



HAL
open science

Attitudes to English in the French Workplace

Amanda Leistiko

► **To cite this version:**

Amanda Leistiko. Attitudes to English in the French Workplace. Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. dumas-01345979

HAL Id: dumas-01345979

<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-01345979>

Submitted on 18 Jul 2016

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



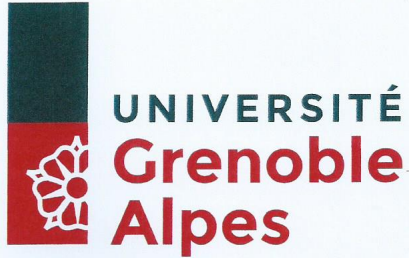
Attitudes to English in the French Workplace

LEISTIKO

Amanda

Sous la direction de Mohamed Benrabah
UFR de Langues étrangères
Langues littéraires et civilisations étrangères

Mémoire de master 2 recherche
Spécialité: Etudes Anglophones
Année universitaire 2014-2015



Déclaration anti-plagiat
Document à **scanner** après signature
et à **intégrer** au mémoire électronique

DECLARATION

1. Ce travail est le fruit d'un travail personnel et constitue un document original.
2. Je sais que prétendre être l'auteur d'un travail écrit par une autre personne est une pratique sévèrement sanctionnée par la loi.
3. Personne d'autre que moi n'a le droit de faire valoir ce travail, en totalité ou en partie, comme le sien.
4. Les propos repris mot à mot à d'autres auteurs figurent entre guillemets (citations).
5. Les écrits sur lesquels je m'appuie dans ce mémoire sont systématiquement référencés selon un système de renvoi bibliographique clair et précis.

NOM : LEISTIKO PRENOM : Amanda

DATE : 21/06/2016 SIGNATURE :

*Amanda
LEISTIKO*

Abstract

The primary objective of this research is to examine French workers' attitudes to the use of English as a common corporate language within multinational workplace contexts. Due to a lack of research in this particular domain in France, this thesis aims to investigate the development of certain language attitudes to English in the scope of language-related problems that may arise within multinational companies implanted in France. In this manner, the author conducted a combination of theoretical, quantitative and qualitative studies aimed at investigating the variability of French workers' attitudes to English according to their personal experiences as English learners and users within the French, European and international cultures that co-exist within multinational enterprises.

The data emanating from the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this research suggest that French workers are generally positive in orientation to the use of English as a common corporate language in the workplace context. What is more, the outcomes of this research indicate that French workers' dispositions to communication in English are highly dependent on both the varying linguistic backgrounds of their interlocutors, and on their individual experiences as members of French and international communities. As French workers' attitudes appear to be directly related to the workplace context itself, the author recommends further research in this domain in order to better account for French workers' linguistic needs in French corporate language policies.

List of Figures

Figure 1. Kachru’s Three Concentric Circles Model.....14
Figure 2. Modiano’s EIL Model.....16

List of Tables

Table 1. Means of responses from all respondents.....101
Table 2. Means of responses from the 18-25 age group.....103
Table 3. Means of responses from the 26-35 age group.....104
Table 4. Means of responses from the 36-45 age group.....105
Table 5. Means of responses from the 46+ age group.....106
Table 6. Means of responses from female respondents.....107
Table 7. Means of responses from male respondents.....108

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	3
List of Figures	
List of Tables.....	4
Table of Contents.....	5
CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION.....	7
I.1 Statement of problem.....	7
I.2 Research method.....	8
I.3 Research related questions and hypotheses.....	9
CHAPTER II- THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH AS A COMMON CORPORATE LANGUAGE.....	11
II.1.1 The emergence of a global language.....	12
II.1.2 Models of World Englishes.....	14
II.1.2.1 Kachru’s “three-circle” model.....	14
II.1.2.2 Modiano’s English as an international language (EIL) model.....	16
II.1.2.3 The English as a lingua franca (ELF) model.....	17
II.1.2.4 Translingual practice.....	19
II.1.3 English as a common corporate language in multinational companies.....	21
II.2.1 The spread of English in Europe.....	25
II.2.2 English as a common corporate language in Europe.....	31
II.3.1 French: <i>la langue de la république</i>	34
II.3.2 The spread of English in France.....	36
II.3.3 English as a common corporate language in France.....	42
CHAPTER III- LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY.....	47
III.1 Identity.....	49
III.2 Language.....	51
III.3 Linguistic identity.....	53
III.4 Linguistic identity: negotiating identity within the limits of France, the European Union, and the global community.....	56
CHAPTER IV- ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE.....	62
IV.1 Defining language attitudes.....	62
IV.2 Motivation and language attitudes.....	68
IV.3 Standard language ideology and purist attitudes.....	72
IV.4 The native speaker as model and interlocutor.....	74
CHAPTER V- RESEARCH METHOD: QUALITATIVE APPROACH.....	77
V.1 Respondents.....	77
V.2 Materials and procedure.....	78
V.2.1 Procedure.....	78
V.2.2 Questionnaire.....	79
V.2.2.1 Questionnaire format.....	79
V.3 Results and discussion.....	80
V.3.1 Attitudes to communication in English in the workplace.....	80

V.3.1.1 Age.....	83
V.3.1.2 Gender.....	85
V.3.2 Notions of correctness in English in the workplace.....	86
V.3.3 Self-evaluation of one’s use of English in the workplace.....	93
 CHAPTER VI- RESEARCH METHOD: QUANTITATIVE APPROACH.....	96
VI.1 Respondents.....	96
VI.2 Materials and procedure.....	96
VI.2.1 Procedure.....	96
VI.2.2 Questionnaire.....	97
VI.2.3 Questionnaire format.....	98
VI.3 Results and discussion.....	99
VI.3.1 Attitudes to communication in English in the workplace.....	99
VI.3.1.1 Age.....	102
VI.3.1.2 Gender.....	105
VI.3.2 Notions of correctness in English in the workplace.....	108
VI.3.2.1 Age.....	110
VI.3.2.2 Gender.....	111
VI.3.3 Self-evaluation of one’s use of English in the workplace.....	111
VI.3.3.1 Age.....	112
VI.3.3.2 Gender.....	113
VI.3.4 Identity.....	113
VI.3.4.1 Age.....	113
VI.3.4.2 Gender.....	113
 CHAPTER VII- CONCLUSION.....	115
VII.1 Answers to research questions.....	115
VII.1.1 Research question 1.....	115
VII.1.2 Research question 2.....	116
VII.1.3 Research question 3.....	117
VII.1.4 Research question 4.....	118
VII.2 Conclusion (with implications for further research).....	118
 References.....	120
Appendix.....	131

Chapter I. Introduction

The motivation for this research principally came from my experience working as an English teacher in various international companies in France. As I had the opportunity to speak with different students about their practice of English in the workplace, I discovered that the students' perceptions of their use of English widely varied depending on the speakers themselves, as well as the interlocutors with whom they regularly communicated in English. Moreover, many of these students noted that they had learned the majority of their English within the workplace context, as it had been many years since they studied it as a foreign language in school. Through these discussions, it became clear that their needs for English, as well as their attitudes to English, were largely dependent on the workplace context. After having conducted preliminary research in the practice of English as a common corporate language in France, it was clear that little language attitudes research had been conducted in this specific context. What is more, it appeared that the research that had been previously conducted in this particular area of study did not consider the speakers as individual learners/users of English. It thus became clear that further research was needed that focused on the French speaker as an individual EFL learner with a unique identity. Following this line of thinking, it was determined that this research would focus on the practice of English as a common corporate language in multinational companies, as well as on the notion that French speakers are EFL learners/users who belong to several cultures: France, the European Union and their international work environment.

1.1 Statement of problem

The primary objective of this research was to study the development of language attitudes to English within the workplace context. As such, focus was placed on the way in which French workers may perceive the use of English as a common corporate language, and how their attitudes to the use of English may change according to their personal experiences as English learners/users. Focusing on the notion that French workers belong to different cultures, it was the premise of this research that French workers who use English as a common corporate language in the workplace may develop certain attitudes that reflect their French national identities, European identities and international identities as workers within international companies. In this way, it was the

focus of this research to examine whether or not French workers have adopted certain “global” attitudes to English that reflect their experiences using English in more international contexts in which English is used as a common language of communication between speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

In order to examine these attitudes to English in a more comprehensive manner, the variables of age and gender were chosen to test for any variation in French workers’ attitudes. As the processes of internationalization that first prompted the use of English as a common language of communication were fairly recent, it was the conjecture of this research that a certain generational gap exists in attitudes to English, with the younger generation being more positive in orientation to the use of English. In addition to age, gender was chosen as a variable to see if any variation in attitudes occurs between male and female workers in the French workplace.

1.2 Research method

A combination of qualitative, quantitative and theoretical research was employed to investigate these research aims. For the qualitative research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with six participants who worked in multinational companies in the greater Grenoble area. In order to test for variation in these attitudes, three men and three women from different age groups were selected to participate in the interviews. The questionnaire used in these interviews was developed in respect to the results obtained during the pilot research study in which the researcher recorded a class discussion with advanced adult students regarding the use of English as a *lingua franca* (see Appendix A for the transcript of this discussion). Based on the results obtained during the pilot study, it appeared that many of the students who worked in international companies had developed more “global” attitudes to English in which they considered that non-native speakers did not necessarily need to speak like native speakers to speak English correctly. However, this same pilot study also revealed that the students unanimously determined correctness in English in terms of native speaker standards. As such, it seemed that while the students had developed certain attitudes relating to their experience of using English as a common language of communication, they still retained certain purist attitudes to language that most likely originated from their experiences as EFL learners in France.

Due to the success of the pilot study, many of the same questions were adapted for the qualitative and quantitative research questionnaires.

Following the qualitative research interviews, an online questionnaire was distributed through social media to 99 French workers who used English as a common corporate language in the workplace in order to confirm the results obtained during the qualitative research. The questions included in this questionnaire were largely based on the qualitative research questionnaire despite a few minor changes.

In the aim of establishing a more comprehensive theoretical framework for the measurement of the attitudes to language that may develop as a result of *lingua franca* communication in the French workplace, the theoretical research discussed in this thesis focuses on two primary notions: (1) French employees are users of *lingua franca* English in international companies, and (2) French employees are also individual learners who have unique experiences related to the use of English, and different levels of competency in the language. With the purpose of examining the first of these two notions, Chapter 2 focuses on the spread of English as a common corporate language within the global, regional and local spheres, as well as any linguistic issues that may arise within these diverse communicative situations. Concerning the second of these two notions, Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the view that French workers are individual learners/users of English who have developed different linguistic identities and language attitudes within the different communities in which they belong.

1.3 Research related questions and hypotheses

The aforementioned qualitative, quantitative and theoretical research will serve to examine the following research questions:

1. What attitudes to communication in English have French workers developed in the workplace context?

Hypothesis: French workers are more comfortable speaking with non-native speakers yet certain linguistic barriers exist in this communication due to their interlocutors' varying levels of competency and accents. It is expected that French workers will be less comfortable communicating with native speakers, as they will be more conscious of their practice of the language in front of these speakers. Moreover, it is expected that French

workers will have experienced feelings of anxiety and incompetency during meetings in English, especially for older workers who have a lower proficiency in English.

2. What attitudes to correctness in English have French workers developed in the workplace?

Hypothesis: Based on the results obtained from the pilot study, it is expected that French workers will consider that it is acceptable to make certain errors when speaking in English, as they will have experienced through their practice of English in the workplace that they can make errors and still be understood. It is expected, however, that French workers will maintain that certain deviations from the norm in English are errors and not variants of English. As such, it is projected that there will be a discrepancy between their attitudes to correctness that results from their experiences as English language learners and users of *lingua franca* English in the workplace. Finally, it is expected that French workers will define correctness in English in terms of standard native speaker norms.

3. How do French workers perceive their own practice of English in the workplace?

Hypothesis: It is expected that French speakers will tend to under-evaluate their skills in English if they consider that “correct English” means speaking like a native speaker.

4. What are French workers’ primary motivations for learning and using English? Do they desire to adopt an Anglophone identity by speaking English?

Hypothesis: It is expected that French workers will be negative in orientation to the notion that they learn English to adopt Anglophone identities. It is projected that this will be the case, as both global and French cultures exist within the workplace for which English and French serve different roles.

In order to acquire a better understanding of French workers' attitudes to English in the French workplace, it is important to recognize that French workers may belong to global, regional (European) and local (French) cultures as they are now increasingly being brought into contact with colleagues and clients from different corners of the world that extend beyond the nation-state boundaries of France. As a result of this increased international contact, "non-geographical" communities have developed within multinational workplaces in which English serves as the *lingua franca* for colleagues from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In an effort to account for these changes in international workplace communication, as well as the attitudes that may develop as a result of these changes, the spread of English as a common means of communication will be examined in terms of the global, regional and local spheres. As such, each section of this chapter will focus on the functional range of English in these different spheres to better understand how French workers may use English in different contexts, and what linguistic issues may arise during communication in these different communicative situations.

As multinational companies are international by nature, case studies about English use in various international companies and World Englishes models will be used to outline the realities of *lingua franca* communication in English: the shifts in practice of this type of communication, and the speakers who are generally involved in this type of communication. With regard to the regional sphere (the European Union), focus will be placed on the increasing use of English as a *lingua franca* as a result of the enlargement of the European Union and the free movement of workers between E.U countries. Given the particular nature of France in terms of language policy aimed at protecting the French language, the discussion of the local sphere will focus on the strong link between the French language and French culture, as well as on how French authorities have historically strived to protect the French language in the midst of an increasingly globalized world in which English is the de facto international language. By examining these different spheres, it is the aim of this research to see if any difference in the practice of English exists between these spheres, and if so, what effect this may have on French employees' perceptions of English as a common corporate language in French workplaces. In this way, it is the objective of this research to understand how English

functions as a language of communication in multilingual/multicultural workplace contexts and how this may shape French workers' identities and attitudes to language.

II.1.1 *The emergence of a global language*

The recent emergence of English as a global language ultimately owes itself to two fundamental shifts in the historical spread of English. Whereas the first shift in the status of English is commonly attributed to British colonialism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the shift in English as a global language is notably attributed to the rise in political and economic power of English-speaking countries, and principally of the United States, after 1945 (De Swaan 2001: 17). Concerning this shift in power, Oakes (2001: 149) notes that it was indeed the “technological, economic, military and cultural dominance of the USA which has made English such a popular choice for a global language”. It is noteworthy here to mention that this rise in power was subsequently followed by the introduction of mass communication and increased supranational mobility and commerce that has characterized the current globalized world (Crystal 2003: 13). As a result, the current spread of English has moved beyond these historical spreads to assume a more global character in which English now functions as a common means of communication, or *lingua franca*, for speakers around the world (Jenkins 2006: 75).

Has English then become the global language for a new global community? Referring to the emergence of a global community in recent years, Oakes (2001: 148) points out that some scholars now “highlight the increasing irrelevance of the nation-state in a world characterised by mass travel and migration, global telecommunication systems, regional power blocs and transnational economic corporations”. In a similar discussion, Brumfit (1995: 16) argues that as a result of globalization, speakers around the world now belong to a sort of “international community” in which language is no longer bound to the nation-state (as cited in Jenkins 2009b: 38). Seidlhofer (2006: 211) notes that these international communities differ from local speech communities in that they are often “referred to as discourse communities with a common communicative purpose”. The use of English to satisfy the needs of such an international community, or international communities, is exemplified by the way in which English “now enjoys a

high status” in domains such as “international relations, media and entertainment, communications, science and technology, education, international travel and safety, etc.” in many non-English-speaking countries (Oakes 2001: 152). Crystal (2003: 12) notes that this recent use of English as an international *lingua franca* initially owes itself, in part, to the “official or working” status that English has held in most international organizations since the Second World War (the World Bank, UNESCO and UNICEF, the World Health Organization, etc.).

As such, it should come at no surprise that non-native speakers of English now “heavily outnumber its native speakers” (Graddol 1997, 1999; Crystal 2003, as cited in Jenkins 2010: 75). In support of this notion, Jenkins cites Benecke (1991: 54) to suggest that, “80 per cent of communication involving non-native speakers of English involves no native speakers at all (op.cit). Therefore, despite the initial spread of English as a result of English-speaking countries, certain scholars (Widdowson 1994; Ammon 2003) now hold that the “ownership of *lingua franca* English has shifted to its NNSs” (op.cit). In reference to the vast number of non-native speakers of English and the resulting future of English, De Swaan (2001: 17) argues that:

Even if the economic and political power of the English-speaking nations, the United States foremost among them, were to dwindle, most probably English would continue to function as the pivot of the global language constellation for a long time.

De Swaan (op.cit) goes on to note that this “linguistic inertia” is entirely due to the fact that speakers must exert a “major effort to acquire a new language”, and that a “language once learned is not all that easily forgotten or abandoned”. While this research is not particularly interested in the future status of English, nor in the future status of non-native speakers of English, these arguments nevertheless bring up relevant points regarding the shifting function and status of English as a common means of communication among non-native speakers around the world. To explore these points in more depth, it is next essential to discuss four influential models and orientations in the global spread of English: Kachru’s (1985) “three-circle” model, Modiano’s (1999) “English as an international language (EIL)” model, Jenkins’ (2009a; 2009b) “English as a *lingua franca*” model and Canagarajah’s (2013) “translingual practice” orientation.

II.1.2 Models of World Englishes

As Canagarajah (2013: 56) aptly states, an examination of models of World Englishes is crucial for understanding the way in which English has been experiencing “further changes in relation to the diverse new languages and communities it has been coming into contact with” in the recent postcolonial and postmodern world. In order to accurately examine these changes, it is first essential to define three basic categories of English that are central to each model, or orientation in the case of “translingual practice”: English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL). The first, English as a native language, represents the English that is spoken in countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States where English is the primary language employed by most of the population. The term English as a second language is used in reference to the English spoken in countries where English plays an important role in the internal functioning of the state, yet it is not the first language of the population at large. These countries tend to be ex-colonies of the United States and the United Kingdom such as Nigeria, India, Malaysia and the Philippines. Lastly, English as a foreign language refers to the English spoken in countries such as China, Indonesia and Japan where English is not employed in day-to-day life, and where English is primarily learned and used in the classroom context (Kirkpatrick 2007: 27). It is important here to note, however, that these descriptions reflect the most basic definitions of the Englishes spoken around the world. As will be discussed, certain scholars have recently exposed limitations in these terms, as there now exists many “grey areas” in the global use of English.

II.1.2.1 Kachru’s “three-circle” model

Out of the four models/orientations to be examined, Kachru’s (1985) “three-circle” model is perhaps the most prominent in sociolinguistic research. For Kachru’s model (see Figure 1), the Englishes of the world are separated into three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding circle. These three circles refer to “the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts” (Jenkins 2009b: 18). Jenkins (op.cit) goes on to add that the positioning of Kachru’s concentric circles highlights the way in which English first spread from Britain to the other ENL countries (the Inner Circle), then to the ESL

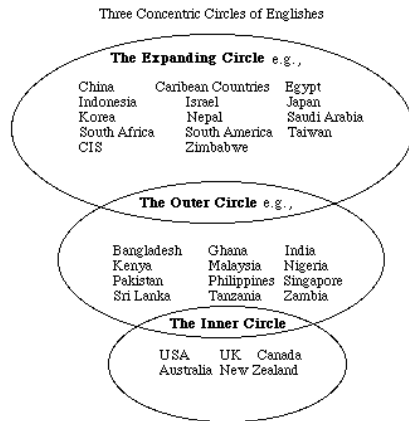


Figure 1. Kachru's three-circle model.
Adapted from Kachru 1992: 356

countries (the outer circle), and finally to the EFL countries (the Expanding Circle) in recent years. Qualifying the Englishes spoken in these three circles, Inner circle English (ENL) is said to be “norm-providing”, whereas the Englishes spoken in the Outer Circle (ESL) and the Expanding circle (EFL) are said to be “norm-developing” and “norm-dependent”, respectively (op.cit).

