EMI, whereas negative results are usually associated with the unsatisfactory implementation of EMI programmes rather than with the use of the foreign language to teach content.

3.7.3 The side-effects of the rapid expansion of EMI

After analysing the spread of EMI in 55 countries, Dearden (2014) asserts that EMI suffers from various weaknesses in many countries, such as a shortage of qualified teachers, a lack of stated goals concerning English language proficiency, little (if any) EMI training in many teacher education programmes, and few clear and detailed organizational and pedagogical guidelines. Whereas a few countries rely on explicit and structured language policies, such as the Netherlands and some autonomous regions in Spain, other countries such as Austria or Italy adopt "a highly *laissez-faire* approach" (Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013: 547). Moreover, very few countries have established quality criteria, national accreditation systems, any systematic monitoring of EMI implementation, or research projects to keep track of the many recently launched programmes.

Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006) also warn against excessive optimism following the initial results obtained among pioneering groups that included particularly motivated teachers and students. Similarly, it has to be considered that many of the initial studies were based on teachers' views and beliefs. It remains to be seen if the generalization of EMI will allow all types of students to deal with the EMI challenge. In this vein, EMI has also been accused of being an elitist approach that will contribute to the amplification of the gap between students from low and high-socioeconomic groups (see section 4.2 on language and social class in Europe). Although there is evidence that suggests that non-selected students also benefit from EMI (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2014a, Pérez-Cañado

2012), more methodologically sound research on the characteristics and effects of EMI programmes successfully implemented in schools and university programmes is sorely needed. The lack of longitudinal studies is one of the major shortcomings of the studies on EMI undertaken so far.

Although it is widely believed that attitudes towards EMI are mainly positive among all the stakeholders, research has shown that this is not always the case, and linguistic tensions have been reported in several different contexts (Dearden 2014; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013b, 2014b; van der Walt 2013). So far, educational authorities have paid little heed to this matter.

3.7.4 Challenges for EMI

Despite the variegated types of EMI provision in the 28 European member states, which make it extremely difficult to extrapolate practices and results from one country to another, there are some challenges that are commonplace.

The first challenge education systems have to face lies in the need to find the right balance between the spread of EMI and the maintenance of national languages. This is especially the case in those contexts in which a small national or minority or regional language is also used as a means of instruction. The sociolinguistic perspective should always be on the authorities' radar, and true and balanced multilingualism should become a priority for European education institutions.

A second challenge has to do with the teachers' English proficiency. By and large, schools and higher education institutions are implementing quality assurance policies aimed at ensuring that all those involved in EMI have the necessary linguistic proficiency to carry out their tasks successfully. However, this is not a generalized practice. The mushrooming of EMI programmes has sometimes fostered a slack attitude on the part of educational authorities when it comes to controlling teachers' and students' command of English, and this situation needs to be remedied.

A third challenge revolves around the need to spread pedagogical training at both pre-university and university levels. Different studies (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013a; Smit and Dafouz 2012) have shown that teachers and university lecturers demand greater support in this respect. Such pedagogical training should be based on a thorough analysis of how the foreign language and content are best learnt in integration (see Llinares 2015), which should encourage the use of the most appropriate and efficient teaching strategies. The collaboration between researchers and practitioners needs to be fostered to make the most of the integration of content and language, an area that has been overlooked so far.

In a nutshell, the challenges that lie ahead are many and varied. Although some voices have recurrently extolled the virtues of EMI, many purported benefits still need to be thoroughly researched. Since there is no blueprint for a correct EMI implementation, each country has to take the responsibility and, bearing its peculiarities in mind, enact the necessary measures to monitor and assess the process.

Heiko Motschenbacher

3.8 English in Europe and the postmodernist paradigm

Another theoretical debate that increasingly shapes descriptions of English in Europe besides the ELF paradigm is the postmodernist reconceptualization of English, and we have already seen some of the rhetorical features of this coming through in earlier sections. Of course, these two strands of research are heavily intertwined (see Cogo 2012a), as ELF epitomises language use in our postmodern world. The main difference between the two approaches is that ELF research tends to focus on local interactions and micro-linguistic features, while the postmodernist discussion of English in Europe operates more from a macro-level, discursive position. Consequently, one can consider them mutually complementary perspectives on transnational uses of English in Europe. The present section focuses on two relevant aspects in connection with postmodernist discussions: 1. the status of 'English' in the postmodern age; and 2. the role that English plays in processes of identity formation in Europe.

3.8.1 'English' in the postmodern age

The 21st century has witnessed decisive changes that facilitate cross-cultural communication (for example, through easier travel possibilities, the internet and other new communication technologies). These changes significantly affect linguistic practices and pose challenges to (traditional) linguistics (see McNamara 2012), and this has induced some scholars (notably Graddol 2006: 58) to herald 'Global English' as a new historical linguistic period (i.e. after Modern English). Postmodern developments call into question traditional, mutually reinforcing concepts such as 'a language' (in the countable sense), 'English(es)' or 'native speaker', i.e. modernist notions that have played a central role in earlier discussions of English in Europe (as outlined in Section 3.2). These concepts are constructed along national and/or ethnic lines and are, therefore, less well equipped for the explanation of transnational communication (Pennycook 2007a: 99).

Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have suggested that the notion of 'a language' is the product of discursive construction – which is by extension also true for 'varieties' in the World Englishes model (see also Canagarajah 2007: 98). They show that much of contemporary linguistics is affected by a metadiscursive regime that treats languages as clearly bounded, countable entities. Language divisions often cut across regional dialect continua and are generally artificially reinforced by national language planning and *Ausbau* processes (cf. the division of former 'Serbocroat' into Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian). Indeed, it is in many cases a social or political decision which sets of communicative practices are seen as constituting an autonomous language, which should be called a subvariety of a language and which are denied such a status.

From a postmodernist point of view, the use of the term 'language' as a descriptor for English in Europe has to be viewed critically. It may have some legitimacy when viewed from a bottom-up or anthropological perspective, because ELF speakers generally are of the opinion that they speak a certain 'language', namely 'English', when they use ELF. Nevertheless, such a description remains problematic on at least two grounds. Firstly, the term 'language' suggests a high degree of stability and internal homogeneity that European ELF as a hybrid medium does not exhibit. And secondly, the term 'language' is so deeply tied to nationalist thinking that it cannot adequately represent ELF as a transnational medium of communication.

A postmodernist conceptualization highlights English as a discursive formation in the Foucauldian sense, materializing in locally heterogeneous ways that, at least in transnational communication, often do not correspond to normative English standards. This conceptualization seems to be particularly apt for a description of ELF, as James notes:

> ELF qualifies well as a [sic] (almost prototypical?) instance of language in a postmodern world. It is fragmented, contingent, marginal, transitional, indeterminate, ambivalent and hybrid in various ways. Its users do not belong thereby to a well defined social group and their subjectivities are indeed diverse. Discourse is construable as a more significant locus for ELF subjectivity than, for example, code type. And finally ELF can certainly be conceptualized as a performative phenomenon.
> (James 2005: 141)

A performative conceptualization no longer sees European ELF as strictly tied to reflecting or orienting to Anglo-American cultural values but as an efficient means of constructing transnational affiliations ('doing Europe'). One can identify a number of competing discourses of what 'English' is, ranging from more traditional notions to less traditional ones that are exemplified by ELF. A discursive conceptualization of English entails a shift away from questions of variety status and its focus on internal homogeneity towards more ontologically oriented questions that also leave space for the hybridity that is covered by the umbrella term 'English'. A powerful ingredient in this respect is traditional discourses revolving around normative standards of grammatical correctness, nativeness and monolingual purity – aspects that most European ELF users have learned to orient to in formal English education. Still it is essential to note that these discourses are losing ground to alternative discourses that foreground, for example, linguistic creativity or second-language identities. The diversity of the linguacultural backgrounds and linguistic repertoires of the participants in ELF contexts adds further discourses to this picture.

The discursive conceptualization of English can be seen as a reaction to modernist notions of 'languages' as nation-bound, codified and standardized systems that foreign language learners need to orient to as normative yardsticks (Graddol 2006: 18). In a world in which national structures increasingly have to face competition from transnational discourses, linguistic concepts that are based on such notions become less relevant for the description of linguistic practices.

The spread of English is accompanied by a certain tension between its supposedly homogenizing effect (one 'language' is spreading) and the increasing heterogeneity exhibited by uses of English around the world. In fact, the local diversification of English raises ontological questions about what it is that we call 'English' and whether there are any essential features that all forms of English share. The World Englishes paradigm rests on the structuralist assumption of a stable grammatical and lexical core from which individual Englishes must not diverge too much in order to leave the overarching system ('English') intact. In a postmodernist conceptualization, by contrast, such a formal essence of 'English' is not assumed (cf. Pennycook 2007a: 109). Instead, 'English' is viewed as performative in the sense that it is the result of materialization across individual linguistic performances, which, in turn, may differ quite drastically from each other, thereby casting doubt on a supposedly common core of structures. Grammatical structures in this view have reached their substance through on-going recitation in language use, and it is this substance that grammarians try to describe (and in fact prescribe).

Procedural approaches to language are not new, nor are they restricted to poststructuralist discussions. Hopper, for example, has proposed a theory of 'emergent grammar' (Hopper 1998; see also Fox 2007), in which language is not described as a stable system in the heads of (native) speakers but rather as taking shape in actual linguistic practices (cf. also Bybee and Hopper 2001). Viewed from this perspective, structuralist attempts to describe language as a system must be considered as a perspectivizing filter imposed on actual language use that declares some communicative behaviours as regular and other (deviating) behaviours as exceptional. Furthermore, such descriptions have the side effect of conceptualizing 'language' as a state, i.e. as a particular snapshot that ignores change and variability as fundamental linguistic mechanisms.

When one views ELF in terms of emergence, the situation becomes more complex, as ELF performances may show considerable variation. For ELF as a discursive formation, this means that the degree of structural sedimentation is lower than for other formations that have traditionally been labelled 'languages'. The internal hybridity and contextual variability of ELF can be said to prevent those higher levels of materialization that would be necessary to speak of a language (or variety) in the classical sense.

A procedural view of language is also expressed in the concept of 'languaging' (Jørgensen 2004, 2008; Møller and Jørgensen 2009). There have already been attempts to connect this concept to the theorization of ELF (Ferguson 2009: 129; Seidlhofer 2009a: 242), conceiving it as a hybrid formation emerging through the exploitation of linguistic resources that are not necessarily restricted to the material of one 'language'. ELF rather involves a range of communicative practices of which some are in accordance with normative English grammar, some are non-standard from a traditional point of view, some are non-English, and some may constitute (pragmatically motivated) neologistic or nonce formations. ELF users in transnational communication may be described as performing the linguistic activity of 'Englishing', i.e. they locally renegotiate the traditional boundaries of 'English' in their linguistic practices and simultaneously "perform, invent and (re)fashion identities" (Pennycook 2007a: 110).

Even though ELF communication exhibits a high degree of linguistic creativity, this does not mean that it is completely abstract in its exploitation of linguistic resources. There are certain constraints at work, which locate ELF communication at the interface of structure and agency. These constraints cannot be sufficiently described with recourse to linguistic norm-dependency or orientation to native speakers of English as role models. By contrast, the factors restricting ELF usage are primarily local issues, such as the linguistic repertoires and ELF-related proficiency levels of the interactants, the generic conventions of the context of language use, locally ritualized practices and the local requirements of communicative efficiency.

Returning to the question of whether English represents a threat or an opportunity for Europe, a question which suffuses the discussions in this book, English in the postmodernist sense mainly poses a threat to those who are invested in modernist versions of English, i.e. native speakers and those non-native speakers that aim at assimilation to Anglophone cultures (Graddol 2006: 20). The status of the native speaker as the linguistic authority has been questioned in the light of ELF realities (Firth 2009: 151; Graddol 2006: 14) and as a historical construct (Hackert 2012). At the same time, views according to which English ‘belongs’ to its native speakers and is authentically used, controlled and shaped by them, become increasingly suspect. Only when the discursive regimes of native-likeness and grammatical correctness in connection with ‘English’ change, can ELF users turn from second-class language users to ‘languagers’ who exploit their linguistic repertoires in local adaptation and thereby become agents within the discursive formation of what constitutes ‘English’.

3.8.2 The identity dimension of English in Europe

In a postmodernist conceptualization, identity becomes a central reference point for any discussion of language. However, the relationship between language and identity is here not seen in modernist terms, as a matter of fixed national or ethnic identifications. The focus is rather on the way in which linguistic practices move beyond such traditional ascriptions and are negotiated in language use. Pennycook points this out quite aptly in relation to English:

> English is closely tied to processes of globalization: a language of threat, desire, destruction and opportunity. It cannot be fully understood in modernist states-centric models of imperialism or world Englishes, or in terms of traditional, segregationist models of language. [...] [W]e need to move beyond arguments about homogeneity or heterogeneity, or imperialism and nation states, and instead focus on translocal and transcultural flows. English is a translocal language, a language of fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations. English is bound up with transcultural flows, a language of imagined communities and refashioning identities.
> (Pennycook 2007b: 5–6)

The discursive formation of Europe is clearly related to the processes of ‘imagining a community’ and of ‘re-fashioning identities’, which Pennycook sees as inextricably connected to English. The transcultural flows that manifest themselves in European ELF are a central component of contemporary European identity formation. National identity affiliations still play a role in this negotiation process, but they have become less absolute and increasingly have to face competition from alternative, transnational discourses, i.e. discourses on which language users draw in order to highlight their European (rather than national) orientation in communication.

Evidence for the role that English plays in European identity formation can be found in a questionnaire study conducted by Gnutzmann, Jakisch and Rabe (2014) among 1,061 students of the Technical University of Braunschweig, Germany. The study documents how, for these students, English is a firm component in the negotiation of identity-related matters. 72 % of the subjects stated that they did not perceive English as a threat to their mother tongue, and negative attitudes towards English were voiced only infrequently. However, even though the majority judged English as helpful in their private lives, most students were not in favour of an English-only policy for the EU. A remarkable 87 % of these (highly educated, internationally oriented) students stated that they "felt European" at least to some extent, despite the fact that there were divergent views on the existence of a common European culture. 29 % named "language diversity" (rather than English) as a typically European feature. With respect to the kind of English that is used in Europe, participants were largely of the opinion that it clearly differs from American and British English. But, at the same time, the students were not generally in favour of the idea that Euro-English should be established as a variety of its own. And what is most interesting, the students overall doubted that a Euro-English variety could play a role in European identity formation, dismissing it as artificial and inauthentic. Taken together, the students' answers reflect the competing language-related discourses that are associated with identity formation in Europe today. The complexity of this picture witnesses to an ideological dilemma between an awareness of multilingualism as a European asset and the perceived popularity and practicality of English in transnational European communication.

A deterministic equation of English with Anglo-American culture is today no longer feasible, as this would ignore non-native European speakers signifying other, often non-national or transnational, identity values with their uses of English (cf. Baker 2011; James 2008; Motschenbacher 2013a/b). Participants in European ELF communication may orient to dominant language-related discourses (cf. Motschenbacher 2013a: ch.5) in order to make sense of the linguistic diversity they are faced with. At the same time, it is also apparent that their linguistic practices frequently contradict such notions. European ELF communication is in several respects not purely English communication, since the linguistic repertoires that ELF speakers draw on are per se a heterogeneous resource that is not restricted to the material of one 'language'. In other words, what ELF speakers produce is not necessarily English in its most traditional sense (in accordance with normative grammar, native speakers as role models, associated with Anglophone cultures). In ELF contexts, it is rather the non-native and transnational uses of English that are perceived and constructed as unproblematic and normal.

A postmodernist treatment of the discursive formation of English in Europe typically does not content itself with a ‘neutral’ description of how English manifests itself in European contexts. It also critically highlights the power issues that are at work in the competition of English-related discourses. Widdowson (2012: 9), for example, describes concepts like ‘language’ and ‘variety’ as “convenient fictions”, acknowledging that their use in linguistic research is a methodological necessity and therefore not reprehensible as such. But what Widdowson is also at pains to point out is that these concepts are certainly not neutral or objective tools – they rather work in the interest of certain groups of people (for example, native speakers of English and the ELT industry). The wide acceptance of discourses revolving around ENL as an unquestioned norm is, therefore, clearly a matter of dominance. Clinging to these discourses and the related concepts without showing any willingness to adapt them to new social realities and needs is clearly open to criticism, especially in the light of the findings of ELF research, which constitutes a critical paradigm aiming to expose dominant discourses associated with ‘English’ as ideologically or politically charged (Sewell 2013: 7). Of course, ELF is just as ideologically charged as ENL. The two concepts can be seen as symptomatic of two competing ideologies, whose competition has recently become more lively (though not yet balanced) due to the strengthening of the ELF research paradigm.

The greater recognition of European ELF realities is indeed likely to lead to conceptual shifts and to have emancipatory consequences for non-native European ELF users and their identifications, as is pointed out by Seidlhofer:

> For non-native ELF speakers, being able to use the language like native speakers and without traces of their L1 is increasingly perceived as unnecessary, unrealistic, and, at least by some, as positively undesirable. Indeed, countless ELF speakers have begun to assert their identities and to operate according to their own ‘commonsense’ criteria. These relate not to externally defined native-speaker norms but to their emically perceived communicative needs and wants in the situation they find themselves in.
> (Seidlhofer 2011a: 50)

The identification processes ELF users engage in may be multiple, negotiable and temporary, but this does not justify the claim that ELF communication is identity- or culture-free or, alternatively, that it cannot express identity values other than those of native Anglophone cultures.

Heterogeneity is indeed a useful concept to describe the various manifestations covered by the term ‘English’. However, to base heterogeneity conceptually on the nation as a classificatory tool no longer does justice to the complex, increasingly transnational realities in which ‘English’ surfaces today. ELF research has in this respect substantially contributed to a reconceptualization of linguistic diversity in an alternative way to variety pluralization, namely as subject to local appropriation, contextual fluidity and internal hybridity (Cogo 2008: 58; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 251).

These considerations are also in tune with recent discussions of language and 'superdiversity' (as opposed to 'multilingualism'; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2012). In this line of research, the focus of attention shifts away from the question of how many languages or varieties there are and whether we need to save or promote them, to the power-related question as to whose benefit and detriment such a pluralistic conceptualization of linguistic diversity works. A pluralistic, nationally based classificatory system of linguistic diversity is first and foremost beneficial to those speaker groups that are traditionally considered to be the 'owners' and 'authentic' users of the respective languages and varieties. More specifically, it enables them to employ gatekeeping strategies that exclude non-native users of English by degrading their language use to the status of non-standard, incorrect usage or interlanguage. However, European ELF is turning from a 'language of communication' into a 'language of identification' for many Europeans who use English non-natively. These identifications go well beyond learner identities or an orientation to Anglophone nations and potentially include socially progressive identifications, such as a transnational European belonging.

Andrew Linn

3.9 Summary: No more standards?

So where does this leave us? This chapter has driven several nails into the coffin of 'Standard English'. Up to the middle of the twentieth century there existed across Europe a strong sense of a bond between language and nation, one fired by socio-political Modernism and the cultural movement of Romanticism. As Wright (2004: 42) notes, "the national language takes on a number of important roles in the nation building process" (see also Wright 2009). One of the key markers of being an independent nation has been the fact that those inside the nation are seen to use a different language from those outside the nation. When, for example, Serbia was fighting for independence from the Ottoman Empire at the start of the nineteenth century, one of the imperatives in establishing the signs of independent nationhood was to standardize the written language. The standardized national language in much of Europe became key to the development of education and to the production of significant cultural artefacts like a national literature, an account of the national history, and the constitution. While the standardized social structures, including languages, which resulted from the modernist project served to engender in many a sense of belonging, of uniting around a shared idea of nationhood, those structures ipso facto served to exclude many others, those whose religious beliefs were not in line with national religions, those whose sexual preferences did not align with the cultural norm of heterosexual marriage, and of course those who spoke and used other languages.

English thus came to be associated with its traditional national bases. Standard British English was the language of the British Isles and enshrined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and American English was de facto the language of the USA and enshrined in Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language*. This was never the full picture, of course, but it was one which came to constitute a comfortable and unshakeable norm. The internationally renowned English scholar and general linguist, Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), wrote with supreme confidence in 1946:

> The greatest and most important phenomenon of the evolution of language in historic times has been the springing up of the great national common languages – Greek, French, English, German, etc. – the 'standard' languages.

As we have seen in this chapter, however, the emergence of a more critical sociolinguistics from the second half of the twentieth century onwards has increasingly undermined this straightforward identification of monolithic standard languages with nations and the straightforward recognition of the presence of standard languages as a social good. A more nuanced picture of English internationally began with Kachru's 'circles of English' model (see above) and continued with the development of a descriptive framework which identified various Englishes, with different national or local characteristics, rather than a single 'English'. As Heiko Motschenbacher notes above, however, such "essentialist, nation-oriented concepts" of English do little to break down those "dominant discourses that see native speakers as the only legitimate owners of English". Beyond the literature on the sociolinguistics of English and certain specialized academic communities, recognition of other national, regional and local, varieties of English is far from widespread, suggesting that the linguists have not been effective in disseminating their insights and ensuring that broader social benefit accrues from new ways of conceptualizing the phenomenon of English as a global means of communication. A further nail in the coffin of English as a national standard has been driven home by the now widely recognised ELF paradigm, as set out in section 3.5 above. Again, however, there is a danger that the gulf between academic debate and more generally held views remains a wide one:

> Of course ELF is an applied linguists' term; most users probably just think they are speaking English [...] For the moment, it is largely applied linguists who talk about ELF, and until such time as users recognize their own or other people's language as ELF, not much is going to change.
> (Mackenzie 2014: 2, 9)

This gulf between academic argumentation and perception 'in the real world' is hardly a new phenomenon or unique to applied linguistics, but its reality is clearly borne out, for example, by Rindal's research into attitudes towards varieties of English reported in section 3.6 above.

The *English in Europe* project on which this book is based was, we think, enjoyable for all concerned, but those who were concerned were overwhelmingly professional teachers and researchers and could fairly be accused of 'preaching to the choir'. There are important social messages in the notions of linguistic imperialism, of repertoires, of transnational communication, of superdiversity, but they remain trapped in inaccessible journals, scholarly books, conferences, etc. Those of us who work in this field have a duty to find ways of sharing our findings and our interpretations where we believe that they can serve to change minds for the better.

We are claiming that standard languages were the product of the age of modernism, the age of structures and systems and norms, and that our current age demands an alternative conceptualization of how English works. To cite Motschenbacher again, "the term 'language' is so deeply tied to nationalist thinking that it cannot adequately represent ELF as a transnational means of communication". However, the need for standards remains. Without a radical overhaul of language education, standard forms aren't going to go away as the bedrock of language testing. Multinational corporations are increasingly turning to language standardization practices (Piekkari, Welch and Welch 2014: esp. ch. 9; Linn, Piekkari and Sanden 2017 forthcoming). So, as we asked at the outset to this section, where does this leave us? The sociolinguists claim that the age of standard languages and language standards is past and indeed that we are in an age of language destandardization (e.g. Daneš 2006; papers in Mattheier and Radtke 1987), but key domains of language use cling to and further develop the idea and the reality of standard languages.

Standards and the study of standards and standardization are not limited to language and linguistics.[6] Writing in 1996, the Canadian sociologist Benjamin D. Singer called for a more general "sociology of standards". We observe standards in all parts of lives, both professional and private. As researchers we try to adhere

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6 This paragraph is derived from Linn, Sanden and Piekkari 2017 forthcoming.

to high standards of research practice. In business we adhere to codes of ethical conduct and to the expectations of our partners regarding how we do business. In our private lives there are social norms governing how we treat our family members and also less ethically challenging standards affecting things like what sort of engine oil to use in our cars. Such standards differ from *rules* and *laws* in that they are *not mandatory*. We might feel compelled by the expectations of our communities to adhere to standards in language as in other spheres, but it is rare that sanctions beyond being told off by a teacher or a colleague would result from our failure to do so, since “standards are explicit rules issued without reference to the kind of authority that the leaders of organizations enjoy” (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000: 13). So standards are omnipresent, but they are a different sort of ordering principle to laws and directives, more horizontal than top-down in their effect, moderating group behaviour rather than directing individual actions. Seen like this, it may be that destandardization in language hasn’t resulted in the abandonment of standards. In fact in a context of greater flexibility and heterogeneity in language practices it might be that new forms of standard become more significant in the greater absence of hard and fast boundaries and rules.

4 Changing practices and policies

Carmen Pérez-Llantada

4.1 Globalization and the contribution of Applied Linguistics

4.1.1 Applied Linguistics

Applied Linguistics emerged in response to the international linguistic landscape after the Second World War II (G. Cook 2003: 69). In its early beginnings, it had Linguistics as its parent discipline and was strictly concerned with the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) (see also Davies and Elder 2004; Linn, Candel and Léon 2011). The field gradually became an independent discipline, one establishing linkages between linguistic theory and educational practice. Real-world problems and issues related to language use are thus central issues for investigation in Applied Linguistics.

The field of Applied Linguistics today involves a large and active scholarly community interested in researching English as an international lingua franca in the context of globalization (see section 3.5 for more on ELF). Essentially, it aims to address the challenges raised by the use of English worldwide and solve the problems and the broader implications that ensue. Applied Linguistics draws upon a wide range of analytical and critical tools to analyse real language use and provide appropriate language intervention, often on educational grounds. With these tools, applied linguists seek to understand the micro-level impact of what sociolinguists have called the large-scale effects of “the cultural politics of English as an International Language” (Pennycook 1994, 2010a), and the latent “sociolinguistic conflict model of asymmetric relations” between native and non-native speakers of English (Hamel 2007: 54). Candlin (2001: 79) refers to the scope and distinctive interdisciplinarity of the field as follows:

> Applied linguistics occupies essentially that pluricentrist position characteristic of the post-modern intellectual condition. It is this which best makes applied linguistics adaptive to change, resilient, and accommodative of contradiction, and positions it to address the challenges of new issues and problems in language and its use.

Within the broad field of Applied Linguistics synergies are very often established between such fields as corpus linguistics, second language acquisition and second language learning, language education, English for Specific Purposes, pragmatics, composition studies, language and culture, language education, intercultural communication, and language and social theory, *inter alia*. Interdisciplinary approaches enable applied linguists to achieve a comprehensive view of the problems that language learners and language users find in real life contexts and seek to provide solutions to such problems.

In this section we will draw out some of the current foci within this field of study as an introduction to the rest of the chapter and as a guide to the sort of opportunities which lie ahead for researchers investigating English in Europe. First, however, we will address a much used term and one crucial to many studies of the role and status of English, namely 'globalization'.

4.1.2 Globalization and English

For much of the past 30 years, a substantial body of scholarly work has treated 'globalization' as a macro-scale, highly complex and multidimensional phenomenon. The literature attests that globalizing processes have spawned migration and mobility, as well as major cultural flows (Pennycook 2007b). These processes have reinforced the connections between different social contexts and regions on a global scale and have modelled "new forms of world interdependence" (Giddens 1999: 175).

Mittelman (1996) and Kubota (2002) explain that globalization has favoured the coalescence of varied economies, politics, cultures and ideologies through the global standardization of economic activities and a flow of cultural goods. Other critical views maintain that globalization has not only led to global similarity and cultural homogenization but also influenced and increased our awareness of the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of "the global village" (Pérez-Llantada and Watson 2011). Distinctions between local cultures and languages have been blurred by the effects of transculturation – i.e. a phenomenon that results from the contact of the local culture with the new forms of global identification (Pennycook 2007b). On the other hand, new conceptualizations have emerged to describe the effects of globalization. As an example, the term 'superdiversity' has been coined in the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology to study the impact of globalization and the ensuing changes in social, cultural and linguistic diversity worldwide (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), and this has become a widely employed term and a seductive concept.

The past decades have witnessed the intensification of worldwide social relations and of international relations at the economic, political and institutional level. The drive of knowledge-intensive economies has stimulated fruitful modes of connection between different local contexts and developed networks for international cooperation and commodity exchange. Knight (2005: 7) observes that increasing importance has been attached to the production and use of knowledge "as a wealth creator for nations". Along similar lines, Kubota (2002: 13) notes that there is "speedy exchange of commodities and information". It is precisely in this new socioeconomic and geopolitical context that the English language occupies a privileged position. Crystal (2003) suggests that the predominance of English has led to geolinguistic homogenization – as seen, for example, in conceptualizations such as 'English as International Language' (Kirkpatrick 2007). Crystal further adds that, concomitantly, globalization has also accentuated the tendency of increased linguistic polarization (e.g. the 'global Englishes' varieties, see Kachru 2009). As explained below, Applied Linguistics thus emerges as a crucial research field to investigate the impact of English in Europe, assess the status and role of English in the context of cultural and linguistic superdiversity and address the various types of contingencies that occur in both local and global communication.

4.1.3 An Applied Linguistics agenda

The following subsections represent major interdisciplinary branches in Applied Linguistics that are in a position to address the emerging challenges of English in Europe. In each subsection, we sketch out several future directions for exploring facets of learning, teaching and using English in the context of globalization as a guide to possible future research in the field.

4.1.3.1 Corpus Linguistics

One of the areas in which Applied Linguistics can inform a theory of language is through detailed descriptions of language structure. These descriptions, though, ought to move beyond the formalist Chomskyan paradigms and capture the dynamic of language use across situational contexts. The provision of corpus descriptions of English used by speakers from linguacultural backgrounds other than English, both in Europe and elsewhere, became a mainstream research interest in the first decade of the 21st century (see also 5.2 below). The *British Academic Spoken English* and the *British Academic Written English* corpora were compiled at UK universities to investigate how academic spoken and written English was used by multilingual students. More recently, other corpora such as VOICE (the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English*) at the University of Vienna and ELFA (*English as a Lingua Franca in academic settings* corpus) at the University of Helsinki have been developed to document the use of English in spoken interactions empirically. These corpora have offered insightful descriptions of the way English as a Lingua Franca speakers of varying proficiencies co-construct intelligible, communicatively effective social interactions. They also illustrate how these speakers tend to use certain communication strategies such as explicitation, metadiscourse, repetition, rephrasing and recurring lexico-grammar to achieve mutual comprehensibility and construct social cohesion (Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011a; see also 3.5 above). Given that languages may undergo fast change, longitudinal studies with these and similar corpora will be crucial to investigate whether non-standard linguistic features (e.g. the lack of accuracy in the use of articles and prepositions, tendencies to regularize morphology, use of uncountable nouns as countables, the omission of the third person singular verb and the creation of new terminology, all of them deviating from the conventional native-speaker English, see Mauranen 2010) employed by advanced ELF users, evolve over time.

Empirically-based linguistic descriptions of lingua francas other than English – e.g. Spanish, French, German and Portuguese – in the domains of business, science and academia (see section 2.3) are very scarce compared to the amount of descriptive work on EIL/ELF. García Landa (2006: 61) observes that the extent of linguistic diversity is subject to the impact of socioeconomic and geopolitical decisions as well as to other external forces such as communicative systems at work, institutional and network constraints, and/or individual requirements. Though having a much less dominant status than English, these lingua francas should be included on the agenda to better understand the dynamics of languages in society in the context of globalization.

4.1.3.2 Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning

Another major area in the future research agenda of Applied Linguistics involves finding solutions to the challenges that English poses to language learners in the processes of language acquisition and learning.

Learner corpora such as the *International Corpus of Learner English* at the University of Louvain and the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* have been developed to describe and explain the degree of transfer from the first language to the second language and subsequent languages and understand stages of L2 acquisition. In the particular case of English as a Lingua Franca, the use of non-standard features and the degree of linguistic innovation that ELF users introduce in the language need further examination drawing on the perspectives of SLA and SLL. It is of interest to further understand whether the use of non-standard features supports earlier claims observing that second language acquisition, as opposed to first language acquisition, is always incomplete (V. Cook 2013). Another issue that also requires further theorization concerns the conceptualization of English as a lingua franca as a 'macroacquisition' phenomenon, one that takes place within multilingual communities that need a shared language for communication and in using the language develop proficiency in it (Breiteneder 2009).

Further advancement is also needed to adapt learning tools such as Oxford's (1990) Strategy Inventory for Language Learning, initially devised for EFL learners, to the new category of 'ELF user' (Seidlhofer 2011a). It is also germane to examine the ways in which ELF acquisition is affected by external and internal factors such as formal instruction, informal and non-formal learning, or by opportunities for interaction and motivation for learning the language. Emergent research areas also revolve around the impact of technologies in formal instruction (e.g. Data-Driven-Learning or the use of ICTs for cooperative language learning). On-line social networks have become new forms of interaction through which English can be learned informally or non-formally. Identification of effective uses of learning strategies and technologies will facilitate and enhance the language learning process. Investigating the links between formal, non-formal and informal learning can also help us gain a better understanding of English language acquisition and learning processes and, perhaps more importantly, the changing attitudes towards the validity of non-formal and informal types of learning, particularly among younger learners.

4.1.3.3 Language Policy

Of particular concern today in the broad domain of language education is the provision of English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education (for more on this, see also section 3.7). EMI courses in universities worldwide have been incentivized by local, national and EU internationalization policies (Ferguson 2010). Empirically-based research on the benefits of this educational approach in the short- and long-run will be a compelling area of enquiry in Applied Linguistics in the coming years. Marsh (2002: 65–69) remarked that these initiatives offer opportunities for content and language integrated learning (CLIL), provide a more diversified didactic approach in the classroom and, at the same time, increase motivation in the language itself and in the culture attached to the language. Also, the implementation of English-taught programmes invites further enquiry into attitudes, expectations and concerns toward EMI initiatives in European universities (see, for instance, the 2015 study by Drljača Margić and Žeželić, on EMI in Croatian higher education).

From a different standpoint, the stance of the different stakeholders towards the internationalization of higher education in many ways recalls what Knight (2010: 14–15) regards as the 'myths' of internationalization. It is often assumed that internationalization means hosting foreign students and viewing them as internationalization agents, holding international reputation as a proxy for quality, establishing international institutional agreements, receiving international accreditations from foreign national quality assurance agencies and believing that the purpose of a university's internationalization strategy is to improve global brand or standing. For Knight, these are false assumptions given that internationalization is highly sensitive to the specificities of policy-making in each local (institutional) and national context. As this author also notes, the 'hidden' role of English in the internationalization processes of universities worldwide poses several important challenges that need further discussion with relation to language management theory (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015) (see section 5.5). Unsolved issues to date are, among others, the mismatches between language policies and *de facto* practices that result from the way in which policies are articulated and implemented (Englander and Uzuner-Smith 2013), or the fact that 'medium of instruction policy' (Gill 2004) in higher education stands in stark contrast with the current policies in Europe promoting plurilingualism for social, employability, mobility and professional development purposes. Solutions are needed to address these and other issues.

4.1.3.4 English for Academic Purposes

Academic literacy in the context of higher education also remains a facet of language pedagogy and, more broadly, language education, that requires further investigation. Recent collections such as *the Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Chapelle 2013) and the *Handbook of English for Academic Purposes* (Hyland and Shaw 2016) describe English for Academic Purposes as a key research field to enquire into students' language and literacy needs in multilingual university environments (Pérez-Llantada and Swales 2017). A pedagogical focus on communicative effectiveness or, as another example, the view of the 'competent intercultural communicator' model (Mauranen 1993) as an alternative to the native speaker model are issues for further debate among EAP practitioners. Applying a methodology sensitive to local cultures and establishing alternative models for English language teaching alongside British and American standard English (Ferguson 2006) seem feasible educational proposals. Yet, their effectiveness needs to be empirically validated.

‘Socioliteracies’, that is, the “knowledge of the society and culture of the community or communities in which a language is spoken” (Council of Europe 2001: 102) as well as ‘interculture’ and ‘intercultural awareness’ become key concepts for further theorization in the field of EAP. ‘Interculture’ refers to “the transition stages between the native and the target culture learners have to go through in their approach to the target culture” (Kordes 1991: 300–301). ‘Intercultural awareness’ involves knowledge, awareness and understanding of the similarities and distinctive differences between the ‘world of origin’ and the ‘world of the target community’ (Council of Europe 2001: 103). Studies underlining the view of ‘culture’ as a fifth language skill and validating pedagogical approaches that raise students’ awareness of intercultural communication within their profession, reflecting on one’s own culture for mutual understanding and promoting curiosity and openness about other cultures (e.g. Bocanegra-Valle 2015) are highly relevant.

Kohonen et al. (2001: 3) note that different cultural environments lead to diverse strategies and practice for language and literacy development. EAP instructional intervention needs to be worked out bearing in mind the values, the traditions and resources of each individual in a given local context. Development of qualitative, ethnographic studies of English language usage by non-native speakers of English can yield a deeper understanding of student diversity and increase of awareness of diverse literacy backgrounds (Lillis and Scott 2007). Research along the lines developed by Wingate (2012), who investigates advanced academic literacy development of multilingual students in several UK universities, is crucial.

4.1.3.5 Contrastive Linguistics

Issues pertaining to the effects of English and the culture associated with it also need further examination from the perspective of Contrastive Linguistics. Academic discourses in languages other than English have been shown to differ from English academic discourse (Clyne 1996; Duszak 1994). Further enquiry into rhetorical and linguistic features can enrich current descriptions of variation across academic writing cultures worldwide. Analytical and critical enquiry should also determine the extent to which Anglophone conventions are adopted in L2 English texts and the extent to which linguistic features of the writers’ national language are transferred to the L2 (see Yakhontova 2002). Advancement in these areas is desirable because understanding cultural particulars on the one hand and linguistic universals on the other has important implications for linguistic theory.

Different rhetorical traditions across languages also suggest a need to enhance our understanding of miscommunication problems – above all, pragmatic misunderstandings (e.g. Kerans 2002) – in L2 English communication. This calls for greater study of the pragmatics of intercultural communication in the Applied Linguistics agenda. Data from learner corpora show that the language used by advanced learners of English exhibits both phraseological infelicities and semantic misuse if judged against native-speaker models (Gilquin, Granger and Paquot 2007). Research on interlanguage pragmatics also reports that L2 English learners with different proficiency levels not only overuse, underuse and misuse recurring phraseological patterns but also fail to understand the pragmatic functions that these patterns perform in the texts constructed by native-English writers (Ädel and Erman 2012). Identification of pragmatic infelicities and cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communication problems can be invaluable in language education.

Academia is also an ideal hub for examining the linguistic dimension of cultural diversity. It has been reported that scholars from different parts of Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Spain, to name but a few) report the loss of the cultural identity attached to their L1 when drafting texts in English (Bennett 2014). Some critical voices have described English as a predatory discourse that leads to the 'epistemicide' of the intellectual style of a writer's national language (Bennett 2007). Corpus and ethnographic research should thus examine ways in which the discourse of English transfers the cultural values ascribed to the language or acculturation processes that result from the use of the 'default' Anglophone models in transnational communication.

4.1.3.6 Multilingualism

As part of large-scale language planning recommendations, the UNESCO's General Conference on 'Implementation of a language policy for the world based on multilingualism' held in 2003 recognized the need to devise language policies to face the global communicative challenges of contemporary societies. The conference raised a number of issues that applied linguists need to further understand and interpret from interdisciplinary perspectives. These are, among others, the impact of English as the lingua franca of globalization (Kayman 2009), the effects of the dominance of English on other languages and language communities (Truchot 2001), as well as aspects of linguistic inequality vs. fair linguistic co-operation with a global lingua franca (van Parijs 2007).

