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THE PERCEIVED VALUE OF ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC PUBLISHING AMONG ESP MULTILINGUAL SCHOLARS IN EUROPE

Abstract

This paper explores the perceived value of English as the main language for the transmission and exchange of scientific knowledge and, more particularly, as the main language for research writing among European scholars within the field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). From my position of editor-in-chief of the LSP journal *Ibérica* (ISSN: 1139-7241), I have surveyed 133 scholars from 18 European countries who have submitted their papers in English to the journal between 1999 and the first half of 2013 and gathered comments on two particular issues: the scholars' perceived value of English for research publication purposes (ERPP) in comparison with research published in their national language, and actions in their countries to either encourage the use of English or, on the contrary, protect the national language against the spread of English. Main findings point at a set of global and supranational interrelated driving forces that portray an irreversible hegemony of English for scientific communication and research writing as well as at the passivity of educational authorities against the global trend that favours English in general and ERPP in particular.

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Key words

English as a scientific language, English as a *lingua franca*, English for research publication purposes, academic publishing, research writing, scholarly literature.

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Sažetak

U radu se istražuje percepcija vrednosti engleskog kao glavnog jezika za prenos i razmenu naučnog znanja, konkretnije, kao glavnog jezika za pisanje naučnih radova među evropskim naučnicima u oblasti engleskog jezika struke. Sa mesta glavnog urednika časopisa *Ibérica* (ISSN: 1139-7241), čija je tematika engleski jezik struke, anketirala sam 133 naučnika iz 18 evropskih zemalja koji su za taj časopis predali radove na engleskom jeziku u periodu od 1999. do prve polovine 2013. godine i sakupila komentare u vezi sa dva glavna pitanja: percepcija vrednosti engleskog jezika kao jezika za objavljivanje naučnih radova u poređenju sa naučnim radovima objavljenim na maternjem jeziku, i koraci koji se u zemljama tih naučnika preduzimaju s ciljem da se podstakne korišćenje engleskog, ili, pak, zaštititi maternji jezik od uticaja engleskog. Glavni rezultati ukazuju na skup globalnih i nadnacionalnih međuzavisnih sila koje pružaju sliku nepovratne hegemonije engleskog kao jezika naučne komunikacije i naučnih radova, kao i pasivnosti prosvetnih vlasti u pogledu globalnog trenda koji favorizuje engleski jezik uopšte, a naročito engleski jezik za objavljivanje naučnih radova.

Ključne reči

engleski kao jezik nauke, engleski kao *lingua franca*, engleski kao jezik naučnih radova, akademsko izdavaštvo, naučni radovi, akademska literatura.

1. SOME INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

The predominance of English as the global language for communication is nowadays unquestioned, and the role played by English as a *lingua franca* (ELF)¹ in different contexts, particularly in education, business and the media, has emerged in the last decade as a promising field of research. Some journals have devoted special issues that provide space for publication on the role of English as a common language for different purposes (see Björkman, 2011a; Carli & Ammon, 2007; Cargill & Burgess, 2008; Fumero Pérez & Díaz Galán, 2006; Kuteeva, 2011a;

¹ I am using the expression “English as a *lingua franca*” to refer to the use of English for global communication and understanding between speakers, be they non-native or native English speakers, who do not share a common language and use English as a “meeting point” for different purposes and in different contexts, not only in academia. I am aware of the disapproval and criticism this expression has drawn in the literature (Tardy, 2004; Phillipson, 2008; Jenkins, 2009; Ammon, 2013) but, for the purposes of this paper and in the terms explained above, I find this expression to be straightforward and practical.

Mauranen & Metsä-Ketelä, 2006; Taviano, 2013; Mauranen & Kuteeva, in press). Even a whole journal, the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, has recently (March 2012) been launched by De Gruyter Mouton to cover the diverse linguistic, sociolinguistic, socio-psychological and political features of ELF in different settings.

In the particular context of scientific research and academic publishing the predominance of English is overwhelming: “English is today the undisputed lingua franca of scholarly exchange (...) the language of the most prestigious international conferences and journals, and increasingly the medium of higher-level instruction in universities across the world” (Bennett, 2013: 169). It is also “the premier vehicle for the communication of scholarship, research and advanced post-graduate training” (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada, & Swales, 2010: 634), “the main lingua franca for research networking and scientific communication across different cultural contexts and different languages” (Pérez-Llantada, 2012: 2).