However influential Kachru's “three-circle” model has proven to be in valorizing new varieties of English, some scholars have recently argued that Kachru's model does not fully represent the complexity of English use today (*ibid.*: 20). Canagarajah (2013: 58) points out that as Kachru's model is constructed “in terms of nation-states”, it does not “go far enough in pluralizing English or reflecting the dynamic changes in communicative practices”. In addition, Jenkins (2009b: 20) holds that Kachru's model does not account for the numerous bilingual or multilingual World English speakers who use different languages for different aspects of life. She goes on to add that this reality problematizes our ability to define languages in terms of L1, L2, L3, etc. (op.cit). Finally, both Jenkins (2009b: 21) and Canagarajah (2013: 60) take issue with Kachru's treatment of norms in World Englishes. To this end, Canagarajah (op.cit) points out that this model “perceives the local varieties in other communities as emerging from one original variety belonging to native speakers and the Inner Circle”. For Jenkins (op.cit), Kachru's “three-circle” model suggests that all the countries in a given circle speak the same variety of English. She argues that the labeling of Englishes in this manner does not properly reflect the linguistic diversity present in different countries (op.cit). As

such, all of these evaluations are pertinent to this research in that they highlight the need to consider English use in a more plural way that represents both the diversity of speakers and of communicative practices.

II.1.2.2 Modiano's *English as an international language (EIL) model*

In an attempt to cut ties with the historical and geographical foundations that serve as a basis for Kachru's "three-circle" model, Modiano's (1999) English as an international language model focuses on speakers' proficiency in English as an international language. For his model (see Figure 2), the central circle refers to competency in English as an international language (EIL), or a "common core of features" (The Common Core) that are understood by both native and non-native speakers of English. His second circle represents those features of English varieties that have not become concretely comprehensible to both sets of speakers, and those that may never become comprehensible. Thirdly, the outer five circles indicate five groups (American English, British English, other major varieties, local varieties and foreign varieties) that all exhibit features specific to their respective speech communities (Jenkins 2009b: 22-3). It is important here to point out Modiano's move to represent the spread of English in terms of international use rather than in terms of nation-state boundaries. It could thus be argued that this change highlights an evolution toward a more practice-based focus in recent spread of English models that emphasizes the use of English as a common means of communication for native and non-native speakers alike.

As with Kachru's "three-circle" model, Modiano's model has not been privy to criticism. For Pennycook (2010: 82), Modiano's EIL model "simply adds to the number of varieties in English" and thus contributes to the "enumerative strategy of counting languages" (as cited in Canagarajah 2013: 62). Moreover, Canagarajah (2013: 62) argues that Modiano's model is similarly "norms-based" in that it "treats grammatical norms as the criterion for identifying self-contained varieties". Canagarajah (op.cit) goes on to point out that the EIL model highlights the way in which scholars consistently look toward varieties to "solve the problem of global contact". He suggests that the fact that scholars see the need to codify another variety "raises the same

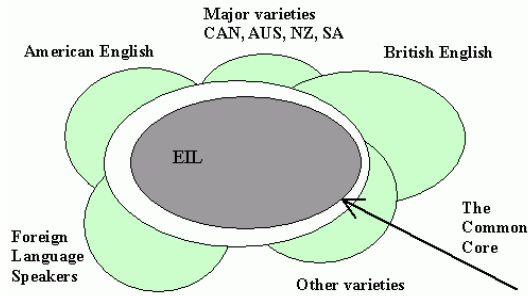


Figure 2. Modiano’s English as an international language model.
Adapted from Modiano 1999: 10.

questions of power and hegemony that motivated people to localize and appropriate English in the first place” (op.cit). As these arguments primarily focus on the issue of norms in English use, they help to demonstrate the problems that are now central to the questions of linguistic equality and intelligibility in international English communication. Furthermore, it appears that while Modiano’s primary motivation was to simply find a common footing for competent native and non-native speakers of English, his model ultimately highlights the desire to codify a higher norm to which English speakers should adhere (see Sections III.3 and IV.4 for a more detailed discussion of this concept).

II.1.2.3 *The English as a lingua franca (ELF) model*

Jenkins’ (2009a: 200) model aims at rectifying any issues that may result from the separation of English varieties by considering that all local English varieties are legitimate in their own right. She notes that by using the term *lingua franca*, her model refers to a “specific communication context” in which English is the “common language of choice among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds” (op.cit). In this way, Seidlhofer (2006: 211) defines English as a *lingua franca* as “a language of secondary socialisation”: “a means of wider communication to conduct transactions outside one’s primary social space and speech community”. Jenkins (2009a: 201) notes that this type of communication often occurs between non-native speakers from the Expanding circle, due to the fact that they vastly outnumber native speakers of English. Drawing on this reality, Jenkins points out that the English as a *lingua franca* model presupposes that Inner Circle speakers “do not set the linguistic agenda”, and that all

speakers must make “adjustments” to their English variety when engaging in *lingua franca* communication (op.cit).

In an effort to facilitate *lingua franca* communication in English, proponents of the English as a *lingua franca* model have worked to establish “ELF’s common ground”: a common core of features that include both ENL linguistic forms and non-ENL forms that have developed through ELF contact (op.cit). Jenkins, drawing on data obtained from the VOICE project (the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), identifies some of these non-ENL forms as: “the countable use of nouns that in ENL are considered uncountable (informations, advices), and the zero marking of third person singular –s in present tense verbs” (op.cit). In addition to the identification of these non-ENL features, Jenkins (2006: 76) has recently presented the Lingua Franca Core (LFC): a “revised pronunciation syllabus which targets for production those features of GA (General American) and RP (Received Pronunciation)” that are fundamental for intelligibility in ELF communication. By identifying those features of ENL pronunciation that are necessary for mutual intelligibility, Jenkins intended to legitimize certain recurring non-native speaker deviations as part and parcel of their “respective NNS accent variety” (*ibid.*: 77). Jenkins (*ibid.*: 77) notes that her ultimate aim in this research was to “resolve the conflict between the need for international intelligibility and respect of the (perceived) desire of many non-native speakers to project their L1 identity in their L2 English pronunciation” (op.cit).

Similar to criticism regarding Modiano’s model, some scholars have argued that the English as a *lingua franca* model is simply another attempt to standardize a variety of English. Fiedler (2010: 210) notes that scholars like Prodromou (2008) criticize the attempt to standardize an ELF variety when, in fact, “the use of English as a *lingua franca* in the expanding circle is extraordinarily heterogeneous”. She goes on to point out that as speakers are inherently heterogeneous, they will always exhibit varying levels of “non-nativeness” (op.cit). It is thus difficult to ascertain common features among a group of speakers when speakers have different levels of competency. Some scholars (Sobkowiak 2005) go so far as to regard ELF as an interlanguage in which errors are the norm (Jenkins 2009a: 203). With respect to this consideration of ELF, Fiedler (2010: 209) states that is difficult for scholars of English, as well as teachers and

students, to accept ELF when “native-speaker-like proficiency has traditionally been the measure of achievement in language learning”. While it is not the purpose of this research to use these critiques to either argue in favor of or against the EFL model, they, like the criticism concerning the previous two models, help to illustrate the perception of English use in the Expanding Circle. In this case, all of these arguments seem to converge at the notion that regardless of the numerical strength of non-native speakers, many speakers continue to regard ENL varieties as prestigious in the Expanding Circle. Such arguments thus provide insight into language attitudes relating to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy in the regional and local spheres.

II.1.2.4 *Translingual practice*

Whereas the previous three spread of English theories can be concretely characterized as models, Canagarajah (2013: 6) prefers to consider his notion of “translingual practice” as an orientation. Canagarajah (*ibid.*: 6-8) notes that, as “communication transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources”, translingual practice rather focuses on speakers’ “strategies of engaging with diverse codes” that may shift “according to the contextual expectations”. With respect to these “diverse codes”, he suggests that the communicative situation, or the “translocal space”, should be characterized as “polycentric” in that “multiple language norms can co-exist without affecting intelligibility and communication” (*ibid.*: 161). Canagarajah (*op.cit*) refers to data obtained from his qualitative study of 65 respondents from Sub-Saharan Africa to point out that speakers will “adopt a range of interactional strategies to get their message across” rather than “shifting to one norm” or “focusing on correctness of form”. In this way, he concludes that, “the skill that is most valued in these spaces is the ability to shuttle across norms” (*ibid.*: 162). The key element here to focus on is that, as the codes in any given communicative situation are varied and highly dependent on the communicative context, speakers will instead draw on different communicative strategies to ensure that the message is transmitted. As previously expressed, for Canagarajah, the purpose of communication ultimately surpasses local English norms as the “translocal space” is defined by accommodation (*ibid.* 163).

As such, Canagarajah (*ibid.*: 56) argues that World Englishes models place more emphasis on English varieties than on issues of communication. To this end, he notes that these models “treat these varieties as having separate identities, which are located in unique speech communities” (op.cit). Such a view, for Canagarajah, ignores issues surrounding communication that transcend the “varieties of each community that the dominant models are unable to explore effectively” (op.cit). To illustrate this point, he goes on to argue that World Englishes models are not able to accurately account for the fact that individuals “represent their own identities, negotiate unequal power relationships, and still manage to use English to get their inter-community relationships accomplished” (op.cit). Canagarajah (op.cit) concludes by suggesting that translingual practice makes “a neutral variety” obsolete given that speakers will “adopt negotiation strategies to retain their difference and still communicate with each other”. It is noteworthy here to mention that, in this way, Canagarajah’s orientation moves past the “norms-based” concerns of previous World Englishes models to focus on the communicative event itself. It thus appears that, for him, the heterogeneity of speakers in no way hinders communication, and should in fact be treated as the norm in today’s “transnational, supralocal, and cosmopolitan” world.

In short, the evolution in World Englishes models and orientations illustrates the changes that have occurred in the communicative practice between English speakers (NNS and NS) around the world. The fact that many scholars are now focusing on this more practice-based conception of English clearly demonstrates the functional role that English plays in today’s globalized world. Moreover, both the theories and critiques concerning these models/orientations expose a desire to account for these new uses of English, as well as to facilitate the communication that occurs between speakers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As such, these theories raise several linguistic issues that are critical to bear in mind when considering the use of English as a common language of communication in the Expanding Circle: the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy, speaker identity, adherence to NS standard norms, linguistic inequality and intelligibility. As this research is primarily concerned with *lingua franca* communication within international workplaces in France, it is next essential to examine the extent to which these same linguistic issues occur in the workplace context, and how

these linguistic issues may define the French speaker's experience using English for their work.

II.1.3 *English as a common corporate language in multinational companies*

Although multinational companies (MNCs) have existed for over a century, Larçon (2011: 1) states that both their number and economic power have increased since the 1970s. He goes on to note that those multinationals born after the 1970s represent a “new generation” of MNCs. In the context of globalization, this new generation of multinational companies has become increasingly “transnational” in character as many multinational companies now conduct the majority of their business outside of the country of origin. To exemplify this fact, Larçon points out that companies such as ABB (Swiss), Nokia (Finnish) and Pernod Ricard (France) conduct 90 percent of their general activities overseas. As a result, managers in multinational companies are now faced with the challenge of learning how to effectively manage various factories, distribution networks and employees across geographically diverse work sites (op.cit). As communication is central to these efforts, many multinational companies have been recently confronted with complex linguistic problems. D.E Welch *et al.* (2001: 195) note that in an effort to “operate internationally as a single entity”, many companies are choosing a common corporate language “to facilitate the transfer of information and internal communication between headquarters and subsidiaries, and among subsidiaries”. In this way, multinational companies can be considered as international “discourse communities” in which employees have a common communicative purpose.

What role does English play in this move to adopt a common corporate language in multinational companies? D.E Welch *et al.* (op.cit) state that as English is often employed as “a type of *lingua franca*” in international business, many multinational companies are now choosing English as their official corporate language. They further state that the spread of English as a *lingua franca* for international business has led to a situation where “the ability to speak and understand English is among the most important factors explaining the trading volume of a country” (*ibid.*: 204). To this end, Neeley (2012: 3) argues that in order “to survive and thrive in a global economy,

companies must overcome language barriers – and English will almost always be the common ground”.

Neeley (*ibid.*: 4-5) recognizes that there are three fundamental reasons why English is often adopted as a corporate language to overcome communication problems in multinational companies. She first notes that as multinational companies are under “competitive pressure” to augment their commercial activities in different markets, a common language such as English enables employees “to communicate with a diverse range of customers, suppliers, and other business partners”. Secondly, Neeley states that the use of English is “vital to good decision making” as it allows for employees to receive “firsthand information”. Finally, Neeley notes that a common language such as English reduces comprehension problems that may arise during transnational mergers and acquisitions (*op.cit.*). As such, these examples highlight the functional range of English in establishing common ground among employees across diverse work sites.

Case studies regarding the implementation of corporate language policy in different multinationals similarly help to better understand the role that English may play in a company’s general activities. To this end, Thomas (2007: 82) claims that the study of the corporate context offers insight into “unique multilingual societies” that are becoming commonplace in today’s globalized world. For him, this notion is exemplified by the fact that many global subsidiaries consist of both expatriates and local employees who often use several different languages in the workplace (*ibid.*: 84). In their case study of German multinational Siemens, Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen & Piekkari (2006) discovered that this practice of using different languages for different tasks was quite common within the company (as cited in Harzing and Pudelko 2013: 3). According to their study, both English, the official corporate language, and German were often employed among Siemens employees (*op.cit.*). Larçon (2011: 3) notes that this type of multilingualism appears to be highly valued at Siemens as one of their hiring criteria is “*la maîtrise de deux à trois langues dont l’anglais*”. One can thus conclude here that while English functions as the official “linking” language for Siemens employees at-large, employees will often practice different languages in different contexts.

However, some companies such as Japanese multinational Rakuten have implemented strict English-only corporate language policies in an effort to ensure the quality of communication in their international operations (Neeley 2012: 2). As such, Neeley (op.cit) notes that in 2010 Rakuten changed the language of all company materials to English in order to enforce their English-only policy. In addition to this, Rakuten CEO, Hiroshi Mikitani, informed employees that they would need to “demonstrate competence on an international English scoring system within two years – or risk demotion or even dismissal” (op.cit). As a result of this corporate language policy, Neeley (*ibid.*: 3) states that:

Half of Rakuten’s Japanese employees now can adequately engage in internal communication in English, and 25% communicate in English with partners and coworkers in foreign subsidiaries on a regular basis.

While it can be said that both Rakuten and Siemens officially implemented corporate language policies in which English was designated as the common corporate language, it is apparent that the practice of these two language policies differs greatly. Both case studies, however, clearly demonstrate the use of English as a communicative tool to connect diverse aspects of a multinational’s global operations.

Whether strictly enforced as a company’s corporate language or used in a more multilingual context, the use of English as a *lingua franca* for international business may pose several problems for NNS employees in multinational companies. Thomas (2007: 86) notes that the use of English as a common corporate language may trigger certain linguistic barriers between employees (Thomas 2007: 86). In their case study of Finnish multinational Kone Elevators, Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002: 17) found that ‘a large proportion of English transactions take place between non-native speakers of English (NNS), with native speaker (NS) transactions clearly in the minority’ (as cited in Thomas 2007: 86). As a result, they noted that the speakers’ differing levels of competency in English often complicated communication between non-native speakers (op.cit). However, regardless of the occasional difficulty in comprehension, Palo (1997), in a study of Finnish multinational companies, discovered that non-native speakers preferred to speak with other non-native speakers when using English as a common corporate language (*ibid.*: 87). This conclusion may point to a more significant linguistic

divide between NS and NNS in corporate communication. Overall, Neeley (2012: 7) notes that linguistic barriers may impact an employee's self-confidence by stating that non-native speakers sometimes "feel that their worth to the company has been diminished, regardless of their fluency level" when they communicate in English. Such cases thus highlight the way in which linguistic barriers arising from the use of English as a corporate language may negatively impact both the quality of communication between employees and employees' self-confidence.

The use of English as a common corporate language may also lead to power imbalances between employees if certain employees are more at ease with the language. Harzing and Pudelko (2013: 3) note that as headquarter managers are generally more competent in the corporate language, "the power of HQ is reinforced through the choice of corporate language". Discrepancies in English competency may also incite "power-authority distortion" between non-Anglophone headquarters and Anglophone subsidiaries (*ibid.*: 4). In a more general sense, Harzing and Pudelko (*op.cit*) state that "power-authority distortion" may occur in any situation where "subsidiary managers have a greater facility than headquarter managers" in the corporate language. D.E Welch *et al.* (2001: 198) found in their study of Kone Elevators that language competency considerably increased the power of certain individuals regardless of their position. They noted that this was particularly true for Kone Elevators subsidiaries (*op.cit*). As such, it appears that the same factors (competency in the corporate language, etc.) leading to linguistic barriers in the workplace may similarly lead to power imbalances between employees.

In order to overcome such linguistic issues in multinational companies, some scholars suggest that managers should valorize and adapt to the inherent diversity of their employees. To achieve this, Dhir and Goké-Pariola (2002: 249) argue that managers should be aware of the importance of multilingualism in their operations (as cited in Thomas 2007: 96). They go on to suggest that managers should avoid the "English-only" route by instead choosing a corporate language policy that would indicate what language to use in different contexts (*op.cit*). Larçon (2011: 3) similarly points out that the adoption of a common language such as English does not necessarily need to result in the loss of other languages. To this end, Larçon encourages managers

to recognize that their employees belong to two or several cultures: “*une forte culture commune d’entreprise qui cherche à transcender les nationalités*” and “*une ou plusieurs cultures nationales ou regionales qui participent fortement à la vitalité de l’ensemble*” (*ibid.*: 4). It is essential to note here that Larçon appears to evoke the notion that employees in multinational companies have global, regional and local identities that are negotiated within the workplace context.

These suggestions, as well as the case studies of Siemens and Rakuten, seem to all underline the diversity of both employees and communicative events in multinational companies. As such, it seems that the same linguistic diversity that first encouraged the adoption of English as a common corporate language has also led to the emergence of complex communicative situations in which the contact between English speakers (both NNS and NS) around the world is highly diverse and dynamic in terms of speaker and context. It is thus clear that as English fulfills a widespread range of functions in international companies, the shape and perception of this *lingua franca* English will often vary according to the users’ linguistic and cultural backgrounds, positions and competencies. For this reason, it is perhaps more efficient to consider, as Canagarajah (2013) urges, the use of English as a *lingua franca* in international business as “polycentric”. It is therefore essential to draw on certain “global” language problems that are raised in both World Englishes models and MNC case studies in order to have a better understanding of the language attitudes that may result from communicative practice in MNCs. Based on the aforementioned research, such issues appear to include: linguistic inequality resulting from differing levels of competency, adherence to NS standard norms in English use, and issues pertaining to speaker identity. The question then to consider is: to what extent do these same issues occur in regionally and locally situated MNCs?

II.2.1 *The spread of English in Europe*

The spread of English in Europe has been a relatively recent phenomenon. According to Hoffman (2000: 1), the use of English in Europe initially began “to gather momentum” after World War II. She goes on to note that this recent change in the status of English wholly owes itself to both the internationalization of Europe during the twentieth

century and the “increased use of English for a variety of communicative functions by non-native speakers” (*ibid.*: 1-2). Jenkins (2009a: 48) recognizes that this shift in the use of English has led to its recent emergence as the “de facto European lingua franca”. As a result of these changes, Hoffman (2000: 1-2) states that the spread of English in Europe has fostered “both societal and individual bilingualism and multilingualism” among many European citizens. For De Swaan (2001: 151), the fact that many Europeans have added English to their linguistic repertoires illustrates the development of a “state of diglossia” in Europe. Moreover, Hoffman (2000: 1) notes that the promotion of bilingualism and multilingualism at the European level has, in turn, encouraged two primary changes to “perceptions of language in Europe”: (1) “the recognition of indigenous minority languages” and (2) “a change in language behaviour and policy” (*op.cit.*).

The increasing use of English in Europe has encouraged many scholars to reassess the rapidly changing shape and function of English in European communication. Hoffman (*ibid.*: 6) notes that in its most basic form, the English spoken in Europe (apart from the United Kingdom) is best exemplified by Kachru’s “Expanding Circle” as it is primarily spoken as an additional language. She goes on to qualify European speakers of English as “those people who make up the international communities” that have been established in the forms of “international organisations, companies or institutions” (*op.cit.*). For Berns (1995), however, this view of English use in Europe is too simplistic as it does not take into account the “various social, commercial, educational and cultural functions” that English now fulfills in countries such as Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands (as cited in Rogerson-Revell 2007: 105). For this reason, Berns goes on to argue that these countries fall into both Kachru’s “Outer” and “Expanding Circles” (*op.cit.*). In line with this notion, Rogerson-Revell (2007: 105) asserts that many “recent uses of English for communication” in Europe “defy traditional geographical boundaries/uses”. She notes that this reality has stemmed from the increased transnational mobility of Europeans and the “growing opportunities for cross-border trade” (*op.cit.*).