In Section 3.1 English in the language ecology of Europe was discussed from the perspectives of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Applied Linguistics research can engage in interdisciplinary dialogue with these fields to further assess the advancement of English across Europe. Ferguson (2010: 118) convincingly observes that English is accepted "because people are seduced by dominant discourses that portray English as a beneficial language of modernisation, opportunity and economic competitiveness". A critical understanding of how language ecologies are modelled is needed to address the challenges posed by the decline of languages and the rise of English as an International Language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2001). It is also important to investigate the perceptions and attitudes towards 'glossodiversity', that is, "the diversity of languages themselves" (Pennycook 2007: 132) in relation to the construction of multilingual societies.

Future research should also address aspects of language contact and the extent of linguistic diversity in global communication today. It is very likely that English will remain the global lingua franca. However, working locally and communicating globally clearly underpins the formation of complex ecologies of linguistic diversity (Pérez-Llantada 2015). Both activities involve social interaction practices that may require the use of the local language, the language for identification, and/or the use of other languages for communication. These ecologies need to be empirically described and assessed critically. They pave the way for a deeper understanding of the linguistically and culturally superdiverse context of globalization and of issues of equity, domain loss or loss of linguistic and cultural heritages to which we now turn. Language ecologies thus surface as crucial topics for future enquiry.

David Block

4.2 Language and social class in Europe

While language issues of all kinds have been explored in great detail in Europe over the past several decades, as evidenced by the contents of this book, little research has been carried out on how social class intersects with English language use and learning in different European contexts. On the one hand, where social class does appear, it does so briefly, and it is usually understood in rather under-nourished terms based on one or two dimensions such as employment or education. The aim of this section is to move toward a modest remedy to this state of affairs, offering first a more expansive understanding of class before examining how English language proficiency comes to form part of a larger idealized profile for young people in Europe today: the 'global' or 'neoliberal' citizens. We then very briefly examine instances where social class clearly intersects language issues in Europe before ending with the suggestion that those researching ELF should pay greater attention to class in their work.

4.2.1 What is class?

In January 2011 the BBC launched the Great British Class Survey (GBCS), which was based on ongoing empirical research and scholarship by Mike Savage and several co-researchers (Savage et al. 2013, 2014). The survey gathered much media attention, and 160,000 people eventually responded, even if, as noted elsewhere (Block 2016a: TBD), the sample was skewed, as those who responded were “middle class, well-educated and used to having their voice heard”. The survey divided the British population into seven categories: Elite, Established middle class, Technical middle class, New affluent workers, Traditional working class, Emergent service workers and the Precariat. This latter category is a kind of catch-all for the growing number of individuals, primarily young people, who are finding that in the age of ‘zero-hours’ contracts (casual work) and ‘just-in-time’ (last minute) and ‘fit-for-purpose’ (as long as there is a purpose) contracting, they face a life of instability and intermittent (and in some cases, long-term) stretches of unemployment (Standing 2011). The model of class developed by Savage and his colleagues and underlying the survey is clearly Bourdieusian in orientation (for an introduction to the thinking of Pierre Bourdieu, see R. Jenkins 2002). Over the past several decades a kind of default Bourdieusian approach to class has taken over in the social sciences and, more recently and closer to home, in applied linguistics (see Block 2014).

Of course, it is worth noting that Bourdieu’s approach to class did not arise from nothing or come from nowhere, and those who shaped his thinking ranged from Aristotle to leading 20th-century thinkers such as Lévi-Strauss to Merleau-Ponty. However, Bourdieu was not always meticulous about citing the ultimate provenances of his ideas, and in this sense two scholars foundational to the social sciences in Europe, Karl Marx (1990) and Max Weber (1968), are rarely cited in detail despite having a great influence on his thinking. Marx is ever-present in that Bourdieu sees inequality as endemic to and a defining element of capitalist societies, and he sees this inequality primarily in class terms, as a matter of material conditions and processes. Weber is also ever-present (indeed, more so than Marx) in Bourdieu’s framing of inequality as symbolic and emergent in, and intrinsic to, sociocultural practices. Bourdieu drew directly on Weber’s metaphor of the ‘market’ as the site of asset trading and exchange and the notion that "status groups are stratified according to the principles of their *consumption* of goods as represented by special styles of life" (Weber 1968: 937).

In his vast work over five decades, Bourdieu (e.g. 1977, 1984, 1991) provided social scientists around the world with a range of metaphors which have proven useful for understanding class in late 20th century societies, even if the base for Bourdieu's scholarship on class was always primarily France. One of these metaphors is *field*, understood as an arena of social practices (education, the world of art, etc.) constituted and shaped by particular ways of thinking and acting. Intrinsic to fields, and the emergent interactions and activities within them, is inequality. Inequality arises not only in economic terms, as differences in *economic capital* such as income, property, assets and other forms of personal wealth, but also as symbolic *capital*. The latter may be understood as an effect of taste and distinction, involving social validation, legitimacy, recognition, prestige, honour and so on. These are accrued via the possession of and access to *cultural capital* – socially legitimized knowledge and knowhow – and *social capital* – social relations facilitating paths to success in individual life trajectories. Class *habitus*, as acquired, embodied dispositions in a constant state of renewal and revision in the light of ongoing experiences, is given as a necessary element bridging the external and internal worlds of individuals.

Notwithstanding this default adoption of the Bourdieusian approach to class in the social sciences, there have been criticisms of his work. Thus, among other things, he has been taken to task for the following: not being sensitive enough to individual agency as potentially transformative of dominant unjust social structures (Butler 1999); "privileging major crises", while "forget[ting] the existence of the many polymorphous crises that beset actors in their everyday lives" (Lahire 2011: 45); his loose use of "capital" to refer to "personal endowments" and not understanding that while "[c]apital undoubtedly uses […] signs of distinction in its sales practices and pitches, … that does not mean that distinction is a form of capital" (Harvey 2014: 187); and the marginalization of the psychological in discussions of *habitus* as an internalized, dispositional "structuring structure" (Lizardo 2004).

Bearing in mind these and other critiques, as well as the provenances of Bourdieu's thinking, the author of this section has in recent years attempted to frame class for his own explorations of topics in sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, drawing on the foundational work of Marx (his materialist take on society), Weber (his more culture-based approach), Bourdieu (his metaphorology) and a long list of other scholars (e.g. Crompton 2008; Sayer 2005; Wright 2005). Emergent in this ongoing reading and thinking is a *constellation of interrelated dimensions* model (e.g. Block 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2016b), which attempts to bring together a range of dimensions that index class in different ways in different contexts, cultures and societies across space and time. This model, which is in a constant state of review and revision, consists of five general categories which are then subdivided into dimensions as follows:

Economic resources
– Property: land and housing
– Property: other material possessions, such as electronic goods, clothing, books, art, etc.
– Income: salary and wages
– Accumulated wealth: savings and investments

Sociocultural resources
– Occupation: manual labour, unskilled service jobs, low-level information-based jobs, professional labour, etc.
– Education: level of formal education attained and the corresponding cultural capital acquired
– Technological knowhow: familiarity and ability to use evolving technologies
– Social contacts and networking: people regularly associated with as friends and acquaintances in class terms (the extent to which middle class people tend to socialize with middle class people, working class people with working class people, and so on)
– Societal and community status and prestige: embodied, achieved and ascribed

Behaviour
– Consumption patterns: choice of shops, buying brands or not, ecological/organic consumption, etc.
– Symbolic behaviour: e.g. how one moves one's body, the clothes one wears, the way one speaks, how one eats
– Pastimes: golf, skiing, cockfighting, participation in online fora

Life conditions
– Political life: one's relative position in hierarchies of power in society
– Quality of life: in terms of physical and psychological comfort and health
– Type of neighbourhood: a working class neighbourhood, a middle class neighbourhood, an area in the process of gentrification

Spatial conditions
– Mobility: physical movement, from highly local to global
– Proximity to other people during a range of day-to-day activities

- Dimensions and size of space occupied: layout of dwelling or place of work, size of bedroom; size of office, etc.
- Type of dwelling: mobile home, house (detached/semi-detached), flat (studio, small, large), etc.

Adopting this broad view of class is not without its problems and should be 'handled with care'. First, it must be seen not as written in stone, but as a working model and a heuristic via which we can understand how class and class relations are constituted and indexed in different societies around the world. In particular, it is worth bearing in mind at all times the way in which class intersects with a range of identity dimensions, such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, age and dis/ability (Block and Corona 2014, 2016). In addition, just as contemporary capitalism (neoliberalism) is 'variegated', that is, it develops and evolves in very different ways across different geographical locations (Peck 2010), so too are class and class relations: they may be said to exist in all societies with a minimally developed economy, but they will manifest themselves in very different ways from one context to the next. With these considerations in mind, we still face the question of where to go with this model of class and how to apply it. For example, how does it fit in with the study of English in Europe, the chief concern of this publication? In the next section we embark on a brief tour of instances in which class mediates English in Europe contexts, doing so independently of whether or not research has been done with this fact in mind.

4.2.2 Social class and English in Europe

Some two decades ago, Stephanie Vandrick (1995) very presciently wrote about the increasingly visible presence at American universities of what she called "students of the new global elite". For Vandrick these were young people who embody many of the dimensions of class cited above under the headings of economic resources, sociocultural resources, behaviour, life conditions and spatial conditions: "[t]hey have lived, studied, and vacationed in various places throughout the world; they may carry passports or permanent visas from more than one country; their parents may have homes and businesses in more than one country; they may speak several languages; they have often been educated at Western high schools – frequently boarding schools – and colleges, exhibiting a sense of global membership" (Vandrick 1995: 160). Elsewhere, with reference to elite bilingual education programmes as an international phenomenon, Anne-Marie de Mejía argues that the students passing through such programmes are "generally well educated, upwardly mobile individuals who are proficient in two or more world languages [... and who] in many cases [...] have been in a position to forge a new global identity" (de Mejía 2002: 51). Where de Mejía writes "two or more world languages", we are usually in the realm of a home language (or languages), which might or might not be "world", then English, and then one or more other languages, which are deemed by educationalists and parents alike to be "useful" and "international" (Mandarin, not Danish; Arabic, not Catalan). The kind of young people which Vandrick and de Mejía describe also exist in Europe, where they are idealized by EU documents (e.g. European Commission 2015) and heads of state alike as 'entrepreneurs' or as 'innovators', young people who are cosmopolitan and in possession of the right skill sets and who are, therefore, 'competitive' citizens on the global stage in the 21st century. In recent years, this notion of global citizen has morphed somewhat into what authors such as Wendy Brown have termed 'neoliberal citizens'. Drawing on Foucault's (2008) early (1979) discussion of neoliberalism and *homo economicus* (as a precursor to the neoliberal citizen), Brown defines these citizens as "entrepreneurial actors in every sphere of life [... and] as rational, calculating creatures whose moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for 'self-care' – the ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions" (Brown 2005: 43). Elsewhere, Peter Mirowski adds that "neoliberalism [...] reduces the human being to an arbitrary bundle of 'investments', skill sets, temporary alliances (family, sex, race), and fungible body parts [... as 'g]overnment of self' becomes the taproot of all social order" (Mirowski 2013: 59). In effect, neoliberalism has meant the rise of individualism and the individual as a "bundle of skills" (Urciuoli 2008), with English as a key skill and the mark of distinction (Bourdieu 1984) and class position (middle and upper) in contemporary European societies via possession of the right sociocultural resources (e.g. advanced education, technological knowhow, social contacts and networking, and status and prestige) and modes of behaviour (e.g. shopping in the right establishments, buying the right brands, knowing how to move, dress and speak, and participating in high-end pastimes such as golf and skiing) cited above.

Curiously enough, in research on elite and international English-medium schools across Europe, there is no political economy angle on language education which would lead to class-based analysis. Thus in books which focus either entirely on such schools (e.g. Abello-Contesse et al. 2014; Carder 2007), there is little or no discussion of the class position occupied by these students when they begin their studies, nor of the role for which they are being prepared as elite class warriors in a society where individualization and competition are the bywords. Elsewhere, with a focus not on private international schools, but on state schools in which English-medium instruction has been introduced, Luisa Martín Rojo and her collaborators (see Martín Rojo 2010) discuss an in-depth study of English-

Spanish bilingual programmes in state schools in the autonomous community of Madrid. The schools in question are often situated in working class neighbourhoods with a high percentage of recently arrived immigrants from around the world. In more recent publications based on this study, Martín Rojo (2013) and Relaño (2015) report on data collected during the academic year 2008–2009 in a school in which 18 % of all students were enrolled on an English-Spanish bilingual programme for years 1–4 of their secondary schooling (ages 11–15). As a part of this bilingual programme, students received 3 hours of English-medium instruction in subjects such as geography, history, science and technology. However, as Martín Rojo notes, this "bilingual education is not offered to the whole school; it is only available to those students considered to be competent in the two languages of instruction, Spanish and English" (Martín Rojo 2013: 199). Thus, students in the programme had either already been in English-Spanish bilingual education in primary school or had acquired the level of English required outside of school-based studies. In either case, this selective process raises issues related to class, as it is middle-class parents or more upwardly mobile working-class parents who are likely to get their children into early bilingual programmes, and above all it is these parents who can afford English language tuition outside of what is offered in school.

This point has been taken up by scholars such as Joseph Park (e.g. Park 2009; Park and Wee 2012), who over the years has explored this intersectionality of English language proficiency with middle- and upper-class positions in South Korean society. In a very different context, Vaidei Ramanathan (2005) has shown how the multiple levels of English language proficiency, and indeed English varieties, intersect with class positions in 21st-century India, characterized by a highly complex and ever-evolving stratification system. What is perhaps lacking in the European context is greater attention to similar such intersections, that is, how the English language is both constitutive of and an index of class-based differences in society. For example, those interested in ELF in different domains of interaction would do well to examine the extent to which those who can actually be identified as ELF speakers are, according to the *constellation of interrelated dimensions* model presented above, middle or upper class in their home contexts. Reiterating the point made above, working-class and lower-class children in increasingly unequal European societies do not have access to English in the same way (neither quantitatively nor qualitatively) as middle- and upper-class children. This division extends to student mobility within Europe (e.g. ERASMUS programmes) as those who can confidently take on a sojourn in another EU member state will likely be middle- and upper-class students who have been able to acquire a high proficiency level in English, which, in turn, will allow them to associate with equally middle- and upper-class members of the host society. A class-based angle on ELF would enrich the different areas of research which it includes, and it would take on at least one issue raised by John O'Regan (2014) in a recent critique, namely that most ELF research is lacking in the kind of criticality which comes when one frames social phenomena in political economic terms. Not taking an explicit class-based approach to ELF in Europe leaves researchers open to the charge that they are expending a great deal of energy demanding greater respect and recognition for citizens who are already quite empowered both in their home contexts and in pan-European contexts.

4.3 Language policy making

Dag Finn Simonsen

4.3.1 Overview and key issues

This section deals with language policy making in the nations of Europe in response to the advance of English. Special attention is given to Norway and Scandinavia as the regional case study which will be further developed in chapter 6.

In the past half century or so, Europe has been marked by a number of political macro-trends. First of all, what is now the European Union (EU) has been formed (cf. next section). Furthermore, alongside the EU, and entwined with it, a complex critical legacy from the overthrowing of dictatorships and colonialism has developed, working bottom-up and advocating democratization, minority rights etc. Last but not least, Europe, and the countries of Eastern Europe in particular, were marked by the Cold War for a long period. In short, political developments across Europe have borne witness to unprecedented change, and language policy and planning have correspondingly felt the impact of those changes.

4.3.1.1 Loanwords, language and modernization

For a decade or so, the growing influence of English didn't evoke responses worth mentioning, let alone language policy measures. But from the 1950s onwards, English loanwords started to trigger debates, with René Étiemble's book on Anglicisms in French as a landmark (Étiemble 1964). The debaters clearly conceived English influence as a threat to their language, but they hardly represented any kind of general opinion in their respective countries.

But while the Germans and the French, according to Einar Haugen (1978: 90), discussed loanwords as a matter of ‘stylistic purity’, in Scandinavia there were also “fears that the English influence may lead to extinction of the native languages”. This assertion seems to ascribe to Scandinavians a more holistic perspective that also included a broader understanding of language status alongside concerns about the corpus (loanwords).

From Haugen’s own pragmatic (US-European) perspective, English was to serve as an instrument of modernization of the Western world, and there had already been steps in Scandinavia that corresponded to this view. English had long since been introduced as a subject in school (mandatory in Norwegian elementary school since 1969; see also sections 2.1 & 6.2), a fact that truly reflects a view of English as an opportunity and a wish to modernize in an international direction. It also cancels out the possible impression that Anglicisms were an overriding concern at that point.

4.3.1.2 Academies and language councils

Outside bi- or multilingual regions with conflicting language-political positions, language policy in Europe has been largely corpus-focused and bound by the maintenance of tradition. The longer established language academies, however, that existed in several countries weren’t necessarily judged to be adequate or functional in the second part of the 20th century. So from the Second World War onwards, all the Nordic countries joined Denmark and Sweden in establishing new language councils to tend their national language(s). Initially, this had no connection with the role and status of English.

As had happened in Belgium ten years earlier (see EFNIL n.d.: Belgium) Norway reached a national language policy compromise with the setting up of the official Norwegian Language Council in 1971–1972 as a kind of ‘peace agreement’ following several decades of language political in-fighting (see section 6.3. for more on this process). The Council was to function on a corporative basis. Its members were appointed by governmental and private bodies from language-related sectors, generally ‘men (and women) of letters’. The aim was to protect Norwegian as a cultural inheritance, give linguistic advice and promote tolerance, respect and cooperation but also – informally – to re-establish some stability in language planning. Its partners were standardization and terminology organizations and a few academic and professional groups, but there was hardly any contact with the world of business and commerce.

The instruments available reflected the imperatives of that time but did not at all anticipate the changes that were to come. During the eighties, satellite television occasioned a transformation of the media as a whole. American TV series like *Dallas* and *Dynasty* were huge family entertainment successes and boosted and broadened the popularity of American and British popular culture even more. Up to then, such large communities in much of northern Europe had never been exposed to the use of the English language to such an extent, and this would lead to a new emphasis in language planning at the national and regional level.

4.3.1.3 A 'purist campaign'

The Norwegian Language Council was marked by an alliance between older and nationally oriented philologists and younger, more politically radical sociolinguists. They united in a general defence of the popular language and came to regard the increased use of English, by now gradually better documented, as a problem. Both Iceland and France were known to develop and promulgate neologisms to substitute for English loanwords, and to some degree their example provided an inspiration for the Council, alongside social and national arguments from Norway's recent history.

Around 1990, the Language Council took action and launched a campaign against the influence of English, making use of newspaper advertisements, TV items, stickers and buttons, booklets etc. and letters criticizing companies that used English in their public relations. The arguments were democratic and social more than national, often stamping English words as "needless" or "unfavourable". The chief concern was to prove that Norwegian isn't a language inferior to English. But it was also suggested that such words might hamper communication in Norwegian, damage the orthography and eventually maybe even threaten the language system.

The Ministry of Culture supported the measures, while the general public remained indifferent. The Swedish Language Council had previously terminated a similar campaign in the light of criticism, and the head of the Danish Language Council now labelled the Norwegian measures a 'purist campaign'. At home, the Norwegian Language Council was criticized for its slogan 'Linguistic Environmental Protection' which was said to confuse language with pollution and evoke embarrassing associations. These debates were followed by only a few, indicating as so often the gulf between top-level planning and its implementation, but crucially English was positioned at the heart of the debate in the principal national language policy institutions. After some efforts to establish a database for substitute words around the year 2000, however, the Council's substitute word project has in effect faded away, even if it has not yet been formally terminated. In other parts of Europe, a puristic approach continues to be pursued. This applies to France, where L'Académie française publishes lists of recommended French words on its website, and it applies to Poland and a few other countries in Eastern Europe where purism seems to have been adopted as an aim and a method at about the same time that it was losing ground in the Nordic countries.

4.3.1.4 Around 1990: A watershed

The years around 1990 mark a watershed in Europe when it comes to language use and language policy. In 1991, the termination of the Warsaw Pact opened up for a more westward-facing line in the countries of Eastern Europe and concomitantly an increasing appetite for English. In 1992 the European Communities (EC) became the European Union (EU) and the EU's internal market came into existence. The EU can be said to play an ambiguous part in European language policy by on the one hand strengthening new member states' languages and on the other hand boosting cooperation on markets, labour exchange, research, education etc. which in the long run fuel more widespread use of English.

The launch of the World Wide Web in 1991 and the introduction of a browser for Windows in 1995 constituted further important linguistic and social opportunities and reasons why the international language situation might change substantially and affect majority as well as minority languages. In several countries, new roles for English and (older) regional and minority languages emerged, such that a new 'glocalist' linguistic diversity seemed to unfold in the omnipresence of English, especially on the Internet. Consequently, new and potent ideologies developed that can be subsumed under what Hartmut Haberland (2009), following Ulrich Beck, refers to as *globalism* (as distinct from *globalization*, i.e. the process).

These trends are clearly also linked to neoliberalism. Hult (2013) sketches a notion of English as a Tok Pisin (the widespread language of Papua New Guinea based on creolized English) for everybody living in the global village and sharing an enthusiasm for a neoliberal life. This globalist notion of course contains both a description and a desired goal. It is a far cry from Haugen's model of English as a tool to modernize Europe's languages to make them fully functional instruments for varied use in society, and postmodern views about the nature of English as a resource have come to dominate in the sociolinguistic literature, as we explored in section 3.8. We now go on to ask what sort of language policy responses could be adequate to this changed context.

4.3.1.5 Language policy responses in continental Europe

In so far as there have been responses in continental Europe, the responses have been very varied (EFNIL n.d.: articles on the countries mentioned below). Neither Germany nor Italy have made their majority language a ‘national language’ via the constitution or protected it legally in other ways, neither before nor after 1990. These are countries with long-established literary traditions, considerable home markets and media that dub foreign language programmes. Public opinion is typically little concerned with the role and status of English.

When it comes to Spain, the ‘EU trend’ and the critical legacy trend converged as the country, following Franco’s death, first opened up for the recognition of regional languages in 1978 as co-official with Spanish and then became an EU member state in 1986. In contrast to Spain’s liberal stand, France in 1992 wrote that ‘The language of the Republic is French’ into its constitution and in 1994 passed the so-called Toubon Act [loi Toubon] to follow up with a regulation of public and private language use that lacks parallels in Western Europe.

In some Eastern European countries language policy has been subsumed into a new nation-building practice. Here, the situation can be a complicated one. While opening up for Western influence, including the use of English, the country may have considerable linguistic minorities who often have the same mother tongue as the majority of a neighbouring state. In addition, Russian may be present as a ‘language of power’. In 1997, Polish was written into Poland’s constitution as the national language, and the following year Latvia made a corresponding decision about Latvian. In both countries, this was followed up by supplementary legislation. Latvian language legislation is much about the relationship with Russian which only counts as a ‘foreign language’ in spite of the country’s substantial Russian-speaking minority.

In 1992, The Council of Europe passed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which was a breakthrough for the principle of linguistic rights (see next section). By May 2015, Germany and Poland, among others, had ratified the Charter, whereas Latvia, France and Italy hadn’t (Council of Europe 2015).

4.3.1.6 Scandinavian language policy responses

In the smaller countries of northern Europe, new trends are often noticed at an early stage. Here, the notion of *domain loss* had been debated as early as the 1980s (see section 4.4). In line with Hult’s scenario, it implies that even well-established languages like the Scandinavian ones may be in danger of being degraded by English and eventually fall out of use in key sectors of society. Gradually, the earlier focus on loanwords lost ground to warnings about domain loss, and the national authorities heeded the reports on this that were produced.

From the early 2000s, the Nordic countries in turn passed new language policies in response to what was conceived as a new situation, while at the same time reorganizing the language councils. To meet the threat of domain loss, the adopted policy texts generally state that the majority language is to remain ‘a complete language, serving and uniting society’.

The use of English now involves more conflicting interests than it used to, as exemplified by the Bologna process. The official aim of the Bologna co-operation from 1999 onwards is to co-ordinate Europe’s national systems of higher education – although the real rationale according to critics is long-term economic growth. To attract foreign students, institutions are stimulated to offer university degrees in English, the outcome of which is a rapid and unbalanced increase in English-medium instruction, in a sector in which language policy documents state may be exposed to domain loss.

4.3.1.7 At the end: Parallel language use for everybody?

Will the language acts of France, Poland etc. strengthen the languages in question? It remains to be seen. As to measures of the Nordic kind,[1] Norwegian experiences prove that they don’t necessarily work. What alternatives are available? In Scandinavia, the term *parallel language use* (see section 4.5) was coined shortly after 2000, and in the 2006 *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007) it is used boldly and systematically based on the following definition: “The parallel use of language refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas. None of the languages abolishes or replaces the other; they are used in parallel”.

Parallel language use can be taken to correspond to the standard linguistic condition of the universities, operating with the vernacular alongside an international language for science as well as possibly other languages as circumstances dictate. Can it also be made a general language policy principle? In Norway, the Ministry of Culture has adopted the somewhat paradoxical formulation of ‘parallel use of languages with a preference for Norwegian’ for the university sector. But to make this more than mere rhetoric, the state must start making language policy considerations a reality in the context of globalization.

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1 Scandinavian language policy also includes legislation to protect national languages. Sweden passed an act on this in 2009 whereas Denmark for its part has abstained from such a measure. In 2015 work on a draft of a national language act is ongoing in Norway.

There are strong economic and political interests at stake in globalization, and a common view is that globalization requires English. Hence, a language policy meant to hamper the use of English may clash with the preferences of both the political authorities and the business community, not to mention ordinary people. In that case, the image of English as an 'opportunity' overrules that of English as a 'threat'.

When discussing national language policy-making in the era of 'Global English', it seems appropriate to sum up by quoting Fishman et al. who dedicated their 1977 book *The Spread of English* to "those speech-and-writing communities utilizing 'small languages' that have already learned to live creatively in the company of 'the mighty', and, even more, to those still learning how to do so".

Michele Gazzola

4.3.2 EU Language Policy and English

This section provides a brief outline of the language policy of the EU, and it critically discusses some of its most important policy documents.[2] Documents dealing with languages at the EU level can be collected into five groups:

1. Documents defining and regulating the use of the EU official and working languages.[3] Such documents can be legally binding (e.g. the Regulation 1/58) or not. Internal vademecums, codes of conduct or reports concerning the use of translation and interpreting services within EU institutions are examples of non-legally binding documents.
2. Official documents about EU language policy, i.e. Communications from the European Commission or Resolutions of the European Parliament. These documents deal with four general themes:
   a) *Education, language learning and teaching*. Following the Conclusions of the European Council in Barcelona in 2002, the EU recommends to the Member States that at least two foreign languages should be taught to all

2 This section draws on the report *Documenti e orientamenti dell'Unione europea in materia di multilinguismo: una classificazione degli atti* written by the author for the project *La lingua quale fattore di integrazione sociale e politica* (University of Florence, Project PRIN 2010-11). Additional financial support from the European Commission is gratefully acknowledged (Grant agreement No. 613344, project MIME). The author wishes to thank Bengt-Arne Wickström and Torsten Templin for their remarks on an earlier version.

3 For a detailed description of the history of the EU language regime, its legal basis and its practical implementation, see Ammon (2014: 730–833), Athanassiou (2006), Gazzola (2006), Hanf, Malacek and Muir (2010: 81–162), and Nißl (2011: 72–127).

pupils from a very early age. This formula is sometimes called 'mother tongue plus two foreign languages' or MT+2. Besides, the EU promotes transnational teacher training and new methods for language learning such as CLIL (content and language integrated learning).

b) *Languages and the economy* (e.g. foreign languages for business and for mobility of the workforce within the common market).
c) *Languages in society* (i.e. languages for European citizenship, linguistic democracy, inclusion, social cohesion and intercultural dialogue).
d) *Support for minority languages*.

3. Various external reports or studies published (but not drafted) by the Commission or the Parliament on several aspects of the language policy of the EU.
4. The decisions of the Court of Justice or the European Ombudsman concerning language issues (e.g. discrimination as regards the language requirements in the recruitment procedures of EU institutions).
5. Parliamentary questions on language issues lodged at the European Parliament.

In addition, there are different official documents, reports or studies that indirectly or incidentally mention language policy as an aspect of other issues, e.g. migration policy, the creation of a unitary European patent, or the promotion of a common area for higher education and research. The list of documents is too large to be reported here.[4] To wit, 97 documents were published from 1981 to 2015 belonging to group 2, and 75 to group 3. It would not be feasible even to make a summary of the most important statements, reports or studies. It is necessary, therefore, to circumscribe the set of relevant documents and to define from which perspective such documents should be discussed. Group 2 is probably the most interesting because it contains the general orientations of the language policy of the EU. We focus on two specific areas, that is, the economy and society. They correspond to points 2b and 2c in the list above. As noted by Grin, Marác, Pokorn and Kraus (2014), EU language policy aims at contributing to the achievement of two EU socio-economic objectives that are difficult to reconcile, i.e. promoting

4 For a comprehensive overview of EU actions and initiatives in the field of multilingualism, see Cullen et al. (2008), European Commission (2008c), European Commission (2011).

intra-EU *mobility*[5] and at the same time ensuring *inclusion* and *social cohesion*.[6] The next section illustrates the heart of the matter.

4.3.2.1 The context of EU language policy

During the last decades the official EU discourse about foreign (or second) language learning and teaching has been increasingly connected to the achievement of the general socio-economic objectives of the EU (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011). Such objectives were defined in the *Lisbon Agenda 2000–2010* and in the *Europe 2020 Agenda*.[7] The EU does not however seek to neglect the cultural or cognitive aspects of language learning; quite simply, the scope of EU language policy has been broadened. Languages are increasingly viewed as skills that can contribute to economic growth, competitiveness, mobility of labour, and employability. This change has gradually become evident in different official documents. We should mention, among others, the *Action Plan 2004–2006* (European Commission 2003), the Commission's communication *A new strategic framework for multilingualism* (European Commission 2005), the Commission's communication *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (European Commission 2008d), the *Council conclusions on language competences to enhance mobility* (European Council 2010), and the communication *Rethinking education: investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes* (European Commission 2012c; European Commission 2012b).

5 Mobility is the result of various flows, that is, "*immigration* (foreigners moving into the country); *emigration* (nationals leaving the country); *return migration* (nationals returning to the country); and *circular migration* (nationals who move back and forth between countries)" (Vandenbrande 2006: 9).

6 Following the guidelines of the *Social Policy and Development Division of the United Nations*, we adopt the following working definitions. *Social inclusion* is the process by which efforts are made to ensure equal opportunities – that everyone, regardless of their background, can achieve their full potential in life. Such efforts include policies and actions that promote equal access to (public) services as well as enable citizens' participation in the decision-making processes that affect their lives. *Social cohesion* is a related concept that parallels that of social integration in many respects. A socially cohesive society is one where all groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy (http://undesadspd.org/socialintegration/definition.aspx).

7 The *Lisbon Agenda* was a plan developed by the European Commission aimed at making the EU "the most competitive and dynamic 'knowledge-based economy' in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion by 2010". It was followed by *Europe 2020*, a 10-year strategy aiming at "smart, sustainable, inclusive growth" with greater coordination of national and European policy.

In the already mentioned communication *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment,* for instance, language skills are described as a factor contributing to economic prosperity. Language skills are viewed both as an asset contributing to the competitiveness of European companies and as form of human capital that can positively affect citizens' employability. In the Commission's communication *A new strategic framework for multilingualism*, the improvement of citizens' skills in foreign languages is even presented as a precondition for the achievement of the common market: "for the Single Market to be effective, the Union needs a more mobile workforce. Skills in several languages increase opportunities on the labour market".

There are sound economic reasons behind such statements. Generally speaking, language skills are rewarded on the labour market (see section 5.4 in this book for a discussion). Further, neoclassical economic theory suggests that the mobility of production factors (labour and capital) improves economic efficiency. For example, mobility of workforce helps reduce structural gaps in unemployment rates across regions, and it equalises marginal productivity of labour, thereby leading to allocative efficiency. Yet, worker mobility in the EU remains a relatively marginal phenomenon. According to official figures:

> around 2 % of working-age citizens from one of the 27 EU Member States currently live and work in another Member State. By comparison, the respective share of third-country citizens residing in the EU is almost twice as high.
> (European Commission 2007: 3)

There are different social and institutional factors discouraging a move to another country, including the fear of losing social ties (family and friends), the lack of mutual recognition of professional qualifications, differences in the tax systems, and the need to learn a new language (see Vandenbrande (2006: 26) for an overview). Hence, promoting foreign language teaching and learning, according to EU policy-makers, is precisely a means to increase intra-EU worker mobility, foster economic growth and reduce unemployment.

Language skills, however, are important also for the integration and inclusion of EU citizens, and therefore for social cohesion. At the institutional level, for example, providing information to citizens in all 24 official languages is necessary to include them in communication about EU institutions and policies (e.g. European Commission 2005; European Commission 2010; European Parliament 2010). At the national level, foreign language skills can increase job opportunities of EU citizens in their home country; this could reduce unemployment and improve social inclusion (European Commission 2012b; European Council 2010). The most challenging point, however, concerns the need to include *mobile* workers, students and children. Developing adequate skills in the language(s) used in the host country, in addition to one's mother tongue, is a condition for guaranteeing equality of opportunity to children from a migrant background (European Commission 2008a), and to integrate adult migrants (i.e. mobile workers and international students). This is crucial to preserve social cohesion at the national level, that is, to prevent the emergence of separate communities within a given country and to reduce the risk of xenophobia and populism.

The challenges, nevertheless, are huge. Mobility can contribute to economic growth, but at the same time it raises many concerns about the capability of European societies to include migrants and mobile citizens coming from linguistically diverse countries and regions. The Commission notes that "students with a migrant background score systematically less well than domestic students, notably because of insufficient command of the language of instruction" (European Commission 2008b: 20). Furthermore, "providers of basic services (health, school, local authorities and courts) are increasingly in need of communicating with people speaking other languages while their staff is not trained to work in languages other than their mother tongue and do not possess intercultural skills" (European Commission 2008b: 21). The crux of the matter, therefore, is to understand whether the MT+2 formula can effectively mitigate the tension between mobility and inclusion (that crucial tension we encounter throughout this book), or whether the promotion of one vehicular language such as English provides a better solution. Of course, it is not possible to find an answer to such a complex question here, although the current book seeks to provide further means for researchers to continue to explore this issue. In the next section, nevertheless, we present the main points of the ongoing debate.

4.3.2.2 The trade-off between mobility and inclusion

Language learning clearly facilitates mobility. Empirical evidence shows that those who learn and speak the official language of a country as a foreign language are five times more likely to move to that country (Aparicio Fenoll and Kuehn 2016). This happens because learning a foreign language during compulsory education reduces migration costs, especially for young people. The MT+2 formula, in principle, could equip EU citizens with skills that can be useful both for mobility *and* inclusion abroad. Assume for example that a Romanian pupil is taught French and German in school and that he reaches a B2 level[8] in these two languages at the end of compulsory education. This could certainly decrease the cost of moving to

8 A B2 level of The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) corresponds to an upper intermediate level of knowledge.

Austria or to Wallonia, for example, during his or her adult life, and it would facilitate integration in cities like Linz or Liège as well. Nevertheless, it would probably not substantially decrease the cost of moving to Ireland or England. Mobility often implies forwards and backwards moves from one country to another, and such moves are unpredictable. It is common knowledge that language skills cannot be simply bought and possessed like other commodities (e.g. clothes), because they are the result of a progressive learning process that can last years. In other words, schools provide language skills to children and students, but no one knows whether such skills are exactly what they will need in their adult life. Clearly, languages can be learnt also at a later stage, and promoting lifelong learning is actually one of the objectives of EU policy. Nevertheless, lack of adequate language skills is precisely one of the factors that decreases individuals' willingness to move abroad when an unexpected job or training opportunity appears.

Some observers point out that an alternative solution is to promote a vehicular language.[9] Sharing a common language, in principle, can facilitate mobility across linguistically diverse countries or regions. At present, there is no such a common language in Europe. Although English is taught in the vast majority of European schools (Eurydice/Eurostat 2012), in most cases pupils and students reach unsatisfactory levels of language proficiency (European Commission 2012a). Moreover, between 45 % and 80 % of European adults either do not know English or they do not speak it at a proficient level (see section 5.4 in this book for a discussion). Nevertheless, English is often pointed out as a language that is more likely to facilitate transnational mobility than others (see for example the recommendations of the *High level task force on skills and mobility*, European Commission 2001).

While a shared vehicular language can potentially ease mobility, it does not necessarily facilitate inclusion. For example, English can be useful to access higher education programmes in Hamburg or in Helsinki and to find a job in a high-tech company based in those cities. Nevertheless, it is not enough to fully integrate in societies in which German or Finnish, respectively, are still the local dominant languages. The language *skills* of an individual at a given time, in fact, can be viewed as a stock of human capital, but language *use* is a situated practice. In other words, Germans or Finns living in Hamburg or Helsinki, on average, may have good skills in English, but they are not necessarily willing to switch to English every time a foreign colleague or friend is present (this holds both in oral and increasingly also in written communication). Local dwellers may have good

9 Historical examples mentioned in the literature are German and Hungarian in the Habsburg Empire (Schjerve-Rindler and Vetter 2007; Korshunova and Marác 2012), Russian in the USSR (Grenoble 2003), Serbo-Croatian in Yugoslavia (Ivanova 2012).

reasons for this that go beyond parochial nationalism. For example, preferring interactions in the local language may reflect the need for belongingness to a given community, the desire to 'feel at home' in one's own city or country; they may feel more comfortable (i.e. less insecure) when they speak in their native language; it can be also the outcome of a free choice on language use. The problem is precisely that mobility makes interactions with foreigners more and more frequent both in the workplace and in private life; this, in turn, increases the number and the frequency of situations in which the use of the vehicular language would be required.

One of the possible negative outcomes of such a trend could be the emergence of 'parallel societies' in which local people and foreigners (or expats) live in rather separated communities or, using a catchier expression, in different 'linguistic bubbles'. In some situations, this is already happening.[10] Such an outcome would be harmful to social cohesion. Besides, the language dynamics resulting from an increasing mobility of citizens coupled with an intensive use of English as a vehicular language outside the Anglosphere could result in an erosion of language diversity in different sociolinguistic domains, and in massive distributive material and symbolic effects (Van Parijs 2011; Grin 2015). This would raise legitimate cultural and geo-political concerns[11] that could negatively affect peoples' attitudes towards mobility.

It is worth noting that a formula "English + another language" would not solve the problem. For example, if the second language learned at school is Italian, inclusion in the host country would be easier only if the child moves to Italy during their adult life. Note also that the EU has no competence in the field of education. It can make recommendations, but it cannot impose language education policies on the Member States. The lack of coordination among countries adds further complexity to the current situation.

To conclude, mobility and inclusion emerge as two central dimensions of the challenge confronting multilingual European societies today. The trade-off between them should precisely be the object of targeted language policy measures that aim at reducing the costs associated both with mobility and inclusion (Grin, Marác, Pokorn and Kraus 2014). Examples of such measures are investing in bilingual education, lifelong learning, translation and interpreting, provision of multilingual public goods, and a greater use of ICT in language learning and maintenance.[12]

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10 For example, we observe the emergence of rather separate networks of interaction among national and international students studying in English outside the UK or Ireland (Priegnitz 2014).
11 See, among others, Backus et al. 2013, Kraus 2008, Lacey 2015.
12 The study of different strategies to reconcile inclusion and mobility is currently the object of the EU co-funded project *Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe* – MIME (2014–2018). See

Beyza Björkman

4.3.3 Policies in the European Higher Education Arena

4.3.3.1 The European Higher Education (HE) arena and Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

One year after its first mention at the Sorbonne in 1998, the goal for European HE was made clear in the joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education in Bologna: to work towards "a more complete and far-reaching Europe, in particular building upon and strengthening its intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions" and to work on "the competitiveness of the European Higher Education" internationally (Bologna Declaration 1999: 1). Working towards such a goal is a major undertaking that includes several actors at different levels: first of all, the European institutions, then the individual states, then institutions within these individual states, in our case universities, and finally the stakeholders. Lasagabaster (2015) terms these four levels 'macro', 'meso', 'micro' and 'nano', respectively (2015: 1).