Professional researchers and post-graduate students around the world, regardless of the field in which they work, face many complexities (difficulties and inequalities) in their attempts to publish internationally (Belcher, 2007; Ferguson, 2007; Uzuner, 2008; Salager-Meyer, 2009; Flowerdew, 2013a,b). One of these is the increased “publish or perish” pressure to disseminate their research effectively (that is, globally) and gain academic promotion, which has become a daunting requirement to all academics (Hyland, 2012). Uzuner (2008: 256) depicted the “time consuming, tedious, and difficult nature of scholarly writing” and defined research writing as “a lengthy and complex endeavour [that] becomes even more cumbersome when done in a second language”. Belcher (2007: 1) defined the experience of submitting one’s work for publication as “a high stakes game upon which hiring, promotion and continued employment can depend”. In such “high stakes game” the English language has achieved an important role because reputed journals are dominantly published in that language, and multilingual or plurilingual scholars² are often engaged in “negotiations” (even “struggles”) of a different nature to publish their research writing in English (Curry & Lillis, 2004; Belcher, 2007; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Mur Dueñas, 2012) and, moreover, “to bring their discourse into line with Anglo-Saxon norms” (Bennett, 2010: 193).

This paper investigates the context of academic publishing in non-Anglophone Europe; in particular, the perceptions of multilingual/plurilingual researchers in the field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) towards English for research publication purposes (ERPP) and their views upon the pre-eminence of English together with its potential value in their home institutions and global academia. Since the discussion is based on the comments provided by ESP scholars who have published (or tried to publish) in *Ibérica* (ISSN: 1139-7241), I will begin by offering some background to this journal. After this, I will introduce the notion

² I am using the terms “multilingual” and “plurilingual” following Uzuner (2008: 250) and Pérez-Llantada (2012: 2) respectively to refer to non-Anglophone scholars who use English as an additional language for international publication or any other academic and professional purposes.

of English for research and scientific communication as a topic for research and the varying ways it has been explored in the journal. Next, I will focus on the contributors to the journal and a survey delivered on line to analyse in depth the replies provided by 133 authors from 18 European countries on their perceived value of English for academic publishing over that of their national languages as well as the potential actions carried out by governments and educational authorities towards ERPP. Findings from the study will be discussed in light of the replies and comments received.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE JOURNAL *IBÉRICA*

This paper is based on my experience as editor-in-chief of *Ibérica*, the journal of AELFE, the European Association of Languages for Specific Purposes, founded in 1992 and set up by a group of Spanish and Portuguese scholars who used to meet every year at the so called Portuguese-Spanish Conference on Languages applied to Science and Technology. The first issue of *Ibérica* was published in 1999 with the initial appearance of yearly issues and from 2003 to date it has been published twice a year. *Ibérica* publishes research articles, research notes, interviews and reviews and is aimed at teachers, scholars and researchers interested in modern languages as applied to academic and professional purposes (LSP).

Throughout the years *Ibérica* has been gaining well grounded academic visibility both at home and abroad. In 2011 the journal was distinguished as “excellent scientific journal” after a quality audit conducted by the FECYT, a scientific body belonging to the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation of the time, and very recently (Spring 2013) the journal has renewed such seal of excellence for three more years. In 2008 the journal was accepted for coverage in the prestigious index lists *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Social Sciences Citation Index*, *Social Scisearch* and *Journal Citation Reports/Social Sciences Edition* (all of them from ISI Web of Knowledge). In 2009 it joined the *SCImago Journal and Country Rank* (SJR) from SCOPUS. At present (see JCR report published by Thomson Reuters in 2011), *Ibérica* has been highlighted as one of the 16 Spain-based journals which have moved up from quartile 4 to quartile 3, the only one within humanities research, and its impact factor is at present 0.312. In SJR *Ibérica* is now positioned in quartile 2 with an impact factor equal to 0.297. The European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH) has qualified the journal within the category NAT, which means that it enjoys a recognised scholarly significance among researchers and that its readership is mainly located in Europe.

AELFE supports multilingualism and therefore its journal encourages submissions in some other languages different from English so that all manuscripts are peer-reviewed and submission language does not play any role for final

acceptance or rejection.³ However, published and non-published contributions are from a majority of multilingual/plurilingual scholars who submit their papers in English (for further detail, see Bocanegra-Valle, in press). As the journal has gained some international credit the number of submissions in English has increased with the following resulting picture:

In the past issues (1996-2002), there were 28 articles, 16 written in English (57.1 percent) and 12 in Spanish (42.8 percent). In the current period [2003-2012], of a total of 125 contributions, 96 have been published in English (76.8 percent), 27 in Spanish (21.6 percent), and 2 in French (1.6 percent). English has thus been prioritised as the journal has gained prestige in the Applied Linguistics field. Since the Fall volume of 2010, in fact, all authors but one have chosen to disseminate their work in English. (Aguado de Cea & Curado Fuentes, 2012: 100)

3. ENGLISH FOR RESEARCH PUBLICATION PURPOSES AS A TOPIC OF RESEARCH IN *IBÉRICA*

The number of papers published in the journal that focus on ERPP is small if compared with other topics. According to Aguado de Cea and Curado Fuentes (2012) in their review of popular topics of papers published in the journal for the period between 1996 and 2002, genre and discourse analysis in specialised fields show the stronger focus. Broadly speaking, and to the best of my knowledge, this continues to be so, followed by an increased interest in lexicography, lexicology and terminology, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics (metaphor studies, mainly) and, finally, language teaching and learning.