To illustrate this recent “state of diglossia” for which English functions as the “de facto European *lingua franca*”, it is first essential to outline four fundamental levels of

communication in the European Union. De Swaan (2001: 145) notes that the first two levels of European communication, “domestic” and “transnational” communication, deal with communication between citizens and thus refer to “civil society”. The term “domestic communication” is used to describe communication that occurs within the boundaries of each EU member state. For this aspect of communication, the state language predominates in all areas and is often protected by the nation-state (op.cit). De Swaan (*ibid.*: 149) points out that, as of the nineteenth century, the official language in Europe has been “closely identified with the nation”. As such, he goes on to note that the official language is a “major marker of national identity” (op.cit). On the other hand, “transnational communication” refers to communication between European citizens, and thus communication that occurs outside of nation-state boundaries (*ibid.*: 145). De Swaan states that while large languages such as English, French and German “compete for predominance” at this level, English remains “paramount” (op.cit). As a result of the increasing status of English in “transnational” European communication, De Swaan (op.cit) notes that the “domestic” level has recently encountered an influx of English usage in various domains of society.

The third and fourth levels of European communication deal with both “formal” and “informal” communication within European institutions. De Swaan notes that the third level, “formal, public communication”, refers to the communication that occurs in the official sessions of the European Parliament and the European Council of Ministers, as well as in the external communication of the European Commission. For this level, all official communication follows stipulations as provided by the Maastricht Treaty, and thus “requires that decisions by the European Union should be published in all its languages, since they affect the laws of the constituent states” (op.cit). It should be noted that at the time of this research, twenty-four languages are officially recognized in the European Union (Eurostat 2013). Whereas all of these twenty-four languages are used in formal communication, several “working languages” have traditionally been employed for internal communication in the various European institutions (De Swaan 2001: 3).

The increasing status of English in European education demonstrates the spread of English in both the “domestic” and “transnational” levels of European communication,

and thus its prevalence in civil European society. Noting the importance of English in European education, Seidlhofer *et al.* (2006: 4) state that, “a certain command of English is closely comparable to that of reading and writing at the time of industrialization in Europe”. They go on to note that for this reason, competency in English “is considered an integral part of general education” (op.cit). This notion is made clear when considering the increase in English study among European students between 1998 and 2011. Oakes (2001: 134) notes that in 1998, Eurostat reported that 26 percent of non-Anglophone European students were learning English in primary school. He goes on to add that this number rose to 89 percent for students studying English in secondary school. According to Eurostat 2013, these figures have significantly risen as it was reported in 2011 that 75 percent of non-Anglophone students were studying English in primary school. Again, as opposed to 1998, the number of students studying English in secondary school rose to 93.8 percent in 2011 (op.cit). Moreover, Eurostat 2013 noted that in countries such as Malta, Spain, Austria, Italy, Greece, Croatia and Poland, 90 percent of students were learning English in primary school. Eurostat 2013 concluded their study by stating that the “relative importance of English” in Europe is “further magnified” by the fact that European students often have more schooling in their first foreign language than in any other.

The function of such English language skills in civil European communication is best represented by the increasing participation in European Union student exchange programs such as Erasmus. Oakes (2001: 134) notes that these programs have a clear relationship with language learning as they “contribute to the free movement of persons by directly or indirectly encouraging the learning of languages”. Transnational European mobility thus appears to be directly related to foreign language skills. Such European mobility appears to be on the rise as the European Union plans to increase the budgets of Erasmus+ subprograms, Erasmus and Leonardo da Vinci, by 40 percent between 2014 and 2020 (“Erasmus+ memo” 2013). Moreover, it appears that a record number of 250,000 European students participated in the Erasmus program during the 2011-2012 academic year (“Number of Erasmus students tops 3 million” 2013). As a result of the increasing interest in these programs, many European higher education establishments have responded to the needs of incoming exchange students by

proposing courses and degrees taught in English (Seidlhofer *et al.* 2006: 4). As such, one could conjecture that English language skills are considered vital for the free transnational movement of Europeans between member states. One could similarly conjecture that this recent increase in EFL learning and European contact in English, whether at home or abroad, may point to a generational gap in terms of English language skills in Europe.

At the bureaucratic level of European communication, English has been increasingly employed as a working language in the European Union, and now serves a primary communicative function in many European institutions. According to Oakes (2001: 131), language has been a central concern of the European Union since the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. In this respect, he notes that the EEC's Council of Ministers affirmed in 1958 that 'the official languages and the working languages of the Community shall be Dutch, French, German and Italian'; the state languages of the four member states at the time (Council of Ministers 1958: 385, as cited in Oakes 2001: 131). Despite this declaration, however, French was commonly employed as the primary working language for various aspects of EEC administration (De Swaan 2001: 153; Wright 2006: 40). The predominance of French was nevertheless tested in 1973 as the entry of Denmark and the United Kingdom ushered in the use of English as an additional EEC working language (*op.cit.*). The emerging position of English as a working language was further solidified with the entry of countries such as Sweden, Austria and Finland in 1995, and Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Cyprus and Malta in 2004 (De Swaan 2001: 156-7; Wright 2006: 40). Oakes (2001: 132) notes that these different "waves of enlargement" have led to a situation where "the EU has more official languages than any other international organisation". As English already functioned as a *lingua franca* for many of the new member states, it was considered to be the most viable solution for internal communication within this multilingual situation (Wright 2006: 40).

Due to the complexity of this situation, many European institutions such as the European Parliament and the European Central Bank have recently shifted to using English as *lingua franca* in order to both facilitate communication and reduce the costs of translation and interpretation (*ibid.*: 41). As such, these shifts in language use have

garnered attention from scholars who address the issue of language conflict within the European Union. Ammon (2006: 322) notes that in an effort to make communication more efficient in the EU, some scholars (van Els 2005; Habermas 1998) have argued in favor of implementing a “single institutional working language” as well as a “single lingua franca outside the institutions to enhance the growth of regional mobility and of a common public sphere”. Ammon (op.cit) goes on to state that while Esperanto, Latin and English have all been proposed as “candidates” for such a *lingua franca*, only English has been considered as a sustainable solution. For Habermas (1998: 105), the choice of English as a European *lingua franca* would not only facilitate the EU’s internal communication, but it would also serve to “denationalize the EU and spearhead the emerging epoch of ‘postnationalism’” (as cited in Ammon 2006: 322). Ammon (2006: 322) notes, however, that those proponents of multiple working languages such as Manz (2002) believe that “real democracy” is only possible “through parallel discourse in different languages”.

In addition to these arguments, the increasing status of English as a European Union working language has influenced much debate concerning linguistic equality among EU citizens. For van Els (2005: 276), the adoption of English as the sole working language in the European Union would be favorable for non-native speakers as they would eventually outnumber native speakers in terms of competence and thus obtain ‘ownership’ of the language (as cited in Ammon 2006: 328). He goes on to argue that this ‘appropriation of the working language by non-natives does not take place when there are two or more working languages’ (op.cit). It should be noted here that this same argument also highlights the potential for a power imbalance in favor of native English speakers if English were to be the sole EU working language. Moreover, “large language” communities such as Germany and France, worry that the use of English as the sole European *lingua franca* would be detrimental to the prestige of their respective languages (Ammon 2006: 329). Such countries argue that the loss of status of their language as a European working language would ultimately result in the “lowering” of the “international standing of their language” (op.cit). These arguments concerning language conflict and linguistic equality in the European Union appear to raise similar concerns as those expressed in regard to the spread of English in the global sphere. It

could thus be said that these concerns represent certain global issues regarding the expansion of English as an international language of communication in different communicative contexts.

Nevertheless, it seems that as English has been increasingly studied in European education and employed as a *lingua franca* in both civil and bureaucratic domains, the functional range of English in European communication will only continue to spread and diversify. As such, it is likely that English plays a similar communicative role in European professional contexts where the free movement of European workers across transnational borders has become the norm.

II.2.2 English as a common corporate language in Europe

As within the global sphere, the internationalization of European economies has brought English to the “professional lives of a growing number of Europeans” (Seidlhofer *et al.* 2006: 5). As a result of this shift, Loos (2007: 3) recognizes that language is often one of the first issues that multinational companies encounter “in a rapidly integrating Europe”. Rogerson-Revell (2007: 106) notes that such occurrences have led to the emergence of English as the “biggest business lingua franca” in Europe. She goes on to state that this “business lingua franca” serves a “multifunctional role” in Europe as it can be used as a “mother tongue (EMT) by native English speaking employees but also as a lingua franca (ELF) between non-native English speakers and as an international language between ELF and EMT speakers” (*op.cit.*).

This “multifunctional role” of English as a language of communication has been explored in several case studies of European multinational companies. In a study led by the Danish Council of Trade and Industry, it was projected that 80 percent of international commerce in Danish multinational companies is conducted in English (*op.cit.*). Harzing and Pudelko (2013: 10) discovered that a similar practice of English even occurred within European MNC headquarters as 78.7 percent of respondents reported that they spoke in English with expatriate colleagues. Moreover, Hilgendorf (2007) found that English was often used as a working language between Germans and non-Germans, but also between German colleagues in German multinational companies (as cited in Gunnarsson 2013: 175). In this same study, Hilgendorf (2007) additionally

found that German was commonly employed as a working language, and that the choice to either use English or German tended to depend on the communicative context (op.cit). As such, these case studies clearly point to the widespread use of English as a common working language across different European multinational contexts. However, as with the case of English in MNCs in the global sphere, the functional range of English in European MNCs appears to be dependent on both the context and the speaker as it is employed in multilingual contexts.

Much like MNC subsidiaries at the global level, multinational subsidiaries implanted in Europe tend to be more multilingual than their headquarters. In their study of language practice in multinational companies situated in Europe, Harzing and Pudelko (2013: 11) discovered that European employees working in MNC subsidiaries speak an average of 2.5 to 2.8 languages in the workplace. Moreover, Gunnarsson (2013: 174) notes that Markaki and Mondada's (2012) study revealed that managers from different European branches often practice bilingualism within regional corporate meetings. Commenting on this reality, Loos (2007: 4) asserts that subsidiaries "resemble national organizations" given that the lingua franca (English) is often employed for "certain internationally oriented matters", but the national language remains prominent in domestic matters. He goes on to cite Koole and Ten Thije (1994: 69) to argue that in these cases, the lingua franca is "not linked to a national culture: during their interaction, actors using a lingua franca construct an interculture" (as cited in Loos 2007: 4). It is thus clear here that while English functions as a common language of communication between employees from different language backgrounds, many European employees, and particularly in MNC subsidiaries, will fluctuate between using the national language and English depending on their communicative needs. In this way, it seems that employees adopt pragmatic multilingual strategies to optimize the quality and efficacy of communication in the corporate context. Here, and as Larçon (2011) suggests, one could surmise that European MNC employees belong to multiple cultures for which different languages serve different communicative purposes.

While most of the aforementioned case studies focus on language practice or language policy in European multinational companies, Rogerson-Revell's (2007) case study of the Groupe Consultatif Actuariel Europeen (GCAE) helps to shed light on

European employees' perceptions of their use of English in international communication. In her study, Rogerson-Revell (2007: 115) found that the majority of NNS respondents used English in their work regularly. As for their level of comfort in using English, these same NNS respondents reported that they felt more comfortable speaking in small meetings than in large meetings (op.cit). Moreover, Rogerson-Revell discovered that the NNS respondents experienced a "spectrum of issues" with regard to communication in international meetings (*ibid.*: 117). She notes that respondents reported having several different "comprehension difficulties" including: "processing fast or quiet speech", "vocabulary limitations" and "managing interactions appropriately" (op.cit). As such, it appears that European non-native English speakers experience many of the same linguistic barriers that were discussed in MNC case studies at the global level. It should also be noted here that these findings highlight the way in which perceptions of English in the workplace are both varied and highly dependent on the speakers' and interlocutors' linguistic backgrounds and levels of competency in English.

Through this discussion of English use in European multinational companies, it is clear that the same processes of internationalization that first brought English to multinational companies in the global sphere have similarly brought English to the professional lives of many European workers. Moreover, it could be said that the free movement of European workers from different linguistic backgrounds in the EU has further amplified this need for a common language in European MNCs. As a result of this movement, it appears that European workers are increasingly being brought into contact through the use of English, and that the linguistic diversity of these interactions is the rule rather than the exception. It should be noted here, however, that while English is used as the common language of communication between Europeans in the multinational workplace, the national language remains in use for most domestically oriented affairs. As such, it seems that both international and national cultures have developed in European MNCs in which English and the national language serve to identify the international and national cultures respectively. Referring to Rogerson-Revell's (2007) research, one could conjecture that European workers' perceptions of their contact in English at work have been marked by the linguistic and cultural differences of their interlocutors. In this way, it is expected that those individuals who

work within MNCs situated in Europe will have experienced the need to adapt to the different varieties and competencies of such interlocutors in order to achieve communication in their work. Given the significant role that France and multinational companies situated in France play in Europe, one could conjecture that these same realities mark the French worker's practice of English in the workplace. However, as the national language is strongly linked to notions of national identity in France, it is crucial to examine the way in which the national and international cultures coexist within French multinational companies, and how French workers may perceive the use of an international language such as English in these locally situated MNCs.

II.3.1 *French: la langue de la république*

Due to the inextricable link between the French language and the French nation-state, it would be an error to examine the use of English in France without first discussing the function of the French language as a cultural marker for French identity. As Ager (1999: 128) notes, the French language has always been an “*affaire d’Etat*” in which a long tradition of linguistic legislation has regulated its use since François I’s *Ordonnances de Villers-Cotterêts* in 1539. These edicts, which stated that all official documents must be written in the ‘*langage maternel françois et non aultrement*’, can be seen as the “birth of language planning in France” (Durand 1996: 78). It should be noted here that while the Ile-de-France dialect already held an important status in official proceedings before 1539, these edicts were nevertheless both “administratively” and “culturally” significant for the move to define the French territory in terms of a common vernacular.

While the edicts of *Villers-Cotterêts* may represent the first legal actions taken to centralize the use of French, linguistic legislation pursued during and after the French Revolution most clearly demonstrates the equation made between the French language and the ideals of the new Republic. Durand (*ibid.*: 79) notes that according to Abbé Grégoire’s report, “*Sur la nécessité et les moyens d’anéantir les patois et d’universaliser l’usage de la langue française*”, only 3 million people out of 26 million people were able to speak the French language correctly in 1794. Through this report, Abbé Grégoire sought to convince the Assembly to unify the people under the French language in order to transmit the values of the new Republic (Ager 1996: 128). This

unity was meant to challenge the “‘divide and rule’ policy of the Ancien régime” in so far as the ‘patois’ were associated with the king and anti-revolutionary ideas (Durand 1996: 79). As such, the French language became a symbol for “the nation-state, freedom and enlightenment” (op.cit). To further establish this relationship, the Assembly introduced the *8 Pluviose* law which stated that French was to be the only language employed in the registration of all public and private acts (Flaitz 1988: 111; Schiffman 1996: 75-6). For Bourdieu (1991: 74), such acts demonstrate how the French language came to be perceived as a vehicle for Republican ideals: “*la théorie condillacienne qui fait de la langue une ‘méthode’ permet d’identifier la langue révolutionnaire à la pensée révolutionnaire*”.

Despite these efforts, the widespread use of French did not occur until the democratization of education in 1833 and 1881 with the establishment of the Guizot Act and the Ferry Act, respectively (Ager 1999: 129). Ager (op.cit) notes that the Guizot Act, which mandated the teaching of standard French, according to the rules established by the *Académie Française*, in elementary education, represented one of the first moves to disseminate the national language through a language policy aimed at managing the “nation’s self-perception of its language”. This point was further solidified as this same act stipulated that proper spelling in standard French would be a prerequisite for employment in the public sector. Ager (op.cit) asserts, however, that the “full implementation” of this act in French society did not occur until the Ferry Act made “primary education free and obligatory for all”. As a result of these two acts, Ager (op.cit) argues that the French identity, “as learnt through its language, would be secular and state-oriented”. As such, these two acts furthered the link between the French language and what it meant to be a French citizen. This notion is thus significant as it highlights the historical function that French education has played in establishing French civil identity through the dissemination of the standardized national language to the French population at-large.

While these historical actions served to define the French territory in terms of the French language, the addition of Article 2 to the French constitution in 1992 was the first instance in which the French language was explicitly cited as the language of the republic (*Ibid.*: 130). Ager (op.cit) notes that this article “most clearly represents the

identity concept in current legislation”. As such, the addition of this article to the French constitution can be seen as the culmination of a history of using the French language as a way to define the local, French nation-state. It is thus essential to bear in mind this strong link between the French language and the French nation-state when considering the use of English in MNCs situated in the local context, as it may provide insight into the way in which French workers perceive language. The implications of this link between the French language and the French nation-state on French linguistic identity will be discussed in more detail in Section III.4.

II.3.2 The spread of English in France

Given the unique manner in which language is treated in the local, French context, there are two primary aims for outlining the spread of English in France: (1) to outline the spread of English as an international language of communication in France, and (2) to better understand the linguistic context in which more recent language policies were established to protect the “language of the republic” in public domains such as the workplace.

As with the global and regional spheres, the spread of English in France resulted from political, economic and social shifts in the post-war era. For Wright (2006: 39), the spread of English as a dominant language in international politics began at the end of the Second World War when France was not present at the Yalta and Potsdam discussions. As French traditionally served as the *de facto* language for international politics, she argues that this shift in the primary language used for political negotiations marked the rise of English and the decline of French as an international language of diplomacy (*op.cit*). Wright (*op.cit*) notes that this historical shift demonstrated a “new balance of power” in which the rise in Anglo-American power propelled the use of English as a means of international communication. The French language witnessed a further decline in international political power as France lost control of its colonies and overseas territories from 1959 to 1962 (Ager 1999: 100). It is essential to note here that the spread of English as a language of international diplomacy coincided with the decline in international power of France and the French language.

In addition to these events, disputes between France and the United States concerning international politics during the post-war era fueled certain anti-Anglo-American attitudes. Freeman (2008: 191) recognizes that disputes regarding the Suez Crisis, nuclear power, the Bay of Pigs, the recognition of China, and France's withdrawal from NATO created distance between France and the United States, and thus resulted in anti-American feelings during de Gaulle's presidency. Moreover, de Gaulle's vetoes of the United Kingdom's application to join the EEC in 1963 and 1967 also prompted certain hostilities between the United Kingdom and France (op.cit). According to Jenkins (1990: 177), these vetoes can be seen as de Gaulle's attempt to thwart "American dominance" in Europe given that the United Kingdom was considered to be a "Trojan horse for American interests" (as cited in Oakes 2001: 137). As such, Oakes (op.cit) notes that cooperation with other European countries in the EEC, and later in the EU, may have been a way for France to reassert its power and counter American dominance in the international sphere.

This call to unify Europe in the face of American political and economic dominance is perhaps best exemplified by political analyst Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's (1967) essay "*Le défi américain*". With regard to the saturation of the French market with American products after the Second World War, Servan-Schreiber urged France to devise new strategies to counter the dominance of American companies in the French market (Freeman 2008: 193). In order to achieve this, he recommended that France and other European countries collaborate on collective economic and political policies that would protect their common interests (*ibid.*: 194). This recommendation was significant as it represented one of the first public appeals in France to counter American dominance in the international political and economic spheres. Additionally, Servan-Schreiber's essay illustrates the way in which European collaboration was viewed as a strategy to counter such dominance. This notion will prove essential when considering more recent language policies aimed at protecting the French language in public domains.

While the aforementioned examples provide historical context for the spread of English in the political and economic domains, the spread of English in a social domain such as education sheds light on the function of English in French civil communication.

Noting the relative importance of English study at the time of her publication, Flaitz (1988: 64) notes that during the 1983-1984 academic year, 82.9 percent of French students (as opposed to 14.2 percent for German) between grades six and twelve studied English as their first foreign language. This figure significantly increased in private schools as it was reported that 91.5 percent of students (as opposed to 7 percent for German) studied English as their first foreign language. Investigating the motivation behind this increased study of English, Flaitz (*ibid.*: 67) suggests that the status of English as an international lingua franca may be the reason why French students overwhelmingly chose English as their first mandatory foreign language studied. She goes on to note that while trade with Anglophone countries such as the United States and Great Britain was not particularly high at that time, English was commonly used in trade with non-Anglophone countries and was thus determined useful in diverse business transactions (op.cit).