Countries throughout Europe have been working towards this more "far-reaching Europe" since 1999, although in different ways and progressing at different speeds. Pursuing this mission, large numbers of English-taught programmes (henceforth ETPs) have had to be created throughout Europe, enabling students to follow studies in institutions other than their home ones, and scholars to teach and conduct research in other academic settings. English, being the most dominant academic lingua franca, has been the main medium of instruction in the European Higher Education Arena (henceforth EHEA) (see section 3.7 for more detail on such cases of English-medium instruction). Lasagabaster draws attention to the pressure globalization has imposed on universities to internationalize, consequently leading to top-down approaches in language planning (Lasagabaster 2015: 3). We need to remember, however, that "the Bologna Process exclusively rests on voluntary agreements [...] unlike other Europeanized policy areas" (Dobbins and Knill 2009: 398). Among the aims of the Bologna Process is enhancing academic mobility, which cannot be achieved without employing a language that is common for as many L1 backgrounds as possible. This shows then that the top-down practices come from the meso-level individual states that have agreed to adopt the macro-level Bologna Process. This also means that criticisms of the top-down choice of the medium of instruction in European HE (e.g. Haberland 2014; Ljosland 2014; Mortensen 2014) come from agents at micro level and are

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www.mime-project.org.

directed towards the 'meso' level , i. e. the individual states, and not towards the macro level, i.e. European institutions. The top-down nature of the creation of language policy documents, however, is another matter, which we will turn to in section 4.3.3.2.

Although local-level language choices may be negotiated in HE settings throughout Europe (e.g. Haberland 2014), English is the most dominant medium of instruction in European HE, and the role English plays in the internationalization of HE has become increasingly important (see also Lasagabaster 2015: 3; section 3.7 in this volume). This manifests itself in the dramatic increase of ETPs throughout Europe. There were 725 reported ETPs in Europe in 2001 (Maiworm and Wächter 2002), increasing to 2389 in 2007 (Wächter and Maiworm 2008), all the way up to 8089 in 2014 (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). These figures show a staggering increase of 500 per cent in the number of ETPs throughout Europe between 2001 and 2014.

Internationalization in the dimensions described above is having a major effect on language policy work in EHEA. Language policy as a term is often used to refer to "official documents created by governments and other authorities" as well as being "constituted by the practices of stakeholders involved in developing and implementing these texts" (De Korne 2012, see also Canagarajah 2005; Menken and García 2010). In this section we focus mainly on the level of texts but touch upon certain social practices where appropriate.

4.3.3.2 Processes and agents of LPP work in EHEA

As several scholars have pointed out, LPP research involves exploring different types of policy making and language planning activities by focusing on different processes, such as "creation, interpretation and appropriation" (Dueñas 2015: 22; see also Ricento and Hornberger 1996 for the metaphor of the LPP onion, representing the different layers of LPP work that are in interplay with each other). Important prerequisites to our discussion are the notions of *ideological* and *implementational* spaces, introduced by Hornberger (2002). These two terms are used to describe how (educational) practitioners in the local setting can make use of the spaces in language policies to their advantage[13] (Hornberger 2002; see

13 These terms were coined primarily for discussions of multilingualism, i.e. how much ideological and implementational space there would be for the inclusion of other languages. They are nevertheless relevant to the present chapter on changing practices and policies, as in most HE settings in Europe, there is the increasingly dominant medium of instruction English, the local language, and another home language in the case of large immigrant groups.

also Johnson and Freeman 2010: 14). A policy can "either open up or restrict *ideological* and *implementational spaces*" (Menken and García 2010: 4), attempting to shape individuals' everyday practices (emphasis added). At the same time, even with the strictest policies, "there is often *implementational space* that local educators and language planners can work to their advantage" (Johnson and Freeman 2010: 14, 15, emphasis added), as most policy documents are broad and do not include specifics about everyday linguistic practices.

We now focus on how different agents can make use of the implementational spaces allowed by general university language policies (in most cases in support of the maintenance, protection and development of the local language). Other than the institutions of the EU, these different agents are the individual states, then institutions within these individual states, in our case HE institutes, and faculties within these institutes. The distribution of processes and LPP agents for university language policies are as shown in Table 4.3.1.

Table 4.3.1: LPP agents and processes in EHEA

Processes of university LPP work	Agents		
Initiation	of a common EHEA: EU (called 'supranational level' in Lasagabaster 2015)	→	of ETP programs: State/Government (as a response to the call for a common EHEA)
Creation	of ETP programs (language choice): HE institutes		
	of the actual production of LP documents: HE institutes (mainly as a response to the call for the protection and promotion of the local language and multilingualism)		
Interpretation	Faculties and departments within the HE institutes		
Evaluation	Process in place only at supranational level (EU's agencies)		
Appropriation	Process in place only at supranational level (EU's agencies)		

In practice the processes listed in the left-hand column in Table 1 lean towards the choice of English language as the medium of instruction in a top-down fashion, as many have pointed out (e.g. Doiz et al. 2013c; Haberland et al. 2013; Hultgren et al. 2014a; Lasagabaster 2015). This makes the countries within this geographical region quite homogenous as regards the *initiation* process, both in terms of the initiation of a common EHEA and the initiation of ETPs. Following on from the general decision made at the EU level in Bologna (initiation of a common EHEA in our table), the HE boards in the EU's states called for a more mobility-friendly HE arena in their respective countries (initiation of ETP programs in the table), which put pressure on the HE institutes to adopt more ETPs (see the 'creation' stage below). It should be mentioned, however, that the idea of a common EHEA was not the only reason behind the increase of ETPs. There were significant financial benefits in so doing.

The next stage, i.e. *creation* (Table 4.3.1) operates at two levels, as it includes both the creation of ETPs and the production of language policy documents. When we look at the creation of ETPs, we see that many were created within a short time period especially in northern and central Europe (e.g. Scandinavia and the Netherlands). Haberland says that internationalization of HE in Scandinavia has been intimately connected to ETPs without much questioning (2014: 252). This is reflected in the list of absolute leaders of ETPs in Europe: in the top five of the twelve ETP powerhouses are three countries from the Nordic region[14] (Denmark, Sweden, Finland) with three countries from central Western Europe in the top 12 (the Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria) (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). This has not been the case in southern Europe (Wächter and Maiworm 2014; Lasagabaster 2015: 9) (but see Cyprus in fifth place amongst the ETP powerhouses; Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Lasagabaster reports that, despite a noticeable increase, ETPs are still not so popular in France, Italy, Greece or Spain.

There are several reasons behind the lack of popularity and the consequent lower numbers of ETPs in certain parts of Europe. The situation is partly caused by the lower levels of proficiency in English in those regions – see EF Proficiency Index (e.g. Education First 2014). If we look at the top five countries according to Proficiency Index values, we see Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and Norway as the top five in the world with the highest proficiency values, almost identical with the top five ETP powerhouses. Again, following the same pattern, we see that countries where ETPs are still not so popular have relatively low scores in the Proficiency index (Spain, Italy and France, all with 'moderate proficiency', in 20th, 27th and 29th place, respectively). In addition, the situation is more complex in officially bilingual HE institutes in some European countries, where the indigenous language is in friction with the medium of instruction, such as at the University of the Basque Country where Basque and Spanish are the two official languages (Lasagabaster 2015). Finally, we must remember those recent accession countries, especially in South-East Europe, where there may be a lack of resources and/or expertise. This may also be one of the factors behind the inequity in student mobility, which Beerkens reports as having a South-North, East-West flow (Beerkens 2008: 22).

14 Here we adopt Wächter and Maiworm's (2014: 30) categorization of regions of Europe, namely Baltic, Nordic, Central East Europe, South East Europe, Central West Europe and South West Europe.

As we mentioned above, the creation stage also includes the creation of university LP documents. In most cases (such as in Swedish university LP documents; see Björkman 2014, 2015), the point of departure for language policy work has been calls to protect and promote the local language, highlighted explicitly in a series of official government documents (e.g. in Sweden: the Language Act from 2009 as well as several official documents leading to it). The situation is similar in the rest of Scandinavia (see section 6.3), where e.g. Norwegian and Danish have been reported as being 'under threat', needing protection from English as the increasingly dominant medium of instruction (e.g. Haberland 2014; Ljosland 2014). University LP documents in these countries were created as a response to calls from the government, asking the public sector to protect and promote the local languages (e.g. Björkman 2014, 2015). If we apply Lasagabaster's levels (2015) here, we see that the call to protect the local language comes from the meso level, which is in fact the same level agreeing to adopt the Bologna Process.

So, with regard to the creation stage, the countries in this region display no major differences. While the creation process and the resulting LP documents have been quite similar with a high level of interdiscursivity[15] (see Björkman 2015), we see that the LP documents in some countries vary in the ways they mention English. Some are less explicit with no mention of English (see Soler-Carbonell 2015 and Saarinen and Nikula 2013 for Estonian and Finnish LPP work respectively, where English is called the 'foreign language') while in the LP documents in other settings, English is explicitly described as the dominant academic lingua franca (e.g. in Sweden).

Differences, however, become more readily noticeable when it comes to the *interpretation* process, where there is implementational space for the different agents. At this level, we see clearer differences regarding implementation within Europe, even within smaller geographical regions. One such example comes from the Nordic region. Haberland reports that most research in Denmark is carried out in Danish (Haberland 2014), and in courses taught in English Danish plays a major role (Haberland 2014; Mortensen 2014). This is not the case in Sweden, just a few kilometres to the north. Major HE institutes in Sweden have foreign students and staff comprising up to 50 % of their entire population,[16] which often makes English the only viable lingua franca, also making the use of other languages hard. In some cases, differences have been observed even within the same country. If we consider south-west Europe, we see Italy where the northern and the central parts of the country have been leading the way with large numbers of ETPs while southern Italy has been lagging behind (see Costa and Coleman 2013).

15 See Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 73) for an explanation of *interdiscursivity*.

16 This percentage is lower in the humanities and social sciences.

Also worth noticing is the highly general nature of university LP documents, leaving considerable implementational spaces to faculties and departments within these HE institutes (see Björkman 2014, 2015). The aim of the LP documents does not seem to be perceived as aiding individuals in their linguistic choices for particular functions, rather as a set of general rules and guidelines prescribing the use of a certain language for particular functions. As a result of these very general guidelines, there may be many different interpretations of the same policy. Romaine states that "language policy is not an autonomous factor and what appears to be ostensibly the same policy may lead to different outcomes, depending on the situation in which it operates" (Romaine 2002: 1).

Of relevance to the *interpretation* stage are the notions of implementational and ideological spaces, as touched upon at the beginning of the present section. Hornberger (2002) maintains that "multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible, and in particular endangered languages, to evolve and flourish rather than dwindle and disappear" (2002: 30). Although Hornberger's statement is about endangered languages, it is relevant to our case here since European university language policies are multilingual by nature. In language policy documents, we are concerned with the local language(s), minority and immigrant languages, and English as the most dominant academic lingua franca (in no particular order). In officially bilingual settings, tensions do arise when a third language becomes the medium of instruction, and efforts need to be made to protect the indigenous language while enjoying the benefits of learning to operate in a global lingua franca (Lasagabaster 2015: 149). In fact, even in the presence of one official language only, such as in Germany, measures might need to be taken for students in ETPs to make use of their multilingual repertoires (Knapp 2015). How implementational spaces are negotiated in university LP documents is naturally determined by the political, historical and the ideological realities of that specific context. Considering the history of the separate states of the EU (and indeed the European area more broadly), it is not surprising that the states and the HE institutes within these states have different ways of negotiating implementational spaces.

Returning to Table 4.3.1, the final two processes are *evaluation* and *appropriation*. An important question to raise here is the evaluation of the existing policies, which we now discuss.

4.3.3.3 Missing pieces: Evaluating LPP work in EHEA

Evaluation is known to be costly and labour-intensive, and evaluations of language policies would require large teams. To date, the only evaluations of issues affecting the EHEA are the major ones on the Bologna enterprise at supranational level, where there are resources for such major operations (e.g. Westerheijden et al. 2010; European Commission 2015b). The EU has its own bodies for quality assurance, such as the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA), International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE), and European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) (van der Wende and Westerheijden 2001). These bodies conduct evaluations at various intervals.

Such major evaluations could be complemented with more micro-level evaluations that would lead to *appropriation* of policies in European HE institutes. EHEA would benefit greatly from evaluations of language policies in its separate states, and indeed there is fertile ground for new research projects here. While governments have produced numbers on the cost-effectiveness of the Bologna enterprise in their evaluations at the level of HE institutes (e.g. Niemelä et al. 2012 on Finland), no major evaluation, and consequently appropriation, has taken place to our knowledge. Having said that, we must not forget that the production of university LP documents is a rather recent development, even in countries where ETPs are well established. In Sweden, for example, several major HE institutes are still in the process of producing LP documents (e.g. Chalmers, Lund; see Källqvist and Hult 2016). For this reason, LPP work in HE institutes may simply not have reached the stages of *appropriation* and *evaluation*.

What has already developed, however, is criticisms by several scholars of certain aspects of LPP work in HE. The existing LP documents have been criticized in descriptive studies for being a set of very general rules and guidelines that are of a mainly prescriptive nature (e.g. Björkman 2014 and 2015); for being general, "one-size-fits-all" policies that do not "allow for discipline-specific adjustments" (Kuteeva and Airey 2014: 533); for having a strict top-down nature (e.g. Björkman 2014; Doiz et al. 2013; Haberland 2014; Lasagabaster 2015; Ljosland 2014; Mortensen 2014), creating a mismatch between policy and actual linguistic practices (e.g. Björkman 2014; Mortensen 2014). Evaluative research is by nature different from descriptive research, in that it "is intended to provide results that can be used to impact the topic that has been explored by making recommendations of positive or negative judgments" (De Korne 2012: 39). Although the above-mentioned studies are mainly descriptive, they can be seen as the first steps in the *evaluation* of university LP work. Evaluation has received much less attention in LPP work so far despite the fact that major typologies of LPP include evaluation as an essential step (i.e. Fishman 1972; Haugen 1983) (see also De Korne 2012: 39). A further stage of *performance monitoring and control* (see Linn, Sanden and Piekkari 2017 forthcoming) is even further off in the majority of cases of LPP.

So how could a micro-level evaluation of university LP documents be carried out? Such an evaluation should first of all examine carefully *the creation* and production of a language policy (see Källkvist and Hult 2016 for an ethnographic account of the production of a Swedish university LP document), including its point of departure (i.e. its *initiation*), goals and motivations (see Nahir 1984[17]). The *interpretation* could be evaluated at the level of faculties and departments in that specific HE institute. Success can be measured in terms of cost-effectiveness and financial benefit in general (see Gazzola and Grin 2007; also section 5.4 of the present book), but most importantly, the alignment of the language policy with the language practices in the relevant HE setting for which it was produced.

Spolsky maintains that real language policies are in individuals' everyday linguistic practices (Spolsky 2004). In light of this, any policy that is out of step with the linguistic practices in the relevant setting cannot be deemed successful. Fettes wrote two decades ago that critical evaluation of language policy must "test language planning against actual practice in order to promote the development of better [...] language planning models" (Fettes 1997: 14, in Hornberger 2006: 25). For such an evaluation, the real agents of language policies, the individuals in these settings and their everyday linguistic practices, must be taken into consideration. Such an evaluation in an HE setting could be carried out in a series of ethnographic studies and would need to consider issues such as readership, the presence or absence of any modified linguistic practices resulting from the language policy, as well as the functions of these modified linguistic practices. Worth noticing is an interesting change of direction: top-down policies can best be evaluated with a bottom-up approach.

17 Nahir (1984: 318) provides a list of eleven goals for language planning: language purification; language revival; language reform; language standardization; language spread; lexical modernization; terminological unification; stylistic simplification; interlingual communication; language maintenance; auxiliary code standardization.

Anna Kristina Hultgren

4.4 Domain Loss: the rise and demise of a concept

4.4.1 The concept

A concept which has been salient in investigating English in Europe is *domain loss*. While the concerns it encapsulates are found in many places, the term itself is partly a Nordic coinage. Domain loss refers to the idea that the growing use of English in key transnational domains, notably higher education and multinational corporations, will lead to the official national languages (Swedish, Danish, Finnish/Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic) ceasing to develop, losing status and eventually not being used at all. The first element of *domain loss* ("domain") is probably attributable to the American sociologist of language, Joshua Fishman (1970), though Fishman himself credits the linguist Georg Schmidt-Rohr (1890–1945) (Haberland 2005). (Perhaps because Schmidt-Rohr has later become unfondly remembered for his scholarly contributions to Nazi "race science" (Cameron 2007), Schmidt-Rohr is rarely if ever acknowledged.) In contrast to Fishman, who worked with the notion of "domains" as a way of theorizing language choice, the Nordic debate has reified it, using it to designate physical entities which are perceived to be at risk of encroachment from English. Such physical entities are, in particular, multinational corporations and higher education and research. The Nordic debate on domain loss consolidated itself just after the turn of the millennium in a string of language policy initiatives within each nation state, culminating in a joint Nordic Declaration on Language Policy in 2007 (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007; see section 6.3.2).

While at some levels concerns about domain loss have not been plucked from thin air but resonate with well-documented sociolinguistic phenomena and processes including borrowing, diglossia, attrition and language shift, the Nordic debate has generally been poorly informed sociolinguistically. In general, the concept has been used in ways that vary "from the vague to the nonsensical" (Preisler 2009: 10). Having attracted a fair amount of criticism (Haberland 2005; Hultgren 2013; Preisler 2009), some researchers have begun to talk about the irrevocable demise of the concept (Haberland 2011). The degree of sophistication has varied across the Nordic community with the Swedish debate possibly being the best informed (Phillipson, personal communication), having been led primarily by bilingualism scholars writing from a stance that acknowledges the value of bilingualism. However, the concept has been used by a range of very different stakeholders, spanning from lay people to renowned linguists, politicians and media commentators, which is probably one reason why, the concept has been used with a range of different meanings. In this section we consider two of the most important ones – lexical borrowing and language shift – and consider their merits.

4.4.2 "Domain loss": lexical borrowing or language shift?

The early stages of the domain loss debate tended to conceptualize domain loss as increased lexical borrowing from English. One example of this conceptualization is visible in a response by the then chair of the Danish Language Council, Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, to an opinion piece written by Professor of Biochemistry, Peder Olesen Larsen. Both pieces were published in the Danish national newspaper Berlingske Tidende.' Complaining about the increase in specialist terms used in the natural sciences, the Professor asks that the Language Council "make a systematic effort to integrate these [many thousands of new words] into the Danish language" in order to "avoid a mixture of Danish and English" (Olesen Larsen 2005: NP). The Language Council responds:

> [W]hat is requested [must] be an adaptation of the words so they are spelled, pronounced and conjugated in Danish and thus cease to become foreign-sounding. One example of such a loan word adaption might be *klorid* (cf. e.g. English *chloride* and Italian *cloruro*) [...]. The Language Council is happy to provide guidance on how specialist terminology might be assimilated, but we do not have the scientific requirements to address the problem on our own; the Council is primarily concerned with everyday language and only in a limited way with language for special purposes.[18]
> (Davidsen-Nielsen 2005: NP)

This view rests on three assumptions: 1) that lexical borrowing in the sciences is in need of urgent intervention from the Danish Language Council; 2) that the words which are felt to contaminate Danish are indeed borrowed from English; and 3) that scientists need guidance as to how to go about assimilating these English loan words into Danish. All of these three assumptions are questionable.

Firstly a study comparing the proportion of lexical borrowings from English into spoken everyday Danish and spoken scientific Danish found that the proportion of loans was exactly the same, i.e. 0.6 %. The spoken scientific domain,

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18 [D]et der efterlyses, [må] vel være tilpasning af ordene så de staves, udtales og bøjes på dansk og dermed ophører med at være fremmede fugle. Et eksempel på et således tilpasset fagord kunne være klorid (jf. fx engelsk chloride og italiensk cloruro) [...]. Sprognævnet bidrager gerne med vejledning i hvordan fagord på disse tre måder kan assimileres, men vi har ikke naturvidenskabelige forudsætninger for at løse denne opgave alene; nævnet beskæftiger sig først og fremmest med almensproget og kun i begrænset omfang med fagsprogene (Davidsen-Nielsen 2005).

in other words, operationalized as the talk produced by lecturers in undergraduate teaching in chemistry, physics and computer science at the University of Copenhagen, is not more influenced by English loan words than everyday spoken Danish (Hultgren 2013). There was variation between the disciplines, however, with computer science, perhaps not surprisingly, being most influenced by English (1.83 % compared to 0.30 % in physics and 0.49 % in chemistry). It is of course also worth noting here that the overall proportion of loans from English, in both the everyday and the scientific domain, is slight, at 0.6 % of words. As regards the second assumption, i.e. whether these words are "English", this arguably depends on how far back in history one goes. For the study reported here, English loans were operationalized as having entered into Danish after 1850. Most "new" specialist terms have Greco-Latin origins: for example, dissociative electron attachment, solid state ionics and orthogonal synthon, begging the question of whether they should be considered as English at all (Hultgren 2015). Finally, as to whether these loan words are assimilated into Danish, this is overwhelmingly the case. Morphologically, they are assimilated through combining an English element unproblematically with a Danish one as in C++-beregning [C++ calculation], Javadoc-kommentarer [Javadoc comments] and ASCII-alfabetet [the ASCII alphabet]. Phonologically too, they are pronounced according to Danish conventions with one main stress (for a more comprehensive analysis, see Hultgren 2013) making it questionable as to whether top-down guidance from the Danish Language Council is indeed necessary, let alone possible.

A more recent view in which domain loss has been understood is not as lexical borrowing, but as language shift. Such a conceptualization is made explicit in a key report by the Danish Ministry of Culture:

> It is less of a concern to track the import of English words than to keep an eye on the situation of language use and domains which transition from being Danish-language-dominated to being English-language-dominated. Among such domains are scientific genres. There is evidence that more and more researchers primarily or exclusively write in English. In addition, Danish faces competition as a medium of instruction, particularly in higher education.[19]
> (Danish Ministry of Culture 2003: 10)

In this quotation it is made clear that it is not a "concern to track the import of English words" but that the real problem is the wholesale shift from the national language to English in the sciences. As discussed elsewhere (see next section),

19 Det er mindre væsentligt at følge indvandringen af engelske låneord end at holde øje med de sprogbrugssituationer og domæner, der kan overgå fra at være dansksprogede til at blive engelsksprogede.

however, such concerns about the wholesale shift from the national language to English also often oversimplify the situation and ignore the fact that English and the national Nordic language can be said to be in a complementary relationship, each being used to different extents for different communicative purposes (Preisler 2009). Like concerns about lexical borrowing, they too overlook historicity and the fact that before English came to be dominant as a language for research publication in the Nordic communities, the dominant language of publication was German (Ammon 2001; see section 2.4).

Salö and Hanell make some interesting observations about how a Swedish computer scientist goes about "constructing" the scientific register of computerese in Swedish, having got limited access to previous instances of this type of language. As the researcher writes, they patch "together [patterns] from similar Swedish and English texts and from prior events in oral academic language use" (2014: 27). These prior events can be "written or oral, in Swedish or in English, formal or informal, and anchored in computer science or elsewhere" (2014: 13). Such observations challenge a key assumption underpinning the notion of domain loss, that of "complete and society-bearing language" [komplet og samfundsbærende sprog] (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007). The notion of a "complete and society-bearing language" assumes that the national language is *a priori* endowed with the required linguistic resources, lexical, grammatical and stylistic, to be fully functional, and should continue to be so. The connection to "domains" is obvious: for a language to be society-bearing it has to be used in "all" domains. However, as Laurén et al. put it "[i]t is a fact that no language covers all possible domains at all LSP [language for specific purposes] levels" (2002: 25), thereby implicitly acknowledging that no language is ever at any one time "complete and society-bearing".

Thus, concepts such as *domain loss* and *complete and society-bearing* (see Linn 2010a for more discussion of how these terms have been used in language planning), irrespective of whether they are invoked to raise concerns over lexical borrowing or a wholesale language shift, ignore the historically emergent, practice-based nature of language use we observe in the rest of this book, and rest on "overly static conceptualizations of discrete and linguistically uniform domains" (Salö and Hanell 2014: 13). They obscure development and dynamism and the need for language users to adapt and respond to social and technological changes particularly at the lexical level (Winford 2002). As such, "domain loss" seems an ill-fitting term because it assumes that these domains, allegedly at risk of "being lost", clearly exist, while in fact there are fluid boundaries between the everyday and the scientific, the formal and the informal and the written and the oral (Salö and Hanell 2014). While concerns about lexical borrowing have often been brushed aside as trivial and as misguided in the Nordic debate, it could be argued that they are no more so than domain loss in the sense of language shift. Given the research evidence that has begun to emerge, it is arguably remarkable that debates about language, epitomized in coinages such as *domain loss*, take up so much space in society. We will conclude this section by proposing three possible explanations for this.

4.4.3 Demise

Firstly, both conceptualizations of domain loss rely on an implicit and unchallenged ideology that there is a one-to-one correspondence between nation state and national language (Duchêne and Heller 2007; Joseph 2004). Key policy documents in each nation state have taken for granted that the national language should continue to occupy the status and role it has occupied hitherto despite, or perhaps because of, the arguably extreme intensification of transnational and translingual communication in the past few decades. This is not to say that many aspects of globalization cannot and should not be challenged, an issue to which we return briefly below, but nor is it to say that because things have been like this for the past centuries they have to remain that way.

Secondly, Salö (2014) has analysed the Swedish domain loss debate in terms of the powerful attempting to protect their privileges. Drawing on Bourdieu's notions of capital and field, he argues that those who have constructed and legitimized "domain loss" as a concept have their own interests, not necessarily consciously, vested in this. One example which may serve to illustrate this is the introduction of new criteria for rewarding publications in the university and college sector. Several Nordic countries have introduced bibliometric performance indicators. This promotes publication in prestigious, *de facto* English-medium, journals, thereby profoundly perturbing existing value and reward systems and threatening the position and privileges of established, senior scholars, who may be habituated to different ways of producing and disseminating knowledge. It tends to be established and senior scholars who have been among the most critical of the use of English (Jensen et al. 2010), presumably partly because they have grown up and developed their careers in a context where possessing English proficiency wasn't a tool of the trade.

And finally, debates about language are seldom only, or even primarily, about language (Cameron 2012a) a concept Cameron refers to as 'verbal hygiene':

> In any given time and place, the most salient forms of verbal hygiene will tend to be linked to other preoccupations which are not primarily linguistic, but are rather social, political and moral. The logic behind verbal hygiene depends on a common-sense analogy between

> the order of language and the larger social order, or the order of the world. The rules of language stand in for the rules that govern social or moral conduct and putting language to right becomes a sort of symbolic surrogate for putting the world to right.
> (Cameron 2012b: transcribed from an oral presentation)

In other words, as linguistic anthropologists have also pointed out, debates about language are in effect proxy debates about other underlying societal issues which are rarely to do with language. Evidence in support of this theory is that the domain loss debate in Sweden flourished at a time when Sweden was debating entry into the EU (Milani 2007), whereas in Denmark, it has been partly appropriated by the right-wing Danish People's Party to feed into a nationalist and at times xenophobic agenda (Thøgersen 2009). Thus, battles fought in the political domain also become battles fought in the linguistic domain. As such, it may also be that the "loss" element in the domain loss debate appeals to a wider rhetoric of loss (of the rain forests, of the polar ice caps, of powers to the EU, and of national identity in the face of immigration, etc.).[20]

While the concept of domain loss has been rhetorically valuable for some stakeholders, it is worth considering the extent to which it detracts attention away from more fundamental debates to be had about how neoliberal processes dramatically restructure the ways in which higher education and research is organized (see section 4.2 for more on the experience of 'neoliberal citizens'). Of course, 'domain loss' is only a dubious notion when presented in the light in which it has been presented here; it is certainly a concept that has been of practical value to politicians, journalists and other commentators. Notwithstanding this, domain loss may well prove to have been a red herring.

Anna Kristina Hultgren

4.5 Parallel Language Use

4.5.1 The policy of parallel language use

Parallel language use, or parallellingualism, is a concept now firmly established in Nordic language policy discourse (though not so much outside of the Nordic community). It refers to the idea that no language should encroach upon another. The "encroaching" language that is implied here is English and the "encroached-

20 I owe this point to Andrew Linn (AKH).

upon" language is the official national language or languages of the Nordic nation states, i.e. Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Finnish/Swedish. Parallel language use can be seen as a proposed solution to the threat of the "domain loss" discussed in the previous section, and has in recent years become increasingly widely used, to an extent replacing the latter (see Hultgren 2014a for a history of the term).

Parallel language use is listed in the 2007 *Declaration on Nordic Language Policy* as one of four areas of priority, the other three being "language comprehension and language skills", "multilingualism" and "the Nordic countries as a linguistic pioneering region" (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 93–95):

> The parallel use of language refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas. None of the languages abolishes or replaces the other; they are used in parallel. (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 93)

The notion of parallel language use was the culmination of language policy activities which had been taking place in the five Nordic nation states (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland) since the turn of the millennium (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008; Hultgren 2014a; Höglin 2002; see also section 6.3. for more discussion) and which were drawn up in a policy document, devised by the Nordic Council, a forum for co-operation between the Nordic countries. While the policy is not legally binding, Nordic ministers have committed to achieving its long-term goals (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007), and Nordic universities in particular have picked up on it. By now several Nordic universities have policy documents in place which seek to manage the relationship between English and the local language(s), whether or not this is explicitly referred to as a parallelingual language strategy (Björkman 2014; Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; Hultgren 2014a; Kristinsson 2014; Linn 2014; Saarinen 2014).

Despite a near universal acceptance of the term parallel language use, it is not always clear what it actually means. A Danish government document makes clear that it would be unrealistic to expect that parallel language use entails a reduplication of all activities undertaken in a university, e.g. that all subjects and programmes taught in English should also be offered in Danish (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008). One of the propagators of the concept in Denmark, Peter Harder, Professor of English Language at the University of Copenhagen, acknowledges this lack of clarity, writing: "To a certain extent we shall all be involved in 'constructing' in the years to come what parallel language use is going to be in the end" (Harder 2008: n.p.). Closer inspections of policies at Danish and Swedish universities have observed that despite an overt commitment to maintaining both the national language as well as using English, there is a striking lack of specificity as to what the role of each of these two languages should be and how this should be obtained (Björkman 2014; Hultgren 2014a). Anne Holmen, furthermore, the first ever Professor of Parallel Language Use, has argued passionately for the concept alluding not only to the international language, English, and whatever official language(s) is used in each Nordic nation state, but to a much wider range of languages, including, importantly, the all too often invisibilized first languages of ethnic minority students (Holmen 2012). Others have noted that it is not clear if parallel language use is meant to refer to practice or competence, to policy or practice or to the individual or the language system (Linn 2010b; Salö 2014; Thøgersen 2010).

Arguably, the imprecise nature of the concept opens it up to a range of interpretations, which, at one level may be problematic, but at another may facilitate implementation. Perhaps one of the clearest examples of this is the way in which the concept is used, respectively, by the Danish Ministry of Culture and the University of Copenhagen. Both these institutions trumpet parallellingualism. However, while the Danish Ministry of Culture uses parallellingualism to argue that Danish must be strengthened to secure its continued use, functionality, status and existence, the mission statement of the University of Copenhagen uses it to justify an expansion in the use of English in order to attract international staff and students. What we are seeing here is in effect the same concept being invoked to promote two opposing ideologies: (national) protectionism on the one hand and, on the other, internationalization (see further Hultgren 2014a).

In view of this apparent ambiguity of parallel language use, we now turn to an examination of how the concept relates to the sociolinguistic practices at the internationalized Nordic universities. More specifically, to what extent might the situation be described as parallel language use in action? Our discussion is organized around each of the three domains that are most commonly associated with universities: research, teaching and administration.

4.5.2 Parallel language use in practice

In terms of the first domain, research, this is often construed as if it were a monolithic domain or type of activity, it consists of several sub-activities, including networking, collaboration, managing research, doing research, publishing research, and evaluation of research (Kyvik 2013). Most research on language choice has been conducted on research outputs. Here it has been unequivocally shown that at Nordic universities, English is by far the most preferred language, and increasingly so (see 6.6. for more discussion). The proportion of academic articles published in English at Nordic universities is 70 to 95 %; for doctoral dissertations it is 80–90 % (Gregersen 2014).

However, the picture changes when publications written for a non-academic audience are taken into account. McGrath (2014) found that, at a major Swedish university, Swedish is the preferred language in outreach genres (text written for non-academic audiences). McGrath also found disciplinary differences with Swedish being more often preferred by historians than by anthropologists and linguists, in that order. Thus, in practice language use correlates with different types of contextual factors, including publication outlet and discipline, thereby nuancing claims about the dominance of English in Europe.

As for teaching, the second key university domain, the preference for different languages also depends on the context (see section 6.7 for a more general discussion). While Nordic universities offer the highest proportion of English-medium instruction (EMI) in Europe, the extent of its usage varies according to level. At graduate level, some 10–25 % of programmes are taught in English; at postgraduate level, the range is 20–40 % (Gregersen 2014). This makes sense from the point of view that the more specialized the teaching, the greater the need for English to expand the target audience beyond the national language market. The same explanation may be offered for research: the more specialized a topic, the greater the use of English. In the context of Denmark, Preisler observes: “English is used when *not all* members of a transnational communicative network know Danish – and Danish is used when *all* members of a network can be expected to know Danish” (2009: 13).

As further evidence of how language choice is made in practice, Mortensen (2014), observing patterns of language choice in student groups on an international university programme in Denmark, found that although English is by far the dominant language, students also use Danish and sometimes a mixture of English and Danish. According to Mortensen, there is “no simple correlation between conversation topic and choice of medium” (2014: 436), but Danish, or a mix of Danish and English, is typically used in asides “that only some group members attend to” (2014: 436). Söderlundh (2012), who conducted fieldwork on an English-taught programme at a major Swedish university, found that Swedish was used in two recurring situations: one was where students could not think of what a term is called in English, and the other is when the students comment on procedural issues, e.g. how to perform a certain task. This suggests that the national language, or whatever the first language of the student might be, may have a function in clarifying concepts and issues, a translanguaging strategy presumably facilitating learning (García and Wei 2014). Of course, it is worth pointing out here that the mixing of language consistently documented by researchers is rendered entirely invisible in most language policy, including that of parallel language use.

The third and last of the three university domains, administration, is the one in which the national language is used to the greatest extent, for example in emailing, meetings and other types of administrative communication (Jürna 2014). The choice of language here, as elsewhere, is very much guided by each particular context. Hazel (2015) provides an interesting example of two students in an international office at a Danish university. One of the students, Anita, addresses the clerk behind the helpdesk in English ("we have a question"), without inquiring whether this is an appropriate language choice. The clerk continues the exchange in English until the students' query becomes apparent: they want to study abroad. This leads the clerk to assume that they are Danish and asks if this is the case, presumably to establish whether it would be appropriate to switch to Danish. The students reply that they are German and the exchange continues in English. Apart from highlighting how linguistically complex contemporary internationalized universities are, this example illustrates how decisions about language use are made – *and can only be made* – locally and depending on the context.

4.5.3 The future for parallel language use

This section opened by discussing the concept of parallel language use in Nordic language policies. Turning to the level of practice, we saw some of the ways in which choices about language are made on the ground. Whether or not the existing sociolinguistic situation can be described as *parallel language use* is open to discussion. Certainly, what we see is not a duplication of all activities in both languages, as has been hailed as unrealistic by policy makers from the outset. What we do see, however, is not only the two main but several languages used within the same domain, sometimes mixed, and each serving different communicative functions. Entirely as sociolinguistic theory would have predicted. The notion of "complementary languages" has been proposed as a replacement for "parallel language use" to highlight the complementary ways in which different languages are used, rather than pretend or insist that they are used in parallel (Preisler 2009).

Whether or not the sociolinguistic situation at the internationalized Nordic universities might be considered one of parallel language use, probably depends on who one asks. Tying back to the example mentioned in 4.4.1, agencies such as the Nordic Council, the language councils and the ministries of culture in each nation state might well say that the national language(s) should be used more.

Others, including universities and ministries in charge of research might say that the situation is just as it should be. And there will probably be those that fall between these two extremes. Inevitably this account raises questions about the purpose of language policies. If language policies are unable to meet their objective of steering the linguistic behaviour of individuals, whose preferences for different languages appear to be guided by an infinite range of local and contextual factors, then what is the point of having them? One answer might be that they serve an important symbolic function by providing the framework in which to make other decisions. For instance, if a university has an established parallellingual language policy, it might pave the way for implementing more concrete initiatives, such as increasing language support mechanisms, devising language tests and accreditation, and ensuring that all communication is written in both (or more) languages. However, it is worth noting that neither of the policies which were arguably among the main drivers for the rise of English at Nordic universities, were *language* policies. The Bologna Declaration, which sought to strengthen the EU's position vis-à-vis the US by promoting intra-European mobility and standardization, did not devote a single paragraph to language (Phillipson 2006). Similarly, bibliometric policies which promote and reward publication in prestigious journals rarely address the issue of language (Hultgren 2014a). In other words, if the current situation is to be reversed, the desirability of which is of course very much a matter of debate, then the most effective way to do this is arguably not through *language* policies, but through *policies* that are much wider in scope and reach far beyond the realm of language and into the political and socio-economic domain. As Ferguson writes:

> This is not to say that the dominance of English, in science and elsewhere, is unassailable, only that it will probably take a major shift in economic and political power to undo that dominance just as it will take, as Mufwene (2008: 243) argues, a change in the market ecology to make it advantageous to publish in languages other than English (2010: 493–494).

Once such policies have been devised, language use, given its contextually contingent nature, will follow suit.

Andrew Linn

4.6 ‘Top down’ and ‘bottom up’ influences and behaviours

During the course of this chapter our attention has turned from ways of *viewing* English in Europe, how it is and has been conceptualized, to the reality of *dealing* with those situations in which English has come to be seen as a problem or a challenge. We opened this chapter by demonstrating that the issue is so complex that it calls for a marshalling of all the ammunition offered by Applied Linguistics.

Dealing with the use of English in Europe on the part of both language managers of various sorts and those who use English as part of their language repertoire, has led to a series of polar positions. In section 4.1 above we saw that the complexity of language ecologies resides in the challenge of simultaneously working locally and communicating globally. Thus two competing demands on language practices exist in uneasy tension. In section 4.2 we went on to look at how this conflict has resulted in the emergence of a class structure across Europe based on whether or not individuals are proficient in English. ‘Having’ English is something which is easier for those who already possess other social benefits, such as access to good education and the means to travel and access extra-curricular learning opportunities. This polarity between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ in this regard is not one which has been widely acknowledged in previous research, but, as David Block notes above, “a class-based angle on ELF would enrich the different areas of research which it includes”, i.e. the areas of research set out in section 4.1.