Very probably, the most popular paper on ERPP published so far is Ferguson (2007). In his study, Gibson Ferguson addresses the effects of the emergence and dominance of English as the international language of scientific communication, which are: (i) global diglossia and domain loss because of English potentially relegates other languages to a lesser role; and (ii) the communicative inequality between English-native academics and non-English academics who may be at a disadvantage especially when it comes the time to place their research works in high prestige international journals. Ferguson (2007: 7) concludes that “the risk of domain loss is very real, but that recent language planning interventions may help avert the danger” and that the use of the English language may be regarded as a

³ As stated in the journal guidelines for authors, the language submission criteria is the following: “Manuscripts may be submitted in English, French, German, Portuguese or Spanish. It is highly recommended that the submission language meets the target language of the manuscript so that, for instance, a text focusing on English or French for Academic and Professional Purposes be written in English or French, respectively”.

barrier, but not really as a big disadvantage in academic publication (at least, a disadvantage that can be somehow ameliorated).

Other works further this and other related issues. Kennedy (2012), for instance, examines the role of English as an academic language for publication and career advancement. His views, however, are more centred on the description of English-medium courses and English-medium instruction as a way of internationalisation of educational institutions and transnational education. Mur Dueñas (2012) and Moreno et al. (2012) focus on English for international publication purposes. Mur Dueñas discusses the “text histories” of a number of Finance Spanish researchers and how they endeavour to have their papers eventually published in English-medium international journals. In line with this, Moreno and colleagues examine the perceived difficulty of Spanish researchers when writing research articles in English and analyse the impact of proficiency in English versus researchers’ publication experience.

Noteworthy here is the special issue co-edited with Maria Kuteeva (2011a) devoted to English in parallel-language and ELF settings (*Ibérica* 22). The volume contained seven contributions from Denmark and Sweden, two countries in which the increasing status of English as an academic language (both in teaching and scholarly publication) has prompted heated debates throughout this decade. In her editorial, Maria Kuteeva (2011b) explains the concept of “parallel language use” (co-existence of English and Swedish/Danish) in the Scandinavian context and brings to the fore different government actions to protect the national language (in this case, Swedish) against the spread of English in higher education. Among such seven contributions, two stand out for the purposes of this paper. First, Jensen and Thøgersen (2011) set out the various positions in the national debate in Denmark regarding the increasing use of English in research and higher education and examine the attitudes towards these positions among the teaching staff at the University of Copenhagen. In the second paper, Björkman (2011b) advocates for a proper methodology of academic English that takes into account the wide use of ELF in a large number of higher education institutions and among the emerging groups of ELF speakers.

4. THE SURVEY: METHODOLOGY AND PARTICIPANTS

For the particular case of the humanities Ammon (2013: 1) has claimed that “numerous bits and pieces of information strongly suggest that national languages still play a greater role there, due to topics as well as to text style, traditions, and terminology”. If this is so, ESP, as a part of the applied linguistics field, and hence, of the humanities, is therefore expected to be more resistant to the encroachment of English as the dominant language for research writing. But, how do ESP scholars really feel? What is the value of English-medium publishing in their academic and educational contexts?

The topic under discussion in this paper is a part of a broader survey that investigates research publication practices in the field of LSP and the current use of English by LSP scholars (Bocanegra-Valle, in press). In this recent work I reflect on the fact that almost 70% of the proposed submissions to the journal for the period 1999-2012 have been in English, clearly dominating over other languages such as Spanish (27.2%), French (2.5%), German (0.7%) or Portuguese (0.3%). One of the items in such survey addressed the perceived value of English in the contributors' countries; in particular, two questions were posed regarding this matter:

- 1) In your country, how is research published in English valued in comparison with that published in your home language?; and
- 2) Have any laws been enacted in your country so as to protect your national language against the spread of English or, on the contrary, to foster the use of ERPP? Please, comment.

With a view to further this issue and gain a clearer understanding on how ESP scholars perceive the value of their English publications with reference to the current scholarly practices and/or mandatory educational policies in their own particular countries, what follows is a detailed examination of the replies received to these two particular research questions.

For the purposes of this paper I will broach the issue from a European perspective and, hence, I will only take into consideration the replies provided by contributors from Europe – that is to say, from scholars who are working at European universities and institutions and, hence, are best acquainted with the current situation in their particular countries. When I refer to Europe and European countries I am solely referring to member states of the European Union (current members and candidate countries on the road to membership). This yardstick narrows down the target answers to 20 countries and 139 respondents, of which 6 correspond to native English speakers or NES (4.3%) and 133 to multilingual or plurilingual scholars (95.7%)⁴. Spanish scholars make up the largest group (n=93) by far.