As with the case of European students, the study of English in French secondary and higher education has increased in recent years. Despite the fact that French language planning stipulates that two foreign languages must be studied in secondary school, English has consistently been the first foreign language chosen among French students (*“Les langues vivantes étrangères”* 2014). According to the Ministry of Education, 95.6 percent of French secondary school students chose English as their first foreign language in 2014 (*“Repères et références statistiques”* 2014: 124). Overall, the Ministry of Education noted a slight preference for English study in private schools as 96.2 percent of students in private secondary schools chose English as their LV1 (as opposed to 95.1 percent for public schools) (op.cit).

This predominance of English in terms of foreign language study is equally present in the French higher education system. According to the 2008-2009 ELVIRE study conducted by the Ined/DGLFLF, out of the 95 percent of French associate professors who declared to have taught regular classes or seminars during the 2007-2008 academic year, 9 percent responded that they regularly conducted classes in English. Moreover, 17 percent of those respondents declared to have occasionally taught their classes or seminars in English. These figures significantly rose for research fellows and research directors as 13 percent out of the 55 percent who declared to have taught

regular classes or seminars in the same year responded that they regularly taught their classes in English. According to this same pool of respondents, 13 percent responded that they occasionally taught their classes in English (Héran 2013: 3). In addition to these figures, the increase in English-medium programs between the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 academic years illustrates a significant interest in English study in French higher education. If glancing at Campus France's list of "programs taught in English", one would find that 1114 English-medium programs were listed for the 2014-2015 academic year (as opposed to 840 programs for the previous years) ("Programs taught in English", campusfrance.org).

Given the significant increase in English study in French secondary schools since Flaitz's (1988) research, as well as the increase in higher education programs taught in English, it would appear that French citizens consider the study of English to be both important and useful. Moreover, as Flaitz (1988) suggested in her research, this widespread study of English in France may be directly related to the communicative value of English in transnational communication. This point may be further magnified today as the free movement of European students and workers in the European Union has increased the value of this transnational communication. It is noteworthy here to point out that these recent shifts in English study at the French and European levels may illustrate a certain generational divide in terms of both English skills and perceptions of English. Nevertheless, the sheer number of English speakers, as highlighted through the number of students who study and use English as their first foreign language, demonstrates the intrinsic function of English as a common means of communication for speakers from different linguistic backgrounds.

If considering these different shifts in international power and language spread in the political, economic and social domains, it would seem that the spread of English in France has followed a similar path as in the global and European spheres. While this may be true, certain language policies enacted in order to protect the French language in this new world order have made the French context quite particular in character. Such actions taken to defend the French language began when de Gaulle commissioned the *Haut Comité pour la Défense et l'Expansion de la Langue Française* in 1966. In establishing this commission, de Gaulle primarily sought to protect the French language

from foreign intrusions within France, as well as to promote its use abroad (Ager 1999: 100; Flaitz 1988: 112; Wright 2006: 40). According to Freeman (2008: 193), de Gaulle's move to establish the *Haut Comité pour la Défense et l'Expansion de la Langue Française* was likely a response to linguist René Etiemble's (1964) work entitled "*Parlez-vous franglais?*", in which Etiemble pleaded for French authorities to acknowledge the threat of Anglo-American free enterprise on the future of France. In this work, Etiemble argued that French authorities should regulate the use of anglicisms in order to protect the French language from Anglo-American intrusions (op.cit). While many linguists have debated the legitimacy of some of Etiemble's claims, it is clear that his work both influenced the creation of the *Haut Comité pour la Défense et l'Expansion de la Langue Française*, as well as the tradition of linking the "intrusion" of anglicisms to the ideological corruption of the French language in later language policies (Flaitz 1988: 107-8). As the French language and French national identity have been historically linked, this move to protect the French language from anglicisms could be viewed as part and parcel of a wider ideological effort to reassert French identity and power in the international sphere.

The spread of English in the enlarged EEC, and later in the EU, prompted the French elite to continue this tradition by enacting two significant language policies aimed at protecting the French language in different domestic domains. The first of these language policies was the Bas-Lauriol law introduced under President Giscard d'Estaing in 1975, which stipulated the use of French in audio-visual and professional domains (Flaitz 1988: 114-5; Freeman 2008: 195; Schiffman 1996: 79). It should be noted here that the Bas-Lauriol law is seen as an implementation of Etiemble's (1964) proposals regarding the protection of French (Ager 1999: 130; Freeman 2008: 195). Oakes (2001: 138) notes that the adoption of this law may have been a direct response to the EEC's decision to allow for the free movement of goods between member states. To protect the interests of the French language, the Bas-Lauriol law included an article that specified certain language regulations regarding the labeling of imported products (op.cit). As a result of these stipulations, the Bas-Lauriol law conflicted with EEC policy and was thus limited in terms of scope (Durand 1996: 81). In addition to these limitations, a lack of resources meant that this law was rarely enforced and went

relatively unnoticed in France (op.cit). Nevertheless, the Bas-Lauriol law represented one of the first overt actions taken to promote the French language amidst the spread of English in the international and European spheres.

Although the Toubon law was introduced almost twenty years later, it is often viewed as an extension of the principles that first encouraged French authorities to implement the Bas-Lauriol law (Durand 1996: 81; Wright 2006: 50). Established in 1994 in a similar political and economic context as the Bas-Lauriol law, proponents of the Toubon law sought to enforce the correct use of the official language (see Section 2.3.1) in education, work, commerce and public service (Ager 1999: 132). In respect to the historical context of this law, Truchot (2001: 322-3) notes that a “more radical attitude was adopted” in terms of language policy as France moved to ratify the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. Outlining the development of this “radical attitude” from 1539 with the *Ordonnances de Villers-Cotterêts* to the Toubon law in 1994, Ager (1999: 135) points out that the imposition of French, which was restricted to written documents and judicial administration in 1539, was widely extended to include five public domains in 1994. The evolution of these ideals thus appears to be directly related to the historical shifts that led to the spread of English and decline of French in both domestic and supranational domains. As with previous actions to protect and promote the French language, the adoption of the Toubon law can therefore be seen as a defensive response to France’s growing commitments to the multilingual European and international communities at-large.

Despite the French elite’s attempt to regulate the use of French in certain public domains through the Toubon law, many schools and companies have continued to use English as either a medium of education or as a medium of communication. Wright (2006: 51) notes that at the time of her research, French business schools and universities had increased the number of English-medium programs offered despite the fact that the Toubon law mandated the use of French as a medium of education. If considering the Fioraso law of 2013, which allowed for the presence of English-medium programs in French higher education as a way to attract foreign students and researchers, it would seem that certain French politicians have recognized this increased presence of English-medium programs and have consequently adopted a rather pragmatic attitude to

the use of English in education (*“Enseignement supérieur: la loi Fioraso définitivement adoptée”* 2013). While this may be true for advocates of the law, O’Connell and Chaplier (2014: 26-7) point out, however, that members of the French intelligentsia argued that the Fioraso law would threaten the defense of French and the fight against the hegemony of English.

It should thus be noted here that the political community appears to be divided in regard to the question of English in recent years. Judging from the increased study of English in France, it would seem that a similar divide exists between the French political and speech communities as well. Both Flaitz (1988) and Oakes (2001) confirmed this notion through their research as they revealed that French citizens were generally positive in orientation to the use of English. As such, and given that this research is closer to the realities that led to the adoption of the Fioraso law in 2013, one could conjecture that French speakers’ attitudes to the use of English as a language of communication will be similarly positive in nature. However, whereas French speakers may be positive in orientation to the use of English, one should not underestimate the strong link between the French language and French national identity that has been ideologically expressed through these various language policies and acts of standardization. This relationship and how it may influence French speakers’ perceptions of language is discussed in more detail in Chapter III (“Language and Identity”) and in Chapter IV (“Attitudes to Language”). As the spread of English in other French domains has been discussed, it is now essential to investigate the extent to which this same discrepancy between official policy and practice occurs in French companies, and how it may shape corporate communication in France.

II.3.3 *English as a common corporate language in France*

The history of multinational companies in France can be traced back to the 1950s as the French government began to regenerate its economy by establishing public enterprises in the post-war era. By the early 1980s, these same companies had prospered in the *“trente glorieuses”* and controlled the majority of the French market. It was at this time that many French companies made the move to enter the emerging global market through fusions, acquisitions, alliances and delocalization. Truchot (2013: 77) notes that

the majority of the forty companies included in the CAC 40 are ranked in the top five of their respective sectors in the world. In addition, according to a Forbes magazine issue from 2008, sixteen French companies were ranked among the two hundred largest multinational companies in the world (op.cit). These figures thus illustrate the immense evolution that many French multinationals have undergone since the 1980s, as well as the processes of internationalization that are now the realities of many French MNCs. To demonstrate this notion, Truchot (op.cit) provides the example of French multinational Sanofi. Drawing on figures provided by *Le Monde* (4 October 2012), Truchot (op.cit) points out that while foreign shareholders hold 62.2 percent of Sanofi's capital, and 91.1 percent of their sales occur abroad, Sanofi employs 25 percent (28,000 employees) of their workforce in France. He goes on to note that 80 percent of these employees exclusively work in the international sector (op.cit). As such, one can see that even the most internationally oriented French multinationals are strongly implanted in France as well.

As for foreign subsidiaries implanted in France, INSEE (*l'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*) reported in 2007 that 24 percent of salary positions in medium and large companies in France were held in foreign subsidiaries (op.cit). Moreover, Truchot (op.cit) notes that according to the AFII (*l'Agence française pour les investissements internationaux*), France was the European country that attracted the most foreign industrial implantations in 2011. If considering these figures together with the figures pertaining to French multinationals, it appears that there is a significant international work culture in France, with a substantial proportion of the French workforce working in either French or foreign-owned multinational companies. What exactly then is the linguistic culture in these different international structures?

In glancing at recent figures concerning the necessity of English-language skills in the French workplace, it appears that there is a growing demand for French workers to have adequate proficiency in English. According to Deneire (2008: 185), at the time of his research, 42 percent of the private sector jobs listed in the job ads section of *Le Monde* required proficiency in English. It should be noted here that the majority of these positions were for upper-management (op.cit). Launching a similar search on *Le Monde's* "Offres d'emploi" page today would reveal that 1000+ CDI (*Contrat de durée*

indéterminée) positions list “*anglais*” as a key word in the job listing. As such, these listings range from requiring “*bilingue français/anglais*” to “anglais opérationnel” and include positions in various internationally oriented sectors such as marketing, import/export and informatics. When asked to comment on the necessity of English skills in the French workplace, Jean-Christophe Sciberras, the Director of Human Resources for Solvay Rhodia France, noted that English skills are a “*facteur de compétitivité*” for companies that conduct business in other countries or with foreigners (“*En entreprise, l’anglais est un facteur de compétitivité*” 2013). Based on these figures, it seems that proficiency in English is considered to be a “basic skill” in domestically situated companies with foreign business, which may also point to the growing demand for English-language courses in French education.

What role do these English language skills play in the context of the French workplace? Deneire (2008: 187) notes that 69 percent of the respondents in his research concerning English use in the French workplace responded that they were generally “satisfied” with their English level. He goes on to suggest that the majority of the respondents may have responded in this manner given that they “assessed their level of proficiency on the basis of their needs, and only exceptionally according to academic or other external criteria” (op.cit). Moreover, Deneire (op.cit) found that attitudes to the spread of English were mostly positive in orientation, and that respondents “saw English as a tool to reach markets that would otherwise be unreachable”. In terms of function, Deneire (*ibid.*: 188) points out that a “principle of realism” applies to small and medium size companies as the majority of internal communication is conducted in French, and any communication in English occurs between a minority of workers or with translators. As for large multinational companies implanted in France such as Aventis and Alcatel, English is increasingly being used as a common corporate language (op.cit).

Despite their generally positive orientation in response to questions concerning proficiency in English, the respondents nevertheless noted that certain linguistic barriers and linguistic inequalities exist within multinational companies where English is used as a common corporate language. Deneire (*ibid.*: 189) notes that many of the respondents cited situations in which their “professional competence was questioned” by the fact that they could not accurately express themselves in English. Additionally, Deneire

(op.cit) determined that feelings of anxiety, humiliation and incompetency were common among “highly qualified middle and upper managers” during meetings and general communication in English. As a result, he found that respondents tended to “resist” the imposition of English when French would have been a better solution for certain communicative situations (op.cit). What is more, Deniere (op.cit) found that the increasing demand for English-language skills in the French workplace created an “English divide”, or linguistic inequality, between “the educated and the less educated, the computer-literate and the computer-illiterate, between the young and the old, and between lower and upper socioeconomic groups”. In this way, these results demonstrate that many of the same linguistic issues that have been raised in the global and European spheres are similarly present in the French workplace.

While these realities may be in line with other research concerning the use of English as a common corporate language, has the enactment of the Toubon law changed the way that language is practiced within MNCs implanted in the local, French context? Saulière (2013: 224) notes that according to Articles 2 and 9 of the Toubon law, the French language is to be used in the “designation, offer, presentation, user guide, description of the scope and conditions of guarantee of a good, product or service, as well as in bills and receipts”. He goes on to assert that most of the MNCs situated in France are likely “in breach” of these articles given that it is impossible for employees in MNCs to solely communicate in French (op.cit). Moreover, as the *Délégation générale à la langue française* (DGLF) lacks the necessary funds and manpower to enforce the observance of these stipulations, Saulière (op.cit) notes that the Toubon law has been rendered insignificant. As with the continued use of English in French education and research despite the Toubon law, it appears that a significant separation exists between French language policy and corporate language practice in MNCs operating in France.

With all of these elements considered, it seems that the practice of English as a common corporate language in MNCs situated in France is similar to the practice of English in globally and regionally situated MNCs. While this may be true, it also appears that there exists a strong relationship between the French language and French culture in France that should not be underestimated. Following this line of thinking, it is

next essential to discuss French speakers' within the global, regional and local cultures, and the way in which these memberships may shape the development of their linguistic identities and perceptions of language.

Chapter III. Language and Identity

As this research is based on the principle that speakers are individuals with unique experiences and histories, it is important to examine the way in which these experiences may alter one's relationship with language. Moreover, as it is the premise of this research that speakers' notions of language will undergo changes as they come into contact with different cultures and people, it is essential to examine the relationship between language and identity and how one's linguistic identity may shape certain attitudes to language. As such, focus will be placed on the notion that French workers who use English in the workplace belong to several multilingual and multicultural communities in which different languages serve to represent their different social roles in these communities. In order to examine the notion of *linguistic identity* and how it may be negotiated in different cultures, it is essential to begin by discussing the terms *language* and *identity* as separate entities, and how they are both shaped by one's changing social interactions. Finally, focus will be placed on the development of linguistic identity and how these identities may be constructed and negotiated with regard to different speech communities. For the purpose of this research, the negotiation of one's linguistic identity will be examined in the global, regional (European) and local (French) spheres to have a more comprehensive view of the way in which French workers' linguistic identities may have been shaped by their experiences in these different communities.

III.1 Identity

Citing the lexical relationship between identity and the Latin word *idem*, Edwards (2009: 19) cites the lexical relationship between identity and the Latin word *idem* to suggest that, "the essence of identity is similarity" (op.cit). Tabouret-Keller (1997: 316), in a similar vein, evokes the Latin word *alter* in order to allude to the mirror-like quality of identity. Quoting the third edition of the Macquarie Dictionary, however, Djité (2006: 5) defines identity as: 'The condition, character, or distinguishing features of a person or things'. In short, all of these definitions seem to express the notion that identity combines a double process of identifying oneself with similarity, and opposing oneself to difference. It thus appears that identity construction occurs when individuals

not only identify themselves within a *we* or *us*, but also distance themselves from a *they* or *them*. Interestingly enough, and perhaps one of the most defining characteristics of the relationship between language and identity, is the fact that all three linguists utilize language as a resource in order to define identity. In this way, it could be said that the meaning-making process often associated with identity is intrinsically linked to the use of language. This notion will be further explored when discussing the relationship between language and identity in Section III.3.

While the aforementioned definitions may seem fairly simplistic in nature, the literature suggests that identity is indeed more complex and dynamic. Identity appears to be constructed in terms of one's "personal identity", as well as in relation to one's social and learning contexts. Tabouret-Keller (1997: 316) aptly describes this reality by noting that, "at any given time a person's identity is a heterogeneous set made up of all the names or identities, given to and taken up by her". She goes on to suggest that, "in a lifelong process, identity is endlessly created anew, according to various social constraints (historical, institutional, economic, etc.), social interactions, encounters" (op.cit). It is noteworthy here to mention that by describing an individual's personal identity as "heterogeneous", Tabouret-Keller evokes notions of multiplicity and dynamism rather than maintaining the dated notion that identity is singular and static. It is similarly essential to note that Tabouret-Keller draws attention to the reality that individuals constantly form new identities in relation to various social encounters and constraints.

As an individual's identity is subject to varying social influences, it is important to identify these influences and how they may factor into identity development. Citing Joseph's (2004: 40) work, Djité (2006) suggests that the identity we forge for ourselves is not necessarily different than the identity ascribed for us by others (p.5). He goes on to note that an individual's personal identity is both constructed with regard to the different group identities that one adheres to, as well as with regard to one's personal sense of self. Djité (op.cit) argues that if we understand that individuals assume different social roles (mother/father, employer/employee, etc.), that we must also understand that everyone has multiple identities that are negotiated in these various

roles. In this way, one should bear in mind that the aforementioned *us* and *them* notions of identity are both ascribed by individuals themselves and by others.

Commenting on this double construction of identity, Suleiman (2006: 52) suggests that one should consider identity in terms of two binary aspects: *interiority* and *exteriority*. For him, *interiority* deals with the self and area of personal identity, whereas *exteriority* primarily deals with the social area of professional and collective identity. Djité (2006: 6) further expands on this idea as he differentiates between “personal”, “enacted”, “relational” and “communal” identity. For Djité, personal identity is “an individual's conception of self”, enacted identity is “how an identity is expressed in language and communication”, relational identity is identity “in reference to others”, and finally, communal identity is identity “as defined by collectivities” (op.cit). It should be noted, however, that all of these aspects of identity, or rather identities, are interconnected and act in relation to one another. In other words, our identity is triply constructed in terms of how we perceive ourselves, how we wish to be perceived by others, and how others actually perceive us (op.cit). Thus, it seems that while identity is marked by one's personal sense of self, the social communities that one belongs to appear to equally mark it. Identity therefore contains both personal and social components that act upon one another to form the “layers” of an individual's identity.

III.2 Language

Similar to the different attempts to define identity, the definition of language has changed considerably over the years. Philosophers of language such as Socrates considered that the purpose of language fell into three categories: 'communication', 'representation' and 'expression' (Djité 2006: 4). For such philosophers, the purpose of *communication* was to teach others about things, whereas the purposes of *representation* and *expression* were to differentiate things from one another and to express feelings and emotions respectively (op.cit). These notions were further expanded on after the turn of the 20th century with modern descriptive and theoretical linguists such as de Saussure and Chomsky. De Saussure defined language as a system of signs for which the primary function was to connect meaning to expression (op.cit). Furthermore, de Saussure differentiated between speech (*parole*) and language (*langue*) as a means to “recognize

that, despite geographical, interpersonal, and social variations, languages have shared patterns and structure” (Norton and Toohey 2002: 116). Norton and Toohey (op.cit) suggest that de Saussure considered the linguistic system to be a guarantee for the meaning of such signs; assuming that each linguistic community has its own set of practices that provide value to the signs in a language.

Malinowski's 1923 conception of the “phatic” function of language marked a clear transition from structuralism toward a more social description of language. Malinowski (1923: 476-7) suggests that the “phatic” function of language is “a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words” (as quoted in Djité 2006: 4). In this way, the phatic function of language represents the way in which meaning derives from both “the propositional content”, as well as from “the social event” (op.cit). Flaitz (1988: 54) notes that Halliday (1973) similarly considered social context to be important when reflecting on the purpose of an utterance. For her, scholars such as Halliday considered language to be “a social instrument” (op.cit). This trend was further continued among sociolinguistic scholars such as Hymes (1974) and Tannen (1990, 1994) who tended to consider language in terms of speaker classification (Djité 2006: 4).