Another important polarity in dealing with the issue of English is the gulf between language planners and policy makers on the one hand and those who on the other get on with using their language resources day by day, situation by situation. There is a constant danger that language agencies, international, national or local, develop policies about how languages should be used in ignorance of what actually goes on in reality. Thus the policy of parallel language use, presented and discussed in section 4.5 above, has been variously interpreted by different stakeholders, has been patchily implemented in higher education and has failed, with its bipolar view of ‘either this language or that language’, to take into account what people actually choose to do in responding as best they can to the communication needs they face. As Björkman writes in section 4.3.3.3 above, the effectiveness of language polices cannot be properly evaluated until “the real agents of language policies, the individuals in these settings and their everyday linguistic practices” are taken into consideration, i.e. until ‘top-down’ meets ‘bottom-up’. Hultgren goes further in section 4.5.3 by asking:

> If language policies are unable to meet their objective of steering the linguistic behaviour of individuals, whose preferences for different languages appear to be guided by an infinite range of local and contextual factors, then what is the point of having them?

In practice, perhaps less should be expected of language policies. Like other forms of policy – economic, social or whatever – they are more valuable as broad statements of an ideal. Implementation may be partial and inconsistent, but the policy reflects a position. Thus government cannot force private businesses not to use English, but the existence and promulgation of a language policy may help raise awareness of the potentially negative consequences of such practices.

Top-down v. bottom-up has become a key debating point in language policy research over the past few years, in response to the widespread realisation that this mismatch exists. This dichotomy has been explored in both books (e.g. Sallabank 2013: especially ch. 6) and special issues of journals (e.g. Hogan-Brun 2010; Hornberger and McCarty 2012). Language ecologies are now seen to be far richer and more complex than those first envisioned by Einar Haugen based on the co-existence of discrete languages, and the same is true of language planning. The traditional unilinear view of planners simply doing things to a language which then impact on those learning and using that language is no longer sustainable (see section 5.5 for a model which reflects this more complex view of the nature of intervention in language practices). Influences come from practice (the bottom), and planning agents (the top) typically don’t have the necessary authority to drive their policies through. And in any case, as Johnson (2013: 108) notes, “what is the ‘top’ and what is the ‘bottom’ are relative”. In future research and practice alike a more blended approach is called for. Those managing language use will need to seek to understand the interests and practices of the full range of stakeholders (Røyneland 2013), and researchers will need to address language planning ‘in the round’, considering the view from above as well as the view from below while going further and recognising that language management (see Sanden 2014 for an exploration of that term) is not about either/or, top/bottom, language A/language B but involves a wide range of ‘voices’ (see Linn 2010a).

5 Models, metaphors and methods

Stephen Ryan

5.1 Quantitative and qualitative approaches to the use of English in Europe

This section provides a broad overview of some of the core quantitative and qualitative approaches employed in researching attitudes towards the use of English in Europe. Section 5.1.1 outlines the historical background to the study of language attitudes with a view to identifying the foundations of current practice. The next section describes some of the key approaches to research and through examples of actual studies highlights some of the assumptions underlying these methods, together with their limitations and potential. The section concludes by considering possible challenges for future researchers in the field.

The examples discussed here have been selected primarily for the methodological points they illustrate. Although the examples are drawn from educational settings, the field with the most developed body of empirical research, the underlying principles of the research methodology discussed are relevant beyond the immediate educational context.

5.1.1 Methodological origins

It is instructive to take a brief look back at the origins of research into language attitudes, since this early research has exerted a powerful influence on subsequent methodological developments, and a good place to start is Canada in the 1960s. The context here is relevant because Canada at this time was a nation coming to terms with its own internal linguistic divisions between Anglophone and Francophone communities. There was an understandably idealistic belief that greater mutual understanding between the two major language communities would lead to greater social cohesion, and this hope provided the springboard for a social psychological approach to the study of language attitudes. A pioneer in this area was Wallace Lambert (1922–2009), who, along with several colleagues (e.g. Lambert et al. 1960), developed the matched guise technique (MGT) (for a recent account, see Drager 2013). The MGT requires participants to listen to paired samples of speech produced by the same person but which vary in some socially sensitive aspect. Based on an evaluation of the speech, the participant is asked to make certain judgments about the speaker, such as social status, intelligence, physical appearance, or education. The detailed procedures of the MGT are not really relevant to our current discussion (for a recent practical guide to the use of the MGT and discussion of some of its strengths and weaknesses, see Drager 2013); the concern here is with the fundamental principle established by Lambert, that the study of attitudes towards language could be achieved under controlled experimental conditions.

Another highly influential figure within the social psychological tradition was Lambert's student, Robert Gardner, whose influence has been especially pronounced in the field of second language education studies. Gardner was primarily interested in a macro-perspective of relations between language communities and accordingly he developed a comprehensive questionnaire instrument, the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (1985), designed to be administered across large populations and analysed using sophisticated statistical procedures.

Outside of social psychology, the other key discipline shaping the study of language attitudes has been sociolinguistics, indeed Jenkins (2007: 74) makes the observation that sociolinguistics has been almost synonymous with the study of language attitudes. A key pioneer in this area was William Labov, whose research into language use in New York in the 1960s offered a template for future researchers. Labov's crucial methodological contribution was the development of the sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1972), which has proven to be the mainstay of qualitative research into language attitudes.

5.1.2 Methodology in practice

5.1.2.1 Experimental techniques

The field of psychology has a long tradition of researching human behaviour through highly controlled experiments in laboratory conditions. The guiding principle of such studies – adapted from the natural sciences – is to isolate a particular variable in order that it may be studied free from external influences in a way that facilitates precise quantitative measurement. (It should be remembered that psychology is a relatively young discipline, and throughout much of its history it has been struggling to establish scientific legitimacy; one way in which psychologists have sought acceptance from the wider scientific community is through the use of that community's positivist, reductionist methods.) This 'scientific' approach has been taken up widely within social psychology, and the previously mentioned MGT represents a key illustration of this tendency. A long-standing criticism of this approach (Tajifel 1972) is that it attempts to detach behaviour from context, forcing participants to make choices that may not be an accurate reflection of real-life, situated behaviour.

An influential example of a study in the experimental tradition, which nevertheless attempts to overcome some of the limitations of the genre, is Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck and Smit's 1997 study of the attitudes of Austrian learners to various English accents. In their study, they employed a modification of the MGT known as the verbal guise test (VGT). Here, rather than a single speaker assuming several guises, different speakers are used. The researchers overcome the issue of decontextualized speech appearing in a situational vacuum by providing participants with a task relevant to the setting of the study. In this case, the speakers read a short text on the subject of bilingualism and participants were told that they, as university language students, were evaluating speakers with a view to the subsequent publication of an audio-book on the topic of child language development. Maintaining an awareness of the limitations of the experimental approach, the researchers in this study were able to reassert some degree of contextual support for their experiment by predefining the situational context, thus eliciting more meaningful and engaged responses from the participants.

5.1.2.2 Quantitative surveys

There is a widespread perception that "everyone who can write plain English and has a modicum of common sense can produce a good questionnaire" (Oppenheim 1992: 1). This belief has been instrumental in making questionnaires the default instrument for budding researchers. Questionnaires are highly accessible and offer unrivalled advantages in terms of researcher time, effort, and expense (Dörnyei 2007). For all of these reasons, it is unsurprising that questionnaires represent the most common instrument for research into attitudes towards the use of English in Europe (as borne out by research projects reported elsewhere in this book).

Questionnaires come in many shapes and forms, from small-scale, hastily constructed affairs to ambitious, comprehensive instruments such as the one employed in the longitudinal study of attitudes to learning English in Hungary carried out by Dörnyei and various colleagues (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005; Dörnyei and Csizér 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér and Nemeth 2006). The aim of this study was to investigate the attitudes of secondary school learners in Hungary towards English in comparison to other foreign languages and to measure how these attitudes affected language learning choices. The questionnaire employed in this study is illustrative of the potential of the approach, both in its construction and its analysis. Directly influenced by the Canadian social psychological tradition, the questionnaire contains 29 Likert-scale items, which are then condensed into seven multi-item scales through factor analysis and internal scale reliability tests (for an accessible description of this and other core statistical procedures, see Larson-Hall (2010)). The analysis of the data goes beyond simple descriptive statistics to use inferential statistical techniques, such as correlation analysis and analysis of variance (ANOVA). In this particular study, the researchers also used a highly sophisticated multivariate analytical tool known as structural equation modelling (SEM) to test their hypotheses. The principal attraction of SEM is that it allows researchers to test cause-effect relationships, going beyond mere correlation to explain causal directionality.

There is neither the space nor the need to discuss SEM in detail (see Byrne 2009). Instead we shall consider SEM as an illustration of some of the possibilities and some of the limitations of this particular approach to research. SEM enables us to construct highly sophisticated models based on rigorous statistical analysis. These models afford a high degree of confidence in the findings of the research, but this also requires an advanced level of statistical proficiency, both on the part of researchers and of the audience for the research. Crucially, this approach is based on assumptions of linear, cause-effect relationships in human behaviour, on a positivist view of research in which hypotheses are tested with the aim of explaining a scientific reality; for those (like many of those who have contributed to the current volume) who consider attitudes to be socially constructed or situationally emergent, this positivist framework can be problematic.

Not all quantitative survey studies follow the social psychological approach. Questionnaires developed from a sociolinguistics perspective tend not to have the same level of psychometric rigour in their construction, nor do they employ the same levels of sophistication in statistical analysis. A good illustration of this particular approach would be the study by Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada and Plo (2011) investigating the attitudes of Spanish academics towards the use of English in scientific publications. The study is based on a parsimonious questionnaire that eschews the multi-item scale approach, instead relying on single, 4-point, Likert-type items. Although still a purely quantitative instrument, the results of the questionnaire are then reported largely in terms of frequency counts and percentages. This is not intended as a criticism in any sense; the researchers here have made a principled decision based on the aims of their research and the design most likely to elicit the most enthusiastic response from participants.

Questionnaires are by far the most widely employed research tool but we can see that questionnaires come in all shapes and sizes. It is important to stress that there is no singular correct approach to the construction and administration of a questionnaire. However, what is important is that researchers remain aware of the limitations of the medium and are able to tailor their instruments to the specific needs of their research and its audience.

Surveys allow us to make broad generalizations about large populations in a cost- and time-efficient manner. Such data can be invaluable when making informed decisions about large groups or identifying general tendencies. However, the ways in which we analyse survey data can also iron out individuality through the use of average values, meaning that the conclusions drawn from a large population may not actually apply to any actual individuals within that population. Furthermore, questionnaires only allow respondents to address issues as framed by the preconceptions of the questionnaire designer and this can be seen as denying the true voice of research participants.

5.1.2.3 Qualitative approaches

Qualitative research tends to be founded on a contrasting set of epistemological or ontological beliefs, thus researchers working in this tradition may have a very different view to quantitative researchers of the aims or function of research. Moreover, researchers tend to see their own roles in the research process very differently; quantitative researchers seek to maintain objective distance in order to see the big picture, whereas qualitative researchers may adopt a 'researcher as instrument' position (Robson 2011: 133), in which the researcher is an integral, often subjective, element in the research process.

A common misconception is to equate qualitative research simply with the interview format – and it is true that interviews have been the cornerstone of qualitative studies – but this would represent a very narrow view of qualitative methods. Since there is not the space to introduce the full range of qualitative techniques, we focus on a single study that attempts to integrate several different qualitative instruments. In a study of attitudes towards English as medium of instruction (EMI) in a Ukrainian university, Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2012) followed a group of teachers and students for over 9 months, using ethnographic field notes, audio recordings, video recordings, semi-structured interviews, and notes of informal conversations. The various recordings were then transcribed and coded for subsequent analysis using dedicated computer software. Immediately we see a huge difference in the demands of both time and resources put upon the researcher in this kind of study. This problem is exacerbated when we realise that access to some established, prestigious journals can be limited for qualitative researchers. A great strength of qualitative research comes in the depth and richness of the data obtained, but an unfortunate consequence of this is that it can be very difficult for qualitative researchers to condense that data into the word limit of a conventional research journal article, which is essentially a product of the quantitative research tradition. As many qualitative researchers lament (see Given 2008), outlets for the dissemination of qualitative studies are in short supply.

5.1.2.4 Multi-strategy approaches

Recognising the limitations of purely quantitative or qualitative approaches, many researchers are turning to a mixed approach. For example, a common strategy to counteract some of the limitations of the questionnaire format is to include open-ended items in a survey instrument. These open-ended items are intended to allow participants the freedom to express their own ideas in their own words, free of the assumptions of the questionnaire designer. An example of this approach is found in a study by Jenkins (2007) into the attitudes of English teachers towards the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). The questionnaire design is based around a simple world map containing various marker points. Participants are required to make evaluations of the use of English as spoken in the marked areas through the use of semantic differential scales. Below is a typical example of the type of item used in the questionnaire.

Accent of speakers from country number 1							
a) very correct	1	2	3	4	5	6	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	very unacceptable

At the end of her innovative questionnaire, Jenkins includes an “Any other comments” section in which the instructions to participants conclude with a request to “feel free to write anything you like”. There are several advantages to including such a component in a questionnaire, such as eliciting responses more representative of the actual thoughts of individual respondents or receiving unanticipated responses that afford the researcher new insights. However, systematically analysing the responses to these open-ended items is notoriously difficult, leading to the observation that the “desire to use open-ended questions appears to be almost universal in novice researchers, but it is usually extinguished with experience” (Robson 2011: 245).

Another commonly employed multi-strategy approach is a two-phase research design. A good illustration of this would be Feyér’s investigation of the attitudes of Hungarian secondary school learners to different varieties of English, where a questionnaire was followed up by think aloud protocols – these require participants to think aloud as they perform a particular task – and semi-structured interviews. A similar two-phase approach was adopted by Grau (2005) in her study of the attitudes of German university students. This study consisted of an initial questionnaire administered at the start of a course and a follow-up discussion conducted at the end of that course. A pertinent aspect of Grau's study is that she sees her research as having a responsibility to the participants; the questionnaire functioned as an awareness-raising exercise for students and the follow-up discussion had a complementary educational role. For many researchers – particularly those with a qualitative orientation – giving back to participants is a key concern.

Multi-strategy approaches offer a way to integrate the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methods while mitigating the limitations of a single approach. However, there are also times when such an approach fails to paper over some of the fundamental differences that exist between quantitative and qualitative research. It is also rare for a single researcher to feel equally comfortable and equally competent with both methods. Furthermore, as anybody who has tried to write up a multi-strategy study for publication will testify, these studies can be unwieldy affairs that require an inordinate amount of space for the explanation of research methods, and therefore struggle to fit within the structure of a journal article or book chapter.

5.1.3 Future challenges

The changing roles of English in Europe impose new demands on researchers. It is likely that the future will see a considerable amount of methodological innovation as researchers attempt to come to terms with this challenge. In fact, we are already witnessing signs of innovation coming from various directions. One illustration from a highly qualitative perspective would be Sylvén's (2015) investigation of the attitudes of Swedish learners of English. Sylvén describes her study as a 'multi-media ethnography' and the participants in her study were required to take photographs of their local environment and then discuss these photographs in relation to their attitudes towards English. In this study, participants were free to wander around taking photographs of anything they pleased; this illustrates how far research has moved from its early rigidly controlled experimental origins. From a very different perspective, Baker et al. (2008) describe a "methodological synergy" based around corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see next section). Corpus linguistics usually relies on quantitative techniques for the analysis of electronically stored, naturally occurring texts, whereas CDA researchers use a variety of mainly qualitative techniques "which go beyond analysis of the language within texts" (Baker et al. 2009: 273–274). The application of CDA techniques to the analysis of corpus data offers a promising avenue for further systematic investigation of the various discourses surrounding the use of English in Europe. A further future trend is also implied by the Baker et al. study, which has a total of six co-authors. As researchers become increasingly aware of the limitations of individual approaches, methodological plurality is likely to become increasingly valued, creating a more prominent role for collaboration in the future research landscape.

Anne-Line Graedler

5.2 Corpus analysis

The general definition of *corpus* is a collection of written texts, and since questions about language have engaged people since the earliest times, using corpora to describe language is probably as ancient as any kind of language research (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 50). More recently, during the 20th century various branches of modern linguistics were developed, and parallel to linguistic theories primarily based on intuition, the 1960s witnessed the rise of language study as an applied social science, based on functional linguistic approaches and empirical data. At the same time, computing technology made language data available for innovative studies of variation and use, a research field which is currently called *corpus linguistics*. While corpus linguistics is viewed by some as a theoretical linguistic approach, in most studies it is applied as a research methodology. Corpus-based studies use corpora as empirical data for exploring and validating research questions derived from various theories, often aiming at analysis of systematic patterns of variation and use for pre-defined linguistic features (Biber 2009). This part of the chapter will present why and how corpus analysis can also be used as a highly relevant research method for investigating different aspects of the position of English in today's Europe.

5.2.1 What is a language corpus?

There is no absolute consensus about what a corpus should be, but a common definition is "a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research" (Sinclair 2005). One of the basic criteria is that the corpus must consist of authentic language material, such as written or (transcribed) oral texts or text extracts, and not examples created by the researchers themselves. Other aspects that are commonly required in order for general conclusions to be drawn from the research are representativeness and balance, i.e. the corpus should be representative for the language variety, genre, etc. which will be investigated, and also balanced according to the amount of data collected from different sources, language users, text types, etc.

External criteria related to the purpose of the research have resulted in many different types of language corpora. A majority consists of monolingual written texts regarded as representing general language. In addition, several corpora comprise specific varieties related to historical language or specific text genres, and there are also several spoken language corpora containing both standard language and varieties like dialects, sociolects, non-native speech, etc. Other corpora are connected with comparative language studies, such as different types of multilingual corpora, and parallel corpora with translated or equivalent texts from two or more languages.

The development of language corpora is also dependent on the type and quantity of material that is accessible, which may affect both text size and format (e.g. text extracts or complete texts) and the total corpus size. Another central point is the development of technical tools. Early corpora are fairly limited in size compared to more recent corpora, some of which are open and self-expanding (monitor corpora). Even the World Wide Web can be considered as a language corpus; however, it may preclude the possibility for research replication, which in turn may decrease the validity of the research results (Renouf, Kehoe and Banerjee 2007).

In addition to the raw material, corpus texts are often marked up for information that would disappear when texts are digitized (e.g. headings, paragraph division and emphasized words). Several corpora have also been coded for extra information which may be seen as potentially relevant for the research purpose, e.g. part of speech, and some of the data may have been annotated as a first step of the analysis.

5.2.2 Choice of corpus material

Corpus analysis includes several stages related to both the research topic(s) and the theoretical framework for understanding specific linguistic processes and structures. The first decision is the choice of material, since different studies require different kinds of corpora.

Many corpora already exist as general sources for various purposes, or specialized sources that facilitate specific research, for instance corpora containing certain written or oral genres, or corpora based on specific language users. One example of a specialized corpus type relevant for studying the effect of English as a global language (or lingua franca) is *learner corpora*. Since a significant number of the world's population today learn English as a second or foreign language, much research focuses on the nature of second language acquisition and the proficiency level among different groups of language users, based on developmental stages of English as a learner language. While learner language studies have often been experimental, a major drawback is that such studies normally involve a low number of participants, and thus are problematic to use as the basis for general conclusions (Granger 2009: 16). This is where the area of learner corpus research can make its contribution. Learner corpora contain continuous contextualized discourse which may be used to test hypotheses, and which brings to light a very diverse view of learner language (ibid.).

Another relevant research area is how English as a global language may influence other languages. The impact of English often focuses on lexical borrowing – *anglicisms* – and studies of English influence require large-scale empirical data in order for lexical analyses to be reliable and statistically valid (cf. Graedler 2012). Hence, any comprehensive analysis of anglicisms is ideally based on large and balanced corpora of both written and spoken language, with a consideration for different media, communicative settings, language users, styles and registers, topics, etc. However, English lexemes are not automatically accessible from general research corpora for other languages, since the lexis is not usually coded for etymology or neology. Therefore, anglicisms often have to be manually extracted, for example by elicitation procedures (e.g. Stoplists, in Onysko 2007: 105–112). Another example is a monitor corpus with an internal automatic procedure where word forms not previously recorded are extracted and listed as neologisms (cf. Andersen 2011). From these lists, potential anglicism candidates are automatically separated; however, the anglicism candidates also require extensive manual editing in order to become adequate data for research.

5.2.3 Compiling a new corpus

For some studies it is more relevant to build a new corpus, either by collecting raw material and compiling a separate corpus, or by adjusting an existing corpus into a sub-corpus. In the following sections, as in section 5.1 above, a key topic in this book will function as the main example: the expression of attitudes towards the English language.

Studies of language-based attitudinal expressions are usually associated with sociolinguistics and/or discourse analysis, and have traditionally been carried out by using methods such as interviews, experimental or observational studies, questionnaires, qualitative content analysis, etc. But corpus linguistics has also been shown to be a relevant and useful method: "how words are used across thousands of texts throws up consistent patterns of evaluative meanings and connotations for particular phrases, which are not open to intuition, or recorded in dictionaries" (Wetherell et al. 2001: 68). Corpus analysis of texts may provide both quantitative data that indicate general attitudinal meanings, as well as identify focus areas that require more qualitative research related to contextual factors, intertextuality or interdiscursivity, etc. (cf. e.g. Baker et al. 2008; Flowerdew 2013; Friginal and Hardy 2014).

It is often recommended that corpus work be a cyclical procedure, since the "parameters of a fully representative corpus cannot be determined at the outset" (Biber 1993; cf. also Baker et al. 2008: 295). The first stage involves primary theoretical and context-based analysis which supplies the background for establishing research questions and corpus building procedures. In the case of attitudes towards English, this could be related to things like earlier research, official language policy and various sociolinguistic aspects, such as ethnicity, level of education, age, etc.

The next stage encompasses corpus design and the compilation of a *pilot corpus*, i.e. the collection and empirical investigation of relevant data which confirms the efficiency of corpus linguistics as a research method, and also allows for adjustment of research parameters. After this stage, new hypotheses or research questions may be formulated, the corpus will be ultimately compiled, and further analysis carried out based on various relevant aspects and perspectives.

5.2.4 Choosing sources

Material for corpus research on language attitudes can be retrieved from different sources, depending on the framework and research questions in focus, for instance social network discussions, academic texts or news data. Online newspaper texts represent a huge amount of easily available data, and will be used as the example source here. In addition to choosing a source, it is important to consider what may be included or excluded, since most sources consist of a variety of data. In the case of newspaper texts, the choice needs to be decided between national, regional and local newspapers, daily and weekly newspapers, broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, magazines as newspaper supplements, etc. (Graedler 2014: 296–297).

To build a corpus aiming at investigating writers' opinions, attitudes and ideological approaches, the corpus data need to cover relevant semantic domains.

An obvious way of selecting appropriate data is to search for central lexical items that are likely to occur in the relevant texts, i.e. *query terms* that denote "the entities, concepts, states, relations or processes that are to be investigated" (Gabrielatos 2007: 6). An obvious query term for extracting texts that deal with attitudes towards English, is *English* (in the relevant language). It may be of interest to see the total frequency and contexts of the query term, for example in comparison with words denoting other languages, just to form an impression of the presumably unique role of English. However, the compilation of a representative and reliable corpus from a large and varied amount of texts requires carefully considered criteria for text extraction and will in any case result in a "trade-off [...] between a corpus that can be deemed incomplete, and one which contains noise (i.e. irrelevant texts)" (Gabrielatos 2007: 6).

In many languages, words like *English* can have several meanings, both as an adjective merely referring to nationality (*English people, English tea,* etc.), and as an adjectival and nominal reference to the language. In the process of narrowing down the material, further additional query terms can be used to increase the relevance, such as adding the term *language*, as in **dansk sprog** [Danish language] used in a project about the role of Danish in newspaper texts (Duncker 2009), and *anglais* + *français* + *langue* [English + French + language], from a study about ideologies surrounding English and French in French newspapers (Deneire 2012). In a study of Norwegian newspaper texts, a limited selection of articles was extracted for in-depth analysis, and after searches based on various query terms, the findings in the pilot study confirmed that corpus linguistics was an effective method for extracting relevant data. The study also gave clear indications that a sifting of the material to create an even more focused corpus would produce clearer and more relevant results. The final search string was *engelsk* norsk* AND (språk OR sprog) ANDNOT fotball** [English Norwegian AND language ANDNOT football*] (Graedler 2014: 298; cf. also Freake 2012: 5, which contains a long list of query terms).

Another decision that needs to be made is the volume and amount of texts required for the analysis to be considered relevant. Again, this depends on the type of research and also on specific research questions: if relevant items are few and far between, a large corpus is needed, and if statistical analyses will be employed, the data should be representative. On the other hand, focus on qualitative analysis does not necessarily require a very large corpus.

When relevant texts have been extracted, all that is needed is to store the texts on a computer or a server. Corpus texts intended for discourse analysis do not necessarily need specific coding or annotation, although in some cases this may be desirable. There are several automatic and semi-automatic annotation programs for POS (part-of-speech) tagging, etc.

5.2.5 Corpus analysis

When an electronic corpus exists, it allows researchers to use a computer to search quickly and efficiently through large amounts of language data for examples of words and other linguistic items. But what kind of information can or should be retrieved, and how can this be done? According to Stubbs, "Meanings are conveyed directly, by the choice of particular words, but they are also conveyed indirectly by patterns of co-occurrence: which words collocate, and which words occur in which grammatical constructions" (Stubbs 1996: 97–98). In the following sections, some examples are presented of how to analyse the use of words (frequency, distinctive lexical features, contextual meaning, etc.), and also patterns such as collocations, lexical chunks and grammatical patterns, in order to retrieve relevant information.

5.2.6 Word frequency and keywords

Some basic semantic features of a large amount of text can be uncovered by detecting word frequency, of which several generators give visual graphical representations (word clouds). More specific corpus linguistic tools generate frequency lists of all the words that occur in texts, e.g. *WordSmith Tools 6* (Scott 2015) and *AntConc 3.4.4* (Anthony 2015). However, a simple presentation of lexical frequency does not necessarily give information about the general content of the text corpus compared to other texts. One of the most practical ways of checking a special corpus for relevance is to conduct a *keyword analysis*: "the use of a statistical procedure in order to identify significant differences in the distribution of words [...] between two groups of texts or two corpora" (Friginal and Hardy 2014: 43). After having extracted all texts that contain a core query term like *English*, it is important to find a suitable reference corpus. This may be a large general corpus, or the entire source material including all of the texts used to compile the research corpus (Gabrielatos 2007: 13). The software tools *AntConc 3.4.4* (Anthony 2015) and *WordSmith Tools 6* (Scott 2015) contain programs that extract keywords. Another tool, Wmatrix, extends the keywords method to also categorize semantic domains (Rayson 2008).

Comparing and contrasting lexical frequency between a pilot corpus and a reference corpus can help to decide whether the chosen texts actually have the specific semantic content that was planned. In such cases, it is important that only fairly neutral terms are used, in order not to skew the results or merely confirm presuppositions and prejudices. Terms like *English*, *language*, etc. may be relevant in this respect, whereas more specific terms like *anglicism* and *influ-*

ence may be more likely to select texts with underlying attitudes or ideologies of a certain type. If no relevant keywords are generated from the research corpus, it might be recommended to use an even larger reference corpus, or also take a step back and use other query terms for the collection of the research corpus, in order to remove some of the "noise" (cf. Gabrielatos 2007: 6, and Biber's [1993] cyclical procedure).

5.2.7 Concordance

One way of investigating the use of lexical items in corpora is to have a program extract specific words, word elements, phrases, etc. in combination with the context where they are used. *Concordance programs* (concordancers) are basically seen as a default corpus tool (Friginal and Hardy 2014: 35), and the common format is KWIC concordance (Key Word In Context), where the search items are aligned and organized by words occurring on each side of the search item, as shown in the extract in Figure 5.2.1. This makes it easy to identify and get an overview of aspects related to the word meaning, such as part of speech, syntactic function, combinations with other words and the semantic contexts in which different lexical items are used. While such findings may not indicate any particular attitudes towards English, they often reflect relevant information in indirect ways, for example how English is seen as related to language users through verbs like *use, write, speak, know, translate* and *learn* English, or through adjectives like *good/poor* English.

mene. - Jeg snakker ikke	**engelsk**	så godt, sa han. Guttene forsøkte
på flere språk, inkludert	**engelsk**	. Her finner du annonser for ledig
leles tilhører eliten innen	**engelsk**	folkemusikk. Trøkk, tempo og fu
leles tilhører eliten innen	**engelsk**	folkemusikk. Råskinn spiritualis
høsten for alvor invadert	**engelsk**	fotball. Ikke bare på banen, men
ot fransk, tysk, italiensk,	**engelsk**	og skandinavisk filmhistorie. Og
språk flytende; italiensk,	**engelsk**	, fransk, tysk og spansk. En dame
Tull. Mennene snakket jo	**engelsk**	" Bjørn flyttet urolig på seg. Det
g. - Dessuten leser jeg jo	**engelsk**	nå om dagen, og resten kan jeg v

Figure 5.2.1: Example from KWIC concordance of the search item *engelsk* [English] in *The Oslo corpus of tagged Norwegian texts* (Johannessen 2007).

While concordance lists present strings of words, corpus analysis programs also identify *collocational patterns*, i.e. sequences of lexical items that tend to co-occur. Collocations can be two-word combinations, but also larger multi-word units which occur as linear strings. Such units are often referred to as word clusters or chunks of pre-fabricated or formulaic language (for examples from different study approaches, see e.g. Friginal and Hardy 2014: 41–42). In texts about the English language, frequent clusters may indicate some of the attitudes expressed, with lexical indicators such as *force, strong, pressure,* etc. This can yield interesting results since the software tools for corpus analysis can present both frequent examples and also determine the statistical significance of combinations of words.

Collocations traditionally refer to lexical items that co-occur more often than expected by chance. However, collocations can also be in a syntactic relation, sometimes referred to as collostructions, the interaction between words and constructions (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003). In a pilot study, a large part of the word clusters indicated allegations and claims about the English language by the frequent string … *at engelsk* … [… that English …], and many examples were also different nominal phrases describing the role of English in patterns like … *engelsk som en/et* … [… English as a …] (Graedler 2014: 302–303). According to Stubbs (1996), a relatively small set of grammatical features tends to be significant for expressing discourse as factual, literal, objective, authoritative, etc., including "whether sentences are positive or negative, or active or passive, whether verbs are nominalized, how pronouns (especially *we* and *you*) are used, and how modality is expressed" (1996: 97).

5.2.8 Macro-level vs. micro-level analysis

As indicated above, in the age of digital technology numerous texts are available for language researchers. Those who carry out investigations related to the position of English in today's Europe can benefit from corpus data as easily accessible empirical sources of relevant material, and from the use of corpus-based methods as efficient research tools that convey important information. Identifying word frequencies, collocates, clusters, etc., may be seen as a macroanalytical procedure for uncovering characteristics, trends and tendencies of attitudes towards certain topics covered by the corpus data. Another important benefit is using corpus linguistics methods as the initial stage, which contributes significant information for a follow-on microscopic level analysis, for instance revealing underlying attitudes in discourse through the analysis of conceptual metaphors (Duncker 2009; Graedler 2014).

Andrew Linn

5.3 Language policy and language planning [LPP]: the development of the discipline

Studying English in Europe requires a variety of approaches and models, hence the overview provided by this chapter. A number of disciplines and subdisciplines impinge on debates, but if we are to position our debates in one camp above any other, we would suggest that English in Europe is primarily a concern for language policy-making (of various sorts) and language planning.

In the most general sense of the term, language planning is an ancient art. The desire to intervene in a language, to influence its use and its status is close to being a natural instinct. Planning the shape and hierarchy of the languages of Europe was key to the modernization of the European nation states. "Linguists played a key role in the nation-building process", as Wright (2009: 99) remarks. But intervention in the status and corpus of a language goes back well before the 18th and 19th centuries, and indeed was a key reason for the emergence of a tradition of linguistic reflection in the first place. For Lo Bianco (2004: 745) "LPP is as ancient as language itself, is expanding everywhere, and is used for many different purposes". The oldest surviving grammatical texts in the western tradition grew out of "the need to hellenize the Macedonian Empire and its successor states" (Robins 1995: 14), in short to plan the language ecology of the Greek Empire. Several works on language policy and language planning, not least the relevant entries in the numerous handbooks which have appeared in publishers' catalogues over the past few years (e.g. Lo Bianco 2004; Tollefson 2011; especially Jernudd and Nekvapil and others in Spolsky 2012), have charted the formal rise of the modern discipline (or subdiscipline) of LPP, its independent identity attested by the existence of journals, conferences, textbooks and so on. For some commentators the formal business of language planning goes back to the activities of the post-Renaissance academies, meaning that the periodization of language planning is as follows: premodern, Early Modern, modern and postmodern (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012: 18).

Most historical overviews, however, go no further back than the institutionalization of the field in the 1960s and tend to base their accounts on Ricento (2000) who paints a neat three-stage picture of the development of the field in the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Work on language planning developed, in Ricento's view, from optimistic problem-solving in the 1960s, the era of "decolonization, structuralism and pragmatism" (Ricento 2000: 197) into more critical problem-solving in the 1970s and 1980s, or the "failure of modernization" coupled to the rise of "critical sociolinguistics and access" (200) –

the journal called *Language **Problems** and Language Planning*, for example, was established in 1977. Work in the 1990s was characterized by what Ricento calls “the new world order, postmodernism, linguistic human rights” (203). Although the history of institutionalized LPP is a short one in the context of intervention in language more generally, Ricento has set out a historical dynamic which operates on a roughly 20-year cycle. This isn’t surprising, given the typical institutional cycle, in which new priorities and models emerge in conferences and journals over about a five-year period, after which PhD and postdoctoral projects are pursued for a further five-year period, at which point the new generation of researchers gain university and other research positions and spend ten years reinforcing the status quo through their teaching and their publications. In 2000, Ricento concluded his historical survey up to the turn of the millennium thus:

> We have a better understanding today than we did forty years ago about patterns of language use in defined contexts and the effects of macro-sociopolitical forces on the status and use of language at the societal level. What is required now is a conceptual framework (ecology of languages or perhaps some other) to link the two together. The development of such a framework will lead us to the next – as yet unnamed phase of policy and planning research and scholarship.
> (Ricento 2000: 209)

In 2013 he revisited his 2000 history of research into language policy and language planning, and found that the intervening decade had resulted in the development of a rich and varied field which now included a substantial literature based on the ethnography of language policy (Johnson and Ricento 2013).

> We argue that the empirical research on LPP processes, especially over the past decade, has helped reveal more and more layers of the LPP onion and a variety of theoretical and conceptual perspective – ecology of language, ethnography of language policy, critical discourse analysis – have proved useful. [...] It may be that the next phase of LPP research and scholarship, however, is not characterized by one particular theory or method but by interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity that integrate the varied theories and methods to meet the needs of the context in which data is collected.
> (Johnson and Ricento 2013: 16)

The study of English in Europe encapsulates this productive heterogeneity of approach, this variety. There are macro-level policies and there are individual lived experiences, and the space between them cannot be understood or changed by appeal to one theory or one method alone.

We would want to argue, however, that the study of English in Europe is more than just LPP research, since tying it to one academic field is immediately to limit interest and engagement from those who see themselves as working in different disciplines and also to limit the possibility of fruitful engagement with practitioners of various sorts (teachers, university administrators, business people, etc.). Nonetheless, LPP is undoubtedly the field in which we belong more than any other established field of enquiry. Definitions of LPP abound, and there may be good reasons for adopting the term *language management* (see section 5.5), despite the variousness of its application (Sanden 2014), to replace the rather cumbersome (and variously abbreviated) *language policy and language planning*. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, LPP research, at least focusing on English in Europe, appears to be extending the conceptual framework even further than is suggested by Ricento and also Tollefson (2011), so the approaches to English in Europe we have been looking at certainly embrace ecology of languages (e.g. section 3.1), world systems (e.g. the linguistic imperialism debate, section 3.2.1) and governmentality, the three conceptual frameworks outlined by Tollefson, but go further. Tollefson concludes gleefully that, "LPLP [sic] today is as active and as exciting as any time in its history" and that "much of the current work consists of a multidirectional effort to explore the connections between LPLP and a wide range of concerns, including ideology, human rights, social theory, political theory, and postmodernism" (Tollefson 2011: 373). We suggest that English in Europe is a model in this regard. English in Europe research has successfully explored (and continues to do so) a range of currently significant socio-political phenomena as played out in a broad range of micro-level communication situations involving English in the context of other national, regional and local languages. This is an outstandingly productive laboratory for studying language interventions in theory (policy) and action (planning).

During Ricento's first two periods of post-war LPP, research and action were focused to a very large extent on post-colonial situations and developing nations. The language problems addressed in the growing literature were typically those encountered where political allegiances had shifted and new group identities had emerged. By the 2000s, however, the language-political context dominating the journal literature had opened up, and the range of issues being addressed and the range of contexts providing case studies has become more catholic over the past ten to fifteen years. However, an unscientific trawl through the contents of the LPP journals does reinforce the sense that language issues affecting the ecology of the codified and widely spoken majority languages of Europe have been neglected or at least not published under the auspices of LPP as much as issues affecting lesser used languages worldwide as well as the established language ecologies of Africa and South-East Asia. In the context of a field in which questions of linguistic human rights and linguistic imperialism have loomed large, the status and role of the big European languages has not emerged as such a priority. However, it was in the context of one of the established national languages of Europe that the notion of language planning was invented, and we will return to this in the next chapter.

Michele Gazzola

5.4 Economic research on English in Europe

This section presents some results of economic research on English in Europe.[1] The economics of languages studies the reciprocal influence between linguistic and economic variables. The range of issues and languages studied is large, and it is not possible to provide an extensive overview here.[2] Because of its worldwide spread, however, English is often an object of study in language economics. Papers can be organised according to two analytical dimensions. The first one, corresponding to the vertical axis in Figure 1, represents two central issues in economic and policy analysis, namely resource allocation and resource distribution (or alternatively, efficiency and fairness). Economics, in essence, is the science of choices under constraints, and more specifically the study of how scarce resources that have alternative uses should be efficiently allocated. The study of resource distribution concerns the evaluation of the impact of either market processes or policy interventions on the distribution of resources among individuals or collective actors "with a standing" (in cost-benefit analysis people "having a standing" are those whose preferences are to be counted). The second dimension, corresponding to the horizontal axis in Figure 5.4.1, represents an ideal continuum in which linguistic processes (or language dynamics) can take place either in a regulated or in an unregulated environment (although the difference is not always clear-cut). Linguistic variables can have an effect on economic variables as a result of explicit language policy and planning (LPP), or, alternatively, in its absence. For example, the influence of language use on economic outcomes can be driven and channelled by market forces. We collect papers into four groups; each group corresponds to one of the four quarters in Figure 5.4.1.

1 The financial support of the European Commission is gratefully acknowledged (Grant agreement No. 613344, project MIME – www.mime-project.org). The author wishes to thank Torsten Templin, Bengt-Arne Wickström and Jürgen Van Buer for their remarks on an earlier version of this section.

2 For an overview, see Gazzola, Grin and Wickström (2016 in press) and Grin (2016 in press).

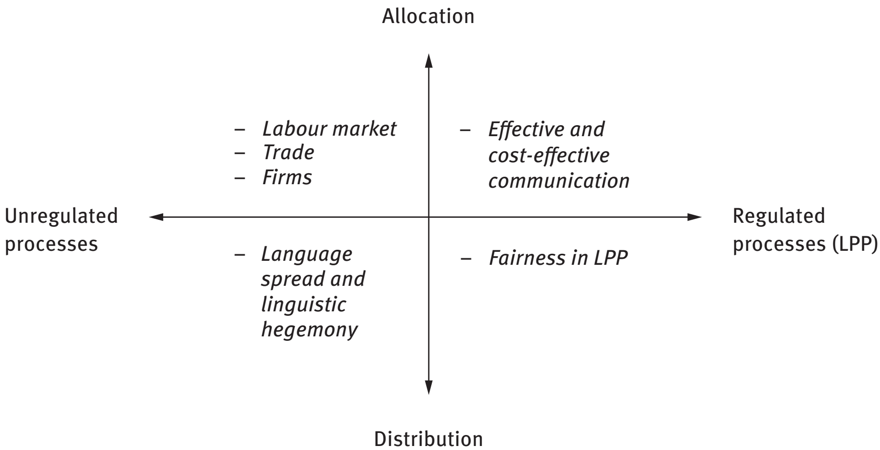

Figure 5.4.1: A typology of papers on the economics of English in Europe

5.4.1 English in the economy: the labour market, added value and trade

This first set of contributions deals with the impact of linguistic variables on economic efficiency in unregulated linguistic processes (top-left quarter in Figure 5.4.1), for example, the effect of language skills on income, added value or trade.