⁴ It should be highlighted at this point that I am using the labels “native English” and “multilingual/plurilingual” for practical reasons and stressing a geographical distinction rather than marking any differences between levels of proficiency in English. Thus, NES are scholars born and grown up in the United Kingdom and Ireland and who are at present working in those countries. The remaining respondents fall within the category of multilingual or plurilingual despite their command of the English language may be regarded as English native or near-native. Respondents who have been born and grown up in Anglophone countries but are working abroad in the surveyed European countries also fall here within the category of “multilingual/plurilingual” as they use English as an academic language for research writing together with another language outside academia.

Following Berns (1995), the countries represented in this study are acceptable to provide a complete picture of the use of English in Europe.⁵ Recalling the Kachruvian's circles of world Englishes, Berns (1995) mapped a model of "European Englishes" into three concentric circles: (i) the inner circle, formed by Anglophone countries; (ii) non-Anglophone countries using English as a second language make up the outer circle; and (iii) countries in which English is the primary foreign language constitute the expanding circle. Table 1 illustrates this categorization of "European Englishes" for the total number of countries and scholars participating in this study.

EUROPEAN ENGLISHES	COUNTRY	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Inner circle (n=6)	Ireland	1	0.7
	United Kingdom	5	3.6
Outer circle (n=14)	Denmark	4	2.9
	Finland	1	0.7
	Germany	2	1.4
	Sweden	7	5.0
Expanding circle (n=119)	Bulgaria	1	0.7
	Croatia	1	0.7
	Czech Republic	1	0.7
	France	4	2.9
	Hungary	1	0.7
	Italy	4	2.9
	Lithuania	2	1.4
	Poland	3	2.2
	Portugal	2	1.4
	Romania	1	0.7
	Serbia	3	2.2
	Slovenia	1	0.7
	Spain	93	66.9
	Turkey	2	1.4
	Total	139	100.0

Table 1. Distribution of respondents per country following Berns' (1995) classification of "European Englishes"

⁵ Even though I have found Berns' (1995) categorization of European Englishes very straightforward and practical for the purposes of this paper, I also agree with Seidlhofer (2010) that although all countries in the European circles share a common position concerning the English language, they retain their linguacultural features; that is, Europe is an extremely diverse area from the viewpoint of language and culture and "English impinges on the lives of all European citizens in many different ways" (Seidlhofer, 2010: 357).

Given that the six inner circle respondents – that is, NES – have nothing to add to the value of English (the national language) in their home countries and, coherently enough, have provided no answer or comment on these particular questions, the discussion that follows applies to the 18 countries and the 133 multilingual scholars from the outer and expanding circles (see Table 1).

5. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Figure 1 shows a clear picture of the replies to question 1) “In your country, how is research published in English valued in comparison with that published in your home language?” For most respondents (n=76) the English language adds a higher value to a publication. For another group (n=30) the journal or book in which the piece of research has been published, and not the language, is the major measure of value. For a third group (n=18) English and other languages are compatible depending on the target area of research. Last, for a very small number (n=2) the national language has a higher value over the use of English in academic publishing. These and other related issues are analysed in the following subsections.