With poststructuralists such as Bakhtin (1981, 1984) and Bourdieu (1977, 1984), the trend toward a more social description of language was further expanded to take into account issues of subjectivity, difference and the multiplicity of meaning. Poststructuralists often criticized structuralism for its inability to explain the “struggles over meanings” that can be connected to different signs in a language (Norton and Toohey 2002: 116). In support of this notion, Norton and Toohey (op.cit) suggest that terms such as “/feminist/, /research/, /SLA/” often have different meanings for people that rest within the same “linguistic community”. What is more, Bakhtin (1981: 294) considers that language is 'not a neutral medium...[but rather] populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others', (as quoted in Norton and Toohey 2002: 117). In this way, he suggests that language development occurs through the appropriation of others' words, and that this process is “complex and conflictual” given that it deals with “the historical, present, and future positioning of speakers”, (op.cit). Thus, like identity, the meaning associated with language appears to be doubly constructed with regard to the speaker and the interlocutors' respective intentions.

Similarly, Bourdieu (1977: 652) holds that “speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it” (as quoted in Norton and Toohey 2002: 117). Here, Bourdieu appears to argue that the value of speech is intrinsically related to the value of the speaker. He, like Bakhtin, suggests that the individual plays a significant role in shaping the meaning derived from language. As such, both poststructural theorists appear to highlight the multiplicity of meaning in language by drawing attention to the inherent individuality of speakers. It thus seems that both contemporary notions of identity and language are concerned with the manner in which social constraints influence the individual speaker and construct meaning. In addition, both contemporary definitions of identity and language appear to emphasize the idea that meaning-making and identification processes are multiple and dynamic. This change in perspective undoubtedly owes itself to the re-definition of boundaries and increasing levels of mobility and contact that are the norm in today’s globalized world.

III.3 *Linguistic identity*

The link between language and identity is complex and consists of both personal and social elements. Tabouret-Keller (1977: 317) notes that the bond between language and identity is “so strong” that even a sole aspect of a language serves to identify a speaker's group membership. To illustrate this idea, she provides the example of a young French girl who was asked to comment on her identity among other French-speaking classmates. Given the Germanic nature of her name, the young girl responded that her “first name spoils everything” whenever her name is called at the beginning of the year. Tabouret-Keller (op.cit) insists that this example sheds light on the way in which aspects of language link personal and social identities together. In this way, she suggests that, “language offers both the means of creating this link and that of expressing it”, (op.cit). She goes on to suggest that linguistic features offer “the largest range” and “the most easily adoptable” ways of identification. Further clarifying this notion, Tabouret-Keller (*ibid.*: 318) adds that the term “identification” serves to define the process of adopting aspects of another individual's behavior.

Edwards (2009: 21) similarly references the psycholinguistic acquisition of language in order to describe the link between language and identity. For him, language

acquisition gives rise to the development of *idiolects*, which he argues are entirely unique to individual speakers. Edwards (op.cit) adds to this idea by noting that the same *idiolects* that act as individual identity markers, also act to “reveal speakers' memberships in particular speech communities”. The *idiolect*, then, is thought to serve as an identity marker for the individual both on a personal and social level. The uniqueness of one's language is similarly emphasized in Norton and Toohey (2002: 121) as they cite Weedon (1997: 21): “it [language] is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed”. On a similar note, Wodak (2012: 216) maintains that, “language is used to determine and define similarities and differences; to draw clear boundaries between 'us' and 'others’”. Through these examples, it is clear that linguistic features acquired through the psycholinguistic acquisition of language are the root of identity formation given that they establish an individual's membership in a given social group.

In an effort to account for the development and maintenance of linguistic identity among different social groups, the following theoretical frameworks in the areas of social psychology and sociolinguistics will be discussed: Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel 1974, 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1986), Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1979, 1982) and the notion that speech acts are acts of identity (Le Page 1968, 1978). These three theories help to demonstrate how linguistic identity may be mediated in different social roles/speech situations, and ultimately how the mediation of such an identity might influence certain language attitudes among speakers in the French workplace.

Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed in the area of social psychology in order to examine the creation and promotion of social identity within intergroup relations (Oakes 2001: 34). Social Identity Theory is comprised of four main components that are linked through a linear relationship: social categorisation, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness. The first component (social categorisation) begins at a young age when individuals categorize themselves and others into different social groups. This categorization is then said to lead to the second component (social identity) as individuals become aware of their social group and the positive and negative aspects associated with such a group membership. Once

an individual has become aware of their social group membership, they will tend to “favor the ingroup and discriminate against outgroups” (social comparison). This comparison with “outgroups” finally results in the creation and promotion of psychological distinctiveness which leads to “a positive self-esteem and social identity” (*ibid.*: 35). According to Oakes (*op.cit.*), the underlying supposition of this theory is that “social groups in Western societies strive to create and maintain positive identities”.

One criticism of Social Identity Theory that is of particular importance to this research involves the notion that positive self-esteem functions as the fundamental motive behind social identity construction (*ibid.*: 38). Abrams (1992: 66) suggests that more desires, such as “the desire for material wealth, power, control, psychological comfort or stability, security, self-efficacy, meaning and self-knowledge”, should be added as possible motives (as cited in Oakes 2001: 38). Oakes (*op.cit.*) seeks to clarify this notion by adding that, “as motivation can be defined as a desire to achieve a certain goal, it follows that these alternative motives correspond to alternative goals of wealth, power, control, etc.”. He goes on to suggest that one could consider these motives as “intermediate goals” that lead to “the ultimate goal of high self-esteem” (*op.cit.*). This idea is especially relevant when considering that individuals belong to many social groups. Following this line of thinking, as well as the previous discussion of identity, it must be noted that if individuals have many social identities, then one could assume that there must be various motives underlying the construction of these identities. Such motives will be further discussed in Section IV.2.

Focusing rather on the “linguistic” aspect of “linguistic identity”, Giles' Speech Accommodation Theory and Le Page's speech as acts of identity theory seek to examine social identity as it is expressed through language. Commenting on the objectives of these two theories, Tabouret-Keller (1997: 322) points out that both aim to investigate the conditions of membership to a “linguistically defined group”. Similar to Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, Giles' (1997: 253) Speech Accommodation Theory focuses on the “behavioral events” that result from intergroup relations (as cited in Tabouret-Keller 1997: 322). Moreover, it should be added that Giles' theory is founded on the principle that an ethnic group is comprised of individuals who 'perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category' (*op.cit.*). Furthermore, it appears that Giles' theory finds its

roots in previous work on “similarity – attraction” and “social exchange”, which suggested that similarity increases the probability of positive orientation (Giles and Powesland 1975, as cited in Edwards 2009: 31). The two central notions pertaining to Speech Accommodation Theory, “convergence” and “divergence”, can be seen as expansions of the previous “similarity – attraction” research in that they focus on shifts in speech to either confirm “social integration” or “social dissociation”. The term “convergence” is thus used to define the act of shifting speech style 'toward that of another to reflect social integration', whereas “divergence” is used to describe the act of shifting “away from the other's style of speech” to show “social dissociation” (Giles 1982: 105, as cited in Tabouret-Keller 1997: 322).

Le Page's (1968, 1978) theory centers on the notion that speakers create their speech acts as acts of projection (as cited in Tabouret-Keller 1997: 323). Unlike Giles' theory, Le Page's theory centers on the individual, and thus pre-defined social groups are not necessary (op.cit). With respect to this idea, Le Page, with Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181), assert that “the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished” (as quoted in Tabouret-Keller 1997: 323). Regarding the notion that an individual's speech acts should be seen as projections of identity, Le Page and Tabouret Keller (op.cit) argue that through speech, “the speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least insofar as they recognise his language as an accurate symbolisation of the world, and to share his attitudes towards it”. If considering this theory in conjunction with the two previously discussed theories, it is clear that they all aim to describe the identity-forming process as one involving an individual's desire to either be associated with a given social group (or “ingroup”), or be disassociated from a given social group (or “outgroup”). Moreover, all three theories appear to share the idea that individuals' behavior, or speech acts, can be understood as an effort to create or promote these connections. What is more, these theories not only provide a sound theoretical framework for investigating the complex link between language and identity, but they also help to examine the way in which one's perception

of their identity may influence the expression of certain attitudes toward a given community.

In addition to the aforementioned theories, current research in the field of language learning helps to further illustrate the relationship between language and identity, as well as how individuals mediate their identities in multilingual contexts. According to Mercer (2012: 12), “learner identity” is a learner's “sense of self as a language learner or user in relation to a particular linguistic community or learner context”. On a similar note, Morita (2012: 26) defines language learning as “a process of participating in the practices of a given community and gaining competence and membership within that community”. For this reason, one could say that the language-learning environment acts as a sort of micro-community where social identity construction takes place. It should thus be considered that learner identity functions as a fundamental aspect of a foreign language learner's identity and that learners will employ strategies to either create or maintain a positive social identity in a language learning environment.

Two significant studies (Cervatiuc 2009, Morita 2004, 2009) in the area of language learning highlight the strategies that foreign language learners adopt in order to create a positive social identity (or positive self-esteem) in relation to the speakers of a given community. For Cervatiuc's (2009) research, interviews were conducted about the language practices of twenty immigrants in Canada. The study revealed that the learners used three fundamental strategies “to construct positive identities”: “(1) generating a self-motivating inner dialogue, (2) gaining access to the social networks of native speakers and (3) adhering to an imagined community of successful multilingual individuals” (as cited in Morita 2012: 29). In a similar vein, Morita (2004, 2009) focuses on the experiences of a group of Japanese international students at a Canadian university. In this study, Morita discovered that the international students' identities were both constructed locally and through interaction within the classroom context. For this reason, she suggests that individuals can “develop different types of identity and participate differently across different classroom contexts” (Morita 2012: 29).

Both of these studies thus shed light on the dynamic strategies that individuals utilize in order to secure group membership and construct positive identities. Moreover,

Morita's research shows that individuals' identities are constructed locally. As such, they are likely to change in different contexts. While this study may have taken place in the classroom context, one can imagine that the same processes would occur in other multilingual contexts such as the international workplace.

III.4 Linguistic identity: negotiating identity within the limits of France, the European Union, and the global community

As previously discussed, the link between language and identity is undeniably clear given that a single linguistic unit suffices to mark an individual's identity. However, while identification may occur from the first utterance or mention of a name, it is essential to bear in mind that individuals belong to multiple communities and therefore assume multiple roles and identities in these communities. In this respect, and as Morita (2004, 2009) clearly demonstrates in her research, identities are dynamic and individuals will behave differently across different contexts. Thus, in an effort to apply these notions to the case of French speakers, three relevant group memberships will be examined: the French nation-state (local), the European Union (regional) and the "global community" (global). The aforementioned research in linguistic identity will be drawn on here to better understand how certain language-related actions may be considered as strategies to positively promote such identities.

Tabouret-Keller (1997: 319) notes that "modern nation-states" play a significant role in the construction of an idealized relationship between language and identity. She suggests that this relationship is based on an "inherent paradox" in that the development of nation-states "rests on discourse (and ultimately on law) justified by mother-tongue ideology" (*ibid.*: 320). Similarly, Haugen (2003: 416) asserts that at the national level, a national identity is "superimposed" on an individual's personal identity by "identifying his ego with that of all others within the nation and separating it from that of all others outside the nation". To this extent, he argues that the "national ideal" requires a "single linguistic code" through which the community can communicate (*op.cit.*). Moreover, Edwards (2009: 176) argues that "in a civic nation, individual identity becomes a political phenomenon and not something based on foundation myths, ancestral ties, blood relationships and the appurtenances of the ethnic bond". Bourdieu (1991: 70)

similarly comments on the use of national languages for social cohesion as he maintains that, “*l'intégration dans une même 'communauté linguistique'; qui est un produit de la domination politique sans cesse reproduit par des institutions capables d'imposer la reconnaissance universelle de la langue dominante*”. All four scholars thus appear to suggest that the nation-state depends on the national language to maintain psychological distinctiveness from other nations (or outgroups). The promotion of the national language can thus be seen as an effort to promote positive social identity at the national level.

Considering the relationship between the French language and the French nation-state, Ager (1999: 117-8) notes that the French language has played a fundamental role in the construction of French identity. In this way, he argues that the speech community (French speakers) serves as “a founding element” for the construction of the political community's identity (*ibid.*: 128). To illustrate this notion, he draws attention to the addition of Article 2 to the French constitution: 'The language of the Republic is French' (*ibid.*: 130). As with the establishment of the Toubon law, the inclusion of this clause was most likely a response to the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and the growth of the European Union. The addition of Article 2 can, for this reason, be understood as a strategy to maintain psychological distinctiveness at the nation-state level (Oakes 2001: 160). What is more, the Toubon law and other previously discussed actions to promote the French language can similarly be seen as strategies to promote a positive identity in the context of the European Union and globalization. One could thus qualify these actions as expressions of nation-state ideology in which language is used to delineate the boundaries between different communities. Oakes (2001: 154) notes that such strategies reflect the French elite's attempts to “stress French independence and cultural difference”, or “*l'exception française*”, in the face of a growing minority position in the “global arena”.

As these actions primarily relate to the maintenance of the French political community's identity, it is essential to examine how the French language may factor into the construction of the common French individual's identity. To this end, Byram (2006: 8) notes that the process of acquiring one's national identity often occurs through the learning of the national language. Through the learning of the national, or

standardized language, a common “collective memory” is created among students. He defines “collective memory” as “the shared national language and shared allusions to texts which all school pupils have been exposed to” (*ibid.*: 9). He goes on to argue that these aspects help “members of the in-group” identify with each other (*op.cit.*). In this way, and due to the highly standardized nature of French, one could conjecture that the French language plays a significant role in shaping French speakers' identities.

This relationship between French speakers' notions of French identity and the French language was recently examined by Jeannot *et al.* (2011) in the wake of the 2010 debate on national identity. At the request of the French government, an online poll was conducted by *l'Institut d'études marketing et d'opinion TNS Sofres* in order to gauge how French citizens perceived French national identity. In response to the question “*Pour vous, qu'est-ce qu'être français?*”, Jeannot *et al.* (2011) note that 5,000-7,000 out of 26,000 contributions to the site included the lexical item *langue*. Using the data emanating from this poll, Jeannot *et al.* (2011) selected 145 contributions to conduct a more detailed qualitative study. Out of the 145 contributions selected, Jeannot *et al.* (2011) discovered that almost 25 percent of the respondents used the lexical item *langue* to define French national identity. To this extent, it appears that the French language held a larger significance as *la langue française* was cited 29 times (as opposed to 4 for other languages) among the contributions (Jeannot *et al.* 2011). This research, then, serves to show that a significant proportion of the French speech community perceives the French language as a fundamental aspect of French national identity. It is noteworthy here to mention that these results highlight a link between the ideals of the political community and those of the speech community with regard to the significance of the French language.

While the French language and the French nation-state appear to be inextricably linked, the notion of a European identity is more uncertain. Oakes (2001: 127) notes that the notion of a European identity was first proposed in the Declaration on European Identity in December 1973 in Copenhagen. She suggests, however, that such attempts were futile given that for many Europeans the EEC “remained an elite-driven bureaucracy” (*ibid.*: 128). To remedy this position, European officials introduced the idea of European citizenship in the Treaty on European Union (TEU) in 1993 (*op.cit.*).

The widespread adoption of a European identity has been slow and it appears that individuals only “consider themselves as Europeans because they are citizens of countries which are part of the EU” (Chrysochoou 1996: 307-8, as cited in Oakes 2001: 128). Citing Schlesinger (1994: 321), Oakes (2001: 129), therefore, asserts that “common European memories, traditions, values, myths and symbols” must be introduced in order to prevent local nationalisms from overriding the notion of a European identity. To this end, she argues that, “only by recognising the possibility of multiple identities can one come to terms with the concept of a European identity” (op.cit).

In an attempt to rectify this problem and promote a positive identity at the European level, European officials have recently engaged in a policy to promote multilingualism. According to the European Commission (1995: 67), “proficiency in languages helps to build up the feeling of being European with all its cultural wealth and diversity and of understanding between the citizens of Europe” (as cited in Byram 2006: 12). Wodak (2012: 221) similarly notes that for the European Union, multilingualism is viewed as an “essential component of the future construction of a European identity”. Byram (2006: 11) states, however, that there exists a lack of evidence to support this type of identity construction in the European foreign language classroom given that foreign languages are often taught through the “encoding of the first language” (op.cit). A recent study by the European Commission (Eurobarometer – 40 years) confirms this notion as only 17 percent of respondents in 2013 noted that “languages” brought Europeans together (p.6). The same study also revealed that whereas European citizens who come from countries that have been acutely affected by the crisis tend to feel more European, fewer than 50 percent of Europeans actually feel this way (*ibid.*: 8). It thus appears that the notion of European identity remains ambiguous for many Europeans.

However, given that identities are said to shift with regard to new experiences, one could conjecture that a European identity is more common among individuals who have had more contact with neighboring Europeans. For this reason, one could conjecture that younger Europeans who have had more of an opportunity to study in other European countries may have developed more of a notion of European identity.

As English has increasingly spread as a *lingua franca* at the European level, it is likely that the use of English has facilitated the construction of this European identity among the younger generation.

With the recent onset of globalization and mass communication, the notion of linguistically defined nation-states has given way to a more multilingual and non-geographically defined global community. Djité (2006: 12) notes that this occurrence has enabled individuals to “communicate across regional and national boundaries through languages that were once limited to one territory”. As a result of this increased communication, Djité (op.cit) suggests that many people are now “involved in a process of identity-adaptation, of coexistence of two, three or several cultures or civilizations”. To this end, Djité argues that as most individuals now assume multiple identities, it is “no longer a matter of opening up to the other, for the other is already part of us, in as much as we are part of the other” (op.cit). This notion is supported by Lamb’s (2004) discovery that many Indonesian students view the acquisition of English as a way to develop a “bicultural identity” that includes both global and national aspects (Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 4). At the global level, then, the acquisition of English may be regarded as a strategy for accessing the global community, and thus a global identity.

In light of such developments, Pavlenko (2002: 279) argues that social psychology theories relating to identity have a “monolingual and monocultural bias” in that they tend to consider the world “in terms of homogenous and monolingual cultures, of in-groups and out-groups, and of individuals who move from one group to another” (as cited in Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 5). For her, such theories do not represent the current multilingual world where “more than half the inhabitants are not only bilingual or multilingual but also members of multiple ethnic, social and cultural communities” (op.cit). In a similar argument, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) criticizes the “simplex” notion that learners will lose their first language and acquire a “new ‘simplex’ identity as monolingual speaker of the target language” when they learn a foreign language (op.cit). Both scholars thus appear to argue in favor of a more multidimensional consideration of identity in foreign language learning, one in which scholars recognize that the acquisition of different linguistic identities does not necessarily result in the loss of an individual’s first language identity.

These considerations of identity are particularly relevant to this research in that they evoke the view that individuals will acquire multiple identities that reflect their individual histories and experiences. Thus, in the scope of this research, it is expected that French workers who use English for work will have constructed multiple linguistic identities within the local, regional and global spheres, and that these identities do not necessarily develop at the expense of the others. This research is additionally focused on the notion that individuals will have developed certain language attitudes that correspond to these different linguistic identities. This link between linguistic identity and language attitudes will be more thoroughly examined in the following chapter.

Chapter IV. Attitudes to Language

Given the strong relationship between language and identity, it is clear that changes to one's social conditioning, and thus identity, may also change the way that individuals perceive language. In this way, it is the premise of this research that as individuals develop local linguistic identities in their various social roles, that they will, in turn, develop local attitudes to language as well. Following this notion, this chapter will notably focus on the development of certain language attitudes that reflect the different communities to which this particular group of speakers belong. As such, language attitudes will first be defined in order to have a better understanding of the development of language attitudes with regard to changing social circumstances. Secondly, the relationship between motivation and attitudes will be discussed in order to examine French workers' motivation, or lack of motivation, for speaking English in the workplace, and any attitudes that may result from this motivation. Thirdly, focus will be placed on the development of purist attitudes that may result from French workers' social conditioning in a standard language culture such as France. Finally, attitudes resulting from the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy present in ELF education in many expanding circle countries will be examined to see the extent to which this dichotomy affects the willingness for French workers to communicate in English in the workplace.