According to Gazzola, Grin and Wickström (2016 in press), roughly 30 % of the literature published in language economics deals with the relationship between language skills and individuals' income, and more precisely with earning differentials accruing to people who are endowed with skills in more than one language. This is indisputably the most important topic in language economics in terms of the number of papers published. There are two sub-areas of research. The first one deals with individuals who speak second or foreign languages that are not dominant in the country where they reside (for example, English in Germany). Language skills are viewed here as a form of human capital generating benefits for individuals. Papers in the second group examine the impact of immigrants' language skills on their income, and they usually focus on the consequences of a lack of proficiency in local dominant language (e.g. English for Pakistani residents in the UK). In this case, language skills are viewed both as human capital and as a trait of ethnic belonging that may be a source of discrimination. For reasons of space, this section considers only contributions from the first group.

Estimates reported below are the result of econometric analysis in which the effect of knowledge of foreign languages on income is evaluated controlling for other relevant socio-economic variables such as work experience, the educational level achieved and the respondents' marital status. Ginsburgh and Prieto (2011), for example, study the benefits of knowing foreign languages in terms of additional income accruing to non-native workers of such languages in Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. They show that in all these nine countries the effect of English knowledge (and its use in the workplace) on earnings is positive, spanning from 11 % additional income in Austria to 39 % in Spain. In France, Italy, Portugal and Spain, knowledge of other foreign languages provides higher income returns than English (in France, for example, the returns to knowledge of German and English are 49 % and 29 %, respectively; in Italy, the returns to knowledge of French, German and English are 21 %, 28 % and 18 %, respectively). Di Paolo and Tansel (2015) show that in Turkey proficiency in English and Russian is associated with a higher income, and wage differentials increase with the level of competence. Knowledge of French and German is also positively rewarded in the Turkish labour market, but to a lesser extent. Grin (1999) studies language-based earning differentials in Switzerland, showing that in the German-speaking part of the country, both proficiency in English and French are highly rewarded (18.1 % and 14.1 %, respectively). In the French-speaking part of Switzerland, proficiency in German and English bring about substantial income premium for native speakers of French (13.8 % and 10.2 %, respectively). German and French are associated with high earning differentials in the Italian-speaking part of the country (17.2 % and 16.9 %, respectively). Klein (2007) shows that in Luxembourg a very good level of English, and to a lesser extent French, brings about return to language competences in the labour market. Williams' (2011) results reveal that the use of a second language in the workplace (as opposed to simple knowledge) raises earnings by 3 to 5 percent in several Western European countries. The language most widely rewarded across countries is English; however, the use of other languages such as German, French and Italian is rewarded in some countries. Stöhr (2015) shows that very good skills in English in Germany bring about an average return of about 12 % of hourly wages if workers choose occupations in which such skills are used, whereas returns to occupational use of other foreign languages tend to be restricted to a few specialized occupations.

There is a quite large variation between the estimates reported. Sometimes skills in a given foreign language in a given country are associated with high returns; sometimes estimates are more conservative. Such differences can be due to the empirical strategy followed by the authors, the model specification adopted, the countries considered, the quality and comprehensiveness of data used, and the object of study (i.e. language knowledge rather than language use). Nevertheless, all studies quoted in this chapter converge on similar conclusions: English has an undisputed economic usefulness and relevance in the European labour market, but it is not the only linguistic asset bringing income benefits to individuals. Recent studies on the impact of foreign languages skills on employability (rather than income) in Europe also derive similar conclusions (Araújo et al. 2015). It is worth noting that the distribution of language skills in the population is influenced by language policy, in particular language education policy. This affects the supply of language skills within the economy, and therefore the economic returns on such skills.

Economic research has also addressed more macro-level issues such as the contribution of linguistic skills to the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) or to international trade. Grin, Sfreddo and Vaillancourt (2010) study how language proficiency contributes to the creation of added value through the processes of purchase, production and sales in the Swiss economy. They estimate that foreign or second language skills in English, French and German contribute to some 10 % of the Swiss GDP, with English accounting for half of this percentage. McCormick (2013) reports some allegedly general positive relationships between, on the one hand, countries' GDP and the Human Development Index, and, on the other hand, English proficiency (measured through the *English Proficiency Index* – EPI). McCormick's analysis, however, is unconvincing because it relies on flawed methodology and on indicators that suffer from self-selection bias.[3]

Fidrmuc and Fidrmuc (2015) examine the effect of English proficiency on the size of bilateral trade in Europe, showing that the presence of good skills in English as a foreign language in the population fosters intra-European trade. However, some authors point out that the relationship between the presence of a common language and trade volumes is not linked to a specific language (Egger and Lassmann 2012); English is one of the possible examples of common language between trading partners.

The results presented in this section refer to the market value of languages. Nevertheless, languages and linguistic diversity have also different types of non-market values. Such values should be taken into account in language policy and planning (Grin and Vaillancourt 1999).

5.4.2 Efficiency and English in language policy and planning

Papers belonging to the quarter on the top-right of Figure 5.4.1 above deal with allocation issues in regulated linguistic processes, i.e. language policies. Effectiveness and efficiency (often interpreted as cost-effectiveness) are two central

3 On the relationship between English proficiency and GDP in developing countries see Arcand and Grin (2013).

criteria in the evaluation of language policies. Most of the contributions in this area, at least as regards Europe, focus on the language regime of the European Union (EU), which is based on the formal equality of 24 official and working languages. Different authors have addressed the question of whether an English-only language regime would be a viable alternative to multilingualism. The main issue at stake here is to strike a balance between the costs of multilingualism, identified as the sum of the costs for language services and a share of overheads, and the effectiveness of the EU language regime, measured through an indicator named *linguistic disenfranchisement rate*. This indicator was introduced by Ginsburgh and Weber (2005), and it is defined as the percentage of citizens or residents who potentially cannot understand official EU documents such as regulations or the plenary meetings of the European Parliament transmitted through the Internet, because they do not master any official language as mother tongue or as a foreign language. The lower the disenfranchisement rate, the higher the effectiveness of a language regime.

Fidrmuc, Ginsburgh and Weber (2010), for example, argue that an optimal language regime should include six official languages (English, French, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish), whereas Ginsburgh and Weber (2005) recommend a trilingual language regime in which the official languages should be English, French and German. Gazzola (2014b) introduces a difference between the *absolute* disenfranchisement rate (DR-A) and the *relative* disenfranchisement rate (DR-R). The DR-A is equivalent to the indicator designed by Ginsburgh and Weber. The DR-R is defined as the percentage of the population who speak at least one official language as mother tongue or as a foreign language *at a very good level*. The relative disenfranchisement rate captures the idea that a basic or intermediate level of language skills in a foreign language is not enough to effectively participate in EU business. If differences in proficiency levels are taken into account, multilingualism is still by far the most effective option at a reasonable cost.

Results of all studies mentioned, however, point out that monolingualism would be a sub-optimal policy because it would entail the exclusion of an excessive percentage of Europeans from EU business. Table 5.4.1 reports the DR-A and DR-R for each European country and for the EU as a whole, using for this purpose three different datasets, that is, the most recent wave of the *Eurobarometer* survey, and two waves of the *Adult Education Survey* (2007 and 2011).[4] Results reveal that almost half of EU citizens do not know English, and almost 80 % of Europeans do not know this language as mother tongue or as a foreign language at a very good level. Hence, empirical evidence does not support the claim that proficiency in

4 Results for the AES-2007 and the AES-2011 are limited to Europeans aged 25–64.

English has become a "basic skill" or a universal endowment of Europeans, not even in the Nordic countries. It is worth noting that the conceptual difference between English and ELF (Formentelli 2012) has little policy relevance because ELF is still English (see Gazzola and Grin (2013) for an in-depth discussion).

Table 5.4.1: Linguistic disenfranchisement rates in the European Union, English-only language regime, EU citizens

Database	***AES 2011***		***AES 2007***		***Eurobarometer 2012***	
Country	*DR-A*	*DR-R*	*DR-A*	*DR-R*	*DR-A*	*DR-R*
Austria	30	82	29	82	27	85
Belgium	51	87	41	86	48	86
Bulgaria	77	95	79	97	75	93
Cyprus	19	64	16	74	27	69
Croatia	n.a.	n.a.	56	93	n.a.	n.a.
Czech Rep.	64	92	67	95	73	92
Denmark	9	66	14	n.a.	14	62
Estonia	37	87	54	91	50	91
Finland	11	74	19	83	30	82
France	51	93	55	95	61	97
Germany	32	89	41	82	44	91
Greece	47	89	52	91	49	81
Hungry	76	94	85	97	80	96
Ireland	0*	0*	n.a.	n.a.	0*	0*
Italy	54	95	54	97§	66	96
Latvia	51	92	58	94	54	93
Lithuania	63	92	62	97	62	95
Luxembourg	14	84	n.a.	n.a.	44	82
Malta	11	50	n.a.	n.d.	11	54
Netherlands	18	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10	72
Poland	68	95	75	96	67	93
Portugal	57	90	63	93	73	98
Romania	n.a.	n.a	81	97	69	93
Slovakia	66	95	70	95	74	93
Slovenia	35	80	39	81	41	83
Spain	68	94	66	94	78	97
Sweden	11	61	8	68	14	66
UK	0*	0*	0	2	0*	0*
EU average	**44**	**79**	**49**	**81**	**50**	**79**

n.a. = not available
* = due to the lack of data, we assume that in the UK and in Ireland residents are either native speakers of English or fluent in it.
§ = in the AES2007 data on the level of proficiency in the second foreign language in Italy are missing.

5.4.3 Linguistic inequalities and redistribution

In recent years, a variety of papers on multilingualism and equity have been published (see Alcalde 2015 for a review). We focus on contributions addressing the question of fairness in regulated or unregulated language processes from an economic perspective (as opposed to a philosophical one).[5]

Let us start with fairness in language policies (bottom-right quarter in Figure 5.4.1 above). Contributions in this area focus on the evaluation of the distributive effects of language regimes and their impact on different groups of people with a standing (e.g. EU citizens or EU companies); such groups are usually defined according to their linguistic attributes. Studies in this area follow a comparative approach. Hence, English is not studied in isolation, but rather in relation to other more or less multilingual alternatives. In other words, language policies supporting English monolingualism are just one of the possible scenarios being compared in the light of the fairness criterion. Gazzola (2014b), for example, shows that a reduction in the number of the official and working languages of the EU to one language only (e.g. English) would have severe regressive effects among European residents. The disenfranchisement rates associated with a monolingual policy are systemically higher for the group of EU residents with a low level of income or education than for the better-off. Gazzola (2014a, 2015) examines the effects of the trilingual language policy of the European Patent Office on the costs of access to patenting procedures for European applicants, showing that a monolingual solution would exacerbate (rather than reduce) existing inequalities.

We conclude this section by mentioning some contributions on fairness in international communication when we are dealing with unregulated linguistic processes (bottom-left quarter in Figure 5.4.1). Most of the papers dealing with English address the problem of inequalities arising from the dominant position of this language in Europe as a whole (sometime the term “linguistic hegemony” is used). Grin (2005, 2015) and Lukács (2007) identify the channels through which linguistic hegemony is a source of inequality among European countries, and they attempt to quantify the magnitude of the distributive effects taking place. Estimates are in the region of some €10 billion per year. Other authors focus on possible measures to redistribute resources among European countries in order to offset existing language-related inequalities. Among the possible solutions, we should mention levying a linguistic tax on English-speaking countries or relaxing the enforcement of intellectual property rights on products in English (Van Parijs 2007), and creating a market for linguistic rights in Europe (Portuese 2012).

5 For an introduction to the philosophical approach to fairness in language planning (or “linguistic justice”), see Peled, Ives and Ricento (2015) and De Schutter (2007).

Tamah Sherman

5.5 Language Management and Language Management Theory [LMT]

5.5.1 What is LMT

Language management can be understood both as an object of research and as a comprehensive sociolinguistic theory. As the object of research, it consists of any and all manifestations of metalinguistic behaviour or "behaviour-toward-language" (cf. Fishman 1972), i.e. actions taken to reflect upon or alter aspects of language or communication. The delimitation of these actions is based on an understanding of two processes: the production or generation of language on the one hand and metalinguistic behaviour or management on the other. Language users, when they speak or write, on the one hand produce or generate language, which can be broken up into analysable units such as sounds, words or sentences. On the other hand, they manage this production, by correcting, erasing, reformulating, evaluating the manner of speaking or writing itself, or engaging in more complex measures to change speaking or writing practices on a larger scale.[6]

As a comprehensive theory, Language Management Theory (also known as the Language Management Framework, Model or Approach) (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003; Nekvapil 2006; Nekvapil and Sherman 2009a, 2015)[7] can be viewed as a theoretical-methodological apparatus which views language-related problems through a prism which complements other developed theories, particularly, though not exclusively, those dealing with Language Planning and Policy (LPP). Approaches to language planning in the post-colonial era of the 1960s were rooted in other approaches to planning (e.g. economic planning) and focused on its application by government bodies. The further evolution of LPP, including the increased position of the "policy" component, continued in a number of different directions (for an overview of these, see Baldauf 2012), of which LMT is merely one. Others include what Baldauf (2012: 237–8) calls "the critical approach", for which social inequalities are the

6 This is loosely based upon and gradually developed from Neustupný's original distinction between "use of language" and "linguistic correction" in "linguistic behaviour" and between "linguistics" and "metalinguistic correction systems" in "metalinguistic behaviour" (Neustupný 1978: 243–244).

7 For a basic description of LMT and a complete bibliography, see the website languagemanagement.ff.cuni.cz. For more on the distinction between LMT and language management as described by Spolsky, see Dovalil (2011), Sanden (2014) and Sloboda (2009).

point of departure, best exemplified by the work of Tollefson (1991, 2006), and the "domain approach" (Baldauf 2012: 237), found in the work of Spolsky (2004, 2009). Due to the latter's use of the term "language management" and its extensive further utilisation in the works of numerous scholars after him, a few words of clarification are in order.

The pair of books published by Spolsky entitled respectively *Language policy* (2004) and *Language management* (2009) view language policy as consisting of three parts: "language practices", "language beliefs or ideology", and "language intervention, planning or management" (2004: 5). Spolsky later defined language management as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (2009: 4). Spolsky's approach more or less limits itself to the description of numerous types of metalinguistic behaviour done by people in positions of authority in a given *community* (2004), later *domain* (2009), such as the family, the workplace, or schools, prompting Baldauf's 2012 characterization of the approach as such. It thus remains a tool for the organization of the description of metalinguistic behaviour rather than a theoretical treatment of it, and should not be confused with the model of LMT that is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Björn Jernudd and Jiří V. Neustupný, who were among the participants in early language planning seminars, introduced the model with the name "language management" for the first time in their 1987 text 'Language planning: for whom?'. Among the more innovative aspects of this model at the time were the inclusion of the discourse level (influenced, among others, by the correction model described in Neustupný 1978 and 1983), the language management process which will be described below, and the concept of the language problems as the starting point for the analysis. Concerning the focus on *language* problems, it should be acknowledged that from the perspective of LMT, language as a system does not exist as an isolated entity, but rather should be viewed in the context of the extensive range of functions it serves, including communication and identity.

The theory of the language management process itself as originally described in Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) begins with the everyday, lived experience of meta-communicative awareness. Various aspects of communication are noted by participants. These may include, for example, the foreign accent of an interlocutor, the unusual pronunciation of a given word, the perceived high or low competence of a speaker in a given language or the highly formal style of expression in an informal context (such as the use of highly formal language in an internet chatroom). Focus in LMT has been placed upon situations in which deviations from norms or expectations were noted, and the noting of deviations remains the starting point of the process in most work on LM. Recently, however, it has since been emphasized that *any aspect of communication* may be noted, thus triggering further management processes (Marriott and Nekvapil 2012). Noted phenomena may then be evaluated, adjustments may be designed and then implemented in communication. A language problem or inadequacy emerges when a deviation is noted and evaluated negatively, particularly when this occurs repeatedly and is acknowledged as a problem by multiple actors.

LMT distinguishes between management taking place in the course of an ongoing interaction, so-called simple or on-line management, and management taking place beyond or outside of a single interaction or utterance by an individual speaker, so-called organized or off-line management (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015)[8]. Organized management (cf. Nekvapil 2012) is characterized by the reflection of multiple, repeated interactions, the participation of multiple individuals organized into complex social networks, and a more explicit, directed character. The language problems are noted and formulated by actors on the meta-level, e.g. "English education in the Czech Republic is insufficient", and are the subject of discussion, in which theories (both expert and non-expert) and ideologies serve as the motivation and legitimizing instrument for the chosen trajectories of the management process. This discussion may take place in the public sphere, in the media, or in more private or restricted settings. In this point, many activities and outcomes understood as language planning and policy are interpretable as instances of language management. Though organized management was originally envisioned as a process with the same series of phases as simple management, Lanstyák (2014) has criticized this parallel, arguing that organized management bears a closer resemblance to other models of organizational management.

In addition, LMT places the management of *language* problems in the appropriate sociolinguistic context, that is, it also aims to describe the management of related communicative and sociocultural (including socioeconomic) problems and to demonstrate the connections between these three levels. In other words, language management is rarely a matter of language alone, as we will see below.[9]

The distinction between levels in LMT and the interaction between them should be viewed as a continuum, and can be elucidated using the following example. As Europe continually faces issues of increased immigration and mobility, the acquisition of local, national or official languages by the new arrivals is continually the object of management. An instance of simple, on-line management would be where a non-native speaker corrects himself in the course of a single turn. In observing this correction, we may pose the question of why the

8 The terms on-line and off-line management are used by Jernudd (2001).

9 See Jernudd and Neustupný's (1987: 77ff) distinction between "linguistic interest" and "non-linguistic interest".

speaker did it. It may have been a simple communicative issue, i.e. he felt that he would not have been understood. However, it may have been more of a sociocultural issue – he felt the need to speak in accordance with codified linguistic norms to the greatest degree possible in order to avoid discrimination on the part of his interlocutor or questions regarding his origin, which may hold up the conversation unnecessarily. Examples of management which move more into the offline territory, but remain more or less on the simple level, include instances of exposed other-correction (Jefferson 1987) done by a teacher in a language class. The truly organized character of the management begins when the teacher, on the basis of repeated noted deviations, orients his or her teaching practices toward their adjustment, creating an actual abstraction of the language problem (e.g. "some students cannot differentiate between voiced and voiceless consonants in Czech, and this is not desirable, because it can lead to the misunderstanding of words"). Increased organization comes in the form of textbook and curriculum writing, the adoption of speaker and pronunciation models, the establishment of language teaching institutions, hiring practices in those institutions (selection of teachers with certain qualifications), and regional and national education policy. But organized management may also be conducted by the learner in a less traditionally institutional sense, via informal, everyday language learning, the use of language exchanges, and further integration into social networks where the given language is used.

Individuals necessarily differ in their management practices related to the acquisition of the local language of the country to which they have migrated. These differences help to illustrate the connections between sociocultural, communicative and language management. In the Czech Republic, put simply, some immigrants acquire the Czech language, while others do not. This reality can be tied to two issues: 1) the organized management on the part of the Czech state, which does not require Czech language knowledge of all immigrants, and requires only limited knowledge of some others; and 2) organized management occurring within an individual's social networks, which is necessarily connected to sociocultural and socioeconomic aspects of his or her everyday existence. This is most visible in the case of immigrants (most often English-, Russian- and Vietnamese-speaking) who are able to find employment within their own networks and are not dependent on the Czech-language labour market. The lack of national language knowledge may be noted as a deviation and evaluated negatively in the case of many immigrants in various countries, and adjusted not only through the acquisition of the language, but also through the avoidance of situations in which the language is necessary, or through the hiring of interpreters. The specific adjustment design selected is dependent upon the given individual's life situation.

5.5.2 Scope of LMT in previous research

LMT has been utilized in the analysis of a number of language situations, which necessarily overlap.

1. Situations often analyzed using LPP models and dealing with issues previously addressed via status planning (Kloss 1969) and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989), e.g. management done by international organizations, national and local governments, educational institutions, workplaces, religious or civic organizations (see, e.g. Dovalil 2015a; du Plessis 2010; Giger and Sloboda 2008; Sloboda 2009; Sloboda, Szabó-Gilinger, Vigers and Šimičić 2010). Focus is frequently placed on the broader picture: the process as a whole and especially its later phases, adjustment designs and implementation, as well as on feedback or the post-implementation phase (Kimura 2014), and the completion (or non-completion) of language management cycles.
2. Situations which correspond more closely to corpus planning (Kloss 1969), in which codified norms and codifying institutions inspire the management and are often referenced in it. This includes research on language cultivation (Nekvapil 2008) and standardization and destandardization processes (Dovalil 2015b).
3. Situations to which other models of LPP oriented toward traditional corpus, status and acquisition planning, as well as the communities and domains of language policy and management as set out by Spolsky, are not typically applied due to the non-traditional character of the networks in which language and communication are managed. These include online social networks and discussion fora, individual social networks or informally organized groups (see Pasfield-Neofitou 2012; Sherman 2009; Sloboda and Nábělková 2013; Sherman and Švelch 2015; Švelch 2015). Focus is frequently placed on demonstrating novel and creative ways (from the descriptive perspective) in which actors go through the LM process and the aims they attempt to achieve in doing so.
4. Situations studied using inspiration from models of intercultural communication and acculturation, in which language, communicative and sociocultural problems typically stem from differing norms or expectations of the communicative partners. Among authors working in the Japanese tradition, these situations are the prototype of what are referred to as “contact situations” (see e.g. Fairbrother 2002, 2009; Fan 1994; Marriott 2000; Masuda 2009; Muraoka 2000; Neustupný 2003, 2005).
5. Situations which are analyzed from the perspective of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and which create a bridge between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, particularly in regard to the phase of noting,

examining its triggers and attempting to reconstruct internal mental processes as faithfully as methodologically possible (see e.g. Neustupný 1990; Miyazaki 2001).

It should also be pointed out that there are numerous studies in LPP, sociolinguistics, SLA and elsewhere which analyse what can in fact be understood as acts of language management, but which either do not work with LMT, or do not do so with a predominant orientation to the conception of language management as described by Jernudd and Neustupný. These include approaches based on metaphors of fixing, polishing or policing language, e.g. Blommaert (2013), Cameron (2012a), Curzan (2014), standard language ideology, e.g. Seargeant (2009), Milroy and Milroy (2012), especially the "complaint tradition" (pp. 30–47) manifested in numerous examples of the noting and (negative) evaluation of non-standard language use. There are also a number of studies, mostly devoted to language classroom interaction, which analyse individual interactions as manifestations of language policy or as policy emerging in the course of interaction, some examples being the "micro-level policy-in-process" discussed in Amir and Musk (2013) or the "practiced language policy" in Bonacina-Pugh (2012).

5.5.3 Methodological aspects

In addressing the question of how to identify examples of language management and best elucidate its processual aspects, it is important to adopt an ethnomethodological approach (Garfinkel 1967), particularly via ethnomethodological conversation analysis in connection with the problem of "why that now" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299). In other words, if we are interested in language management, we must ask why problems with specific aspects of language (or languages as entire units) are made relevant at a given moment in a given context and by whom. This approach also extends to LMT's orientation toward a focus on processes which may take place, in the vein of conversation analysis, "turn-by-turn" (see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) in an ongoing interaction. In addition, concepts such as 'norms' and 'deviations' are determined by the interaction participants themselves, not by external observers, i.e. the perspective is an 'emic' one. In contrast to the earliest theories of language planning, there need not be a hierarchy of language managers. Professional language experts, linguists and laypeople (or 'ordinary language users') are all important in the identification and explicit formulation of language problems, and the important challenge for researchers is to explore the perspectives provided from all positions of expertise, power and the like, i.e. to understand the complete picture.

This challenge can be observed through the prism of some methods employed in LMT research, particularly those which encourage participants in communicative situations and/or management processes to reflect upon their own behaviour. There are frequent differences between spontaneous management processes, elicited ones, and unsuccessful attempts on the part of researchers to elicit management. In the final case, we can see a clash between the norms of language experts and the norms of everyday language users/laypeople. One example of this can be found in the use of languages, particularly English, as lingua francas. In many contexts, international business being a prominent one, English is used primarily for communicative purposes – to exchange information, to conduct ordinary work tasks, to engage in small talk, and the like. In a telephone conversation, for example, two speakers may exchange the information that they need, and at the same time use language structures which deviate from standard language norms. The question, then, is, whether the deviations are noted as such by one or more of the users, if the management process continues, and what it looks like. It may happen that a language expert, in this case an English specialist, would listen to a recording of the conversation and point out individual deviations which were not at all relevant for the conversation participants. Interestingly, this multiplicity of norms and potential conflicts between them serves as a basis for management among language teachers, who, in the role of norm authorities, must decide what to correct in the classroom and when to do so (see Dovalil 2015b; Hamid, Zhu and Baldauf 2014).

5.5.4 LMT and English in Europe

LMT provides alternative perspectives on contemporary issues related to the situation of English in Europe as well as in the global context. Speakers possess different resources and repertoires, including multiple varieties of English. In posing the question of which norms are made relevant in which situations, LMT can show, for example, that a single language user may note and evaluate deviations from different norms when in the role of a teacher, as the writer of academic texts, or in a business context. Throughout Europe, the management of English is done by individuals, parents, teachers, schools, editors and employers, to name but a few. This was exemplified throughout the various phases of the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project, during which different areas where problems crop up were gradually brought to the fore. The frequently formulated language problems of “insufficient English” among students and employees was defined differently in different countries – a marked difference emerged, for example, between Scandinavia, the Spanish-speaking world, and Central and Eastern Europe, leading to varying, yet comparable management practices in each area. In academic publishing, journal editors note and evaluate deviations from various linguistic as well as genre-related norms of scientific articles, often on the basis of norms from native-English-speaking countries, and design and implement adjustments to deviations by editing the texts (see Kaplan and Baldauf 2005), or through offering paid proofreading services. Universities undergoing processes of internationalization are observed facing the task of deciding which language norms should be required of both teachers and students, often based on multiple acts of management conducted ad hoc. Finally, employers, above all those in the international business world, act as language managers when making decisions about the specifics of the English (and other language) skills required of their employees (see Nekvapil and Sherman 2009b; 2013).

Andrew Linn

6 The Nordic experience

6.1 Introduction

The Nordic countries top the league tables with regard to the role of English in two respects. Firstly they are widely credited with the world's highest levels of proficiency in the use of English. The 'Johnson' blog in *The Economist* magazine was typical of the popular view internationally when it remarked in 2011 that "the Scandinavians are shockingly fluent" in English, as well as then going on to reinforce a few more international stereotypes.[1] The formal study of English is well established in the education system in the Nordic countries, by which we mean the peninsular Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, together with Finland, Iceland, and the Faroes (politically part of Denmark, although self-governing since 1948). In Sweden, for example, English became the first foreign language in the schools from 1946, in part thanks to the experience of the Second World War stigmatizing German, which had been the first foreign language taught in schools up to that point, but in part also because English was now of more practical relevance for Swedish cultural and trading relations (Johansson 2004). English is now (anno 2015) compulsory throughout the Swedish school system from year one onwards (Skolverket 2015), meaning that in terms of both historical and contemporary exposure, English is woven deep into the fabric of Swedish school education. Formal instruction from an early age combines with very high visibility of English language materials in all areas of society – subtitled television programmes, the ready availability of English-language TV and films over the internet, and so on – to mean that English is simply a fact of 21st-century life.

Later in this chapter we will look specifically at the domains of scholarly publication and English-medium instruction in higher education, where English has been in common use since the 1950s (Kuteeva 2011b: 5). Barbara Seidlhofer writes that "in the early 21st century, the significance of a certain command of English is closely comparable to that of reading and writing at the time of industrialization in Europe" (2011b: 136), and this is certainly true for the countries of the North. Knowledge of English is a basic skill for many educated Europeans, but by no means all, and it is in a context like the Nordic one that the stratification of society based on the possession of English (see section 4.2 above) is most keenly felt. Pitkänen-Huhta and Hujo (2012) report on a study of a married couple (Aino

1 http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2011/04/english and Erkki) in their 90s living in a small community in rural south-west Finland. The authors note that "Aino and Erkki have perhaps always felt that they belong to the lower classes of society and that there have always been rulers controlling their lives", but:

> Today this division has taken new forms due to increasing multilingualism. The language used by [those with knowledge and so with power] has become foreign and strange to the likes of Aino and Erkki [...] and they are forced to remain bystanders [...] there is clear evidence of lack of self-respect, which is a sign of marginality.
> (Pitkänen-Huhta and Hujo 2012: 282)

We shall see in more detail in due course that the Nordic countries cannot be treated as a uniform region in terms of attitudes towards English or the absorption of English import words, but the omnipresence of English in the Nordic countries, the extent of the education provision and the fact that the national languages are individually amongst the lesser spoken national languages of Europe, has given rise to an enviable level of proficiency. As with the issue of attitudes, this picture of universal competence in English and universal acceptability of English across all domains of society needs to be interrogated, and we will do this in the course of this chapter too. For now, however, we can simply note that available statistics bear out the popular sense that the Nordic countries top the table when it comes to facility in the use of English as a non-native language.

The *English Proficiency Index* (*EPI*) (Education First 2014) divides the countries of the world into five proficiency categories. The top category is 'very high proficiency' (a label adopted in the title of Linn and Hadjidemetriou 2014), and in 2014 this contained seven countries: Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Poland and Austria, in that order (although Norway is "the only European country to experience a significant decline in English proficiency over the past seven years" (Education First 2014: 19), having topped the table in 2011).[2] According to the index, seventeen of the top twenty positions are held by countries of Europe, with Malaysia and Singapore taking positions 12 and 13 respectively, and the number 15 spot going to Argentina. International rankings and their relationship with the use of English constitute a complex issue (cf. Hultgren 2014b), and for now we will accept this information at face value. The Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway and Denmark plus Finland top the 2014 table. These easy statistics fuel press reports (the *Economist* blog cited above was in response to the 2011 *EPI*) and further league tables, and so the story of Nordic success in the

2 The 2015 report has now been published, and the 'very high proficiency' category now ranks Sweden as number 1, followed by The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Slovenia, Estonia, Luxembourg and Poland.

English market becomes self-propagating, concealing a whole host of individual realities which may be very different to the banner headline. The Education First findings are however borne out by more nuanced surveys, notably the Eurobarometer report of 2012 on *Europeans and their Languages* (European Commission 2012), which finds, for example, that the four countries with the proportion of people "most likely to rate their level of skill in English as a foreign language as 'very good'" (European Commission 2012d: 24) are Denmark, Sweden, Malta and Cyprus (the latter two being former British colonies, of course), and that the proportion in Malta and Sweden "has increased notably since 2005" (European Commission 2012: 24). It will hardly come as a surprise to readers that we have chosen to take the Nordic countries as our principal European case study with respect to the use of English as a non-native language.

The other table which the Nordic countries have topped in recent years is an unofficial one, namely that of *criticism* of the role of English. This apparently anomalous situation is echoed by Haberland (2014: 260):

> In the case of English in the Nordic countries, we experience a combination of demographic facts, language ideologies and language policies which have made the status of English specific – a situation often regarded with envy from outside and frowned at from within.

The other side to the Nordic picture of longstanding national and regional proficiency in English is national and regional anxiety about the impact of long-term and widespread English language consumption. Global warming is the hottest political potato in those polities which have embraced and benefited from uncontrolled industrial expansion most enthusiastically, and expansion in consumption of English is a similar benefit/pariah. Several of the highest profile critics of the impact of English in the world language ecology have aired their views from their bases in the Nordic countries. Robert Phillipson, emeritus professor at Copenhagen Business School, whose theory of linguistic imperialism has been a robust presence in debates on the role of English worldwide for more than two decades (e.g. Phillipson 2009; see section 3.2.1 above), and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, formerly of Roskilde University in Denmark and Åbo Akademi University in Finland and champion of linguistic human rights (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), have perhaps been the most internationally audible. But there have been others too, possibly more restrained in tone – Mackenzie (2014: 136) writes of Phillipson that "he just has a habit of pushing *all* his arguments and insights too far!" – but similarly critical (e.g. Brock Utne 2003; Preisler 2003; papers in Svenska språknämnden 2004, etc.). Haberland and Mortensen (2012a) is a collection of papers whose authors are predominantly Nordic – eight of the ten contributions to that special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*

(Haberland and Mortensen 2012a) are Nordic in origin –, and the editors write in their introduction:

> Hardly any of the authors [in this volume] show open enthusiasm for the role of English vis-à-vis other languages that emerges in the picture of university education under the spell of globalism, the knowledge society and education commodification. Rather there seems to be a recurrent critical stance.
> (Haberland and Mortensen 2012b: 5)

A sense that all might not be well in the Nordic language garden, that a new and dangerous strain of weed had been introduced, emerged as far back as the 1960s but gathered momentum, initially in the Nordic language councils and in academic contexts but increasingly also in political circles and in the media around the turn of the 21st century. By the middle of the second decade of the 21st century a lot of the heat has gone out of this debate (cf. section 4.4.3 above), and practical efforts to combat the inexorable rise of English across various domains of language use in this part of the world seem to have petered out with very little impact. We will be surveying the language ideological debates surrounding English in the Nordic countries and assessing their legacy in what follows.

Thus far this book has focused on issues and ideas. The aim of this chapter is to bring these together in a specific regional case study, one which Kristiansen and Sandøy (2010: 1) describe as “a well-suited ‘laboratory’ for research into the contexts and consequences of today’s globalization and the general advance of English”. As we have seen throughout this book, both geographical and sociocultural sites for planning and managing language are very diverse, and students of language planning need to understand and address the issues at all levels, from the narrowly local to the truly worldwide. Focusing on ‘The North’ allows us to deconstruct the language planning edifice and investigate ‘in the round’ the full range of sites for language management from the local (e.g. the individual education institution) to the national (national language councils and governments), the regional (pan-Nordic reports and projects) to the worldwide (e.g. the experience of Nordic citizens communicating in multinational, multilingual environments). In section 6.2 we return to the historical perspective we explored in chapter 2 as an important lens through which to view English in society today, and we chart the history of the use and study of English in this part of Europe up to the point in the 1960s when the apparently uncritical acceptance of the knowledge of the English language as a pedagogical and practical good gave way to a more critical discourse surrounding what would go on to become “the hottest possible” sociolinguistic issue (Blommaert 2010: 197). Norway was the case study for which Einar Haugen coined the term ‘language planning’, and intervention in the language has continued to characterize the Norwegian language-political landscape up to the present time. Although Norway may be the highest-profile national context for language planning in the Nordic region, the development of national and institutional as well as regional language policies has been a key feature of language intervention in this part of Europe for the past twenty years (see Linn and Oakes 2007), so we shall review this activity in some detail. We will take developments in Norway as our specific focus, since national responses to managing the language across this region have tended to move in step such that where one goes the others follow, but we will also be drawing out areas of difference as we consider the tension between local and pan-local forces in language planning.

In section 4 we will consider the evidence for the actual linguistic impact of English forms on the structure of the national and local languages of the Nordic countries. Even at the height of the hysteria surrounding the supposed threat to the national languages from English, academic commentators at least were quick to point out that the presence of import words does not in and of itself mean that the future of a language is in question (e.g. Kristoffersen 2005). Nonetheless, import words loom large in ordinary language users' perception of linguistic change, and this is an important topic with regard to attitudes towards and perceptions of the relationship between the national language and English. Here we will draw to a large extent on the major pan-Nordic project, *Moderne importord i språka i Norden* [Modern import words in the languages of the Nordic countries] (for a project overview in English, see Sandøy 2007). This project will also help inform section 6.5, where we consider attitudes towards English across the region and amongst different stakeholders. Here, as so often, we will find the reality is far more nuanced than the sort of headline statements and statistics we have alluded to above.

As well as topping the tables in terms of English proficiency and critique, the Nordic countries have been the most prolific in Europe when it comes to studying and writing about the use of English in higher education. English as the medium for research dissemination and as a medium of instruction were two of the principal topics for discussion within the *English in Europe* project (Dimova, Hultgren and Jensen 2015; Plo and Pérez-Llantada 2015), and it was no surprise to the project organizers that a significant proportion of contributions were the result of research and publication projects executed in the Nordic countries, many of them emerging from three principal research centres: the CALPIU Research Centre at Roskilde University; the Centre for Academic English at Stockholm University; and the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use at the University of Copenhagen. Consequently sections 6 and 7 of this chapter turn to these domains to consider the findings emanating from the Nordic countries, and again we will find that reality is far more varied and interesting than easy general statements might lead us to believe.

Most of the investigation of the use and role of English in Europe has been carried out by academics, which has resulted in a lot of myopic navel-gazing and hand-wringing about English in domains that affect ourselves. There is, scholars of English in Europe are sometimes surprised to discover, a range of stakeholders and interests outside higher education, and more studies are needed here, both with respect to high-stakes and economically high-value domains like international business (e.g. Piekkari and Zander 2005; Lønsmann 2014) and also more local contexts in which physically and technologically mobile multilingual communities use their language repertoires (e.g. Bolton and Meierkord 2013; Kytölä 2012). Finally we assess to what extent the long experience of using and managing as well as researching English in the Nordic countries can be distilled down into lessons or insights of relevance to policy makers and language practitioners elsewhere in Europe.

6.2 History

6.2.1 The 18th century and earlier

The learning of English in the Nordic countries prior to the latter half of the 19th century was sporadic at best. In his survey of the history of English language teaching across Europe, A. P. R. Howatt (1984: 66) notes that, with the exception of a grammar of 1678 (Bolling 1678), "there appear to have been few, if any, original English textbooks in Scandinavia until the 1740s". Indeed Charles Julius Bertram (1723–1765), an English language teacher based in Copenhagen, boasts of the originality of his contributions, such as the 1749 *Essay on the Excellency and Style of the English Tongue* and the more ambitious *Royal English-Danish Grammar* of 1753, describing this latter work as "the first English grammar ever to have seen the light of day in your royal majesty's kingdoms" (Linn 1999: 185). Anyone interested in learning English had to do so on their own initiative and via informal contacts. Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) was one of the leading European linguists of the early 19th century, but despite attending Odense Cathedral School (from 1801), a pioneering school in terms of the range of language teaching provided, he had to study English in his own time and with the practical assistance of "a good friend" (Linn 1996: 309). In Swedish schools English was nominally introduced to the curriculum in the 1770s, as part of provision for the teaching of modern languages in general, but in practice English remained a low priority behind French and German, and the modern languages in general found it hard to compete with the classical languages, which remained compulsory until 1828 (Lindblad 2008: 2).