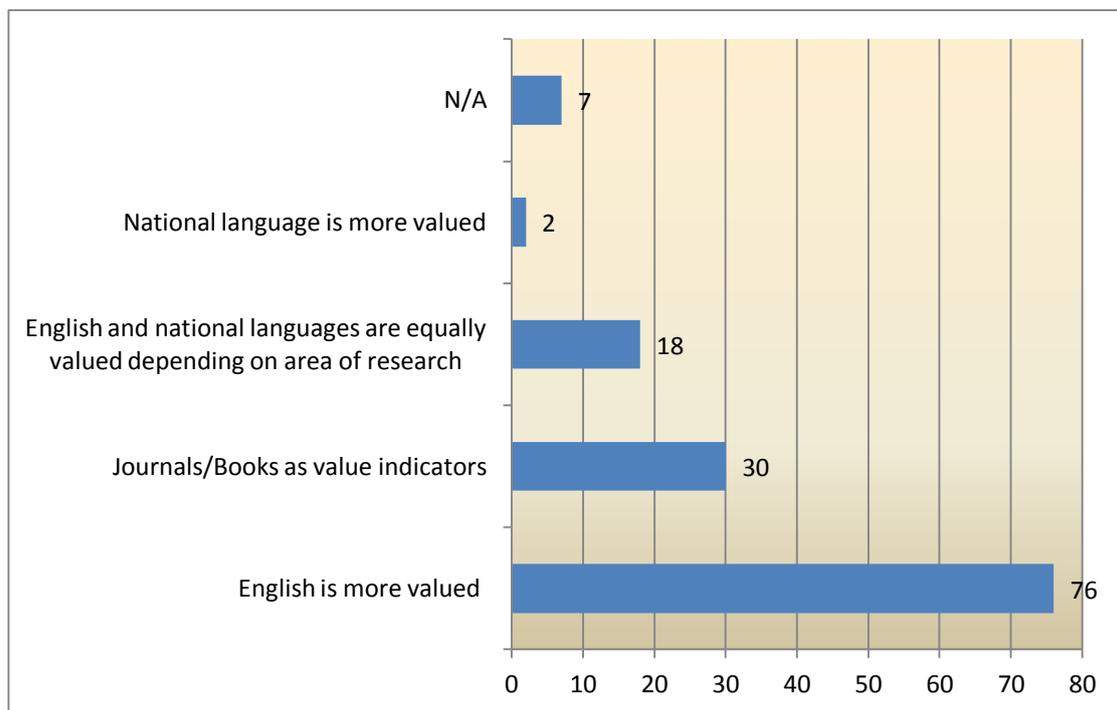


Figure 1. The value of English-published research in comparison with that in other languages per respondents (n=133).

5.1. English is more valued

It is clear that publications in English are more highly valued than publications in other languages. For 76 respondents (57.1%), English-medium writing adds “prestige” and “visibility” to a piece of research, it reaches a wider audience and, therefore, it helps to increase the visibility of a particular paper or chapter at the same time its author be acknowledged in academia:

- I think that research published in English is valued more highly than research published in other languages (it’s not so much a linguistic matter, it’s more a question of reaching wider audiences, index lists, and in our area US/UK publications/readers). [R89]⁶
- Although it is not a written formula, in many academic disciplines research published in English is much better valued and enjoy more prestige than those articles published in Spanish. [R92]

The issues of “internationality” and “credibility” are also related to the value of English that respondents perceive. It is in relation to these two notions that English is regarded, at least potentially, as the “safe-conduct” to a place in academia. Firstly, English means “international” so that for a piece of research to be considered international it must be written in English:⁷

- If you want to get published internationally, English is the medium, no doubt. [R132]
- A publication in English is considered international. [R140]

Secondly, English means “credibility” so that for a piece of research to be taken into consideration among peer scholars and cited in the related literature, it must be written in English:

- No author will be seriously considered in my country [Spain], unless he/she has published in an international journal in English. [R126]
- I have certainly heard it said among scholars that if you publish in a language other than English, there is something strange about the study! [R147]

In relation to the issues above, ESP scholars also perceive that they are compelled by their institutions to publish in English. This pressure to increase international

⁶ The number in brackets corresponds to the organisation of replies and at the same time it helps me to identify and track the respondents’ comments across survey items.

⁷ This attribution was defined by Lillis and Curry (2010: 59) as “the sliding of the signifier English towards international and vice versa”.

publication should be interpreted as a result of the need of universities and research organisations for visibility, recognition and credibility from international academia through their researchers:⁸

- International English-medium publications tend to be better/greatly valued in accreditation national systems, in hiring ratings, in university departments, etc. [R74]
- The university encourages us to publish in international journals so I imagine that indirectly they are promoting English for research publication purposes. [R138]

5.2. The publishing outlet as the measure of value

The relevance and prestige of a particular publishing house, and not a particular language for research writing, is also regarded as a measure of value for both journal articles and book chapters. This holds true for 30 respondents (22.6%) who prefer to target reputed journals and publishing houses with their pieces of research:

- I do not think that it is the language itself, but the credibility of the journals that makes the difference. [R43]
- In Sweden, it is not the language of publication that counts but the type of journal or other outlet. [R68]

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A journal is considered to be prestigious for academia and reputed in a particular field of research when it is listed in leading high-impact databases and index lists. Most of these lists, and for sure the most reputed, are based in the United States and, therefore, display a marked bias towards English-only publications. Even though they list journals from most parts of the world and contain some multilingual journals (such as *Ibérica*), the main bulk of research writing is published in English.⁹ As a way of example, the Journal Citation Report (JCR)'s website at Thomson Reuters (http://wokinfo.com/products_tools/analytical/jcr/)

⁸ As Flowerdew (2013a: 8) puts it, “universities are striving to become ‘international’ and to rise up the university ranking scales”. And as Hyland (2012: 37) explains “[u]niversities in many countries now require their staff to present at international conferences and, more crucially, publish in major, high-impact, peer-reviewed Anglophone journals as a pre-requisite for tenure, promotion and career advancement”.