IV.1 *Defining language attitudes*

Baker (1992: 8) maintains that, in order to conduct precise language attitudes research, scholars must base their work in the greater field of social psychology. Drawing on this notion, Baker (*ibid.*: 10) defines an attitude as “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour”. In a similar manner, Oppenheim (1982: 39) qualifies an attitude as “a construct” or “an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended” (as cited in Garrett 2010: 19). Oppenheim (*op.cit*) goes on to suggest that an attitude is “an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions”. An attitude can also be considered as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution,

or event” (Ajzen 1988: 4, as cited in Oakes 2001: 29). For the purpose of language attitudes research, then, language can be viewed as the object to which individuals either respond favorably or unfavorably.

Attitudes appear to be comprised of three main components: cognition, affect and readiness for action. The literature suggests, however, that language attitudes are quite difficult to measure due to the “lack of harmony” between these three aspects (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 150-1, as cited in Oakes 2001: 30). As the cognitive aspect of attitudes generally reflects one's “thoughts and beliefs”, and the affective aspect of attitudes deals with “feelings towards the attitude object”, Baker (1992: 12-3) argues that “overtly stated attitudes” may represent the cognitive component but not the more covert affective component. He goes on to suggest that “defence mechanisms and social desirability response sets tend to come in between stated and more secret attitudes” (op.cit). Finally, the action component of attitudes is said to represent an individual's “intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances” (*ibid.*: 13). While the “readiness for action” component is often indicative of “external behaviour”, individuals may not always follow through with such actions, and thus one's external behaviour may not always reflect certain attitudes (op.cit). To illustrate this discord between the three components of attitudes, Oakes (2001: 30) cites an example from Edwards (1985: 140): “a mother may encourage her child to learn French (behaviour), believing that it will be important for his or her future career (cognition), yet all the while possibly loathing the language herself (affect)”. It should further be stated that the three components of attitudes are often represented in a hierarchical form with the “cognition”, “affect” and “readiness for action” aspects joining to form “a single construct of attitude at a higher level of abstraction” (Baker 1992: 13).

Due to the “latent” quality of attitudes, researchers often attempt to measure attitudes through “the direction and persistence of external behaviour” (*ibid.*: 11). This notion has been particularly applied to the domain of educational research in that an attitude is considered to be “a predisposing factor, affecting the outcomes of education” (*ibid.*: 12). Baker (op.cit) goes on to suggest that “attitude serves a double function” as an attitude can be both an input and an output. To highlight this occurrence, he notes that “a skilled reader may shun books after formal education” whereas “a less skilled

reader with a love of books may, because of a favourable attitude, carry on reading regularly into adulthood” (op.cit).

While the aforementioned example primarily focuses on the educational context, Garrett (2010: 21) argues that “attitudes also play a role in both the reception and the production of language” in society. To this end, he notes that languages are “an integral part of our communicative competence” so one could suppose that language attitudes “influence our reactions to other language users around us” as well as “help us anticipate others' responses to our own language use and so influence the language choices that we make as we communicate” (op.cit). In sum, Garrett (*ibid.*: 22) cites Giles and Coupland (1991: 59) to assert that language and language attitudes have a “dynamic relationship” due to the “cycle of influence between social cognition and language variation” in speech acts. According to Erwin (2010), this occurrence represents the way in which attitudes serve a “social identity function” (as cited in McKenzie 2010: 25). Thus, like the relationship between language and identity, an individual's language choices may reflect their attitudes and desire to be aligned with a given community. Garrett (2010: 22) states that this consideration of language attitudes highlights a strong link between attitudes and behavior. However, as previously stated, one should bear in mind that attitudes are not always overtly manifested through behavior.

In fact, certain internal and external factors may impede individuals from acting on certain attitudes. Garrett (*ibid.*: 25) notes that the ambiguous tie between attitude and behavior is exemplified by the fact that scholars often speak in terms of a “relationship” between the two aspects; as if behavior works independently of the “cognitive” and “affective” components of attitudes. Scholars began to scrutinize the assumed correlation between attitudes and external behavior with research in the 1960's (Baker 1992: 15). Such research (Wicker, 1969; McGuire, 1969) showed that individuals tend to act differently across different contexts. In this regard, Baker (op.cit) notes that “people may say they are ambitious in one context, purport to be unambitious in a different context”. This inconsistency was highlighted in Lapiere's 1934 research as he found that while only one restaurant out of 250 in the United States refused service to a Chinese couple, 92% of these restaurants reported that they would refuse service to

Chinese clientele in a written questionnaire (Baker 1992: 15, Garrett 2010: 25-6). This research thus illustrates a “weak link” between individuals' self-reported attitudes and their behavior (Garrett 2010: 26). With regard to Lapiere's findings, Baker (1992: 15) concludes that, “observation of external behaviour may produce mis-categorisation and wrongful explanation”. He goes on to suggest that individuals may “consciously or unconsciously” use their behavior to “disguise or conceal inner attitudes” (op.cit).

Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) developed the Theory of Reasoned Action model in an attempt to account for the occasional discord between attitudes and external behavior (Garrett 2010: 26, McKenzie 2010: 23). Rather than considering external behavior as an outcome, the Theory of Reasoned Action model incorporates “behavioural intentions” as an intermediate aspect. This theory posits that behavioral intentions constitute two main elements: (1) “a person's attitude to the behaviour itself, influenced by their beliefs about the consequences of carrying out the behaviour and their evaluations of the consequences”, (2) “a person's normative beliefs about how other people would judge such behaviour, along with the degree to which the person wants to take their views into account” (Garrett 2010: 26). Garrett (*ibid.*: 27) notes that this theory “allows situational variables an explanatory role in attitudes that do not lead to action”. He goes on to qualify these “situational variables” as factors that can “intervene between intended and actual behaviour” (op.cit). Ajzen (1988: 45), to this end, points out that “every particular instance of human action is, in this way, determined by a unique set of factors” (as cited in Baker 1992: 16). Concerning such factors, Garrett (2010: 28) maintains that, “the behaviour itself needs to be within our actual or perceived control”. He cites that “external factors” such as “time available” and “opportunities”, as well as “internal factors” such as “access to the skills” and “knowledge and abilities needed to perform the action” may inhibit an individual's control (op.cit). With this being said, Garrett argues that “the variables that stand between behavioural intentions and behaviour itself are of interest” (op.cit). Such conceptions of attitudes and behavior, then, have led to the current notion that “general response patterns and relatively stable dispositions are not necessarily easily inferred from single acts of behaviour” (Baker 1992: 16).

In addition to the varying degrees of accord between the three components of attitude, an attitude itself can fluctuate in terms of stability and durability. Discussing

the social construction of an individual's attitudes, Sherif (1967: 2) argues that attitudes are what “a person has *learned* in the process of becoming a member of a family, a member of a group, and of society that makes him [*sic*] react to his social world in a *consistent* and *characteristic* way” (as cited in Garrett 2010: 29). In this respect, attitudes can be considered as part and parcel of one's social identity. Garrett (2010: 29) notes that Sherif's notion of attitudes highlights the “durable qualities of attitudes as socially structured and socially structuring phenomena”. Thus as one's social identity develops with respect to differing contexts, it can be assumed that their attitudes will follow suit. Such a fluctuation, or “oscillation”, is said to take place when “we establish or revise attitudes and beliefs or arrive at decisions” (Fink *et al.* 2002: 17, as cited in Garrett (2010: 29). However, Garrett (2010: 29-30) states that like language, language attitudes develop at an early stage and therefore some attitudes to language will tend to endure longer than others. It is for this reason that he suggests that language attitude research should focus both on “how stable or ephemeral attitudes are”, and how dependent certain attitudes may be on context (*ibid.*: 30).

Finally, it is important to discuss several terms that are often related to attitude: opinion, motivation, ideology and social stereotypes. Differentiating between opinion and attitude, Baker (1992: 14) notes that an opinion represents an “overt belief without an affective reaction” while attitudes are comprised of an affective component. Moreover, one can further differentiate between opinions and attitudes due to the notion that opinions are “verbalisable” and attitudes are often “latent” (*op.cit.*). While the difference between attitude and opinion is fairly straightforward, the relationship between motivation and attitude appears to be more complex. Citing the work of Shaw and Wright (1967), Baker (*op.cit.*) states that “both attitudes and motives refer to latent dispositions affecting the directionality of behaviour, but not to external behaviour itself”. Newcomb's (1950) research, however, stresses a “twofold difference” between the two terms: (1) motives contain an “existing drive state”, contrary to attitudes, and (2) motives tend to be “goal specific” while attitudes tend to be “object specific” (as cited in Baker 1992: 14). Commenting on discrepancies in the use of “attitude” and “motivation” in research, Ellis (1985: 117) argues that “there is no general agreement about what precisely 'motivation' or 'attitudes' consists of, nor of the relationship

between the two”. He goes on to suggest that “this is entirely understandable given the abstractness of these concepts, but it makes it difficult to compare theoretical propositions” (as cited in Baker 1992: 14).

Social stereotyping between social groups often influences the cognitive aspects of language attitudes (Garrett 2010: 32). Garrett (op.cit) maintains that social stereotypes occur as similarities and differences between social groups are accentuated by social categorization (SIT). He notes that stereotypes, or “labels used to refer to the groups”, can either be positive or negative. In this way, stereotyping is said to be related to the affective component of attitudes as well (op.cit). Applying social stereotypes to the study of language attitudes, Garrett (*ibid.*: 33) states that “language varieties and styles can trigger beliefs about a speaker and their social group membership often influenced by language ideologies, leading to stereotypic assumptions about shared characteristics of those group members”. Referencing Tajfel (1981), he goes on to suggest that “at the intergroup level, stereotypes serve a social differentiation function, enabling us to preserve and enhance favourable distinctions between our own group (ingroup) and relevant outgroups” (op.cit). As such, there appears to be a strong relationship between an individual's group membership, or social identity, and their attitudes regarding other social groups (outgroups).

Similar to social stereotyping, ideology is said to be a “cognitive system rationalising forms of behaviour” (Cooper and McGaugh 1966, as cited in Baker 1992: 15). In this way, Baker (1992: 15) argues that ideology may be considered as a “global attitude” given that it represents “broad perspectives on society”. With regard to the field of language attitudes, Garrett (2010: 34) notes that language ideology has become important in terms of research in language variation and language change. He goes on to add that the study of language ideologies enables researchers to comprehend “the politics of language” in both multilingual and monolingual contexts (op.cit). This notion will be examined in more depth in Section IV.3 with the discussion of standard language ideology and purist attitudes to language. It is important to note, however, that whereas language ideologies often affect social stereotypes, social stereotypes tend to stem from “multiple sources within social intention and specific contexts” (op.cit).

IV.2 *Motivation and language attitudes*

As previously discussed, it is difficult to qualify the relationship between motivation and attitude as the two terms have often been used interchangeably in the literature. However, regardless of this ambiguity, language attitudes appear to play a significant role in a learner's orientation to the acquisition of a foreign language. In order to investigate this role, it is essential to begin by discussing Gardner and Lambert's (1972, 1985) often-cited Motivation Theory. Motivation theory suggests that a learner's motivation to learn a foreign language derives from “two types of attitudinally based orientation”: *integrative* and *instrumental* orientation (Singleton 2014: 95). While often criticized, these two orientations have nevertheless served as the theoretical basis for much current research in the field of L2 motivation (Oakes 2001: 31).

According to Gardner and Lambert's Motivation Theory, instrumental orientation refers to “pragmatic” and “utilitarian” motives for learning a language (Baker 1992: 32). Instrumental motivation is thus said to represent “a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a language” (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 14, as cited in Baker 1992: 32). To illustrate this notion, Baker (1992: 32) notes that one of the instrumental test items from Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test includes: “Studying French can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job”. He (op.cit) goes on to add that possible motives pertaining to instrumental orientation may include: “status, achievement, personal success, self enhancement, self actualisation, or basic security and survival”.

Integrative orientations to foreign language learning are, however, more “social and interpersonal” in nature (op.cit). Such attitudes can be characterized as “a desire to be like representative members of the other language community” (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 14, as cited in Baker 1992: 32). Baker (1992: 32) notes that integrative orientation can be tested through questions such as: “Studying French can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people” (Gardner 1985). This example thus emphasizes the way in which “an integrative attitude to a particular language may concern attachment to, or identification with a language group and their culture activities” (Baker 1992: 32). In this way, integrative orientation appears to be directly related to social identity given that it represents an individual's

desire to be associated with an outgroup. For Gardner, foreign language learners who exhibit integrative orientation will be more successful in their acquisition of the language (Singleton 2014: 27).

Although Gardner and Lambert's research is commonly considered to be the foundation of L2 motivation research, many scholars have criticized the degree to which instrumental and integrative orientations influence an individual's motivation to learn a language. For instance, Dornyei (2003: 5) notes that integrativeness “has remained an enigma” as “it has no obvious parallels in any areas of mainstream motivational psychology”. What is more, Ushioda and Dornyei (2009: 2) state that there has been much debate regarding “strong (social identification and integration) versus weak (sense of affiliation and interest) versions of the integrative concept”. To this end, Clément and Kruidenier (1983) tested the strong form of integrativeness only to discover that “a truly integrative orientation” was rare among language learners (Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 2).

Ushioda and Dornyei (op.cit) note that, in the wake of the global spread of English, the debate regarding integrativeness has “intensified and taken on a new turn”. In this respect, they add that scholars have begun to contemplate questions such as the following: “Does it make sense to talk about integrative attitudes when ownership of English does not necessarily rest with a specific community of speakers, whether native speakers of British or American English varieties or speakers of World English varieties?” (*ibid.*: 2-3). In an effort to account for such questions regarding the relevancy of integrativeness in today's globalized world, two significant theories have come to the foreground: Yashima's (2002, 2009) notion of “international posture” and Dornyei's (2005) “L2 Motivational Self System” (Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 3).

Yashima (2009: 145) notes that while international posture certainly finds its origins in Gardner's integrative concept, her theory focuses on how EFL learners aim to identify with the global community rather than with a specific L2 group. She states that “as English gains power as a world language, it has become increasingly more difficult for Japanese EFL learners to identify a clear target group or culture” (op.cit). To this extent, and due to the “ethnolinguistic vitality and cultural capital” of English, Yashima (*ibid.*: 145-6) argues that one cannot consider integrative attitudes to learning English

without considering certain instrumental motives as well. Combining both of these elements, then, Yashima (2004) defines international posture as: “(1) Intergroup approach tendency, (2) Interest in international vocation and activities, and (3) Interest in foreign affairs” (as cited in Yashima 2009: 146). Moreover, Yashima (*ibid.*: 148) draws on Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of “community of practice” to suggest that international posture may reflect “students' interest in participating in an 'imagined international community’”. In this way, Yashima's theory of international posture appears to complement the notion that global linguistic identities have developed as a result of globalization and the use of English as an international language.

Rather than focusing on an external reference group, Dornyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System posits that the identification process related to integrativeness is better expressed in terms of the individual's self-concept (Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 3). Dornyei's theory finds its root in Markus and Nurius' (1987) psychological theory of “possible selves” as it differentiates between the concepts of *ideal self* and *ought-to self*. Ideal self is said to represent the “attributes that someone would ideally like to possess” (Ushioda and Dornyei 2009: 3-4). The attributes pertaining to ideal self are often directly related to an individual's “personal hopes, aspirations or wishes”. Ushioda and Dornyei (*ibid.*: 4) note that ought-to self complements one's ideal self as it represents the “attributes that one believes one ought to possess”. For this reason, an individual's ought-to self is said to stem from their “sense of duty, obligations or responsibilities” (op.cit). The general assumption underlying this theory is that proficiency in the L2 is associated with a learner's ideal and ought-to selves. In this way, Ushioda and Dornyei (op.cit) hold that an individual's ideal and ought-to selves will “serve as a powerful motivator to learn the language because of our psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between our current and possible future selves”.

Linking Yashima's notion of international posture and Dornyei's L2 Motivational Self System, Yashima (2009: 147) conjectures that students “with a higher level of international posture” are likely to develop possible selves by “speaking with international students, helping foreigners lost on the street, reading English language newspapers”. She goes on to suggest that these students may also imagine their ideal selves “pursuing an international career, working in a foreign country, or conducting

business negotiations in English” (*ibid.*: 148). In order to achieve such desires, Yashima (op.cit) notes that students will need to have a certain proficiency in English, which thus acts as an incentive to pursue “L2 related actions”. Based on her research, Yashima found that international posture serves as a motivating factor for developing “English-using possible selves” among learners. These English-using possible selves, in turn, influence EFL learners to engage in communication. Yashima's research also showed that international posture has a direct influence on learners' “English-studying possible selves” which induces “learning behaviours” (op.cit). In a broader application of Speech Accommodation Theory, such L2 related actions and behaviors could be qualified as an individual's convergence strategies to establish a positive identity in the global community. Such a view is further supported by Lamb's (2004) discovery that Indonesian students study English so that they can develop a global identity (see Section III.4).

While these two theories slightly differ in regard to the identification process involved in Gardner's integrative concept, both theories clearly take into account the notion of identity. In this way, one could say that both theories recognize the way in which attitudes to foreign language develop as a result of an individual's experiences. What is more, both theories appear to suggest that an individual's positive orientation to the L2, and thus motivation to use the L2, stems from their desire to improve their self-concept. It must be noted, however, that the degree to which this is true for English seems to be highly dependent on an individual's notion of their ideal self and their contact with the international community. Considering these theories in the scope of this research, one could assume that by communicating with foreign peers in English, French workers have developed possible selves (and identity) related to the use of English. In this respect, their required participation in international projects in English may represent their ought-to self, and their desire to improve the quality of this contact may represent their ideal self. In order to reduce the difference between the two and ultimately improve their self-concept, French employees may subsequently be more motivated to use English, and thus they will exhibit more positive attitudes to English. This notion is further supported by Fink *et al.*'s (2002: 17) proposition that, much like

identity, an individual's attitudes will fluctuate in relation to their different experiences and contexts.

IV.3 Standard language ideology and purist attitudes

In order to fully examine French speakers' attitudes to language, and more specifically to English, it is essential to discuss *standard language ideology* and its influence on the way in which speakers of standardized languages perceive language use. To achieve this, it is first important to establish the nature of a standard language. Jenkins (2009b: 33) defines the "standard variety" as the "variety of a language which is considered to be the norm". She goes on to add that the standard variety is "held up as the optimum for educational purposes and used as a yardstick against which other varieties of the language are measured" (op.cit). In a similar discussion, Milroy (2001: 532) notes that while the two are indeed separate entities, the standard variety is often "equated with 'the highest prestige variety', rather than with the variety that is characterized by the highest degree of uniformity". He argues, however, that "high prestige" is not "definitive of what constitutes a 'standard'" given that "varieties of language do not actually have prestige in themselves"; language varieties attain prestige when their speakers have prestige (op.cit). Nevertheless, it is crucial here to note that while standard and prestige varieties of language are, in fact, separate entities, they are often considered to be one and the same. The "norm" thus appears to be inherently prestigious for speakers.

This consideration of the standard variety wholly owes itself to the process of standardization. Milroy (*ibid.*: 534) states that, as an "economic imperative" is central to all instances of standardization, languages too have economic values. He goes on to note that those languages that have been highly standardized tend to be more valuable given that they lead to "greater efficiency in exchanges of any kind" (op.cit). For this reason, then, Milroy argues (op.cit) that the "immediate goals" of standardization are "economic, commercial and political", and are therefore enacted through "external" and "conscious human intervention". This point is particularly important as it highlights the way in which the standard variety of a language serves a social function for the nation-

state. It thus seems that the high value equated with the standard variety of a language stems, in part, from its inextricable link to the overall functioning of the nation-state.

For Milroy (*ibid.*: 535), one of the most significant outcomes of standardization has been standard language ideology. He defines standard language ideology as “the development of consciousness among speakers of a ‘correct’, or canonical, form of language” (op.cit). Noting the significant impact of standard language ideology on individuals’ attitudes, Garrett (2010: 7) states that, “attitudes towards language, positive and negative, are often influenced by the process of standardization in languages”. Milroy (2001: 530-2) notes that these attitudes often develop among speakers of languages such as English, French and Spanish who consider their language to be highly standardized. He goes on to suggest that such speakers belong to “standard language cultures” (*ibid.*: 535). These speakers are said to hold “popular attitudes” about language that they believe to be “common sense”. To this end, Milroy argues that speakers within standard language cultures develop, in particular, “common sense attitudes” concerning notions of “correctness” within a language (*ibid.*: 536). Individuals who do not agree with these notions of correctness are, in turn, deemed “outsiders to the ‘common culture’” (op.cit). Hence, it could be said that these attitudes emanating from standard language cultures signal a speaker’s membership within a given speech community.