The study of English in *higher education* in the Nordic countries was more widespread during the eighteenth century, but it was again sporadic and lacking in prestige. English teaching was the responsibility of the 'language masters' who were employed on ad hoc contracts alongside teachers of other practical skills such as fencing and dancing. The University of Greifswald, which was part of the Swedish kingdom until 1815, appears to have offered some teaching in English as early as 1686 (Zettersten 1983: 44) although a more formal language master arrangement was only established in 1754. Åbo Akademi (now in Finland) mentions English teaching in 1725 and was joined by the two universities of Sweden itself, Uppsala and Lund, in the 1730s (Bratt 1977: 55). The language masters at Lund in the eighteenth century produced both teaching and research publications on English language and literature, and there is a strong impression of a growing milieu for the study and teaching of English in that university (Linn 2004: 70–71). It is unlikely, however, that there was much exposure to English in eighteenth-century Scandinavian society, and so there can have been little motivation for studying and using the language. In a letter of 1809, Rask wrote of his "great regard for English literature" and that he "wished to master the language as completely as time and circumstances would allow" (Hjelmslev 1941, I: 16), but this was fuelled by his enthusiasm for Anglo Saxon as one of a range of ancient and exotic languages he studied. England was an established point on the European tours taken by Danish students, especially when revolutionary France became more problematic as a destination in the late eighteenth century. All in all, however, we have to conclude that by the end of the eighteenth century the English language was pretty invisible in Scandinavia, although there is more work to be done to chart the spread and use of English throughout Europe prior to the nineteenth century:

> Since the publication of Howatt (1984) thirty years ago there has only been a limited amount of original research into the history of English language teaching for speakers of other languages. This contrasts strongly with work in relation to French, which has burgeoned over the last twenty-five years [...]
> (Howatt and Smith 2014: 75)

6.2.2 The 19th century

As the nineteenth century wore on, two major developments in language education lifted the status of English and increased the call for materials to support it, namely the introduction of modern foreign languages to the school curriculum in the Nordic countries as elsewhere in Europe (see chapter 2.1), and the growing demand for practical language materials to serve the burgeoning commercial and tourist sectors, in which Anglophone interests loomed large. University-level teaching and research developed in response to innovation in the school curriculum, and Scandinavian universities and scholars were amongst the European leaders in the field by the end of the century.

We noted above that English entered the school curriculum in Sweden in the late eighteenth century as a poor relation to French and German, and the arrival of the language in Danish schools was similarly low-profile. 1814 regulations for the new Danish *realskoler* [modern schools], which had been established alongside the traditional Latin schools to provide a more practical education for the growing middle class (see Larsen 2010), made provision for the teaching of French and German but only for English where "the commercial links of the town could motivate it" (Nielsen 2000: 123). The same was true for Norway (see Gundem 1989). Thus English was closely linked to practical needs and to business and commercial activity rather than literary or cultural pretensions, so a sense of English as a practical tool has a long heritage. English limped into the longer-established Latin schools of Denmark too, following educational reforms in the first decade of the century which allowed for English to be taught, but only "when and where it can be done" (Nielsen 2000: 124).

As the century progressed and new educational reforms came about, the standing of English began to strengthen, however. In Norway, the pioneer of the study of English philology, Johan Storm (1836–1920), recollected that:

> As a schoolboy I learnt English at home of my own accord. First of all I read a bit of grammar, as much as was necessary to understand the forms. I pondered long over the pronunciation rules, which I found deeply unclear. I soon began to read a simple reader and from there went over to the novels of Marryat and others. I read book after book with increasing satisfaction and soon gained a satisfactory knowledge of the most important vocabulary. At the same time I took every opportunity to hear the language spoken by natives. Finally, when a student, I received some tutoring from an educated English lady, who spoke English unusually beautifully [...]
> (Storm 1887: 182–183; translation from Linn 2004: 53)

So Storm's experience in the Norway of the 1850s was not dissimilar to that of Rask half a century earlier, nor is it that dissimilar (except in the detail – "novels by

Marryat", "educated English lady" etc.) to the experience of autonomous learners of English today, developing their skills using online resources (see e.g. Sockett 2013). The private provision of English language classes appears to have been relatively big business in Stockholm too during the middle part of the nineteenth century (Bernhardsson 2010). The new legislation for the public schools which came in 1869, however, gave the formal study of English an enormous boost in Norway. In the *realgymnas* [modern tertiary level], English replaced Latin as the compulsory language, and in the Latin *gymnas* English was placed on an equal footing with French, such that students could choose either English or French or both. As Sandved (1998: 34) notes, this new legislation meant that Norway became the first country in Europe without any of the classical languages being studied in its modern tertiary schools. English did not, however, enter the curriculum in the secondary (compulsory) sector until the 1930s, and even then provision was patchy (Simensen 2014: 2).

The status of the various modern and classical languages in the education system in Norway in the nineteenth century was the subject of heated debate in parliament, and we should not assume for one minute that 21st-century concerns about the relative status of languages in education and in society are anything new. The former prime minister, Johan Sverdrup (1816–1892), for example, spoke passionately and prophetically as part of this debate about the relative value of French and English for Norwegians:

> What is it that looms so large in the West? It is a world power which is going to master everything as it develops; English North America will dominate in politics, in science, in art, in technology. *Imperium Romanum* would be as a trifle against what was on the verge of coming.[3]
> (quoted in Sandved 1998: 37–38)

The relative value of the three established modern foreign languages was a topic for debate and disagreement in Sweden as well, with the Education Act of 1859 giving German priority over English in the modern schools. By 1874, however, Esaias Tegnér (1843–1928), professor of Oriental languages at Lund University and the author of a range of linguistic works, was already predicting that "English is the one most likely to become a global language" (quoted in Lindblad 2008: 3). So the nineteenth-century language-political debate about English can be broadly characterized as one focused on the relative value of modern and classical lan-

3 Hvad er det som stiger saa stort i Vest? Det er en Verdensmagt, som vil komme til at beherske Alt i sin Udvikling; engelsk Nordamerika vil være det dominerende i Politik, i Videnskab, i Kunst, i Teknik. *Imperium Romanum* vilde blive som en Smaating mod det, som stod i Begreb med at komme.

guages in the education of the citizens of the future and taking a positive and upbeat view of the growth of American influence and the concomitant increase in the presence of English in the world.

We have already noted that, up to the early nineteenth century, language teaching in Scandinavian universities was the responsibility of the language masters, those poorly paid, poorly treated, peripatetic teachers of practical language skills. We don't know how effective their teaching was in the development of practical English skills amongst young Nordic men, but given that they tended to be native speakers of languages other than English (predominantly Romance) and given that English was not a priority language at the time, we can imagine that their effect was minimal. The climate wasn't right for the emergence of a culture of English studies. This changed however with the upper school reforms of the mid-century. English on the school curriculum required teachers qualified to teach it, and the universities responded by admitting the modern foreign languages to their degree programmes. The Dane Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) would go on to become an international luminary in English studies, writing amongst other things *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Jespersen 1905) and the monumental *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (Jespersen 1909–1949). In his autobiography he recollected that it was only in 1883 that the schoolteachers' exam was introduced at the University of Copenhagen, "making it possible to take a degree of a more practical kind in any of a wide range of subjects, instead of as hitherto being confined to the more scholarly type of M.A. course or to the Classics degree" (Juul, Nielsen and Nielsen 1995: 44–45). So English was very much a practical course of study in the Scandinavian universities, in stark contrast to the syllabus established at Oxford in 1894 (Palmer 1965: Ch. 7), which was self-consciously philological, focusing on the historical development of the language and the literature.

The dead hand of the language master tradition lingered on. Johan Storm was appointed professor at the Norwegian university in 1871, in order to provide for the language requirements of the school system, but he was professor of English and Romance Philology, which meant, to begin with at least, that he was solely responsible for the teaching of the language and literature of English, French, Spanish, Italian, and indeed Norwegian (see Linn 2004). Norway was the first of the Nordic countries to appoint a professor in English whose ambitions and skills were more than just practical ones and who would be an active and internationally acclaimed researcher into the bargain. The University of Copenhagen had employed a professor of English since 1800 (Thomas Christopher Bruun (1750–1834)), but "it was only when Otto Jespersen was appointed professor in 1893 that it became possible to study English on a sound basis" (Sørensen 1971: 94–95). Throughout the early nineteenth century the Swedish universities employed a number of ‘language-related’ professors with a variety of job titles and a mix of responsibilities. English was only fully established as a proper university discipline, involving professionalized teaching and research, with the appointment of Axel Erdmann (1843–1926) (see Rydén 2000) as professor of English language at Uppsala in 1904. A permanent chair in English philology in Helsinki was established as recently as 1921 for Uno Lindelöf (1868–1944) who would be “the only professor of English in the country for thirty years” (Pahta 2008: 22). Given how comparatively recently English became established as a university subject in the Nordic countries, it might seem surprising that its study and its profile, not to mention its threats and opportunities, should have become so predominant barely 100 years on. It should in addition be pointed out that the role and standing of English in Nordic academia was also a source of debate and disagreement and the basis for policy development in higher education in the earliest days, although the debate focused on the presence of English as a discipline and not as a medium of instruction or as a scientific language.

The first generation of modern languages professors in the Nordic countries were well connected with each other. They corresponded with each other, visited each other, sent each other things they had written, and in short constituted a *discourse community* (Linn 2008). They were committed to the idea of the *living language*. For the likes of Storm in Norway, Jespersen in Denmark, and Johan August Lundell (1851–1940) in Sweden, this meant in practice a focus on language in use founded on the study of the new science of phonetics. By contrast with the historical-comparative linguistics of the earlier nineteenth century, the “engelsk-skandinavisk skole” [Anglo-Scandinavian School], as Jespersen called their group (Jespersen 1897–1899: 55), focused their research and publication efforts on topics such as the study of the dialects, spelling reform and, above all, language teaching reform. Jespersen and Storm, for example, had both worked as school teachers and both produced practical teaching materials to allow learners to study naturally occurring examples of ‘living’ English, in contrast to the artificial grammar-translation method materials which were otherwise available. A 21st-century commentator remarked that Jespersen’s “revolutionary” textbooks contained dialogues which were “realistic and would be more or less contemporary now” (Smith and McLelland 2014: 15). Consequently, the Nordic universities became powerhouses for the teaching of high-level practical English language skills. The founder of the International Phonetic Association, Paul Passy (1859–1940), famously wrote that Storm “spîks Inglic *kwait* laik a nétiv” [speaks English *quite* like a native] (Passy 1886), and when Jespersen visited the eminent English pronunciation expert, A. J. Ellis (1814–1890), along with Storm’s student and collaborator, August Western (1856–1940), the two young Nordic linguists “began to have doubts about the accuracy of [Ellis’s] observations” (Juul, Nielsen and Nielsen 1995: 62). The reforming linguists of the Anglo-Scandinavian School ensured that the study of English in the Nordic countries at university level and by extension in the schools was characterized by exacting standards of pronunciation and commitment to practicality and authenticity. Before moving on, it is worth noting that the language teaching reform ambitions for this extended group were formalized by the establishment in Stockholm in 1886 of a society (*Quousque Tandem*), whose over 200 members were predominantly from the four peninsular Nordic countries (Linn 2002). English teaching and learning by the end of the nineteenth century was professionalized and pursued with commitment, enthusiasm and reforming zeal.

During the nineteenth century there were other, non-academic, reasons for the study of English and for the production of materials to support that. The United States loomed large on the Scandinavian horizon not just, as Sverdrup remarked, because the US economy was booming, but because getting on for three million Nordic citizens left their homes to emigrate to America. In the century up to the First World War the numbers of emigrants were dramatic, including around 1,3 million Swedes and 800,000 Norwegians. Bearing in mind that the population of Norway in 1801 was barely above 800,000, these are significant demographic shifts. The reasons behind the mass emigration and the details about where the individuals came from, how they travelled and what they did on arrival in the Promised Land are complex (see Linn 2015a; Norman and Runblom 1988). All the same, the net effect of this mass migration across the Atlantic is that there has developed during the twentieth century a very strong network of family links between the Nordic countries and English-speaking America, increasing the need to learn and maintain English, more a language of family relations than of business connections or scientific necessity. The transportation of so many people provided opportunities for all sorts of entrepreneurs, from shipping companies and railway operators to those who capitalized on the linguistic needs of the emigrants moving to an English-speaking country. It is unlikely that the materials produced for the supposed benefit of the migrants would have resulted in much language learning, but works with titles like the 1853 *Easy and comprehensible guide for emigrants and others who in a short time want to learn and make themselves understood in the English language* (Sørensen 2011) provided something to cling onto, a sense that the new repertoire could be mastered. So there were further routes by which English came to the attention of the Nordic world, and the associations were those of opportunity, of wealth and of a way out of the economic limitations of a harsh and unpredictable rural northern Europe.

6.2.3 Into the twentieth century

In the years following the introduction of English to the teachers' examination, the numbers actually taking English in Norway were unimpressive. Up to 1910 only 3,3 % of students took the option of English (with French), and the other modern subjects attracted similarly paltry numbers (Sandved 2000: 111). However, numbers of students studying English sky-rocketed in the following decades, fired not by any linguistic reasons but, as is so often the case, by political factors external to the language. In 1938 there were 47 candidates for English. On the outbreak of war the following year this number had risen to 71, and by the end of the war there were 95 candidates for English. Certainly for Norway the political positions of the Second World War, with the government in exile in London, reinforced the standing of English. "When almost 80 % of philology students taking their finals in 1943 chose English as one of their subjects, we can probably fairly safely take this as the result of a pro-English (and anti-German) position amongst Norwegian students" (Sandved 1998: 321). This was not the first time that the relative standing of languages in the Nordic countries had been affected by war. The British navy's assault on the Danish fleet at the Battle of Copenhagen in 1807 meant that in the aftermath of this attack, "nobody dared to speak English in public places [and] English language teachers were in great hardship since their students utterly forsook them [...]" (Werlauff 1873/1874: 348). English arrived rather later in the Finnish schools, as Battarbe (2004: 266–267) explains, although by the 1970s it had become the first foreign language for the overwhelming majority. Earlier, the coexistence of Finnish and Swedish as national languages, the close political relationship with Russia, and the continuation of German as the preferred second language for cultural reasons even beyond the Second World War, had meant that other languages had practical priority.

Simensen (2010) describes English in Scandinavia as "a success story", and its centrality to the education system was gradually reinforced as the twentieth century wore on. English only became compulsory across the region in the second half of the century and this was accompanied by a gradual lowering of the age at which the study of English began, "to ten or eleven years of age in the period up to the 1970s" (Simensen 2010: 475) and since then to the earliest school years. The rapid growth in the provision of English in the schools called for external assistance (Simensen 2011). This came first from the British Council which provided teacher training as well as a route into the Nordic countries for native-English-speaker teachers in a "hegemonic" relationship (Simensen 2010: 477), famously criticised by Robert Phillipson (e.g. Phillipson 1992: ch. 6), and later from the European Council for Cultural Co-operation (founded in 1961).

As with the earlier periods in the history of language study and language practices in the Nordic countries, there remains ample room for further studies, even on themes which have already received their fair share of research interest, a point reinforced by Mortensen and Haberland (2012: 186): "A thorough investigation of the changes in the language situation at Danish universities over the last 20 years remains a research desideratum". The point is that managing language is not somehow reborn with each new challenge. It is an ongoing challenge for institutions as much as for individuals.

6.3 Planning English in the Nordic context

6.3.1 Norway and the emergence of the 'English problem'

Modern sociolinguistics developed out of a body of work carried out in the 1950s and early 1960s by the group of predominantly American linguists Bernard Spolsky refers to as the "founding fathers" (Spolsky 2010: 3). One of this group was Einar Haugen (1906–1994) whose "study of Norwegian language planning", Spolsky goes on, "was a groundbreaking work".

> Haugen's language planning steps were proposed as both a theoretical model of language planning and a practical roadmap for those interested in actually planning languages, and other models and roadmaps followed, many elaborating on Haugen's original formulation. (Johnson and Ricento 2013: 8)

Einar Haugen's name comes up in several places in this book, as he was indeed a pioneer of the study of language planning, devising the term in an article of 1959 (see Hornberger 2006: 25–26), and he was also a pioneer of the idea of language ecology. His coinage of the term *language planning* and his pioneering study of this phenomenon was based on his analysis of the history of intervention in Norwegian, from "the liberation of Norwegian" (Haugen 1966: 27–62) as a standard language, following independence from Denmark in the nineteenth century, up to the early 1960s, stopping short of the major national language report of 1966 – "coming as [the report] did after the present book was written and just as it was going to press" (Haugen 1966: 274). The early 1960s and the process which led to that review of the language situation in Norway is when English started to become an issue, a *problem* in Norway, so our interest in the history of language planning in Norway really starts where Haugen left off. Overviews of the history of Norwegian language planning can be found elsewhere (e.g. Linn 2010a; Linn 2014), and Linn and Oakes 2007 is a comparison of language planning for English in Norway and Sweden. Haugen (1966) remains the classic account of the period up to the time of its publication, and Jahr (2014) picks up the story from Haugen. For anyone interested in LPP, it is a fascinating and salutary saga, and readers are referred to these publications. However, a brief summary is called for here for the benefit of current readers, since debates and responses to English across the Nordic region grow out of this language planning history. Managing languages in the Nordic countries today has to be understood against 150 years of doing precisely that in Norway.

At the start of the nineteenth century Norway was an outpost of the kingdom of Denmark and had been for 400 years, since the establishment of the Kalmar Union in 1397, bringing the Scandinavian nations together under one sovereign. Norway didn't have its own university prior to the nineteenth century (see Collett 1999) and all forms of cultural and intellectual life within the union had come to focus on Denmark. In the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, however, Norway was released from Denmark and entered into a union with Sweden following the signing of the Treaty of Kiel on 14 January 1814. Within a few months a constitution for the newly liberated Norway had been drawn up, and this was approved on 17 May of that year, a date which now stands as Norway's national day.

The language situation in 1814 was a complex one. Norway was now in political union with Sweden, although in practice this union was sufficiently loose to allow Norway to celebrate its independence. Norwegians spoke Norwegian dialects (as charted in Aasen 1848; 1850), a cornucopia of forms regarded as being versions of Norwegian since they were used within the boundaries of the country of Norway but which were not all in practice mutually comprehensible. However, the written language was Danish, the administrative standard of the former colonial power. Given the well-established link between language and identity (Clark 2013 is just one of the most recent studies in this area), it was for many Norwegians clearly unacceptable for the newly independent nation to continue to express its formal identity via the medium of dependence. More than this, the turn of the 19th century was the highpoint of National Romanticism, that ideological, political and cultural movement which treats the nation as an ideological, political and cultural unity (see studies in Trencsényi and Kopeček 2007), and which inspired the move to codify and promulgate a number of European languages (e.g. Faroese, Serbian, etc.). Several proposals for reform in the Norwegian language situation were advanced, ranging from maintenance of the traditional Danish to the radical use of a single dialect as a unifying written form (Jahr 2014: ch. 2; Linn 2004: 221–237). In practice two reform processes were followed through, one being a Norwegianization of the lexicon of the inherited Danish and the other being a new written standard, based on a study of the dialects and via reference to Old Norwegian. The former (since 1928 known as Bokmål [book language]) was primarily the brainchild of the teacher, Knud Knudsen (1812–1895) (see Johnsen 2006), and the latter (now called Nynorsk [new Norwegian]) of the autodidact and state-sponsored scholar, Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) (see Grepstad 2014; Linn 1997). On 12 May 1885, and despite the fact that neither possessed a standardized form, the Norwegian parliament resolved that the two written varieties should be granted equal status. i.e. a parallel-language situation should be adopted for the two written varieties (see Bjørhusdal 2014: 119–135). The story of language planning recounted and analysed by Haugen began because of the need to make practical sense of the 1885 resolution, a resolution which was in effect more about parity between two linguistic *movements* than parity between two distinct language varieties (Vikør 1990: 87). This is also true of the parallelingual ideology today where a parallel language policy in universities is the linguistic reflex of ideological conflict between the internationalization movement on the one hand and the preservationist movement on the other rather than between two hermetically sealed corpora of linguistic data. Managing conflicting language ideologies within a single language ecology, then, is inscribed in the Nordic language management DNA.

This democratic parallel language use, whereby Norwegians had two equal varieties to choose between, began to shift with the reform of 1917 (Haugen 1966: 84).[4] From 1917 onwards the plan was increasingly to reform the two varieties in ways which brought their corpora closer together in the hope that one day in the future they would converge as one single *Common Norwegian* [Samnorsk]:

> Was there not some way out that would bridge the gap and restore linguistic unity in Norway without destroying either of the two languages?
> (Haugen 1966: 61)

The Samnorsk agenda remained in force in the 1938 reform too, an agenda formally directed after 1952 by a national Language Commission [språknemnd]. The language planning of the 1950s and specifically the appearance of *the textbook standard* [læreboknormalen] in 1959 generated widespread objection, particularly, but not uniquely, from the pressure groups lobbying against changes to Bokmål. These were years in which language planners came into direct conflict with the will of ordinary language users, where the voice "from above" sought to shout down the voice "from below" (for a discussion of this notion of *voice* in language political debate, see Linn 2010a; B. Mortensen 2015; Røyneland 2013). As Rambø puts it (1999: 40), "the language-political situation which developed in

4 This paragraph is based on Linn (2014: 32–33)

Norway in the 1950s and 1960s was filled with great conflict”. Language planning had become a dirty word.

We have already mentioned the report produced by the committee convened under the chairmanship of Hans Vogt (1903–1986) and which was consequently referred to informally as the *Vogt Committee*, although its formal title was *The Committee for the Evaluation of the Language Situation etc.* [Komitéen til å vurdere språksituasjonen m.v.]. Perhaps the most widely used name for this committee has been the *language peace committee* [språkfredskomitéen] in recognition of its mandate to “get away from the internal strife which has an impoverishing and sterilizing effect on the language” (Innstilling 1966: 3). Vogt, whose research covered a wide array of languages (see Thordarson 2005; Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: *passim*) was a canny choice as chair. He was a highly regarded scholar, and 1964 coincided with the end of his term as Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Oslo and the beginning of his five-year term as Rector of the University, so he had excellent administrative credentials too. His practical insights into language and his steady administrative hand could not have been more undisputed. Professionally he was not associated with Norwegian language planning which meant that, whilst possessing linguistic credibility in spades, he was, in Haugen’s words (1966: 273), “sure to give a fair hearing to all points of view”. In this respect the choice of Vogt was very much like the choice of Professor Gjert Kristoffersen as chair of the Language Council committee responsible for the national language report *Språk i hundre!* four decades later (see section 6.3.3); successful language planning is in part about being seen to do the right thing. Our reason for dwelling on the Vogt committee here is that the initial motivation for its establishment really set the agenda for the post-modern era in Nordic language politics, and the significance of its move towards the vilification of English at the heart of language policy making in this part of the world cannot be over-emphasised. On the face of it the reason for convening the committee was the failure of the Samnorsk ideal and the loss of credibility for the institutions associated with it. The project had ground to a standstill, national-level language management appeared to have failed in practice, and a way forward was needed. Rather than admitting defeat so openly, the key political challenge concerning the language was reframed by the former Olympic discus thrower and now Minister for the Church and Education, Helge Sivertsen (1913–1986), as one of *threat* to the future of Norwegian *from outside*, a factor which is in the event barely mentioned in the final report of Vogt’s committee; Grønvik (1987: 9) also notes Sivertsen’s anxiety about the future of the language in competition with English. A report on the front page of the national broadsheet *Aftenposten* for 21 December 1963, the last Saturday before Christmas, thereby providing plenty food for thought for enlightened Norwegians during the Christmas holiday, was entitled *Heading for a complete revi-*

sion of Norwegian language policy? [Foran en hel revisjon av norsk sprogpolitikk] and quoted Sivertsen as saying the following:

> In my opinion the time is now ripe to call off whatever is left of language war in Norway and to try to join all good forces to take care of the richness in our written languages and in our dialects in town and village […] We need to protect its nuances such that the language is able to be as complete an instrument as possible. The richer the Norwegian language is, the stronger we stand when it comes to staunching the flood of foreign language material which is now pouring in. Given how vulnerable a small people's national language is in our time, we must join forces to protect and develop our own.[5]

Looking back at the history of language planning in the Nordic countries in recent decades, what is overwhelmingly striking about this rallying call is its similarity to the rhetoric deployed by Sylfest Lomheim when in 2004 he took up his post as the first Language Director in Norway. While Lomheim may have been the chief prophet of doom in Norway, he had his counterparts in the other Scandinavian countries (notably Olle Josephson in Sweden and Niels Davidsen-Nielsen in Denmark). Lomheim took up office with the rhetorical flourish that, unless something was done to prevent it, the Norwegian language would die out within 100 years, gobbled up by English. He set out this view in various arenas, but for now we will focus on the version presented in an article of 10 March 2004 in the daily newspaper, *Dagbladet*, entitled *Språket på spel* [the language at stake]. Here Lomheim begins by referring to what had become the unacceptable face of language planning – meddling with spellings – exemplified specifically by the 'beiken' fiasco (http://nrk.no/nyheter/kultur/3522671.html) of the previous month in which the Norwegian Language Council had been ridiculed for proposing (amongst other recommendations) respelling *bacon* as *beiken* to accord with Norwegian orthographic conventions. He insists that this sort of fussing with the corpus is not the real issue of the day:

> […] the real debate about language is of course not concerned with how to spell individual words – although this is always important for those youngsters who have to learn to write. The real debate about language is concerned with the bigger picture, both at home and out in the wider world. And here there is good reason to issue a warning. For the future of our mother tongue is insecure. Those who don't know that have not been keeping up. There is

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5 Tiden er efter min mening nu inne til å avblåse det som måtte være igjen av målkrig i Norge, og forsøke å samle alle gode krefter om å ta vare på rikdommen i våre skriftsprog og i våre dialekter i bygd og by […] Vi trenger å ta vare på nyansene slik at sproget kan bli et så fullkomment instrument som mulig. Jo rikere norsk sprog er, desto sterkere står vi også når det gjelder å demme opp for den strøm av fremmed sprogstoff som nå trenger inn. Så utsatt som et lite folks nasjonalsprog er i vår tid, må vi samle kreftene om å verne og utvikle vårt eget.

> no law of nature to demand that the Norwegian language is still in good health in a hundred years' time when we get to 2105. That state of affairs is neither particularly laughable or amusing.[6]

This 100-year prognosis had as its intended effect to draw attention to language politics and seek to recast political intervention in the language in a positive light, no longer "laughable or amusing". There is moral pressure to take political intervention in the language seriously and to stop treating language planning as something silly and irrelevant. Saarinen (2014: 135) notes that in Finnish higher education the presence of English on the language-political landscape has served to make language visible again as a policy issue which is not just about "the historical schisms between Finnish and Swedish". Not only has language death been shown to be a genuine and worrying feature of language change internationally, but, closer to home, the Swedes had already "seen the writing on the wall" [sett skrifta på veggen] and begun to develop policies to support the Swedish language in this new global language ecosystem (see section 6.3.3 below). Even Denmark, with its traditionally *laissez-faire* approach to the native language, had produced a language strategy document. This Danish statement (see below) was entitled *Sprog på spil* [Language at stake, 2003], the model for the title of Lomheim's *Dagbladet* piece, and Lomheim describes the emergence of a Danish language strategy as a "sensation", shaming the traditionally highly language-political Norwegians, whom Lomheim accuses of being "for once [...] language-politically slow on the uptake by comparison with other countries" [for ein gong skuld [...] språkpolitisk trege i høve til andre land]. But now is not the moment for inactivity. On the contrary. From this point on in the article Lomheim adopts the language of battle. His new role was part and parcel of a relaunch of the Language Council, and he writes that the new Language Council committee will be working towards the production of a "survival strategy" for the Norwegian language (= *Norsk i hundre!* – see below). Language planning, particularly seen from the Nynorsk side, the side of the minority written language, had been referred to in the 20th century as "målstrid" [language disagreement], but Lomheim seeks to rouse the inactive to act by stating that language disagreement may have been OK in the olden days, but now it's time for "language battle" [språkkamp]. And so comes

6 [...] den verkelege språkdebatten dreiar seg naturlegvis ikkje om skrivemåten av einskildord – enda dét alltid er viktig nok for dei unge som skal læra å skriva. Den verkelege språkdebatten dreiar seg om dei store linjene, både hjå oss og ute i verda. Og her er det grunn til å ropa eit varsku. For framtida til morsmålet vårt er utrygg. Dei som ikkje veit det, følgjer dårleg med. Det er inga naturlov som tilseier at det norske skriftspråket er oppegåande om hundre år når me skal feira 2105. Den problemstillinga er verken spesielt latterleg eller morosam.

the call to action, literally to take up arms on behalf of the language. It is no longer a case of local quarrels about the relative status of Bokmål and Nynorsk, which quarrels are by comparison “rather absurd”, but about Norwegians standing together, about parliament taking responsibility at the highest level as part of its cultural policy, to protect the language in this brave new world:

> Does Norwegian stand a chance? No. Not if that lack of interest shown by some parties today sets the trend. But if we awake, collectively and politically, it could be all right. And it will be all right if each new generation takes the battle forward and hands on the baton to the next generation. On the baton there is written just one word – action.[7]

Lomheim’s article is a rhetorical *tour de force*, at one stroke putting old-style language planning firmly in the past, putting a lid on the now officially defunct battle for territory between Bokmål and Nynorsk, and restyling language politics as part of Norway’s response to the cultural and economic challenges of globalization. Who could resist such a call? Bitter experience of planning the language in the past meant that already in 1972, at the meeting where the decommissioned Language Commission formally handed over the language management baton to the new Language Council (a renaissance arising from the recommendations of the Vogt committee), this approach was being recommended as a more acceptable language-political line for the official language body than engineering Norwegian vocabulary:

> Especially with regard to the flood of loans from English-American, it is clear that careful and balanced language-care [språkrøkt] will be met with a positive response from the majority of language-users irrespective of what view they have on other language questions.[8] (Hellevik 1979: 175)

Not everyone agreed with Lomheim’s doomsday rhetoric about the impending death of Norwegian at the hands of English, and a number of academic linguists stepped forward in the pages of newspapers and journals to protest. In an article on 6 February 2005 in *Aftenposten*, University of Bergen professor and chair of the *Norsk i hundre!* committee, Gjert Kristoffersen, pointed out that Norwegian, as a national language with a rich and long written tradition and at around number

7 Har norsk språk ein sjanse? Nei. Ikkje viss den likesæla som nokre miljø demonstrerer i dag, blir utslagsgjevande. Men vaknar me, kollektivt og politisk, kan det gå bra. Og det går bra viss kvar generasjon framover fører kampen vidare og leverer staffettpinnen [sic] til neste generasjon. På stafettpinnen står det berre eitt ord – haldning.

8 Særleg når det gjeld flaumen av lån frå engelsk-amerikansk, er det tydeleg at ei nøktern og avbalansert språkrøkt vil bli møtt med positiv reaksjon frå eit fleirtal av språkbrukarane uavhengig av kva syn dei har på andre målspørsmål.

100 on the list of the most widely used languages in the world, is scarcely on the 'at risk' register; it is firmly in the upper left corner of the *Ethnologue* language cloud, well away from the bottom right corner signalling endangerment (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2014). "Norwegian", wrote Kristoffersen, "does not score high according to any of the criteria used internationally to identify languages in the danger zone". Kristoffersen had earlier written a trenchant critique of the Language Council's apparent objection to the use of English in international scientific contexts (Kristoffersen 1992). More recently, in preparation for the expected line to be taken in the government language paper *Mål og meining* (see below), linguists Åshild Næss and Pia Lane, writing in *Dagbladet* on 2 May 2008, attacked the proposal that Norwegian is in line for extinction under the heading *Prophets of doom* [Dommedagsprofeter], making the same points as Kristoffersen had done three years earlier, that, while many languages across the world are indeed under threat, Norwegian is not among them (see also Linn 2010b). The authors ask for more evidence of Norwegian's apparently threatened status but add that evidence of language threat and worse *can* be found in Norway, namely where "aggressive Norwegian language policies have to a large extent taken the life of other languages within the country's borders, such as Kven and the Sami languages"[9] (Næss and Lane 2008). The most wide-ranging attack on Lomheim's rhetoric came not in a newspaper article, but in the national journal for linguistics, *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift* [Norwegian Journal of Linguistics], where Lomheim was accused of being "completely out of step with the entire research community" (Mæhlum 2002: 188). Two years earlier, so well in advance of Lomheim's pronouncements, and writing in the Language Council's own journal, *Språknytt*, specialist in minority African languages and polyglot, Rolf Theil (Endresen) wrote categorically:

> I have not said a single word in this article about the so-called English "threat" to Norwegian. I allow myself to categorise this amongst the curiosities. Norwegian belongs among the less than a few hundred languages of the world spoken by over 4 million people. It is spoken in one of the least multilingual communities in the world and used in practically all areas of society. Let us forget Norwegian in the context [of language death]. A Norwegian Dorothy Pentreath [the last fluent native speaker of Cornish] is a figment of the imagination.[10]
> (Theil Endresen 2000: 4).

9 ...den aggressive norske språkpolitikken langt på vei har tatt livet av andre språk innen landets grenser, som kvensk og de samiske språkene.

10 Eg har i denne artikkelen ikkje sagt eit einaste ord om det såkalla engelske «trugsmålet» mot det norske språket. Eg tillèt meg å plassere dette blant kuriositetane. Norsk høyrer heime blant dei under eit par hundre språka i verda som blir tala av over 4 millionar menneske. Det blir snakka i eit av dei minst fleirspråklege samfunna i verda og blir brukt på praktisk tala alle

And it doesn't get much clearer than that! The point is that, while a popular audience was quick to accept Lomheim's death-knell for the language, whether that was to bemoan or applaud the passing of Norwegian, the academic community was equally eager to strike at the very premises of the "'språkdödare'-myten" [language-killer myth] (Akselberg 2002). If nothing else, the contrasting responses point to the gulf between 'pulpit and pew', between the voice of authority and the popular voice.

The Language Council had had a taste of this challenge in the early 1990s on the launch of one of its 'anti-English' initiatives of the latter decades of the 20th century – the *Aksjon for språklig miljøvern* [Action for linguistic environmentalism]. Oslo Professor of Linguistics, Even Hovdhaugen, wrote a piece in *Språknytt* (Hovdhaugen 1990) roundly opposing the premises for the Language Council's campaign. He made the point, a point which would be made again a decade later in the face of another Language Council campaign, that languages have always borrowed lexicon and this has typically constituted an enrichment of those languages (cf. also Sandved 1997), English being perhaps the most striking example of a language with an 'omnivorous' vocabulary. Hovdhaugen makes the argument which again would be pressed into service to combat Lomheim's call to arms, that Norwegian is simply not on the endangered list, in fact it is nowhere near. It was big of the Language Council to print what can only be described as a crushing blow from Hovdhaugen, but it was quickly followed by a rebuff from Kjell Venås, another of the country's leading linguists and editor of the Language Council's in-house organ *Språknytt*. There is something of the university debating chamber about this, scholars throwing statistics at each other, and, as in any debate, both sides have right on their side.

The vilification of English in the run up to the Vogt committee and the various campaigns launched by the Norwegian Language Council in the 1970s and 1980s meant that a steady undercurrent of objection to English could be observed in government papers and in the pages of *Språknytt*, throughout those two decades. Thus the government white paper on *The Organisation and Financing of Cultural Work* [Om organisering og finansiering av kulturarbeid] from 1973 picks up the tenor of the discussions of the mid-1960s, writing of the need to "advance initiatives which can strengthen our own language's position in the future" in a context in which "the Norwegian language is today threatened in various ways by the pressure from larger language communities, especially English"[11] (St.meld. 8

område av samfunnslivet. La oss gløyme norsken i denne samanhengen. Ei norsk Dorothy Pentreath er eit fantasifoster.

11 å fremme tiltak som kan styrkje vårt eige språks stilling i framtida [...] På fleire måtar er norsk språk i dag truga av presset frå større språksamfunn, særleg engelsk.

1973–1974: 56). Protectionist articles on the topic appeared in *Språknytt* with titles like 'Our language' (Bjørnsen 1983), 'English words in Norwegian newspapers' (which opens with "et varsku" [a warning] [Hansen 1982)]) and 'English in Norwegian – or Norwegian in English' (Lind 1988). By 1989 the editor of *Språknytt* was writing of "den engelske syken" [English sickness], another name for rickets, and an official endorsement by the Language Council of the prevalent language policy discourse which describes English in Norway in terms of disease and infection. One of the most extreme examples of the anti-English rhetoric of the late 1980s is to be found in a volume celebrating sixteen years of the Language Council and published by that institution. Here we read that "the influx of English words has become so strong that it must be fair to say that it now constitutes the greatest problem in Norwegian (and Nordic) language cultivation" (Lundeby 1987: 81). Lundeby asks,"this genuflection before the influence of English-American, before the commercial language of advertisements, before linguistic snobbery – is it worthy of us as a nation?" (86). The position is very firmly presented as the official one when Lundeby writes of the "unity" in the Language Council "that all possible force should be harnessed to counteract Anglicization" (89).[12]

Salö (2014: 88–90) charts a similar trajectory in Sweden, starting with pejorative references to 'Swenglish' in the 1960s and passing through more informed studies of the real influence of English lexicon on Swedish to "a new rhetoric typical of the period, whereby tropes were introduced in which encroacher languages 'murder' smaller languages" (p. 90). According to Bjørhusdal (2014: 343), from 1992 onwards the Norwegian government reports on language use in public service were "much influenced by new challenges like general globalization and the market power of English [...]"[13]. Bjørhusdal (p. 301) refers to this turn – "more active language protection or the strengthening of the language against English, and [...] initiatives following from that" – as "*the new* language politics [*den nye* språkpolitikken – italics in original]"[14]. The point is that the debate about a threat from English has rumbled on, primarily in the halls of academe, since it blew up in the 1960s. The vilification process was a gradual one, but the growing head of steam finally exploded in the first decade of the new century.

12 Pågangen av engelske ord er blitt så sterk at det må være rett å si at den nå utgjør det største problemet i norsk (og nordisk) språkrøkt [...] Dette knefallet for den engelsk-amerikanske påvirkningen, for det kommersielle reklamespråket, for språklig snobberi – er det oss som nasjon verdig? [...] Og her er enigheten i Språkrådet like stor om at all mulig kraft bør settes inn for å motvirke anglifiseringen.

13 mykje prega av nye utfordringar som ålmenn globalisering og marknadsmakta til engelsk [...]

14 eit meir aktivt språkvern eller språkstyrking mot engelsk, og [...] tiltak som fylgjer av det [...]

6.3.2 Pan-Nordic language co-operation

So Norway is the Nordic country with the longest history of official level language management, but, as Lomheim noted, Norway wasn't the first of the Nordic countries to address domain loss and the threat from English as a serious issue. Anxiety about English developed as a common Nordic concern.