⁹ An exception to this in Europe is the European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH), hosted by the European Science Foundation (ESF) (URL: <http://www.esf.org/hosting-experts/scientific-review-groups/humanities/erih-european-reference-index-for-the-humanities/>) and created and developed to provide a reliable reference index for the humanities research in Europe. For more information regarding the volume of English research writing in ESF, see Bocanegra-Valle (in press).

shows the slogan “Journal Citation Reports. The recognized authority for evaluating journals”, and states that “JCR provides the context to understand a journal’s true place in the world of scholarly literature”; therefore, to be in such a “true place” your scholarly literature must be contained in JCR, and to be contained in JCR your scholarly literature must be written in English:¹⁰

- In my opinion, the assessment of research is linked to the classification of journals rather than the language used for writing the articles. It is true, however, that many more research publications in English belong to the highest categories. [R86]
- In my opinion, the consideration of a specific publication has nothing to do with the language, at least officially. It is true, however, that the most prestigious databases favour English and therefore publishing in this language is a plus. [R93]

The most immediate consequence of all this is the granting of promotion, tenured positions, research funding, or even hiring. Most (if not, all) institutions in Europe accept international (mainly USA-based) bibliographic/bibliometric lists as a recognised authority for the evaluation of journals and provide them with the greatest credibility for the measuring of worldwide leading research and its impact upon scholarly literature (and, hence, academia). Just because of this reasoning, English becomes an assumed pre-requisite for successful publication so that scholars who write their manuscripts in English are offered (at least initially) an opportunity in mainstream journals (that is to say, covered by prestigious index lists and relevant to a particular field of research), and will be in a more favourable position for hiring and career advancement:

- Although research production in English is not explicitly favoured, the fact that high impact journals, most of them written in English, are so highly valued for certification purposes – a must in the Spanish academic context – implies, in practice, the favouring of English. [R156]
- The criteria do not explicitly mention publication in English for rank “A” publications (the only ones that matter), but as most international journals are de facto in English, the two are to a certain extent conflated. [R158]

¹⁰ In Thomson Reuters’s (2012: 2) journal selection process it is clearly stated that: “English is the universal language of science. For this reason Thomson Reuters focuses on journals that publish full text in English, or at very least, bibliographic information in English. There are many journals covered in *Web of Science* that publish articles with bibliographic information in English and full text in another language. However, going forward, it is clear that the journals most important to the international research community will publish full text in English. This is especially true in the natural sciences. There are notable exceptions to this rule in the Arts & Humanities and in Social Sciences topics (...). Nonetheless, full text English is highly desirable, especially if the journal intends to serve an international community of researchers”.

5.3. Others

Some disciplines are more favourable to English-medium academic writing, or so do the surveyed scholars perceive. In line with this, 18 (13.5%) respondents agree that both English and national languages offer realistic options for publication, but one or the other depends on the target research field. This is particularly true in the humanities if compared with the hard sciences, a context in which national languages have no chance:¹¹

- It varies from discipline to discipline. Natural sciences, medicine and applied sciences all use almost 100% English, whereas other disciplines Humanities and arts may use very little English. The social sciences are somewhere in the middle. So the value is partly linked to that. However, I don't think it is ever negative to have published in English but it might be seen as negative in some situations if one has only published in Swedish. [R18]
- Research published in English in Bulgarian journals is not considered more or less prestigious. It depends on the author – sometimes you'd like your article to be read by say colleagues who are specialists in other languages and their command of English might not be so good – then you publish in Bulgarian. Sometimes, I (and other English philologists) find it hard to create Bulgarian terms for linguistic phenomena that have mostly been dealt with in English language publications. Then I opt for English as the language of publication. [R31]

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Last, just two respondents (1.5%) feel that the national language has a higher value than English. These two cases apply to Spanish and Basque, both in Spain. Nonetheless, this particular issue needs to be further explored as replies have been shown to deviate from the majority of Spanish respondents:

- In the Basque country you can enjoy economic funds to get your PhD dissertation translated into Euskera, but not into English ... which is a pity. [R87]

¹¹ A similar conclusion has been reached in other survey studies like Hamel (2007). After examining the average share of languages in relevant databases along a 5-year period and checking the clear shift towards English for publication, he concluded: "when we observe the process of international communication defined narrowly as the exchange of information between speakers of different languages as reflected in a reduced number of high ranking international periodical publications, we can only arrive at the conclusion that relevant scientific findings have to be published in English if their authors want to be acknowledged by the top scientific community of their discipline. Even results of utmost relevance and originality, e.g. in natural sciences or medicine, may get lost or pass unnoticed if they are published in any other language" (Hamel, 2007: 60-61).