With regard to such a membership, Davies (2003: 136) defines the speaker of a standardized language as a “standard-language adherent” who “belongs to the standard-language club”. He goes on to suggest that the standard language adherent “rarely has any idea what its rules or norms are, even though s/he can usually perform the ones that are relevant with some degree of success” (op.cit). In a similar discussion, Milroy argues that “language is not the possession of the native speakers” but rather the possession of a small group of “authorities” who indicate the correct usage of the language (2001: 536). Milroy (op.cit) goes on to add that these rules “exist outside the speaker” as children must learn the “canonical forms” of language in school. One should thus bear in mind that education appears to be the principal medium for transmitting the national standard. For this reason, it could be conjectured here that attitudes regarding the standard variety of a language develop within the school context.

This notion parallels Byram's (2006: 8-9) position that students develop their national identity as they are exposed to shared texts and allusions within the standardized language ("collective memory"). As both occur when students are exposed to the standard variety in the educational context, it seems that an individual's attitude to the standard variety of a language may be directly related to the development of their national identity.

France is perhaps one of the most significant examples of this parallel between standardization and national identity (Haugen 2003: 418). To this end, Haugen (op.cit) notes that the standardization of French was "intimately tied to the history of the nation itself". He goes on to suggest that as the French fostered "a sense of cohesion around a common government", that the French language "became a vehicle and a symbol of their unity" (op.cit). As previously discussed in Sections II.3.1 and III.4, the *Académie Française* and French education has been an integral aspect of this link between the standardization of French and social cohesion within the French community. One could thus surmise that attitudes relating to standard language ideology (notions of correctness, notion of one, "canonical" form of language, etc.) are quite strong in France as they are ultimately linked to French speakers' notions of national identity. Hence, the fundamental question to consider in regard to this research is: to what extent do these purist attitudes transfer to conceptions of the L2 and L2 identity? Do French speakers perceive that a foreign language such as English is intrinsically linked to its native national culture and thus there is one standard way to speak that language? As such, this notion raises questions about norms in EFL learning and use among non-native speakers: what norm do French speakers adhere to, and more importantly, what norm do they believe they should adhere to?

IV.4 *The native speaker as model and interlocutor*

This final aspect of language attitudes complements the discussion of standard language ideology as the native speaker model similarly evokes the notion that "Inner Circle" standard varieties (e.g. Standard American English, Standard British English, etc.) are the ultimate models for speaking "correct English". While the native speaker model is not concretely qualified as an ideological disposition to language, attitudes concerning

correctness and authority among EFL users may be directly related to the pervasiveness of the native speaker model in EFL education. A study of these attitudes is particularly important in a country such as France where efforts to standardize the national language have been greatly linked to the national identity of the country. As a result of this link between national social cohesion and the standard language, French speakers may similarly perceive English to be the possession of the “Inner Circle” countries. For this reason, and due to the omnipresence of the native speaker model in EFL teaching and learning contexts, it is probable that French speakers will consider that there is one, correct way to speak English and that this authority ultimately belongs to these countries. As such, it is essential to examine both the strength of attitudes resulting from the native speaker model in EFL contexts, as well as the extent to which these attitudes may affect communication in English.

As previously discussed, the expression of such attitudes would not be surprising given that the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers of English appears to be quite commonplace in the literature. Illustrating this notion, Marino (*ibid.*: 132) points out that Kachru’s “three-circle” model (see Figure 1 in Section II.1.2.1) perpetuates the discrepancy between English language users, as the “Inner Circle” and “Expanding Circle” are identified as “norm-providing” and “norm-dependent” respectively. The use of such terms thus highlights the extent to which the native speaker model is engrained in conceptions of English use. Moreover, it could be said that the distinction made between “norm-providing” and “norm-dependent” clearly evokes a notion of authority, and therefore mirrors certain attitudes that result from standardization.

It appears that the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers is similarly pervasive in EFL education in Expanding Circle countries. Kirkpatrick (2007: 184) notes that Inner Circle standards are often chosen in EFL education, as they are often deemed more prestigious and legitimate. He (*op.cit*) goes on to note that the codification present in these standards offers a model to which competency may be tested. However, Kirkpatrick (*ibid.*: 188) argues that the NS model in EFL education may be discouraging for non-native speakers if they feel that they cannot attain this “perfect” English. He (*op.cit*) goes on to suggest that this illusive model may, in turn, de-motivate

learners and users. This notion is particularly pertinent to this research as it highlights certain attitudes that may develop to English among learners and users of English who have been educated in this manner.

As EFL education in France follows an exonormative native speaker model (Standard British English), one could conjecture that French workers hold similar attitudes to correctness in English that may factor into their self-evaluation of their skills in the workplace. Such attitudes may prove to be problematic in certain speech situations if non-native English users measure themselves against their native English-speaking interlocutors. In this way, non-native speakers of English may be less at ease when speaking and exchanging with these individuals if they feel that they have not achieved “native-like” proficiency. The extent of these feelings will of course be dependent on the individual speaker and how they envision their ultimate language goals. Thus, attitudes resulting from the dichotomy between native and non-native speaker models may ultimately factor into the way non-native English users perceive their usage and proficiency. This self-evaluation is both integral to their overall self-concept and English speaker identity as constructed in the international workplace. The examination of the dichotomy between non-native and native speakers of English is therefore essential for better understanding the development and continuation of certain attitudes to English in the French workplace.

Chapter V. Research Method: Qualitative Approach

V.1 Respondents

The six respondents chosen for the qualitative aspect of this research were selected based on the following five criteria: (1) that they worked for multinational companies situated in France; (2) that they regularly used English for their work; (3) that they were French; (4) that they represented three distinct age groups; (5) that both genders were equally represented. Following these criteria, Respondent #1 (BR) was a 28-year-old French male who worked as an Engineer in a multinational natural gas company located in the greater Grenoble area. Respondent #2 (CM) was a 41-year-old French male who worked as a Software Developer in a multinational software company located in Grenoble. Respondent #3 (PC) was a 52-year-old French male who worked as a Software Developer in a multinational software company located in Grenoble. Respondent #4 (MC) was a 55-year-old French female who worked as an Engineer in a multinational electric company located in the greater Grenoble area. Respondent #5 (SG) was a 35-year-old French female who worked as an Engineer in a multinational electric company located in the greater Grenoble area. And finally, Respondent #6 (CA) was a 26-year-old French female who worked as a Communications Coordinator for a multinational pet food company. It should be noted that Respondent #6 was no longer working for this company at the time of the interview, yet her departure from the company was fairly recent so she reflected on her time there when responding to the questions.

It should similarly be noted that Respondents #2 and #3 were former English students of the researcher. As the researcher developed a positive working relationship with these respondents, they were selected in the aim that they would feel more at ease speaking about their personal experiences using English. Moreover, as both respondents tended to be fairly vocal about their personal opinions during class discussions, it was the presumption of the researcher that they would be equally honest in their answers and maintain their personal opinions, rather than converging to the presumed opinions of the researcher.

As for the remaining respondents, they were either friends of the researcher or colleagues of contacts in different companies. The familiarity afforded by these

relationships helped create a comfortable environment in which the respondents were immediately at ease with the researcher.

V.2 Materials and procedure

V.2.1 Procedure

The six interviews primarily took place in the respondents' place of work and were recorded using a recording application on the researcher's computer. The only exception to this protocol was with Respondent #6 as she did not live in Grenoble at that time of the interview. To conduct this interview, the researcher and Respondent #6 arranged a meeting by Skype and the interview was recorded using the researcher's mobile phone. All of the interviews were conducted in French (aside from the questionnaire in English) in order to put the respondents at ease, obtain as much detailed information as possible and avoid any speech convergence on the part of the respondents.

At the beginning of each interview, the respondents were given time to review the qualitative research questions and ask for any clarification if necessary. The researcher subsequently informed the respondents that they should reflect on their various experiences using English in the workplace when answering the questions. As the respondents were generally hesitant at the beginning of the interviews, it was often necessary for the researcher to prompt the respondents with questions pertaining to their use of English in the workplace environment (which nationalities they generally worked with, etc.). Once the respondents were at ease with the interview, the researcher attempted to speak as little as possible so as not to guide the respondents with her opinions, as well as to avoid social desirability and acquiescence biases (Garrett 2013: 44-5). If the researcher interjected at any point during the interviews, it was generally to stimulate conversation, clarify questions or to elaborate a point that was raised in the course of the conversation. Following the interviews, the researcher transcribed the recordings according to the order of the questions in the questionnaire, and noted any pauses (...) and paralinguistic features that occurred in the interviews (refer to Appendix B for these transcripts).

V.2.2 *Questionnaire*

The questions included in the qualitative research questionnaire were developed according to the results obtained in the pilot study, as well as according to the theoretical research concerning the use of English as a *lingua franca*. As such, many of the questions included in the questionnaire were adapted from the discussion questions concerning the text entitled “Whose language is it?” in the researcher’s advanced students’ course book (Oxenden & Latham-Koenig 2010: 12-3). Judging from the results obtained in the pilot study, it appeared that the researcher’s advanced (CEFR C1/C2) adult students were generally positive in orientation to the use of English as a language of communication. Moreover, the pilot study revealed that while these students considered that comprehension was the most important aspect of communication in English, they unanimously agreed that NNS should try to achieve a grammatically correct English according to one of the NS English models (refer to Appendix A for the transcript of this conversation). It became clear during this discussion that the students held strong attitudes regarding correctness and authority in English, despite their various experiences speaking with different populations. As the majority of the students were also quite motivated by these questions, the researcher decided to use them as a way of measuring the development of attitudes to English in the French workplace.

V.2.2.1 *Questionnaire format*

1. How important is it to you to be able to communicate with native speakers of English?
2. How important is it to you to be able to communicate with non-native speakers of English?
3. Do you generally speak with more native speakers or non-native speakers of English at work?
4. Do you find it easier to communicate with non-native speakers of English or with native speakers of English (or both)?
5. How do you feel in these different situations at work (in meetings, etc.)? Do you feel like you’re able to express your ideas and opinions in English? Can you describe one of these situations?
6. In your opinion, what skills in English do you need in order to communicate effectively?
7. To what extent do you agree that non-native speakers of English should not worry about making mistakes as long as they can communicate?
8. To what extent do you agree that non-native speakers do not need to speak like native speakers?
9. To what extent do you agree that non-native speakers shouldn’t feel inferior to native speakers?
10. To what extent do you agree that certain grammar mistakes should be considered “variants” of English, not “mistakes”?
11. What does “correct English” mean to you?
12. How do you feel about the French accent in English? Do you think that French people generally speak well in English?
13. Do you have a favorite accent in English?

14. How well do you think you write, read and speak English?
15. Do you think your proficiency in English is high enough for your job?
16. What is your ultimate goal in learning English?
17. Would you be willing to let go of your French identity to assume an Anglophone one?

With regard to the questionnaire, questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were included to measure French workers' attitudes to communication in English in the workplace. These questions were included to measure French workers' attitudes to communication with NNS and NS in the workplace, and whether or not they were more positive in orientation to communication with one of the sets of speakers. Moreover, these questions were included to determine how comfortable these speakers felt when communicating in English and what skills they believed were the most useful for successful communication in English. Questions 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 were included to measure the respondents' attitudes to correctness in English and whether or not their experience as users within an international communicative context had changed their perception of authority and correctness in English use. As for questions 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16, these questions were included to test the respondents' attitudes to their personal use of English in the workplace. Finally, question 17 was included to measure the respondents' primary motivation for learning English, and whether or not they were positive in orientation to learning English for integrative reasons.

V.3 Results and discussion

V.3.1 Attitudes to communication in English in the workplace

In respect to the importance of being able to communicate with NNS and NS of English in the workplace, all of the respondents noted that it was equally important to communicate with both sets of speakers as English was the common language of communication between international teams. As a result, the respondents often referred to English as an instrument that allowed them to communicate with speakers of other languages. The majority of respondents noted, however, that they were in contact with more NNS of English, as they were often involved in projects involving European colleagues, and colleagues from other countries such as India, China, Brazil, Russia, etc. Due to the diversity of these exchanges, it was often difficult for respondents to stipulate with which set of speakers it was easier to communicate. It seems that the responses to these questions (questions 3 and 4) varied in terms of the respondents'

experiences with different nationalities and in different communicative situations. For example, Respondents #2 and #3 tended to focus on differences in communication between Europeans, as their NNS interlocutors were primarily German, Spanish and Portuguese. While the other respondents also cited experiences with other Europeans, they additionally noted the need to adapt to the speech patterns of their Chinese and Indian interlocutors.

Overall, the respondents tended to respond that the primary difficulty in these diverse communicative situations was the accent of their interlocutors. As Respondents #2, #4 and #5 noted, this difficulty was extended to both native and non-native speakers of English:

C'est difficile parce qu'il y a des fois des Américains qu'on comprend très bien et d'autres pas du tout...des Anglais aussi. (#2)

Les Chinois...les Chinois...parce que les intonations n'ont rien à voir, donc le rythme qu'ils mettent dans la prononciation est surprenant. (#4)

Le plus simple à communiquer...je n'ai pas de réponse définie, ni l'un ni l'autre, ni les deux (rire), parce que chacun a sa spécificité. (#5)

According to these responses, it appears that the diversity of the respondents' interlocutors required a certain level of concentration and adaptation on the part of the respondents. These difficulties even led Respondent #4 to argue in favor of multicultural English classes in which students would be exposed to different accents:

C'est un contexte qui nous amène à devoir entendre différentes formes d'expression d'une même langue, et qui nous oblige aujourd'hui à ne pas que parler avec des Anglophones, mais justement comprendre que l'expression de cette langue-là peut être faite par différentes personnes.

As such, it seems that the diversity of communication in the workplace context has encouraged respondents such as Respondent #4 to adopt a more "global" attitude in which the adaptation to varying accents and norms is viewed as the rule rather than the exception.

In addition to differences in accents, the respondents noted that their interlocutors' varying levels of competency triggered difficulties in comprehension. Respondent #3 noted that as his non-native speaker interlocutors often made errors in their use of vocabulary or grammar, it was difficult for him to focus on the message that they wanted to transmit:

Comme les non-natifs font des fautes de temps ou de vocabulaire, il faut retraduire ou essayer de comprendre ce qu'ils essaient de dire...tout ça donc c'est pénible parce que à chaque fois, il faut que je recherche pourquoi ils se trompent et revenir sur le vrai sens et je ne suis pas sûr.

Respondent #3 revealed a similar attitude concerning the linguistic barriers caused by differing levels of competency:

La disparité des niveaux fait que c'est indispensable de parler anglais, mais la difficulté c'est justement que chacun arrive avec son propre niveau, et acquis dans le domaine, son propre vocabulaire.

She later added to this notion by stating that it would be more efficient if everyone had a similar level of English in the workplace in order to limit any confusion. While these two respondents focused on difficulties arising from their NNS interlocutors' differing levels of competency, several respondents noted that it was often difficult to understand their NS interlocutors, as they tended to either speak very quickly or mumble their words:

Les Anglophones, eux, c'est leur langue maternelle donc ils parlent beaucoup plus vite, tout vient plus vite donc il faut suivre à un niveau de compréhension. (#1)
J'ai des personnes qui parlent très vite et qui surtout parlent en mâchant les mots parce qu'ils ont l'habitude. (#5)

These attitudes to difficulties in comprehension were similarly expressed in the respondents' responses to question 6, as the majority of respondents ranked "listening" as the most important English skill for their work. For Respondents #1 and #3, a good level of comprehension in English is essential for participation in meetings:

Pour moi, le plus important c'est d'être capable de comprendre ce qu'il se dit dans une réunion, sinon tu fais rien, tu peux rien faire quoi...il y a plusieurs façons de dire les choses mais il n'y a qu'une façon de comprendre. (#3)
Dans une réunion, dans une discussion, même si on dit rien, ou même si on ne s'exprime pas suffisamment, on a compris de quoi ça a parlé déjà, on est bien partis, après on commentera. (#1)

Here, both respondents seem to consider that comprehension is the first step in interactions in English. Moreover, they both appear to stress the notion that employees are rendered inefficient if they are not able to understand what is being said in a meeting or discussion. While the majority of respondents considered that comprehension is the

most important skill to acquire in the workplace, the responses tended to vary for the other skills in terms of the respondents' respective positions and needs for English in the workplace. For example, both Respondent #4 and #5 stressed the importance of good writing skills, as it was always necessary for them to write and transmit minutes of the meetings that they participated in. Despite these slight differences, all of the respondents noted that the four skills in English were necessary for their work.

In terms of preference for speaking with NNS or NS of English, the respondents tended to prefer communicating with non-native speakers. The majority of respondents noted that they felt more at ease speaking with non-native speakers because they were all on a similar "playing field", so to speak, in terms of vocabulary and errors. Commenting on this reality, Respondent #2 acknowledged that he felt less embarrassed speaking to non-native speakers because they experienced the same difficulty speaking English as a foreign language:

On est plus à l'aise avec des non-natifs parce que, voilà, c'est une langue...on est face au même problème donc il y a moins de gêne ou moins de scrupule à faire des erreurs...c'est peut-être plus simple et ça pose moins de problèmes.

While it is true that the majority of respondents felt more comfortable communicating with non-native speakers, certain attitudes regarding these communicative events varied according to the respondents' age or gender.

V.3.1.1 Age

As opposed to Respondents #1 and #6, the four respondents belonging to the older age groups tended to express more anxiety about speaking in English in the workplace. In response to question 5, the majority of these respondents cited experiences in which they lacked the vocabulary to feel confident in their English speaking skills. Respondents #2 and #4 noted that this feeling was particularly pronounced during meetings when they wanted to argue a point or contradict something that was previously said:

Au niveau de l'expression je suis loin d'avoir un niveau suffisant pour m'exprimer sans chercher mes mots clairement et sans fautes...donc c'est vrai que ce n'est pas toujours confortable quand on est dans des réunions

avec beaucoup de personnes où il faut effectivement derrière apporter un argumentaire, apporter la contradiction. (#2)

Il y a d'autres réunions qui sont plus pour créer quelque chose ou pour avancer sur une situation, et là il faut argumenter, et là ça devient plus compliqué si on n'a pas des bons termes pour expliquer ce qu'on pense, c'est ça, la difficulté. (#4)

With regard to this reality, Respondent #2 went on to qualify this inability to express oneself accurately as a “*détriment du travail*”. He similarly noted in his response to question 4 that having a lower level in English was not favorable in exchanges at work in that those colleagues with higher levels tended to dominate the rhythm of these exchanges. It should be noted here, however, that Respondent #3 did not cite similar experiences in his interview. In fact, Respondent #3 noted that while he sometimes lacked the necessary vocabulary in his exchanges with other colleagues, communication in English was “*assez naturelle*” for him and he genuinely enjoyed speaking in English at work. Due to this difference, it may be more accurate to relate these attitudes to general competency in English. This notion is exemplified by the fact that, as opposed to Respondent #3, Respondents #2, #4 and #5 noted that they lacked the appropriate bases in grammar and vocabulary to understand everything that was said during meetings.

Despite these occasional feelings of anxiety or incompetency, these respondents tended to be generally positive in orientation to their use of English in the workplace. According to their responses to the questions concerning communication in English, it appears that these respondents adopted certain strategies and attitudes to overcome these linguistic barriers in the workplace. For example, both Respondent #4 and #5 noted that the use of non-verbal gestures during meetings or Webex video conferencing helped to decipher the reactions of their interlocutors:

Si on est en visuelle et tous présents, on va pouvoir capter la réaction, demander aux voisins. (#4)

Quand je fais des vidéos conférence, en plus de ce qu'on dit, il y a vraiment le langage du corps qui aide à se faire comprendre la situation dans laquelle on est, si on est plus en situation d'énervement, en situation de rigolade. (#5)

In addition to this use of non-verbal gestures, these same respondents mentioned that they adopted the reflex to confirm what they understood from a conversation by asking their interlocutors through chatting applications, or in-person if in a meeting.