This wasn't the first time that language matters had been addressed at pan-Nordic level, and it is easy to see why. There is a high degree of similarity between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish and between the cultures in which they are used. A natural outcome of National Romanticism in the mid-nineteenth century was a pan-Scandinavian movement, highlighting the commonality of the Scandinavian peoples, their culture and their history. Political Scandinavianism was fuelled by a desire, particularly amongst students, for the Danes to join the Swedish-Norwegian union and by a general liberal commitment to greater unity across the region (Hilson 2006: 203). This political movement per se was short-lived but the principle lived on as "the dream of pan-Scandinavian unity gave way to the markedly less ambitious schemes for intra-Nordic cooperation between sovereign nation-states" (Hilson 2006: 204). Into the twentieth century the Scandinavian movement came rather to be known as 'Nordicism', partly to distance its agenda from that of its nineteenth-century predecessor (Holmberg 1984: 171) and took various hues with the passing decades (see Mardal 2014), ultimately resulting in the establishment of the Nordic Council [Nordisk råd] in 1952 and then the Nordic Council of Ministers [Nordisk ministerråd] from 1971, which agency will become important in a moment for our story of the political response to English in the Nordic countries. Wiggen (1998) charts the history of linguistic unity across the Scandinavian/Nordic region. Despite earlier proposals to promote literary connections and mutual intelligibility between the Scandinavian languages (Holmberg 1984: 174–180) and for pan-Nordic co-operation on standardizing the orthographies (Løland 1987: 172), the first institutional manifestation of such co-operation occurred at the first Scandinavian language meeting, held in Stockholm in 1869 (Wiggen 1998: 115), which Östman and Thøgersen (2010: 99) regard as "the culmination of the first wave of the Nordic venture", the one fuelled by National Romanticism. Recommendations were quite extensive (Lökke 1870; see also Løland 1987: 173) and impacted on orthographic practice in Denmark and Norway, although not necessarily straightaway, and not so much in Sweden. This outcome reinforces the point we have made elsewhere that, while language policy may have strong ideological backing at supranational level, national identity remains too potent a force in language practice for policies devised at a higher polity level to gain much traction, a good example of what Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen (2014b: 6) call "the national entrenchment of the international project". Wiggen notes that, despite the fact that there had been annual Nordic language meetings since 1954 (Reuter 2009: 199) as well as sporadic meetings at other times (Sudmann 1970: 66) (representing the second wave of "the Nordic venture" (Östman and Thøgersen (2010: 99–100)), cooperation on language matters didn't really get going institutionally until the establishment of the Nordic language secretariat in 1978. Thus, even at the level of policy, let alone practice, and despite repeated efforts from the 1930s to the 1970s to get things off the ground (Løland 1987: 173–175), it proved hard to gain the necessary traction under a pan-regional response to language policy development. In the late nineteenth century, scholars in each of Denmark, Norway and Sweden devised detailed phonetic alphabets to record the sounds of the respective national dialects. These were the same linguists we encountered in 6.2.2 when we considered the development of the study of modern languages in those countries, i.e. Otto Jespersen, Johan Storm and J. A. Lundell. A curio of pan-Scandinavian linguistic collaboration is to be found in an unpublished letter of September 1916 from Didrik Arup Seip (1884–1963), in the year he was appointed professor of Norwegian Riksmål in Oslo, to Lundell (Seip 1916), in which Seip writes of "the plan for a common Scandinavian phonetic alphabet"[15] and his enthusiasm for it. Nothing came of this, as far as we know, and this reinforces the point once again that even language policies relating to academic practice (already international by definition) which seek to blur the boundaries between national practices are very difficult to implement.

The first formal statement of collaboration on language matters produced by the Nordic Council of Ministers was the so-called *Nordic Language Convention* (Språkkonvensjonen 1981), ratified in 1981, but not implemented until 1987. The scope of this regional statement of linguistic cooperation was somewhat limited but significant nonetheless. It allowed for the use of any of the national languages (specified here as Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish) in official contexts in any of the relevant countries. If translation services were required, for example, for a Finnish speaker to use their own language in communicating with the Norwegian tax authorities, the costs should be borne by the state. Despite the limited scope of this declaration, it remains an important milestone in the history of linguistic human rights, although strikingly it makes no provision in respect of Sámi or any of the other autochthonous minority languages of the region. A campaign to use the Scandinavian languages freely across the region is supported by the century-old *Foreningen-Norden* [Nordic Union], which is, amongst other things, campaigning against the dubbing of Scandinavian chil-

15 planen om fælles-skandinavisk Lydskriftalfabet.

dren's programmes for use in other Nordic countries (see Breivik 2013 for more on that topic).

In 2006 the Nordic Council of Ministers produced a more ambitious *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007). Although much more far-reaching than the *Convention* of twenty years previously, and building on the experience of several years of concerted language debate and policy proposal in the individual countries (see next section), this *Declaration* was in no sense legally binding but was more of a statement of intent to be implemented locally, again emphasising the inevitability of the national level in language planning initiatives. Josephson (2009: 189) describes the Declaration as "a summary of what all the Nordic states agree on"[16]. The 2006 statement was more far-reaching than its predecessor in several ways. Firstly it was longer and was published in parallel in the nine standardized languages used in the Nordic region, including English. Secondly it declared a commitment to supporting all languages used in the Nordic region. These are divided into several categories (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 91). At the top of the list are those which are "complete and essential to society" (that rather nebulous keyword at the heart of Nordic language policy of the 2000s), namely Danish, Finnish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian (including the two written varieties) and Swedish. Next come those languages "that can be considered essential to society but cannot be used in all areas of society" (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 91), namely Sámi and Greenlandic, and these are followed by "a number of languages with a special status". Interestingly, although English is predominant throughout Nordic society, it remains the elephant in the room and is not mentioned here as a part of the language ecology of the Nordic countries. The *Declaration* rests on the notion of the North as a multilingual region, and this translates into four basic linguistic rights for the residents of the countries in question:

– to acquire both spoken and written skills in a language essential to society [...]
– to acquire an understanding of and skills in a Scandinavian language and an understanding of the other Scandinavian languages so that they [all Nordic residents] can take part in the Nordic language community
– to acquire a language of international importance [...]
– to preserve and develop their mother tongue and their national minority language. (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 92)

16 en sammanfattning av vad alla nordiska stater är eniga om.

Rather like EU language policy, an impractical policy commitment to multilingualism combines with an unwillingness to mention the E word. The top-level policy goals are fleshed out as "Four issues to work with" (93–95), and here English is at last mentioned.

The first "issue" relates to measures to try to ensure continued and enhanced mutual comprehensibility between the Scandinavian languages. As the Norwegian *Bruk skandinavisk* [Use Scandinavian] campaign has it, by speaking one of the Scandinavian languages you can be understood (in theory) by up to 25 million other Scandinavian speakers. This is powerful rhetoric in trying to combat the easy assumption of ELF, but language-teaching policies and day-to-day practices in the Scandinavian countries at both official and local level increasingly undermine the likelihood of this dream being realised (Graedler 2004: 77; Kristinsson 2009: 46) – we are reminded of Holmberg's characterization of 19th-century Scandinavianism "as bombastic academic oratory, or [...] unpractical dreams" (Holmberg 1984: 182). Jónsson et al. in their 2013 book write on behalf of an academic community which is a strong advocate of the Scandinavian languages as linguae francae, but even they admit that seeing the three languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) used indiscriminately in one text can be "disturbing and maybe for some readers irritating" (Jónsson et al. 2013: 6).[17]

The second "issue" is the parallel use of languages, and this was covered thoroughly in section 4.5 above. While specific local interpretations of what parallellingualism translates into in practice might be more or less interventionist, the very high-level Nordic council version is both positive and, in the spirit of the Vogt report half a century earlier, irenic. Thus:

> Nordic residents, who internationally speaking have good English skills, have especially favourable conditions for developing skills in the parallel use of English and one or more of the languages of the Nordic countries in certain fields. [...] The use of parallel languages does not only involve English; it must also be applied to the languages of the Nordic countries.
> (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 94)

On the face of it, then, parallel language use is about developing a multilingual repertoire. In reality, of course, on the ground the debate prior to and indeed after 2006, when this *Declaration* was drawn up, was about the threat from English. However, the tone here, à la Vogt, is intended to be more laissez-faire, to raise awareness, but at the same time to draw the heat out of the vernaculars vs English tussle.

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17 ...forstyrrende og kanskje for noen lesere irriterende.

The two remaining "issues" in the light of the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* which that document suggests need be addressed across the language region are multilingualism on the one hand and the notion of "The Nordic countries as a linguistic pioneering region" on the other. This last point, that the Nordic region can act as a model for other parts of the world, perhaps inspired by the internationally recognized Nordic welfare model brand (see papers in Christiansen, Petersen, Edling and Haave 2006) is a very interesting one. It is aspirational rather than a statement of actual practice, but this aspiration is a welcome one, "*if*", and Jørn Lund's italics are all important, "we live up to the intentions" (Lund 2009: 10). As with so much language policy, the question remains to what extent this works out in practice and to what extent an essentially toothless regional council has any power to implement it, and indeed it is presented as a "long-range goal" (Nordiska ministerrådet 2007: 95)

As we noted above, there had been regular annual language meetings between representatives of the Nordic countries and ultimately their respective official language agencies since 1954. Reports on these meetings were published from 1970 onwards as the volume *Språk i norden* [Language in the Nordic countries], and there is an overview of the articles, corresponding to the presentations given at the meetings, at http://nordisksprogkoordination.org/dokumenter-til-download/Register%20Spraak%20i%20Norden%201970-2010.pdf. In the early years from 1954 up to 1970 the emphasis was very much on terminology development. However, the meeting in Finland in 1970 included the topic *språksosiologi och språkvård* [sociology of language and language cultivation] and ushered in a period dominated by more sociolinguistic thinking. Academic linguistics in the Nordic countries over the past half century has had a particularly high profile in the field of sociolinguistics, and Peter Trudgill suggests that "Norwegians have for decades been among the best sociolinguists in the world" (1995: 7). Mæhlum (1996: 175) writes of "the sociolinguistic epoch in the Nordic countries" which "begins around 1970", and this colours the new phase of discussions and debates at these meetings. Also above, we quoted Eli Bjørhusdal writing of the "new language politics" of the 2000s. In his history of the Nordic language meetings, Mikael Reuter writes too of "nya tiden" [the new era] (Reuter 2009: 202), and Reuter suggests that this may have begun in 1991 when the language meeting was held in Reykjavík, Iceland and focused on the topic of the Nordic languages in the context of new developments in Europe. The spectre of English had been raised at earlier meetings. For example, a topic at the 1962 meeting in Oslo was *cooperation around the linguistic influence of English (replacement words [avløsningsord])*, but debate remained at the level of corpus planning.

So by the beginning of the twenty-first century the heart of language politics had been firmly established as the English problem. What had started as an apparently political refocusing of debate in Norway on English loanwords in the 1960s, in order to draw the heat out of language-internal planning problems, had been snowballing in the individual countries and in pan-Nordic debates and discussions. Of course language planning in practice rather than in theory came down to the individual nations with their language-political infrastructure allowing for papers to be drawn up by civil servants and debated in parliament, and this is what happened. Jónsson, Laurén, Myking and Picht (2013: 21) write of the first decade of the new century as being "characterized by an intensive language-political 'discourse of investigation' in the Nordic countries". Jónsson, Laurén, Myking and Picht (2013) provide a detailed comparative analysis of the key points in the documents produced in the individual countries, and there are also analyses of the individual documents (e.g. Johansen 2012). In the next section we will provide an overview of the contents, the style and the emphases of some of the language council statements, particularly with regard to the English problem, and of the government-level responses, before noting the wider ramifications of all these words.

6.3.3 National responses

Despite the fact that Norway has that long history of language planning, it was Sweden where the first substantive response to the new language politics emerged. In her overview of language-political initiatives in the Nordic countries after the turn of the century, Lindgren (2005: 23) points to the fact that, by contrast with the other countries of the North, the very notion of language politics has only recently developed in Denmark and Sweden. Nonetheless, the Swedish language-political ball was set in motion in 1997 in an article entitled 'Do we need a national language policy?' (Teleman and Westman 1997). This was not the first time, however, that Sweden had been in the language-political driving seat in this part of the world. Lomheim (2008: 41) notes that one of the reasons why it was inevitable that Norway should look to establish a language council after the Second World War was that Sweden had founded one in 1944 in the form of the Commission for Swedish Language Cultivation [Nämnden för svensk språkvård]. In the wake of the piece by Teleman and Westman, the Ministry of Culture charged the Swedish Language Council [Språkrådet, as it has been known since 1973] with developing a draft action plan for the promotion of the Swedish language (Svenska språknämnden 1998). The move towards a language policy was gaining momentum. In May 2000 a parliamentary Commitee on the Swedish Language was established in order to advance the work of the Language Council, and in 2002 this latter body delivered its 600-page report, *Mål i mun* (SOU 2002). As

Oakes (Linn and Oakes 2007: 64) notes, this title, like the titles of the other Nordic reports which would follow hot on its heels, is allusive and hard to translate. The official translation is simply 'Speech', and the English summary opens by stating that:

> Our assignment has been to put forward a proposal for an action programme for the Swedish language. This programme has two intended purposes: firstly, to advance the position of Swedish, and secondly, to ensure that everyone in Sweden has equally good opportunities to acquire the Swedish language. An action programme for the Swedish language is needed because the language situation in Sweden has changed.
> (SOU 2002, Summary: 1)

The principal reason for the change in the language situation, stated explicitly here, is that "English has won an increasingly strong position internationally, thereby also becoming a more and more important language in our country" (SOU 2002, summary: 1). So English is at the top of the agenda. It would be fruitless and indeed superfluous to try to summarise such a vast document here, so we will content ourselves with the summary given in Lindgren (2005: 36–38).

Mål i mun proposes three long-term goals for a Swedish language policy, and Oakes (Linn and Oakes 2007: 64) notes that these correspond with the traditional categories of status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning respectively, and they are as follows, as stated in the English summary (SOU 2002, summary: 2):
- Swedish shall be a complete language, serving and uniting our society.
- Swedish in official and public use shall be correct and shall function well.
- Everyone shall have a right to language: Swedish, their mother tongue and foreign languages.

These general headline ambitions are of course reflected in the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* we discussed above, and, once the Swedish *Mål i mun* was published, there followed a very high degree of intertextuality as the individual countries and language situations went on to develop their own local responses to a common set of language challenges. Each of these three goals is then fleshed out in one of the major subparts of *Mål i mun*, and in the course of the report eight different measures are put forward to advance the Swedish language and support the language situation in Sweden. In 2005 the Swedish government responded by presenting a bill for a national language policy under the title *The Best Language* [Bästa språket] (Prop. 2005), which in turn carries forward the principles outlined above. This bill was not passed and led to a report on a proposed language act in 2008 (SOU 2008), which amongst other things would enshrine in law for the first time in history that Swedish is the principal language of Sweden and of public administration, and that its role in the EU must be safeguarded. Finally, completing the "chain of legitimation" of the notion of *domain loss* (Salö 2014: 100), there followed a further government bill, *Language for All* [Språk för alla], in March 2009, which sets out the terms of the language act which finally came into force on 1 July 2009. Interestingly, English is again the elephant in the room, since, while the response to English was the driving force for this whole process, the E word is not mentioned at all in the statement of the proposed law (set out in the appendix to this chapter) (Prop. 2009: 55–56).

The Danish equivalent of *Mål i mun* was entitled *Sprog på spil* [Language at stake] and appeared in 2003, although it was presaged as in the other countries by a number of publications which raised some of the issues surrounding English and which would subsequently be picked up at official level (e.g. Jarvad 2001; Normann Jørgensen 1991). *Sprog på spil* was much more modest in scope than its Swedish counterpart (a mere 70 pages), explicitly endorsing the principal issues addressed in *Mål i mun* and setting out around 60 specific proposals. We spelled out the stages which led to the enactment of the Swedish language law, in part to indicate the intensity of language planning in the Nordic world in the first decade of the present millennium. The process in Denmark, however, didn't lead to the enactment of a language law or of the formal enshrining of Danish as the language of the country. The Danish government's final statement on the subject also came in March 2008 (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008), concluding for the time being this rash of language documents and debates in that country.

The Norwegian counterpart to *Mål i mun* came in 2005, again following a period of growing academic and official interest in the language-political repercussions of the growing presence of English. As the Norwegian report, *Norsk i hundre!* [Norwegian at full speed!], another somewhat opaque and allusive title, was based to a large extent on its Swedish and Danish predecessors, we will quickly look in a bit more detail at its contents as an example of the way in which the language situation was being presented. There are nine substantive chapters, following the summary and introduction, and it is quite clear from these chapter headings that the language is being addressed in the context of specific *institutions*. Language is an institutional problem in this version of language politics, thus the central chapters have the following headings:

- 5. School – an anchor-hold for the Norwegian language
- 6. Higher education and research – ivory tower or beacon?
- 7. Culture and the media
- 8. Business and the world of work
- 9. Information Technology
- 10. Public administration – an endangered bastion?

The social role and social benefits of language stand literally at the head of *Norsk i hundre!*, in line with the sociolinguistic turn we have already commented upon. The very first words of the summary which opens *Norsk i hundre!* are:

> If we are going to uphold and develop a living democracy in Norway, it is essential that we have a common national language which is used in a good, clear and appropriate fashion. A properly functioning national language is also important for security, effectiveness and the full use of resources in all areas of society.[18] (p. 3)

A raft of social benefits – security, effectiveness and the utilisation of resources at all levels in society – follow from good usage of a national language, and a common national language is a *sine qua non* of a "living democracy". Government responded to the Language Council's proposals with a white paper in June 2008 (*Mål og meining*) which was in turn discussed in parliament in March 2009 (Innstilling 2009).

There were other national-level debates on the language issue across the Nordic region, all spurred by the English question but all in the event focusing on the more general need to strengthen the status of the national language or languages (cf. the 2009 Icelandic policy document *Íslenska til alls* [Icelandic for everything] and the subsequent law of 2011, *Lög um stöðu íslenskrar tungu og íslensks táknmáls* [Law on the status of Icelandic and Icelandic sign language], whose articles again tellingly fail to mention English explicitly).

We have dwelt on this process of language policy-making because it is a very significant one. The first decade of the new millennium in the North was an extraordinarily fecund period in the history of language policy, and the changing role and status of English was at the heart of the matter in these "discourses of endangerment" (cf. Duchêne and Heller 2007). Lindgren (2005) provides a brief summary of the early work carried out across the region, including in Finland, the Faroes, Greenland and Iceland. Jónsson, Laurén, Myking and Picht (2013) provide a fuller analysis, focusing on the issues of domain loss and parallel language use. The big question, however, is not how these policy statements were arrived at, but rather what impact they have had, whether they have succeeded in changing practices, and, from our point of view, whether attitudes towards English have changed in any way in the institutional sectors which were targeted. It may be too

18 Dersom vi skal kunna halda oppe og vidareutvikla eit levande demokrati i Noreg, er det avgjerande at vi har eit felles nasjonalspråk som blir brukt på ein god, klår og situasjonstilpassa måte. Eit velfungerande nasjonalspråk er òg viktig for tryggleiken, effektiviteten og ressursutnyttinga på alle område i samfunnet.

early to tell for sure, but most commentators in the Nordic countries are extremely pessimistic about the actual effect of all this impressive rhetoric.

Olle Josephson, perhaps the chief architect of Swedish language policy in the first decade of this millennium, notes that language policy in the Nordic countries has two characteristics:

> One is that the Nordic states are developing a relatively advanced language policy with many common features. The other is that this language policy, despite the fact that it is well-founded and considered, in practice has rather weak impact[19].
> (Josephson 2009: 188)

One of the main reasons why these policies have so little impact, as Josephson goes on to note, is that they not only suffer the fate of all political statements, i.e. cause ordinary people to switch off, but that they have not been well followed up, since language questions will always be a somewhat marginal political topic (Josephson 2009: 189). The Nordic *Declaration* we discussed above is in many ways a model of clarity and good sense, but it is unknown outside the circles of interested parties, something which is a cause for frustration amongst the Nordic language agencies (Josephson 2009: 189).

In 2012 the Norwegian Language Council published a report on the rhetoric and the impact of the 2008 white paper, *Mål og meining* (Johansen 2012), and findings concerning the impact and effect of that language paper were decidedly negative. Johansen's "main impression" [hovedinntrykk] is that:

> [...] nearly four years after its launch [...] little has happened; the new offensive seems to have ground to a standstill before it has started to move.[20]
> (Johansen 2012: 78)

This is not to say that nothing has happened at all. Johansen points to the reorganisation of the Language Council and the production of a number of significant reports and studies as direct results of the language policy activity at the beginning of the century. However, the initiatives presented in *Mål og meining* (109 of them) invariably have an in-built rhetorical get-out clause ("[...] when this is relevant", "[...] where it is appropriate") (Johansen 2012: 79).[21] This means that,

19 Det ena är att de nordiska staterna utvecklar en relativt avancerad språkpolitik med många gemensamma drag. Det andra är att denna språkpolitik, trots att den är välgrundad och genomtänkt, i praktiken har ganska svag genomslagskraft.
20 Hovedinntrykket nå, nærmere fire år etter lanseringen, er at lite har skjedd; den nye offensiven synes å ha kjørt seg fast før den kom i bevegelse.
21 [...] når dette er relevant [...] der det er formålstjenlig.

despite the apparent urgency to support and protect the language, in practice there is always room to avoid implementation. As Johansen points out, this is not to say that *Mål og meining* is a disingenuous piece of language policy, that it is deliberately misleading, rather that:

> [...] it is characterised by changing power relations between conflicting values and interests. To point out a fundamental lack of consistency – between descriptions of problems and initiatives, ambitions and the power to carry things though, premises and conclusions – is not to make accusations about "empty rhetoric", but to realise that the development of a complete policy, if it can't rely on a well organised and articulated weight of opinion, can't easily develop in any other way than as an attempt at resolving conflicting values and harmonizing genuine dilemmas, i.e. with considerable use of reservations, vagueness and other defensive rhetorical devices.[22]
> (Johansen 2012: 80)

Johansen's analysis is one of the most extensive in this field, but its findings resonate with those which emerge in different contexts throughout this book. There is a gulf between language policy and its implementation. No matter how apparently incontrovertible a language ideology, in practice in a democratic context, the best that language planners can hope for in general terms is awareness raising. Johansen compares language policy to policy on climate change. The conflicting interests are so significant that real change is endlessly resisted, such that people start to think, "if no more is being done, it can't be as bad as they say!" (Johansen 2012: 78).[23] Based on an analysis of the coverage of language issues in the Danish media between 1990 and 2007, Dorthe Duncker compares language and climate change policy even more directly, calling the Danish policy document, *Sprog til tiden*, the Kyoto protocol of the Danish language. Johansen does not end on an entirely negative note (p. 80) and he tries to suggest ways in which language policy can be made to seem relevant ("troublesome" [brysom]) again. It has been suggested elsewhere that in certain institutions (specifically higher education (Linn 2014) and business (Linn 2010b)) the implementation of language policy regarding the national languages and English need not be so feeble. If there is genuine political commitment to reducing the use of English – linguistic carbon

22 den er preget av vekslende styrkeforhold mellom motstridende verdier og interesser. Å påpeke en grunnleggende mangel på sammenheng – mellom problembeskrivelse og tiltaksplan, ambisjoner og gjennomføringskraft, premisser og konklusjoner – er ikke å framsette beskyldninger om «tom retorikk», men å innse at utforming av en helhetlig politikk, om den ikke kan støtte seg til et godt organisert og artikulert opinionstrykk, vanskelig kan arte seg på noen annen måte enn som forsøk på forsoning av verdikonflikter og harmonisering av reelle dilemmaer, dvs. med høyt forbruk av forbehold, uklarheter og andre defensive retoriske grep.

23 Hvis det ikke er mer som skal til, kan det vel ikke være så galt som de sier!

dioxide – across Europe, then there are ways of achieving that. But this can wait for a moment while we address another key question, one of relevance across Europe, but which has been the object of a large-scale pan-Nordic project – how much impact does English actually have on the Nordic languages?

6.4 The influence of English

English may loom large as an apparent threat at the ideological level, but how numerous are English words and forms in reality? Graedler and Kvaran (2010: 33) write:

> English is the vastly dominant donor language after 1945 in all of the Nordic language communities, accounting for between 83 and 92 percent of the import words (Icelandic is the exception with only 72 percent from English).

The presence of English in this part of the world is unavoidable in most domains, although its penetration is by no means uniform across the different countries and between the spoken and written forms of the languages, as we shall see. In section 6.2 above we looked at the development of the formal study of English in the Nordic countries, and Görlach (2004: 5) notes that "language teaching is the major [...] source of language contact and most convincingly accounts for the number of Anglicisms, the form of their integration, and their prestige". However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the incidence of English words in the Nordic languages and increasing study of English in the schools. Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir (2004: 82–83) discuss, for example, the linguistic impact of the arrival of English sailors in Iceland in the fifteenth century, but pre-nineteenth-century contact with English cannot be said to have exerted significant influence on the lexis of the Nordic languages. It is also important to note that knowledge of English develops both before school starts (see Møller 1996) and also outside the classroom; Aalborg (2010: 54) in her survey of 107 tenth grade secondary school students finds that only 16 % of these students completely agree that they learn most of their English in school. Nonetheless, it is thanks to the increasing prominence of English at school as well as socio-political reasons that the period of real influence by English on the word stock of the Nordic languages is post-Second World War.

Charting the influence of English on the Nordic languages has been the aim of some recent large-scale projects. The first coordinated study of the impact of English on Norwegian language and society had precisely that name – *Engelsk i norsk språk og samfunn* – and was based at the University of Oslo from 1989. This resulted in various postdoctoral dissertations (listed in Johansson and Graedler 2002: 286), and the final project report took the form of the very readable Johansson and Graedler (2002). Prior to this the only detailed analysis of the issue was carried out in the 1930s by Aasta Stene and published as Stene (1945). Stene was quite clear that she was describing a linguistic relationship of the past, "a departed age" (Stene 1945: x), a period quite unlike what was to follow, such that we can regard her work as a study in historical linguistics rather than sociolinguistics. The same is true of her methodology, directly influenced as it was by J. R. Firth (1890–1960). The other Nordic countries also witnessed the sporadic appearance of studies of the influence of English on the local language as the 20th century wore on (e.g. Ljung 1988, Chrystal 1988 for Swedish; Hansen and Lund 1994 for Danish). The first study of this phenomenon from a pan-Nordic perspective actually dates from 1902 and the pen of the great English scholar and one of the founding fathers of applied linguistics, Otto Jespersen (Jespersen 1902), who we met earlier in this chapter. Like Stene's study, this was of its time, and it is interesting to note that the domains of language use in which Jespersen detected the greatest influence included, for example, public life/state affairs, upper class society, dress, sports, card games, the railroad, agriculture, and literature. The second large-scale project, and one which embraces all the Nordic language communities in an explicitly comparative light, is *Moderne Importord i språka i Norden* [Modern import words in the languages of the Nordic countries – MIN]. MIN ran from 2000 and included 49 subprojects (for a summary see also Sandøy 2009: 87; Kristiansen and Sandøy 2010). By 2012 it had resulted in 13 book-length studies and a string of articles covering both the influence of and attitudes towards English across the countries of the North (see also next section). It was a collaboration between the Nordic language councils and received initial funding from the Nordic Language Council, which was then in operation.

Here we will focus on the accounts of two articles published in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* which summarise the project's findings regarding the influence of English in the written languages on the one hand (Graedler and Kvaran 2010) and the spoken languages on the other (Svavarsdóttir, Paatola and Sandøy 2010).

Graedler and Kvaran base their account on an analysis of the frequency and adaptation of imported words found in newspaper corpora covering the period from 1975 to 2000. One of the most striking findings here is the apparently very small percentage of words from English evidenced in this material. English import words may appear to be massively used, indeed over-used, in the media in the Nordic countries, but this impression has as much to do with their marked status as their actual frequency, i.e. they stand out when they do occur and so make a strong impression on readers. Icelandic demonstrates the smallest proportion of

English words (17 per 10,000, i.e. less than 0.2 %), and even the language with the greatest frequency (Norwegian with 110 per 10,000 of text) is only demonstrating around 1 % of import words. English can hardly be seen to pose any threat on this evidence. However, the frequency of English words in the year 2000 in all Nordic countries is dramatically greater than was the case in 1975, so on this measure the influence of English is on the increase. Thus in Norwegian, Finnish and Faroese, for example, there were about four times as many import words in the corpus by the end of the period as there were 25 years previously (Graedler and Kvaran 2010: 34). Variation was also noted between types of text in this regard, thus, as might be expected, texts aimed at younger readers and advertisements tended to evidence a greater frequency of English words than, for example, editorials and ("somewhat surprisingly", p. 35) sports texts.

Imported words are integrated into the the written Nordic languages in a variety of ways, and both orthographic and morphological adaptation are evidenced, with morphological adaptation (i.e. according with the grammatical system of the recipient language) being more widespread. Graedler and Kvaran (2010: 36) comment on what they regard as a surprisingly low percentage of English import words adapted to local spelling practices, especially in those languages otherwise characterized by puristic tendencies (Icelandic and Faroese). In relation to this last point, the authors conclude that there is a "center/periphery cline" (p. 40) to be noted in terms of apparent openness to English imports, with Norwegian, Swedish and Danish being the most open, and the languages of Finland (Finnish and Swedish), the Faroes and Iceland the least open, in that order.

A similar conclusion is reached by Svavarsdóttir, Paatola and Sandøy (2010) on patterns of loan word adaptation in the spoken languages of the Nordic countries. In their study they investigated the ways English words are adapted to the sound system and the grammatical system of the recipient languages. Overall they report an average adaptation across all the languages and the two levels of language structure of around 60 % (p. 47). This headline figure conceals variety in practice, however, corresponding to the centre/periphery cline noted above for written words. Thus, Danish speakers demonstrated the least adaptation (36 %) with levels increasing through Swedish Swedish, Finland Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Icelandic to Faroese, with its established policy of purism (Mortensen 2015), adapting English loans at a rate of 74 % (63 % at the level of grammar and 85 % in their pronunciation). Interestingly, the overall figure of 69 % for Icelandic conceals evidence that phonological adaptation at 92 % is the highest of all the language contexts offset by the lowest level of morphological adaptation (45 %). The high figure for pronunciation is in line with a traditionally puristic policy in Iceland too (see Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010), and the low figure for morphology is in part due to the particular properties of Icelandic inflectional morphology (Svavarsdóttir et al. 2010: 47–48).

A striking conclusion arising from this study is that "younger informants did not seem to adapt less than older ones, contrary to what is generally assumed" (p. 56). There is also evidence to suggest that, again contrary to what might be expected, young Nordic speakers do not tend to use more English words than young people in other regions. In fact young Norwegians, in common with young Spanish speakers in Chile, actually use very few instances of English vocabulary, but these forms, when they are used, are, as was the case with the newspapers, highly marked and so capture the attention of listeners against an otherwise unremarkable background of Norwegian/Spanish. In her research, Eli-Marie Danbolt Drange (Drange 2009) found that only around 1 % of the words used by her informants in Oslo were English, slightly more than was the case for informants in Santiago de Chile. Another study (Lea 2009) also found that the impact of English words on spoken Norwegian, although striking given that some of the most frequently encountered words are expletives (fuck, shit), is in practice quite minimal (Lea 2010: 23). The *Corpus of Spoken Norwegian* [Norsk Talespråkskorpus or No Ta] (see Johannessen and Hagen (2008), containing recordings from 2004–2006, contains on average only 0,11 % imported words (Lea 2009: 128). Lea found not only that men and younger people use the most borrowings from English, something borne out by an earlier study (Masvie 1992: 93), but also that words from other languages are often used creatively and with a different meaning to the original one, such that they become a part of the language and not just 'squatter words'. Also in this way Norwegian cannot be said to be threatened but rather enriched. The foreign elements are not taking over. There simply aren't enough of them. Instead they are being annexed to the language, and a language which is able to annexe foreign words so readily is a language which is healthily open to new impulses, and its speakers are confident enough in their language use to absorb them. Masvie, who based her investigation of English in Norway on the earlier sociolinguistic study in Sweden (Ljung 1988), and which she finds corresponds closely with her own findings in Norway (Masvie 1992: 127), reports that youngsters and people from the Oslo area are more receptive to the use of English loans than older speakers and those from the south west of the country (Farsund), which suggests that the use and acceptability of loans will only increase in the future.

Statistically, then, the prevalence of English import words is rather small, indeed that there should be such a low incidence is the real headline finding. Mechanisms for integration and the extent of integration vary in predictable ways across the region, and those words that are imported tend to be used creatively as a vibrant part of the language repertoire available to speakers. Borrowing appears to be on the increase and we suggest that this increase will continue and that it should be viewed positively as an example of speakers enriching their whole repertoire of language rather than in some way one discrete language taking over from another.

We now turn to this question of openness to English, as distinct from the evidence for the actual impact of imported forms in the language corpus, as we address language attitudes across the region.

6.5 Attitudes to English

As Giles and Billings (2004: 187) note, " a substantial amount of research on attitudes to language variation has emerged around the world and across the disciplines", such that "this is now a considerable body of work" (Garrett 2001: 626). This body of work has continued to blossom, and, writing a decade later, Garrett can refer to "the huge amount of work in the field of language attitudes" (Garrett 2010: 224). Much of the work in sociolinguistics has concerned attitudes towards different varieties of the same language and has typically focused on a particular level of the language (e.g. pronunciation, spelling, grammar). However, there is a body of work investigating views about whole languages (Garrett 2010: 10–11), and this includes attitudes towards English in the Nordic countries.

The Vogt Committee demanded that more effort be made to understand real sociolinguistic conditions and that Norwegian linguists should turn their attention towards such issues and away from the sort of historical research which had traditionally occupied their time (Innstilling 1966: 7–8). The most important attitudes are in a sense those of young people, a) because they are still being formed, and b) because the schoolchildren of today are the opinion-formers of tomorrow. The survey of attitudes to English amongst upper secondary level (post-16) students in Oslo carried out by Dag F. Simonsen and Helene Uri in 1990 (reported as Simonsen and Uri 1992) is therefore particularly telling. This was a limited survey with only 91 informants (out of a total of 17,517 students attending upper secondary school in Oslo in the year in question), but the results remain instructive and demonstrate that 25 years ago this group of potentially influential language users was positively disposed towards the use of English. Nearly 50 % of the informants thought that English was an effective marketing tool. A majority preferred the English names for *Batman* and *skateboard*, based on a view that English words are "cooler, better, more stylish and/or more exciting and/or sound better than

Norwegian" (31)[24], and 58,2 % of the informants were of the opinion that there were areas of language use where one language was more suited than the other, a view which appears to provide a basis for any subsequent evidence of domain loss. More recent evidence (from the *Modern Import Words* study) suggests that a decade on, and across the Nordic region, younger speakers are more positively disposed towards English than older speakers and also that men tend to use more English forms than women (although these headlines are more nunaced when we drill down into the data (see Kristiansen and Vikør 2006)).

The *Modern Import Words* study we referred to above also focused on attitudes to English imports across the region, and in fact one of the main professed purposes of this project was to "furnish such broad empirical evidence about 'attitudes towards English' that can be helpful to language policy makers in their deliberations about the best way of handling the increasing pressure from the language of globalization" (Kristiansen 2010: 60). To this end, researchers carried out parallel studies of overt attitudes towards English on the one hand and covert attitudes on the other. Overt attitudes were assessed by means of a telephone survey and covert attitudes were investigated by means of a matched guise test such that informants were not consciously aware that it was their attitude towards Anglicisms that was at issue. The design of the tests and a more detailed discussion of the research is presented in Kristiansen (2010).

In the telephone interviews, which involved getting on for 6000 informants across the region, a range of questions was asked about English in the context of the national languages. Some questions related to general positivity towards the use of English (e.g. seeking responses to statements such as "People use too many English words nowadays" and "Some Danish enterprises have made English their language of business. What is your attitude to that, are you positive or negative?"). Other questions related to specific words and their English and native equivalents (Kristiansen 2010: 74–79). Overall Kristiansen is able to point to a positivity-negativity cline in terms of consciously expressed attitudes at both the abstract and the concrete level. Danes are the most 'laissez-faire' of the informants. In the middle of the range are Finland, both Swedish and Finnish, and Norwegian, while at the most puristic end we find the Faroes and Iceland. Elsewhere Sandøy and Kristiansen express this as the "'mountain peak model' of Nordic purism based on evidence showing that language scholars and lay people are very much in agreement as to where we find the more purist languages and communities in the Nordic area":

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24 kulere,finere, tøffere og/eller mer spennende og/eller klinger bedre enn norsk

> The peak of openness to foreign influence is to be found in “the middle”, i.e. in Denmark and Sweden, with gradually diminishing openness as we move towards the periphery, be it either westwards across Norway and The Faroes to Iceland or eastwards across Swedish-speaking Finland to Finnish-speaking Finland.
> (Sandøy and Kristiansen 2010: 151)

The point is that this survey of conscious attitudes towards English is broadly in line with what the linguists working on the project expected, since it reflects the relative purism of the language policy traditions in those countries.

The matched guise test involved informants from across the region assessing several different speakers reading the same text, but with variables inserted, namely English imports. Listeners were asked to assess the different ‘performances’ in terms of a number of evaluative categories. It proved impossible to conceal the fact that the experiment was about import words from the Icelandic and Faroese public, so the findings only relate to the other five larger language communities. In summary, the attitudes expressed between the language communities is the opposite of that which emerged during the conscious survey:

> Denmark appears as the most English-negative among the Nordic communities, followed by Finnish-speaking Finland in second position, and Sweden in third position. Norway and Swedish-speaking Finland share the position as the more English-positive communities.
> (Kristiansen 2010: 83)

The MIN research team explore various possible explanations for the inverted cline but are unable to come up with a plausible rationale. If nothing else, this shows that language attitudes are complex and are not susceptible to generalization, thus language policies in general are likely to face problems of implementation since the planning response cannot readily be predicted. If the conscious or overt views are a fairly direct reflection of traditional official policy in the Nordic countries, it is pretty alarming to find that in practice Nordic citizens tend to take the opposite view.

6.6 English in academic writing

Discussion in the relevant literature of the impact of English has come to focus on professional domains of language use, and there is much still to be done in the Nordic countries as in the rest of Europe to understand the role and status of English in ‘non-elite’ forms of communication. International business is one of those professional domains in the spotlight (see, e.g., Piekkari, Welch and Welch (2014); papers in the 2014 special issue of *Multilingua* (issue 33 (1–2)) on multilingualism in the workplace), but publications in this area often make the point that this is still a relatively young object of study and that “international business scholars have come surprisingly late to the issue of language” (Piekkari, Welch and Welch 2014: viii). While data on the use of and attitudes towards English in non-professional (non-elite) contexts is by comparison indeed thinner on the ground, we should note the findings of Bolton and Meierkord (2013) as an excellent model for further work. Higher education, on the other hand, has been absolutely at the forefront of research in the Nordic countries into the impact of English in international contexts, and there are various reasons for this. Higher education (embracing research and learning/teaching) is where the majority of language scholars work and where they are most familiar, making this a practical and pertinent object of study for them. Secondly, the twenty-first-century European university is the prime example of a sector which has moved from a purely national role a century and a half ago (educating the public servants of the burgeoning nations) to an international position, promoting research across national borders and supporting the transnational flow of students and of staff. Thus it constitutes the perfect laboratory for observing changing language policies and practices with respect to the language behaviours associated with those positions. While the ‘English problem’ “still needs a full airing in the H[igher] E[ducation] literature and some searching language-related questions need to be asked” (Jenkins 2014: 11), it has been the focus for much recent work in applied English sociolinguistics across the Nordic countries, and in fact it has provided a good example of pan-Nordic research collaboration, resulting in collections of papers such as Haberland and Mortensen (2012a), Kuteeva (2011a), Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen (2014a). There have also been more international collaborations besides (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013a; Preisler, Klitgård and Fabricius 2011; Vila and Bretxa 2015). Even though the most recent collection of papers on language policy in higher education (Vila and Bretxa 2015) is worldwide in its coverage, it is no surprise that it includes chapters on Denmark and on Finland, the two Nordic contexts to have been the subject of the largest quantity of published research in this area. Although the use of English in universities beyond the professional contexts of research and learning/teaching has received precious little notice, and indeed research into the “institutional layer” has predominated (Söderlundh 2014: 122), it is fair to conclude with Salö (2014: 101) that higher education has become the last surviving outpost of domain loss as an ideology of language, the final frontier of anxiety about potential damage to other local languages caused by over-exposure to a hegemonic English. This is in part due to the fact that higher education has been kept in the spotlight via the attention of those working within it.