5.4. Analysis of the situation per respondents' country

The second question posed in the survey aimed at eliciting information on whether some legislation had been enacted in the scholars' countries to either protect national languages against the spread of English or foster the use of English, particularly as far as research writing is concerned. Comments gathered show that this is a topic of interest in most countries but mostly regarding English as a *lingua franca* outside academia. According to the survey respondents, with the exception of France and the Nordic countries, no other countries have taken legal measures to protect the national language and discourage the encroachment of ERPP.

Spain seems to be a good example of the general trend.¹² There are no specific regulations on this matter but there are some journals which are English-only journals from the outset, others which are changing their policy to become English-only journals, and certain publication requirements that are gradually giving English more visibility, at least in certain areas of research. The National Agency for Quality Assessment and Accreditation of Spain (ANECA), whose aim is to grant hiring renewal, promotion and tenured track positions among university researchers, highly values research articles published in (i) high-rank indexed journals; and (ii) journals which conform to certain quality requirements – among these, title, summary and key words in English for papers not written in English are as important as blind peer reviewing procedure or punctuality of publication. This picture of Spain might be transferred to most countries in Europe: no current legislation protecting the national language and a clear hegemony of English as the language of research and academic publishing encouraged by the driving forces (questions of visibility, credibility, etc.) discussed in the preceding subsections. Some comments from respondents help to illustrate this view:

- In Spain there are no laws to protect scientific records in Spanish. However, there are assessment policies that reward research over other things the papers published in international journals, which are usually in English. It can be said that in addition to not having protection policies for the Spanish there is a constructive obligation to publish the results of your research in English. [Spain] [R130]

¹² This conclusion (reached from the data gathered) may to some extent contest Pérez-Llantada, Plo and Ferguson's (2011: 19) statement that "because Spanish is itself a world language, the writing practices of Spanish academics and their attitudes to English-language publication may well be different from those in smaller, more intensively researched language communities such as Scandinavia or Switzerland. In these countries – for reasons of history, size and educational policies – English is more firmly established, functioning almost as a second language, than it is in Spain, where, according to a 2005 Eurobarometer survey (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_237.en.pdf), only 36% of the population claim to be able to speak a language other than their mother tongue."

- Research publications are in English, mainly, as there are joint projects, joint research programmes, joint publications, in which Lithuania is a partner. The career ladder of a researcher is marked by how many international publications one has and in what journals they are published: their citation index is of great importance! Publications published in Lithuanian are also valued, but the journals in which they are published are not as well known as those of big European countries, thus their citation index is lower. [Lithuania] [R123]
- In my country people publish mainly in their native tongue and in English, depending on their language skills and the target public. The journals and publishers provide information on the possible languages of publications and one can select the journal taking into account not only the topics of interests but also linguistic requirements. As far as I know there are no laws regulating this matter. [Poland] [R95]¹³
- I live in Portugal, where English is very highly valued indeed. Researchers are strongly encouraged to publish in English, and many research centres now produce publications solely in English. There are also university departments (mostly sciences and business) where the teaching is all done in English. [Portugal] [R96]¹⁴
- Unfortunately, in Romania the trend goes in the direction of fostering the use of ERPP in as much as scholars' work is valued based on the principle of "publish or perish" in English-medium journals indexed in ISI. And I say unfortunately because I am myself part of the generation who develops academic language skills in English and have no attempt at publishing in Romanian, to the effect that I find it difficult to translate in Romanian concepts that I have acquired in English. [Romania] [R128]
- In order to be awarded the title of assistant professor, one has to publish at least three papers in internationally recognized journals (indexed in various databases). At least two among these have to be in a foreign language (where the unwritten rule say [sic] it has to be one of the 'major' European languages, preferably English – given that most journals indexed in these databases are English-only journals), and therefore at least one (or only one, if an author only publishes three papers) has to be written in the native (Slovene) language. In my opinion, this does partially contribute to the protection of the national language against the spread of English but does not contribute in any way to the protection of other languages (e.g., Italian, French, German, Spanish, to name just a few) against the spread of

¹³ To learn more about the current situation of academic publishing in Poland across different areas, see Duszak and Lewkowicz (2008).

¹⁴ For a comprehensive overview of the attitude of Portuguese researchers in the Humanities and Social Sciences towards the dominance of English academic discourse, see Bennett (2010).

English. It seems that at the end we will all have English as the lingua franca to communicate in, few papers published in the national language to meet the obligations set by the national standards, but no paper written in any other language but these two. [Slovenia] [R6]

- In Turkey, if you publish in English, it is more valuable and as far as I observed there is not any tendency to see English as a danger. On the contrary, it seems people accept that now English is the language of science. [Turkey] [R48]

The overview in the Nordic countries (in this survey, Denmark, Finland and Sweden) is very different. In 2006, educational authorities from the Nordic countries issued the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (*Deklaration om nordisk språkpolitik*) to ensure cohesion and coherence in the use of their languages by the five states and the three autonomous areas covered by Nordic cooperation. The Declaration is based on the principle of the concurrent use of several languages – that is, the parallel use of language – within one or more areas. For the particular case of the use of English as a scientific language, the Declaration explicitly states the following:

A consistent policy to promote the parallel use of languages requires:

- *that* it be possible to use both the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society and English as languages of science
- *that* the presentation of scientific results in the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society be rewarded
- *that* instruction in scientific technical language, especially in written form, be given in both English and the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society (...) (*Deklaration om nordisk språkpolitik*, 2006: 94)

Thus, there is an overt recognition of both English and the national languages as efficient and equally valid vehicular languages for the transmission of knowledge and dissemination of research.¹⁵ A Swedish respondent provides a straightforward explanation of the situation:

- The Swedish government introduced the Language Act in 2009 to establish the official status of Swedish and other minority languages. Many universities implemented parallel language policies aimed at strengthening the position of local language(s) and improving the quality of English. Again, the ultimate aim of these policies is to increase the information flow in both directions to the international academic audience (in English) and to the

¹⁵ For more detail and a good overview of the situation of English as an academic language in Sweden, see Bolton and Kuteeva (2012).

public (in Swedish) whose tax money is used to fund research projects.
[Sweden] [R68]

France enjoys an Act of Parliament that protects the French language (mainly against the spread of English) and makes its use mandatory for “instruction, work, trade and exchanges and of the public services” (Article 1). This is known as “La Loi Toubon”, following the Minister of Culture of the time, and was enacted in 1994. Very probably, the Article that deals directly with the issue of English for scientific publishing is the following:

Publications, reviews and papers distributed in France and drafted in a foreign language, shall include at least a summary in French when the said publications, reviews and papers are issued by a public corporate body, a private person on a public service assignment or a private person subsidised by public funds. (*Law no. 94-665 of 4 August 1994 relative to the use of the French language*, Article 7)

Notwithstanding, current scholarly practice supports the perceived values identified in the survey:

- In France, many scholars are struggling to carry on publishing in French. They keep struggling with the challenges of participating in international publications. But high-status journals are written in English and journals written in French tend to be peripheral and less prestigious. I think that nowadays, academics who don't write in English are, in a way, cut off from their international colleagues. [France] [R125]

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It stands out that, when providing comments, many respondents use phrases and expressions of resignation towards English as the predominant language of scholarly literature. It seems to be, as Hamel (2007: 53) puts it, the “inevitable monopoly of English”:

- And we like it or not, English is the one. [R14]
- I would rather say that it is a situation you have to accept and cope with. [R23]
- I think the adoption of a lingua franca (different ones over the centuries) is natural and inevitable. [R32]
- I don't feel this goes against any other possible choice in any particular case. [R41]
- There is no sense in crying over spilt milk: English IS the main language of communication and currently there isn't any other which could take its place, no matter how much we might regret not being able to write in our native languages. [R134]
- I think English is inevitable. [R147]

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has shown that: (i) there exist global or supranational driving forces that lead to and consolidate English as the *de facto* language of scholarly literature; and (ii) inaction of governments and institutions to promote national languages for research publication purposes assist in the construction of a European (and global) English-only academia.

The findings from this survey attest and reinforce “a vicious circle of self fulfilling prophecies based on a strong bias in favour of English and Anglophone countries” (Hamel, 2007: 61), as well as the “self-perpetuating” (Ferguson, 2007; Flowerdew, 2013a,b) or “auto-catalytic” (Bocanegra-Valle, in press) nature of English as the language of science, research and publication purposes in the sense that:

(...) the greater the number of scholars using English, the more research can be disseminated (to researchers who know English), and the more that research is disseminated in English, the more scholars will be encouraged to publish in English. The process is self-perpetuating (...) English is a self-perpetuating force; once it establishes a critical mass of users, more and more users are attracted to it. (Flowerdew, 2013b: 302)

A close interpretation of the replies provided by this particular group of European ESP scholars helps to conclude that there exist some “global inter-related driving forces” – that is, prestige, visibility, reach, internationality, credibility, pressure to publish, and high-impact (mainly English-only) index lists – which are not particular to any country and are jointly acting on the construction of the hegemony of English as “supranational forces”. Moreover, many scholars conclude that this is an irreversible trend, particularly if there exist no governmental policies (except for the attempts by France and the Nordic countries) to counterbalance the encroachment of English with the protection of national language scholarly literature.

ESP Today is a new English-medium journal created in the European context by a group of multilingual/plurilingual researchers. Given its title and the findings in this paper, it is clear that the journal is born with the clear aim of reaching international recognition, visibility and credibility. I sincerely wish *ESP Today* attains its goals in the near future and becomes a robust option for ESP scholarly literature both in Europe and worldwide.

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