In this section we are concentrating on the use of and attitudes towards English as a research language amongst Nordic scholars, and we will focus on English in university teaching in the next section. One of the central assumptions in the process of internationalization of European universities is that English functions unproblematically as the vehicle for research activity. Any scholar who works in a Nordic university is expected to read, write and present in academic English, in much the same way as they must observe other forms of international academic standard practice, such as adhering to an ethical code and adopting accepted methodologies. The point has been well made that "a certain command of English" is a basic core skill for an educated European, "closely comparable to that of reading and writing at the time of industrialization in Europe" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 136). In the Nordic countries this constitutes an *ideologeme*, defined by Hartmut Haberland as follows:

> "No foreigner understands Nordic languages, all foreigners understand English" – and the use of English as the exclusive language of internationalization appears to be a corollary to this ideologeme.
> (Haberland 2014: 256)

Hyland (2009: 3–5) links a growth of interest in academic discourse over the past half century to "the emergence of English as the international language of scholarship" (p. 4), and the near universal adoption of English as a research language for Europe has been a remarkable phenomenon. It remains a remarkable phenomenon and as such has now gained its own technical label as distinct from the more general notion of academic discourse. Flowerdew (2015) (following Cargill and Burgess 2008) calls it *ERPP* [English for Research Publication Purposes], as a distinct branch of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). The labels and the acronyms abound in the "acronym-rich EFL environment" (Paran 2013: 137), and the constant drive in the literature to define and refine more and more specialized varieties of English points to the fact that these are not more and more parallel varieties or lects but rather further examples of the adaptation of the available language resources to particular instances of specialized communication.

English in the twenty-first-century academy has been explicitly compared on numerous occasions to Latin in pre-modern scholarship. Another pan-Nordic collection of papers (Simonsen 2004), addressing the issue of language in a knowledge society [Språk i kunnskapssamfunnet], bore the subtitle *English – the elites' new Latin?* [Engelsk – elitenes nye latin?]. It is tempting to see parallels between the two knowledge societies. Both involve a language of empire outliving the political end of empire (Roman and British respectively) and becoming the means of expression for an 'empire of knowledge'. Both Latin and English have thrived where learning serves a community which is in the first instance non-local. The medieval university was, like the 21st-century or postmodern university (see Nguyen 2010 for a summary, and Donovan 2013 for a critique, of that category), private in terms of resourcing, fluid in terms of mobility of scholars and students, and its outputs were intended for a community of scholars beyond local political boundaries (Bull 2004: 37). Both contexts called for a form of academic discourse defined by its international audience. The differences between academic Latin on the one hand and academic English on the other, and the issues they raise, are equally plain to see. Post-Roman-Empire Latin was no one's mother tongue and so nobody gained mother-tongue advantage. Conversely, knowledge of Latin in Europe was the preserve of the very few, while today knowledge of English is much more democratically distributed across society via universal primary and secondary education (although cf. section 4.2. above). Nonetheless, it is instructive to remember that "the era of national language use in academia [is] a mere bracket in history", to slightly misquote Ljosland (2014: 77). This does not detract from the day-to-day challenges for those dealing with English as part of their lived experience of language use, but it does make the point that this remarkable phenomenon, this phenomenon on which so many writers have remarked, is not historically unique, will not be permanent, and may not even be unusual.

As we saw in chapter 2.3 above, English is a relative newcomer to the role of lingua franca in the history of academic writing. When Johan Storm came to translate his *Engelsk Filologi* [English Philology] from Danish into an international scientific language (Storm 1881), there was no other choice but German, despite the fact that the foreign languages in which the Norwegian Storm was most comfortable were English and French. Into the twentieth century languages other than English were holding their own as languages of academic writing, notably French in the disciplines of linguistics and mathematics, and German in the sciences. The process of adopting English as the norm in research publication appears to have become fully embedded after the First World War, and the fingertip-hold of German was of course lost after the Second World War for reasons that are familiar. Growth in the study of English across Europe and growth in the use of English across national boundaries for more purposes have inevitably had a symbiotic relationship. Haberland makes the very valid point that the growth in use of English in research publications is not a loss of that domain (if we want to maintain that ideologeme) for the Nordic languages, because they never 'possessed' that domain, or at least only for a very short time ("a mere bracket in history"). Rather, the languages which have lost ground here are French and German and Russian, productive languages of scientific publication prior to the mid-twentieth century. The evolving language policy of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology [NTNU] is instructive in this regard. The regulations for PhD theses before 2003 allowed mandatorily for the use of Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, English, German and French, and for other languages by special dispensation. From 2003 the mandatory choices were limited in the general regulation to Norwegian and English, and since 2012, as at the University of Oslo, the decision rests with individual faculties (Ljosland 2014: 60–61). In practice local decision-making translates into the predominant use of English, but in terms of ideology it could be seen as recognition of the situatedness and local conditions for language choices.

While we agree with most of the leading recent commentators that domain loss has served its purpose as a language ideology and doesn't express anything useful in terms of how language use is understood in early twenty-first-century sociolinguistics, the statistics on the growth of adoption of English are striking and have been used to good rhetorical effect in both scholarly and popular writings. We will come back to the detail behind the headline figures in a moment and see that the extent to which English is adopted as the language of academic writing in the Nordic countries has a lot to do with local contextual factors like genre type and disciplinary reach. However, the fact remains that of the 367,521 scientific publications listed in the Swedish universities' publications database *Swepub* for the period from 2000 to 2012, 83,6 % were written in English with 14,8 % in Swedish and 1,6 % in other languages. By far the largest individual category of publications was journal articles (187,154), of which 92,5 % were written in English and 6,5 % in Swedish, and exactly the same distribution applied to conference communications (Salö and Josephson 2013: 6).

So what has caused this massive flight to English in academic writing? Why were 30 % of Norwegian social science publications in a foreign language in the period 1979 to 1981 while this number had risen to 51 % at the turn of the millennium (Schwach 2004: 30)? The general context is of course that English has become more and more predominant across the world as a lingua franca and that it has become more and more firmly embedded in the education system across the Nordic countries. However, the most significant influence on academic writing has come from the markets on which research depends, specifically those presided over by the publishing industry, particularly journal publishers, and the research funding agencies. In those disciplines in which the most prestigious journals are entirely Anglophone and in which journal articles are the de facto form of academic output, researchers are compelled to publish in English (cf. the *Publish in English or Perish in German* project at the University of Braunschweig[25]). This compulsion is compounded in Norway, as elsewhere in Scandinavia, by the point-based system which divides research outputs into two levels, with level-

25 https://www.tu-braunschweig.de/anglistik/seminar/esud/projekte two journals and publishers being accorded more points in terms of the research funding allocation made to higher education institutions. Kristoffersen et al. (2013: 7) do note that thus far it is not clear to what extent this has had an impact on the choice of medium of publication in the humanities and social sciences; publication in STEM disciplines is already overwhelmingly Anglophone. Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir (2014: 187) report that all applications for Nordic scientific funding have to be submitted in English, further reinforcing English as the only serious medium of academic practice in the Nordic countries. The extent to which academic practice in the Nordic countries is constrained by policies and practices 'from above' is brought out by Moring et al. (2013) who found that language policy documents affecting the University of Helsinki included 24 at EU level, 14 at national level and 13 at institution level. Thus both language policy and language practice in the 21st-century Nordic university are highly constrained by markets in operation beyond the research activity being carried out:

> [...] the individual language choices involved in the everyday act of sitting down to write up a research report, a journal article, a book or other academic output is influenced by ecological variables extending far beyond explicit language planning attempts.
> (Ljosland 2014: 57)

Is there then no room for individual agency? Do scholars simply roll over like good dogs to be tickled by the hand of English? Some of the research in this area does indicate that researchers are resigned to using English as a fact of academic life. Jürna (2014) concludes from her survey of science staff at the University of Copenhagen that academic life in general is simply Anglophone – "everyone speaks English" (Jürna 2014: 233). This reported experience provides support for the ideology that English is the oil of academic internationalization and that without English the wheels wouldn't turn. However, the reality, the lived experience of using languages in an academic context, is not so straightforward, as some recent research is starting to suggest. This is a very sensitive topic, and a lot (funding, personal wellbeing, employment conditions, the nature of support services, etc. etc.) rests on it, such that looking for evidence which might undermine the basis for the internationalization of higher education has been approached with caution. Much of the relevant research has focused on the experience of *teaching and learning* through the medium of English, but the reality is that operating through academic English is not cost-neutral for academic staff working in Nordic universities, who do not have English as their first language. Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir (2014: 189), who have studied Icelandic scientists' experience of both publishing and teaching in English, report that "our studies indicate that despite a generally held view that Icelanders' command of English is adequate for most language situations, the reality is that many struggle, especially in academia". Hellekjær and Hellekjær (2015) have studied what they call "Anglophone complacency" in business and in government and have concluded that "Norwegian complacency about the quality of upper secondary EFL instruction as preparation for higher education, or for occupational purposes, is unmerited" (Hellekjær 2008: 15). More work remains to be done to understand the real cost for the individual academic in being expected to operate increasingly through English (see Śliwa and Johansson 2014 for an important step in this direction).

The striking headline statistics on publication in English in the Nordic countries gain significant nuances when we drill down into the detail, which reveals that there is much variation across disciplines and across genres. Here, as elsewhere, the use of English as part of the available repertoire of language resources is highly situated. We noted above the general increase in the percentage of Norwegian social science publications in English which stood at a little over 50 % at the start of this century and which has continued to increase since then (Kristoffersen et al. 2013: 8). However, data from 2011 on publications included in the Norwegian points system shows that, while only around 20 % of publications in economics were in Norwegian, the figure for sociology was more like 60 %, and this figure rose to over 70 % for 'national' disciplines such as law and education (Kristoffersen et al. 2013: 10). Salö and Josephson (2014) focus on variation between disciplines and between genres in Sweden. Thus, while over 90 % of journal articles published between 2000 and 2012 across all disciplines were in English, only 50,3 % of reports and 36,5 % of books were in English. These varying statistics are primarily the result of varying disciplinary practices, as explained in Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) who conclude that:

> [...] in the Sciences the use of English is largely a pragmatic reality for both teachers and students alike. In the more language-sensitive Humanities and Social Sciences, English is often used as an additional or auxiliary language in parallel with Swedish. (p. 444).

This finding is supported by more research from Sweden which quotes the views of researchers on the use of English in their disciplines. While a researcher from a department of Biochemistry and Biophysics is quoted as saying, "in our field of science, English is the dominant language, and there's not so much to do about that", a researcher from Art History took the view that, "humanities in Sweden still have a strong national character [...] dissertations rarely concern topics of international interest" (Kuteeva and Airey 2013).

English is almighty as the vehicle for academic writing in the Nordic countries as a result of the internationalization agenda and the power of the academic marketplace to influence the higher education sector which depends upon it, but those who oppose this development ideologically or practically need not be too despondent. English is emphatically not the only option in the humanities and social sciences, and Salö and Josephson (2014: 11) identify a continuum running from English-dominated conference and journal discourse at one end (facing the international marketplace) to books and book chapters in an internal market at the other. Parallellingualism was a rhetorical move which recognised the two opposing discourses in higher education (internationalization vs a national rhetoric), but it turns out that the picture is not so monochrome. Researchers need to reclaim the discourse and the practice and show that language variety is sustainable and desirable, as has been suggested in a 2013 pan-Nordic report on English as a medium of instruction (Thøgersen et al. 2013), to which we will now turn.

6.7 English in higher education teaching and learning

English-medium instruction [EMI] (see section 3.7) is now widespread in European higher education institutions, and may be defined as follows:

> English-medium instruction (EMI) is a term that is used for any institutionalised teaching-learning situation in which communication takes place in English, although the majority of participants are non-native speakers of English.
> (Knapp 2011: 55)

According to Coleman (2013: xiv), EMI is a sub-set (although more than just that) of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning – see Coyle, Hood and Marsh 2010), whereby language skills and subject skills are delivered as part of a holistic learning experience. It is not clear that a transparent and consistent distinction is made in the literature between these two approaches to the use of English in university programmes, but the fact remains that the practice of using English in teaching and learning, in contexts where English is not the majority language, has mushroomed over the past fifty years. According to Coleman (2006: 6), the Netherlands and Sweden were the pioneers, with other countries, including the Nordic countries, adopting this practice by the 1980s, before EMI became truly widespread in the 1990s for varying reasons. Internationalization of the student body, like the internationalization of research activity, has become a common agenda Europe-wide, encapsulated in the Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education signed in Bologna in 1999, allowing free movement of students between signatory countries and commitment to a common framework for higher education. However, we agree with Coleman (2013: xv) that, although the use of English in higher education across Europe occurs within a common framework, "university Englishization is [...] motivated above all by local contexts and domestic concerns". The internationalization of higher education is always operationalized at the national level and in the context of national policy and national funding.

While it is true to say that English-medium provision is widespread across Europe, the intensity of the offering is very variable, and the bulk of it is to be found in northern Europe. Wächter and Maiworm noted in 2008 that "the phenomenon is very rare in southern Europe" (Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 10), but there is in general an increasing appetite for more English-medium courses in the southern countries, just as the northern countries are expressing increased scepticism about what they've got. Wächter and Maiworm (2014: 48) report that at 866 % South-West Europe was the European region with the largest percentage growth in English-taught programmes between 2007 and 2014. 10 % of Italian universities offer at least an undergraduate programme taught entirely through the medium of English, and this figure increases to 18 % for Masters programmes and 31 % for PhD programmes (Gazzola 2012: 144). These are far from negligible figures, but the region which has committed most wholeheartedly to this enterprise is the Nordic, although the most recent data indicate that the Netherlands tops the table and that other countries are also vying for the top slots in a composite league table bringing together three separate league tables, namely: 1) institutions offering English-taught programmes; 2) programmes taught in English; 3) enrolment of students on those programmes. Finland is ranked first for the number of institutions offering English-taught programmes, and Denmark leads the pack under the other two criteria. In this table the Nordic countries are ranked as follows:

Table 6.7.1: Ranks of individual countries by three different criteria measuring the provision of ETPs (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 47)

- The Netherlands (1)
- Denmark (2)
- Sweden (3)
- Finland (4)
- Cyprus (5)
- Switzerland (6)
- Lithuania (7)
- Latvia (8)
- Austria (9=)
- Norway (9=)
- Iceland (11)

The Nordic countries have consequently plenty to reflect upon, and indeed the experience of both teachers and students has been extensively investigated in the course of the past decade. The most important findings to emerge are those which suggest that all may not be well in the EMI garden. Hellekjær (2009) is a quantitative investigation of the English reading proficiency of 578 students at the University of Oslo, the longest established institution in the country and the only Norwegian institution in the top 150 of the 2015 *Times Higher Education* and QS world university rankings (for what that is worth). Hellekjær carried out this survey in order to discover to what extent difficulties in reading academic English, identified at the upper-secondary level, persisted into higher education (Hellekjær 2005; Ofte 2014). He concluded that at university level 33 % of respondents found reading English academic texts considerably more difficult than Norwegian, while an additional 44 % experienced some difficulties. The principal problems reported were slow reading and unfamiliar vocabulary. On the face of it this suggests that Norwegian students are at a disadvantage when they use English-language materials in that it imposes an additional burden on their learning experience. However, there is no evidence that they learn less well, just that it takes more effort. Comparable findings have emerged from Iceland and from Sweden. Research in Iceland by Jeeves (2014) suggests that there is a similar problem here in terms of English learning in school providing appropriate preparation for academic English needs at the higher level, and there is a suggestion that a 16 % dropout rate during the first year of higher education in Iceland may be related to this factor (Jeeves 2014: 284–285). Since English is the official medium of instruction in Icelandic higher education, no formal English language support is provided. Teaching staff also report an additional burden from teaching through the medium of English, that it takes longer to prepare and allows them less flexibility and fluency in their presentation (Airey 2011a). The language teaching reform of the 1880s and 1890s was based at least in part on concern about over-burdening language students. The subtitle of the pioneering pamphlet for language-teaching reform (Viëtor 1882) was precisely *A contribution to the over-burdening question*, so concern in language teaching circles about the excessive impact of language learning on the well-being of students is nothing new. Björkman (2011a) contains practical recommendations for reform in EAP teaching, such as the use of more realistic English, which mirror the proposals made by the Reform Movement over a century earlier. None of this makes an overwhelming case for abandoning the EMI project (and there is certainly no evidence that Nordic university students are experiencing the same fallout as some South Korean students (Park 2009: 1; Piller and Cho 2012), but it does provide evidence of the need for a more subtle and locally-nuanced approach. Thus the Nordic-level recommendations for the effective use of English as a medium of instruction (Thøgersen et al. 2013) include: “Build bilingual subject competence”; “Use the languages you are good at – and practise the languages you have difficulties with”; “Don’t be afraid of mixing languages”.[26]

Parellel language use as an ideology has come in for significant criticism when it comes to implementing it in practice. Indeed, Peter Harder, one of the architects of the notion (cf. Harder 2008) has described it as “bullshit” (Harder 2009: 110). The main practical objection to the realisation of a parallelingual learning environment in Nordic higher education is that English and the relevant local language are not in reality situated side by side as equal options. First of all, they are not somehow hermetically sealed in separate boxes in the academic environment. Even in an officially English-language programme it has been shown that in practice there is seepage from the local language, which is used in a variety of ways to support the learning experience (and maybe other languages too). “In reality both ‘Norwegian-medium’ and ‘English-medium’ courses are likely to contain elements of another language or languages and language selection may be flexible” (Ljosland 2014: 66). Secondly it has been questioned whether students have a genuine choice. English may appear to be everywhere in the language landscape of the Nordic university and in society more broadly, but, as we have seen, academic English skills may not be as advanced and effective as skills in the use of English for other purposes. Thirdly, in an Icelandic university classroom, the languages are not parallel options but rather simultaneous media for the delivery of academic knowledge. So English-medium textbooks and Icelandic-medium instruction alongside each other result not in a neat parallel language scenario but in what Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir (2010) have termed *Simultaneous Parallel Code Use*, as the students “negotiate meaning between a receptive language and productive language that are not the same” (p. 2). So a parallel language situation and the concomitant policy of parallellingualism in the teaching and learning environment in Nordic higher education appear to be a chimera.

EMI is not just a challenge for university students, who might or might not be prepared for it through adequate EFL training at school or via the support of institutional language services. It also impacts on teaching staff, who are expected to develop written materials and deliver their teaching orally through the medium of a language which is not their first language, but who have not been the subject of studies to the same extent as the student body has (Werther et al. 2014: 444). In the internationalized universities of the Nordic countries this is not just about Danes and Finns speaking English, but also about staff from other countries with

26 Opbyg tosproget emneskompetence; Man skal bruge de sprog man er god til – og træne de sprog man har svært ved; Frygt ikke sprogblanding.

other language backgrounds, facing the challenge of teaching through English, possibly in addition to acquiring local languages in order to engage with the university administration, not to mention other broader social functions. There are many university teachers who report that they do not find using English in this way a particular challenge. The '21st-century academic' has been enculturated into English (cf. Prior and Bilbro 2012), expecting that English is an inevitable tool of the trade and so acquires the necessary language competencies. In their study of staff at Copenhagen Business School (CBS), however, Jensen et al. (2011: 37) found that around 20 % stated that their English was only "sufficient" or "satisfactory", and around one quarter of them took the view that they would have done a better job had they been using their first language. Even these lecturers did not question the EMI policy of their institution, accepting that Englishization is a default property of internationalization. Despite the elaboration of an institutional language policy in 2006, processes to support staff needing to engage in EMI at CBS "have not been implemented to a satisfactory degree" (Werther et al. 2014: 449), providing further evidence, if we need it, of the disconnect between language policy and language practice in institutions. It is clear that those lecturers who admitted struggling with academic English felt under strain, that having to use English added to their sense of being overburdened, as we identified for the student body above. Teaching in English requires more preparation and more effort, a view corroborated by research across the Nordic countries and in the Netherlands (see Jensen and Thøgersen 2011: 14–15). Jürna (2014) found that the need for the national language (Danish in the case of her study) was not monolithic. Some overseas scientists working in Copenhagen had no need of Danish at all and existed inside an "expat bubble" where English covered all eventualities. Danish language needs were individual and situated, plottable along the axes of reading and listening comprehension on one side and speaking and writing skills on the other, depending on the individual scientist's professional and personal roles, contract length, interests, and so on.

A key question in respect of English-medium instruction and learning is what variety of English is involved, and does it matter? Simensen (2014) has demonstrated how the geographical reach of English as taught in the Norwegian schools has gradually expanded since English became a compulsory subject for all pupils in 1969. It was only in 1987 that British and American English were formally treated as of equal status and awareness raised of other varieties of English across the world, and it took until 2006 for English as an international means of communication, a lingua franca, to come into the mix. Recent research by Rindal (e.g. Rindal 2014a) has sought to draw out what roles these different varieties play for students in upper secondary education in Norway. She found that American English is typically seen as the most accessible of the varieties and is the preferred learning goal, while British English maintains its position as the prestige variety ("much more civilized", "more classy" (Rindal 2014b: 11)) and the formal standard in teaching. Despite this latter finding, Standard Southern British English tends not to be a goal variety as it is seen as "too marked and inaccessible" (Rindal 2014a: 331). Norwegian English, heavily influenced by Norwegian phonology, lacks any prestige or desirability and wasn't selected by any of Rindal's informants as their goal variety, this variety being "nicknamed by some teachers 'Norwenglish' or even 'No-English' and ridiculed in the media [...]" (Rindal and Piercy 2013: 220). Rindal and Piercy (2013: 225) conclude that the target model for these students is no longer a native speaker, "but a fluent bilingual speaker, who can communicate with other non-native speakers of varying proficiency, and still be able to express national and individual identity through English". In short, the learning target is a personal repertoire and not a national monolith.

So, university administrations across the region have gone in wholeheartedly for English-medium instruction for reasons explained by the changed role of universities. Internationalization has been associated with Englishization as an inevitable corollary. Students and staff alike have quickly learned to live with this state of affairs, and, in the spirit of the deradicalization and bureaucratization of higher education, have put up with it without much argument, even when they feel that it impacts negatively on their effectiveness as learners and teachers. A significant body of very recent research (much of the material we have cited in this section has been published in the year in which I am writing (2014)) has provided strong evidence for a greater nuancing of the EMI model and of the headlong rush towards more English at any cost. The (unpublished) guidelines on *English as a Language of Teaching at Nordic Universities* (Thøgersen et al. 2013) is a particularly well modulated and welcome contribution to a field where university management has been shown to be bad at responding to the research findings of their own academic colleagues (cf. Jenkins 2014: esp. ch. 5). Incentives are needed in order for university language policies to be taken seriously and implemented, but, if those policies responded more fully to the lived experience of both students and teachers and had greater buy-in from their stakeholders, the policy-practice loop might be better closed and result in more than just "random effects" (Lindström and Sylvin 2014: 162).

6.8 Lessons from The North

We have dwelt on the Nordic world in this chapter for a number of good reasons. Firstly, the history of 'dealing with' English has been a long one in the context of

Europe more generally, so there is plenty to reflect on here. Secondly, the Nordic countries demonstrate what on the face of it appears to be a strange discrepancy between very high levels of proficiency in English on the one hand, and on the other hand a highly developed critical discourse regarding the presence of English in society, so they constitute a productive laboratory for assessing the range of roles played by English in Europe today. The two reasons just given for focusing on the Nordic countries in this book mean that plenty has already been written about English in these countries. Much of the most significant literature has come from the pens of Nordic scholars or others interested in the phenomenon of English in the Nordic countries, so a third reason is a substantial literature on which to base our analysis. In several respects when it comes to the role and status of English, the rest of Europe follows where the Nordic countries have led, so it may be that the Nordic experience is one from which others could learn.

English was welcomed into the school curriculum in the later 19th and early 20th centuries to a large extent without objection. There were practical reasons why Nordic citizens benefited from acquiring a knowledge of English, and, while there were debates about the relative merits of different foreign languages within the curriculum, the implementation of English has been subsequently seen as a success story, a success quantifiable by the standing of the Nordic countries in international surveys of proficiency in English. Learning English has then been experienced as a benefit, an opportunity, and something worth investing in. No matter what more recent critical voices might say, a desire to acquire English across Europe remains a rational choice, a practical consideration taken by people who are fully aware of the challenges involved as well as the benefits that will accrue from becoming more proficient in the international lingua franca. One of the historical lessons to learn from The North is then that it is at best patronizing and at worst disabling for intellectual elites, those who (like many of those quoted in this book) have themselves benefited from knowing and using English, to inveigh against those who continue to do so and the regimes which support them. Sue Wright (2009: 113) writes, "what I believe I see [across the EU] is this:"

> Europeans making their own decisions on how they will prepare themselves for an increasingly transnational and global world. Part of their preparation is to learn the current lingua franca. They find no other means of crossing linguistic boundaries as effective as English as a lingua franca. They are probably right in this; even those who oppose English as a lingua franca usually use English to get their message heard.
> (Wright 2009: 113–114)

We have shown that 'the vilification of English' (Linn 2015b) came about in part because of a repositioning of the focus in language planning in Norway. Intervention in the language by the authorities had become the subject of widespread objection and dissatisfaction by the middle of the twentieth century, and positing English as potentially damaging to the mother tongue was a neat political move in the rehabilitation of the language planning enterprise. The threat from English, rhetoricized as a form of environmental damage (cf. the 1990 Norwegian action on linguistic environmental protection [aksjonen for språklig miljøvern]), gathered momentum as a political problem, and one which cannot be seen in isolation from other forms of potential political threat: from the EU, from actual environmental damage, from globalization in general. There is a clear lesson here that the political response to English has tended in fact to be about something else. The politics of one issue are invariably entwined with the politics of all sorts of other issues, but a lesson from the Nordic countries may well be that language policies could be more appropriate, more readily acceptable, if they were more closely informed by bottom-up practices and ambitions and less by abstract political agendas. A trope throughout this book has been that mismatch between top-down policies and bottom-up practices, and we have seen plenty of examples of this phenomenon in the course of the present chapter.

A further lesson from our focus on the Nordic countries, as if they constituted a single entity, is that attitudes towards and the impact of English are anything but uniform. Even though their shared history and current political connections might lead us to suspect that the role and status of English should be experienced equally across this part of Europe, the evidence reveals some surprising and occasionally inexplicable variation (see sections 6.4 and 6.5). 'Dealing with' English may be something which institutions and individuals across the continent are facing, but the reality of using English and planning its use is heterogeneous, and more detailed case studies are needed as we continue to investigate the sociolinguistics of English in Europe.

The internationalization of European higher education and the transnational flows that have resulted from this agenda have led to the facile assumption that the whole machine can be fuelled by the use of English, and that more English equates to more internationalization, more opportunity for students and more money for institutions. As we have seen in sections 6.6 and 6.7, even in those countries in which English-medium instruction is well established, this is far from being a straightforward equation. The quality of the experience of learning and teaching is affected in a range of different ways by the expectation on the part of university authorities that everything will be just fine if carried out in English, and students, teachers, researchers and university management across the continent have plenty to think about when looking at recent research on the impact of the use of English in Nordic higher education.

Even though the use, role and status of English have been well studied in the Nordic laboratory, there is still plenty of research to be carried out. The investigation of further domains beyond higher education, and particularly those not dominated by highly educated employees and high economic stakes, is called for. The views of those with a vested interest in the widespread use of English, such as the EFL industry, publishing and international business, need to inform debates to a greater extent, otherwise the criticisms become distinctly one-sided, and one voice drowns out the others. It may be a rather flabby conclusion, but the real lesson from The North is that English in Europe is complex and multifaceted and defies easy characterization, and so the need for more studies and more engagement is pressing. This realisation brings us to our closing paragraphs where we try to take stock and suggest some of the ways ahead.

Appendix – The Swedish Language Act

Contents and purpose of the Act

Section 1
This Act contains provisions on the Swedish language, the national minority languages and Swedish sign language. The Act also contains provisions on the responsibility of the public sector to ensure that the individual is given access to language and on the use of language in the public sector and in international contexts.
Section 2
The purpose of the Act is to specify the position and usage of the Swedish language and other languages in Swedish society. The Act is also intended to protect the Swedish language and language diversity in Sweden, and the individual's access to language.
Section 3
If another act or ordinance contains a provision that diverges from this Act, that provision applies.

The Swedish language

Section 4
Swedish is the principal language in Sweden.
Section 5
As principal language, Swedish is the common language in society that everyone resident in Sweden is to have access to and that is to be usable in all areas of society.
Section 6
The public sector has a particular responsibility for the use and development of Swedish.

The national minority languages

Section 7
The national minority languages are Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Romany Chib and Sami.
Section 8
The public sector has a particular responsibility to protect and promote the national minority languages.

Swedish sign language

Section 9
The public sector has a particular responsibility to protect and promote Swedish sign language.

The use of language in the public sector

Section 10
The language of the courts, administrative authorities and other bodies that perform tasks in the public sector is Swedish.
Other legislation contains provisions on the right to use national minority languages and other Nordic languages.
There are separate provisions concerning the obligation of courts and administrative authorities to use interpreters and to translate documents.
Section 11
The language of the public sector is to be cultivated, simple and comprehensible.
Section 12
Government agencies have a special responsibility for ensuring that Swedish terminology in their various areas of expertise is accessible, and that it is used and developed.

Swedish in international contexts

Section 13
Swedish is the official language of Sweden in international contexts.
The status of Swedish as an official EU language is to be safeguarded.

Individuals' access to language

Section 14
All residents of Sweden are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use Swedish. In addition
1. persons belonging to a national minority are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use the minority language, and
2. persons who are deaf or hard of hearing, and persons who, for other reasons, require sign language, are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use Swedish sign language.
Persons whose mother tongue is not one of the languages specified in the first paragraph are to be given the opportunity to develop and use their mother tongue.
Section 15
The public sector is responsible for ensuring that the individual is given access to language in accordance with Section 14.

(http://www.regeringen.se/contentassets/9e56b0c78cb5447b968a29dd14a68358/spraklag-pa-engelska)

Andrew Linn

7 The way ahead

7.1 Lessons from the *English in Europe* project

One thing should be clear by now, and that is that the question of English in the context of Europe is not a straightforward one. The use of English divides opinions from school classrooms through the boardrooms of industry and commerce to the corridors of political power. Proficiency in English divides societies into language 'haves' and 'have-nots' and facilitates or prevents access to knowledge and to power. The shifting role and status of English is both a theoretical and a practical challenge. We have seen that addressing this challenge occupies stakeholders in an array of contexts, and we have gone so far as to state in the preface to this and earlier volumes in the *English in Europe* series that English is "the biggest language challenge in the world today".

For many across Europe, English represents an opportunity. Knowing English can open doors to education, to international travel and to a wider range of employment possibilities. English language learning has been identified as one of the most substantial and fastest growing education sectors worldwide. In 2012 it was estimated that this sector was worth US$63,3 billion and that this market value will rise to US$193,2 billion by 2017 (Ragan and Jones 2013). A very large number of people are buying into the perceived benefit of learning more English. The perceived benefits sit uneasily alongside perceived threats, to social justice, to the continued strength of other national languages, etc., but such threats tend to exist more in the discourse of language politics than in our day-to-day reality, a point neatly made by Mufwene (2010: 50):

> In many parts of the Anglophone world, English is no more dangerous to the indigenous languages than McDonald's eateries are to their traditional cuisine. There are certainly endangered languages in the 'Outer' and 'Expanding Circles', but (the spread of) English has nothing to do with their condition.

The *English in Europe* project on which this book is based was subtitled with the question 'opportunity or threat?' and the end of the sixth book to emerge from that project may seem like the point at which that question should finally receive an answer. All the evidence, all the debates, all the insights garnered using all those methods in all those case studies lead us to conclude that English across Europe is opportunity *and* threat and also neither of those things. That is a disappointing conclusion for those looking for a headline or a soundbite, but the reality is that the role and status of English are different in every encounter, every act of communication. Policies and pedagogical practices have to transcend all that surface variety, but it is our sincere hope that the efforts of the *English in Europe* project will help convince teachers, employers, policy makers, and indeed all those invested in English in Europe, to become more *tolerant* and more *aware*.

One of the lessons of Norwegian language planning, as explored in chapter 6, is that the most workable plan is to allow different forms of language to exist side by side rather than to pit them one against another. *Tolerance* has been a key idea in Norwegian language-political debate ever since the work of the 'language peace' committee of the mid-1960s. A good example of this approach in practice is to be found in a brief 2001 article by the Norwegian Language Council on its position regarding the use of so-called "sensitive words" or words which might traditionally have been unmarked but which, through changing connotations or changing political circumstances, have come to be regarded by some groups as offensive. This issue came to the fore in a list of outlawed words put out by Norwegian Broadcasting's service for the capital region, Østlandssendingen. The Language Council's conclusion was that it would not join the game of political correctness and endorse such a list. Rather, "a better solution is to count on tolerance and norms of behaviour. This also provides us with a climate of debate which is in our interests in society"[1] (Norsk språkråd 2001: 45). Considering language use in the corporate workplace, Angouri (2013: 577) has suggested that "the concept of strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg 1984) is particularly relevant and could be explored further in future research [...]" – planned tolerance. Pennycook (2010b: 132) has also made the point that language policy would be well served by moving away "from its current orientation towards choosing between languages to be used in particular domains, or debating whether one language threatens another". Pennycook stresses the need to pay less attention to what he calls "linguistic entities", discrete languages, and to base policies, particularly relating to language education, on the reality of translingual practices, facing up to the fact that across Europe people are using language forms in increasingly inventive and creative ways, paying less heed to where those forms might historically have 'belonged'.

These are lessons for policy-making, but there are also pedagogical lessons to be learned. Rindal's study of attitudes towards varieties of English pronunciation, reported in section 3.6, provides an excellent case study of the need for greater tolerance in the classroom and an acceptance that language use is, and benefits from being, heterogeneous and multi-faceted. Presenting native accents to students of English as "correct" and asking them to imitate them is problem-

1 ei betre løysing er å satsa på toleranse og folkeskikk. Dette gir også eit debattklima som vi er tente med i samfunnet atic, for several reasons, Rindal concludes.[2] For some students, this implies not just putting on an accent, but also putting on an identity. We should take care not to instruct young people to project a persona or a culture with which they are uncomfortable. Furthermore, *communicative competence* in high proficiency countries is not only about pronouncing words in a way that will allow others to identify the intended lexical item, but about a wider system of meanings – being aware that there are values attached to linguistic forms and that these values are not constant; it depends what you want language *to do* for you. Targeting native accents should thus not be avoided because they constitute an impossible goal, but because that goal is unnecessary, and perhaps even counterproductive. Although linguistic accessibility might be an issue in non-native-speaker contexts, the reasons among advanced learners for dismissing native targets might be mainly social. It is irrelevant to try to determine whether lack of consistency related to a native-speaker norm is intentional (and therefore legitimate) intra-speaker variation, or variation that is due to lack of competence or exposure and therefore non-intentional (and consequently "wrong"). Instead, educators should allow for the variation that is natural in a transitional in-between European English language context, and be sensitive to individual speaker motivations and reservations. The transitional status of English in Norway reflects the negotiation between global development and local appropriation which characterises English in the world today (Rindal and Piercy 2013: 212). To the extent that teachers do pronunciation training at all, this should therefore reflect the local and global diversity of English, with the goal of enhancing intelligibility, not acquiring a native accent. Meanings which are culturally and historically determined cannot be taught directly like grammar or vocabulary, but can be interpreted, discussed, modelled and examined. Students can observe and evaluate their own practices and beliefs about language and be allowed to experiment and act out potential styles (see, e.g., Kramsch 2009). Familiarity with such linguistic and social registers would encourage pragmatic and social competence, which is what students need to *do* with English in today's globalized society.

Greater tolerance and awareness in the business context have also been advocated, and this might include better training in handling native-speaker to non-native-speaker interaction (see section 3.5.6). In the academic environment such an approach might include the goal of what Airey (2011b: 15) has called "bilingual disciplinary literacy" as well as a greater emphasis on the learning of languages other than English. The English problem is far from just being about English. The whole language ecology has to be addressed.

2 The rest of this paragraph is by Ulrikke Rindal.

> There seems to be no reliable data on functionally monolingual Anglophone scientists available but their number seems to be growing […] The Anglophone scientists should acquire more reading skills in foreign languages and the non-Anglophone scientists should acquire them more in foreign languages other than English […].
> (Ammon 2006c: 10, 24)

7.2 New research agendas

We conclude our survey of the contexts and agendas for the investigation of English in Europe with a summary of those areas which have emerged throughout this book as ripe for further study (see particularly section 4.1 for a survey of the opportunities awaiting Applied Linguistics in this regard). It is our hope that those who investigate this important field in the future will find it as compelling and as fascinating as we do.

Firstly, there are specific research *topics* which await investigation. For example, research into the role and status of English in Europe is geographically patchy, and "research on English in Europe […] remains a drop in the ocean of [World Englishes] literature" (Edwards 2016: 2). We have made good use in this book of the significant amount of work which has investigated English in the Nordic countries, but the further south and east we move across the continent, the more studies remain to be carried out. Just as certain regions of Europe have thus far been more thoroughly studied than others, so certain stakeholders have had a greater share of the spotlight than others. Thus the experience of those working outside academic and business contexts awaits fuller investigation. Studies which incorporate a range of voices, combining the priorities of policy-makers with the response of those on the receiving end of their policies, for example, will be an illuminating next stage for research, as will research on the attitudes and practices of young people, future professional stakeholders and opinion-formers. Key institutional stakeholders in the use of English across Europe, such as publishers, teachers and translators, are also distinctly underrepresented in existing studies. Even in well-trodden landscapes, such as academia, there is room for the inclusion of previously unstudied topics, an example of which would be the role of English in those academic disciplines which have not thus far been the object of research.

Secondly, alongside new topics for research, further *perspectives* on the issues are required. We have emphasised the importance of a historical perspective, and, as we saw, in chapter 2, there is still much to be done to illuminate how English was used and handled across the continent in earlier times, also learning from exceptions to the standard history and from cases which run counter to those standard accounts of history. In particular, research which undercovers the experience of using English, as opposed to writing about or teaching English, is sorely needed. With more historical research undertaken, we would then be in a position to develop longitudinal studies. Some of these need not be of great time-depth as attitudes and imperatives can and do change quickly, notably those contexts which have now been in the spotlight for several decades, such as English-medium instruction. English may be an "issue" now, but it needs to be understood in terms of changing priorities and practices if the English issue is to be effectively planned for the future. Most work to date has considered English in the context of specific countries, polities or regions, and, given the extent of the available literature here, it should be possible to carry out more comparative work in the future, in order better to understand whether the experience of living with English is a fully 'situated' matter or whether there are key common themes which can inform more effective teaching and policy-making internationally. It has been pointed out that online use of English is both enormously widespread yet relatively little studied from the range of perspectives presented in this book, and this will doubtless be a key field of research in the future.

Thirdly, we come to *methods and approaches*. We have witnessed calls for research which brings together the perspectives and approaches of different disciplines and which brings a range of methods to bear on the questions. In short, multidisciplinarity and methodological plurality have been much advocated, but the practical challenges in carrying out such work and in developing such projects have tended to prove off-putting, and researchers have tended to opt for projects which reside firmly within their own disciplines and which use well-established techniques. Greater ambition is called for in this respect.

Europe has been our laboratory in the preceding pages, but this is an artificial line to draw in terms of the lived experience of using English about which we have written here. Users of English in Europe may often have come from outside Europe and may return from Europe. They may have learned their English outside Europe and use it in Europe to converse with non-Europeans. Much of the English use within Europe is destined for a global on-line audience. Consequently such perspectives are also significant ones in our efforts to understand the role and status of English in Europe in a fully rounded way. Neither Europe nor English exists in a vacuum, something which makes our task as researchers much harder but also more interesting and exciting.

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