As Respondent #6 noted in her interview, employees tend to be less embarrassed when they speak English in the workplace because everyone is in a similar position when they speak a foreign language. She similarly noted that employees share the difficulty of speaking English at work by working together to ensure that their common objectives are met:

Tout comme on va utiliser certains logiciels en informatique, dans un groupe comme Royal Canin, la langue c'est clé, si on ne fait pas l'effort de parler on ne peut pas avoir des résultats derrière...et comme chacun quand même a des objectifs à atteindre, tout le monde a intérêt à y mettre du sien, voilà, et après comme tout le monde partage un petit peu la même difficulté.

Although Respondent #6 belonged to the youngest age group, her observation of the work culture at her company may point to an underlying motivation that encourages employees to overcome linguistic barriers in the workplace. Her comment also evokes the development a workplace community in which employees share a common experience and work together to overcome any difficulties in communication.

V.3.1.2 Gender

With regard to communication in English in the workplace, the respondents' attitudes did not show significant variation according to gender. However, one aspect that appeared to vary according to gender was a preference for speaking with native speakers among the male respondents. In their responses to question 4, both Respondents #2 and #3 explicitly stated that it was more profitable to speak with NS of English because they could learn more from them in terms of grammar, vocabulary and accent:

Ca dépend beaucoup de la personne aussi...les efforts qu'ils vont faire, eux, justement d'essayer d'être plus clair, donc est-ce que c'est plus facile?...Je ne sais pas mais ils font moins d'erreurs donc ça nous aide plus, et c'est plus profitable pour nous en tant qu'apprentissage. (#2)

Je préfère avec les natifs parce que j'apprends plus, c'est plus riche quoi...l'échange est plus riche...j'apprends les mots qu'ils utilisent souvent, les expressions qu'ils utilisent régulièrement...et puis leurs accents. (#3)

While he did not explicitly express this same attitude, Respondent #1 noted that he had the tendency to make more of an effort to speak like his NS interlocutors when he was alone with Anglophone colleagues. He went on to note that his NS interlocutors served as a model for him in his communication in English.

Pour moi, après la différence n'est pas très, très forte mais quand on est de plusieurs langues différentes, le but avec l'anglais c'est de se comprendre, après on peut très bien s'entendre, mais il y a une espèce de consensus avec des Anglophones, je vais peut-être avoir plus tendance à essayer de m'intégrer, alors je parle avec eux si j'étais avec eux.

Due to this slight difference in attitudes, one could conjecture that older males are slightly more preferential to communicating with native speakers. Overall, it is important to note that these attitudes appear to point to the underlying notion that for male speakers, the NS interlocutor functions as a model for French workers in their continuing effort to acquire the English language. It is difficult to determine whether or not this is also true for female speakers, as they were not explicitly asked if they preferred speaking with NS or NNS. Nevertheless, as they did not offer responses such as these, one could surmise that communicating with NS for the purpose of learning is less important for female speakers.

V.3.2 Notions of correctness in English in the workplace

As previously noted, the respondents appeared to consider that the successful transmission of one's message is the most important element of communication in English in the workplace. This attitude was similarly expressed in responses to question 7 as all of the respondents noted that it was acceptable to make errors when communicating in English as long as their message was transmitted. For example, Respondent #4 noted that she stopped worrying about her errors when she realized that her colleagues often made the same errors and still managed to be understood:

Aujourd'hui, on fait tous des erreurs, donc du coup, mais on finit par se comprendre quand même (rire)...donc je pense que le fait de bien parler anglais c'est bien, mais si on ne parle pas correctement ce n'est pas grave, on finit par se comprendre.

Despite the overall consensus that errors were acceptable as long as NNS were able to communicate, some respondents' attitudes to the acceptability of these errors varied in

terms of their personal objectives, job title, and perception of workplace power dynamics. In response to question 7, both Respondents #1 and #3 recognized that while errors were acceptable, they personally aimed to limit their errors in order to achieve a more correct English:

Alors je pense que...il y a deux aspects, un aspect c'est, on va dire, c'est le plaisir à parler correctement une langue, de savoir que je peux bien m'exprimer dans une langue, à la limite tu peux presque ne pas forcément être identifiable. (#1)

Encore une fois, ce n'est pas nécessaire de limiter des fautes qu'on fait, mais c'est important, voilà, c'est la différence entre quelque chose qui est urgente et importante...mais ça peut fonctionner mieux...tu peux tout faire dans la vie avec un niveau juste suffisant, avoir 10/20, avoir juste la moyenne, mais tu peux avoir aussi plus et, en général, moi, je préfère faire des efforts. (#3)

As for Respondent #6, who worked as a Communications Coordinator at her company's headquarters, it was important to pay attention to errors in grammar and vocabulary so as not to convey the wrong message to the company's thirty-six subsidiaries:

A mon avis, pour, par exemple une stratégie de communication, c'est très important d'être tous d'accord sur qu'est-ce qu'on met derrière le terme « influence », qu'est-ce qu'on met derrière le terme « lobbying », il y a plein de mots comme ça où on doit être très précis, et où on n'a pas le droit de faire des erreurs, anglophone, non-anglophone, il faut toujours partager précisément le sens parce que c'est crucial pour le développement opérationnel.

Finally, for Respondent #2, errors were acceptable as long as his interlocutors did not capitalize on his errors in order to secure a more advantageous position in their work relationship:

Tant que les personnes en face sont tolérantes, donc je pense que, effectivement, il n'y a pas de gêne à faire des fautes...après, s'il y a des personnes dans les groupes, des individus qui font preuve de cynisme, ou qui profitent de certaines fautes justement pour derrière retourner la situation, et puis en faire un argument pour déstabiliser.

Judging from Respondent #2's attitude to the linguistic barriers caused by differing levels of competency in English in the workplace (see Section V.3.1.1), this attitude may be directly related to his personal experience, and insecurity, as a lower level English user in the workplace. It seems that this was also the case for the other respondents as

their attitudes to errors were highly dependent on their personal or professional objectives with English in the workplace.

As with the responses concerning the acceptability of errors, the respondents tended to agree that it was not necessary for NNS to speak like NS. The only variation in these responses came from Respondent #1 who noted that while it was not necessary, it would be gratifying to attain native-like proficiency in English:

J'aurais plutôt tendance à dire que c'est bien, c'est appréciable de savoir bien parler anglais au plus proche d'un anglophone, après ce n'est pas dramatique si ce n'est pas le cas.

Whereas Respondent #1 was the only respondent to express this “double-sided” attitude with regard to question 8, the other respondents, in their responses to questions 10 and 11, seemed to similarly consider that speaking “correct” English means speaking like Inner Circle speakers. When asked whether or not certain “errors” could be considered “variants” of English, the majority of respondents noted that any deviations outside of the Inner Circle standards are errors. As this question was often difficult for respondents to answer, the researcher had to prompt several respondents with questions concerning different varieties of English, and whether or not one could qualify the common “errors” of French speakers as “French English”. In response to these questions, both Respondents #1, #3 and #5 responded that there were already enough variants of English, and that the errors that French speakers are prone to make are merely habits that they form and do not make an effort to correct:

Ce sont vraiment des erreurs, on ne peut pas les considérer comme variantes de l'anglais...déjà on a des variantes entre les Anglais et les Américains, donc c'est suffisant je pense (rire), après, ce n'est pas pareil, c'est autre chose, c'est vraiment les habitudes. (#5)

Non, là je ne suis pas d'accord...pour moi, il y a une seule règle et après le reste, si c'est pour justifier le fait qu'on peut se permettre de jouer un peu parce qu'on n'a pas envie d'apprendre les règles, pour moi ce n'est pas une bonne raison. (#3)

Je ne considère pas que les fautes, les différences que font les français quand ils parlent anglais, French English, je ne considère pas ça comme des variantes, pour moi ça reste des fautes, après ça ne m'empêche pas de communiquer. (#1)

While these respondents expressed strong attitudes to the notion of errors in English, Respondents #4 and #6 tended to maintain that certain deviations are acceptable as long as the intended message is communicated to the interlocutor:

Je crois que les règles d'expression grammaticale n'ont pas lieu...je pense que ça devient trop compliqué, et au final, il y a même des gens qui mélangent leurs langues natives avec l'anglais quand ils s'expriment et on finit quand même par comprendre des fois. (#4)

Je pense que confondre will avec would, pour reprendre cet exemple, c'est une erreur qui est quand même importante parce que le sens n'est pas le même, si c'est une personne au siège social qui donne des consignes à trente-six filiales, les conséquences peuvent être très importantes...donc, c'est vraiment une erreur d'employer l'autre sans distinction...après, par contre quelqu'un qui fait l'erreur de mettre did à chaque fois qu'il emploie un verbe au passé, ce n'est pas grave, quelqu'un dirait I did know au lieu de I knew, le sens ça peut être forcément, il n'y a qu'un seul sens possible, donc ce n'est pas très grave. (#6)

Here, it appears that Respondent #4 and #6's attitudes to correctness were directly linked to the communicative practice of using English in the workplace. In this way, they deemed that certain deviations are acceptable as long as the meaning remains the same and their work will not be negatively affected in the outcome.

This same divergence in attitudes was present in their responses to question 11 when commenting on the notion of "correct English". Both respondents noted that "correct English", for them, means being able to accurately express oneself in the workplace:

Un anglais correct, pour moi, je pense que c'est l'équivalent de « fluent » en anglais aussi, c'est-à-dire qu'il est courant, il n'est pas parfait, il est parfois un peu limité, mais en tout cas il a la mérite d'être clair, pour l'interlocuteur en face, ou en tout cas de limiter des confusions. (#6)

Je crois que la langue dans une entreprise comme Schneider, à mon niveau, parce que je pense qu'il y a des niveaux supérieures...mais il est certainement appauvri, déformé, parce qu'on utilise des mots, notre jargon qu'on adapte et tout le monde finit par comprendre, donc je pense que le correct English c'est celui qui fait qu'on arrive quand même à se comprendre au bout d'un moment. (#4)

It should similarly be noted that these comments, and particularly Respondent #4's comment, demonstrate the development of a "corporate English" in which employees learn to adapt to both the varying Englishes of their interlocutors and the vocabulary of

the domain in which they work. It seems that employees such as Respondents #4 and #6 consider that the ability to communicate is more important than adherence to certain standardized forms. As such, one could conjecture that the development of this attitude is directly linked to the diverse communicative practice that takes place in the workplace context.

In line with their responses to question 10, the other respondents indicated, however, that they consider “correct English” in terms of the Inner Circle standards. For these other respondents, speaking “correct English” meant possessing a good level of grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary according to the rules of one of the Inner Circle standards:

Alors c'est compliqué, je dirais qu'on va le prendre à la source en disant l'anglais britannique, mais après, je n'ai pas d'avis exact à donner...pour moi, effectivement, ça serait soit l'anglais britannique, soit l'anglais américain, mais pas d'autres. (#5)

J'aurais envie de dire l'anglais britannique académique, celui qui s'apprend...après, dans un pays, il y a toutes les variantes possibles, puis chacun va avoir sa manière de dire...donc l'anglais correct je n'aurais pas vraiment de réponse à part de dire celui qu'on apprend à l'école. (#1)

Un correct English, c'est un anglais sans faute vis-à-vis de la grammaire et de la prononciation et du vocabulaire...l'accent, c'est peut-être un peu moins grave...après, c'est surtout au niveau grammatical...pour moi, c'est un anglais correct. (#2)

When Respondent #2 was later asked what the reference was for this grammatically correct grammar, he responded that it was the English that students learned in grammar books. All of these comments thus exhibit a clear relationship between the respondents' attitudes to correctness in English and their academic history. As such, one could surmise that these speakers' attitudes to correctness in English developed within the school context, which is not surprising considering the link between language and nation-state in standard language cultures such as France (see Section IV.3). This notion was further exemplified in responses to question 13 (favorite accent in English) as all of the respondents noted that they preferred the “*accent britannique*”; the English standard that is learned in French schools.

These attitudes can similarly be examined in the scope of the respondents' perception that language is inherently linked to a given country. When responding to

question 10, and whether or not certain errors could be accepted as variants, both respondents #1 and #2 disagreed on the basis that English would subsequently lose its structure and legitimacy in terms of academically established rules:

Je regarde ça d'un point de vue un peu académique, dans une langue il y a quand même des règles, etcetera...c'est peut-être une vision un peu scolaire mais, pour moi, dans une langue il y a quand même des règles académiques et des choses qu'on dit, qu'on ne dit pas, en français c'est pareil. (#1)

Il faut enseigner les langues selon les règles et les usages de la langue, autrement, on dégrade énormément l'enseignement de la langue et l'apprentissage...ça devient quelque chose qui n'a plus de structure...si chaque pays a sa propre variante...à la fin on s'éloigne beaucoup de la langue origine et toute sa richesse et ses règles. (#2)

It should be noted here that Respondent #1 went on to note that he could not recognize a variety such as “French English” because there was not an “*académie d'anglais*” in France. Here, both of these comments appear to highlight the respondents’ perception that English is a product of Anglo-Saxon countries. As such, their attitudes reflect the purist attitudes that develop within standard language cultures in which the standard language is linked the nation-state itself and becomes a symbol of national identity (see Section IV.3).

In sum, the respondents’ attitudes to correctness were quite ambiguous given that the majority of the respondents considered that it was not necessary for NNS to speak like NS, yet they also considered that NS standards are the models for correctness in English. The inconsistency between these attitudes may be due to the fact that these speakers have been exposed to using English in two different contexts: the professional context and the academic context. Whereas the use of English in the academic context is codified according to the standardized grammar present in textbooks, the English used in the corporate context is more diverse and speakers are regularly exposed to different interlocutors with different linguistic backgrounds. As a result of these two experiences, French speakers may understand that communication is possible despite certain deviations from a standard grammar, and still consider that standard grammars are the ultimate models to adhere to. As Respondents #4 and #6 indicated divergence from this general attitude, one could conjecture that this attitude is not fixed for French speakers and may change in accordance with one’s experience and practice of English.

Apart from the divergence in attitudes of these two speakers, the responses to the questions concerning correctness in English did not yield any significant variation according to gender or age.

V.3.3 Self-evaluation of one's use of English in the workplace

Overall, the respondents reported that their proficiency in English was high enough for their job. Commenting on their use of English in the workplace, many of the respondents reiterated that communication was fairly easy given that the vocabulary employed was specific to the domain in which they worked. When asked to evaluate their reading, writing, listening and speaking skills in English, the majority of the respondents maintained that their level was sufficient for the workplace, but that they occasionally struggled with speaking, as it was difficult to correct oneself in the course of conversation. In one such case, Respondent #6 noted that she was occasionally frustrated when she spoke in English because she could not correct the errors that she knew she was making:

Quand on parle plus on a besoin d'être spontanés, on peut facilement se relire quand on écrit, on peut moins facilement se répéter à chaque fois qu'on fait une erreur, donc parfois quand on parle dans une langue qui n'est pas la notre, on va se reprendre quand on sent qu'on a fait une grosse faute et on va laisser certaines erreurs alors qu'on se rend compte qu'on a fait une erreur.

Although Respondent #2 mentioned that he was proficient enough in English for his job, he recognized that he was not comfortable enough in the language for his work to be easy and profitable:

C'est suffisant, mais c'est...on arrive à travailler, il n'y a pas de problème, mais ce n'est quand même pas super confortable...il faudrait que je sois un peu plus à l'aise pour que mon travail soit plus facile et profitable.

As the majority of the respondents cited that they considered “correct English” in terms of NS standards, one could conjecture that these respondents measure their proficiency in English in terms of NS models. Thus, while they may consider that their proficiency is sufficient for the workplace, they may also underestimate their proficiency in certain areas if they think that they have not adequately attained the NS model. In this way, there may be a separation between what French workers understand is necessary for

communication in their daily professional tasks and the ultimate native-like proficiency that they aspire to attain. This double-sided attitude was present in Respondent #6 and Respondent #2's comments given that they both noted that their English was sufficient for their work but that they were occasionally frustrated with limitations that they had in the language.

Responses to question 12 similarly shed light on the perception that French workers may have of their use of English. As respondents were asked to comment on whether or not they liked the French accent in English, and if they thought that French people spoke English well, it was the researcher's intention to gain insight into how these French speakers perceived their own accent and proficiency. Overall, the respondents tended to note that they disliked the French accent in English and that they were surprised when a French speaker had a "good" accent in English:

Est-ce que les Français ont un bon accent en général ? Non, non, je ne crois pas non...quand j'entends un bon accent je suis étonné parce que c'est rare. (#3)

Alors moi, personnellement, je trouve ça horrible (rire)...et je pense que les Français ne parlent pas assez bien anglais, après...je pense qu'on est aussi plus sensible à notre propre accent, c'est-à-dire entendre des Français quand ils parlent anglais c'est quelque chose qui nous choque. (#1)

Here, Respondent #1's comment demonstrates the way in which French speakers' perceptions of other speakers' practice of English may mirror their perception of their own practice. Judging from both comments, one could surmise that these respondents have a negative perception of their accent in English. As such, this negative perception of one's accent may play a significant role in a speaker's level of comfort when speaking English in the workplace.

Moreover, it appears that the majority of the respondents noted that they would be satisfied if they could attain a native-like proficiency in English. As previously discussed when analyzing the responses to the questions concerning correctness in English, one could conjecture that the NS model serves as the ultimate model to which French workers measure their competency in English.

As the respondents expressed similar attitudes to the questions aimed at measuring attitudes to correctness in English, the responses to these questions did not yield any significant variation according to gender or age.

V.3.4 Identity

With regard to question 17 in the qualitative interviews, the majority of the respondents noted that they would not be willing to give up their French identity to adopt an Anglophone identity. As Respondent #3 noted in his interview, the majority of the respondents confirmed that they primarily considered themselves as French with a certain “*ouverture*” to other cultures:

Le fait d'apprendre une langue étrangère, le but c'est rarement de changer l'identité...moi, je n'ai pas envie de changer d'identité, j'ai envie de communiquer avec le plus de monde possible et, en plus, je trouve que l'anglais est une belle langue à pratiquer...mais je reste comme je suis.

Regardless of the age and gender of the respondents, this notion that the speakers did not learn English so that they could integrate an Anglophone community was prevalent in all of the interviews. There seemed to be a general consensus among the respondents that English was rather a vehicle through which they could communicate with people from different cultures.

When asked whether or not she felt French when communicating in English in the workplace, Respondent #4 noted that she felt more of an international identity given that the international workplace functioned as a sort of international community:

La notion de l'identité française dans un groupe international, elle n'y est pas tellement...je trouve...on finit par la perdre parce que, justement, on est en contact avec différents pays, donc je ne me sens pas française, je me sens, ça peut surprendre, comme faisant partie d'un groupe qui est international...donc la notion de l'identité propre à un pays, elle se perd dans ce cas-là.

In her interview, Respondent #6 similarly discussed the development of an international community in the workplace. As such, one could conjecture that two cultures co-exist within multinational companies implanted in France: a local French culture and an international culture.

Although Respondents #1 and #6 noted that they felt they had a dual French and European identity as a result of their participation in the study abroad program Erasmus, none of the respondents noted that they were willing to let go of their French identity to adopt an Anglophone identity. As such, the respondents' responses to question 17 did not yield any significant variation according to age or gender.

The results obtained during the qualitative research will be further discussed in tandem with the quantitative research and theoretical research findings in the summary of results.

Chapter VI. Research Method: Quantitative Approach

VI.1 Respondents

A total of 99 French workers responded to the quantitative questionnaire. As with the respondents who participated in the qualitative research, all of these respondents worked within multinational companies implanted in France, and used English in the workplace. Five different age groups were represented within this respondent pool: 18-25 (24%), 26-35 (44%), 36-45 (15%), 46-55 (9%) and 56+ (7%). Out of the 99 respondents who responded to the questionnaire, 67% were male and 33% were female. In respect to their self-reported proficiency in English, the majority of the respondent pool appeared to be satisfied with their general level in English as 56 respondents indicated that their level was advanced, while 21, 20 and 2 reported that their level was bilingual, intermediate and beginner, respectively (refer to Appendix C for data concerning the respondent pool).

Imbalances within the age groups and gender reflect the manner in which this questionnaire was distributed and will therefore be discussed in the following section.

VI.2 Materials and procedure

VI.2.1 Procedure

The instrument used to collect the quantitative research data was an electronic questionnaire written in French and distributed through Google Drive Docs. This method of distribution was primarily chosen for efficacy as it enabled the wider distribution of the questionnaire on different social media platforms. As for the distribution of the questionnaire, several French friends, colleagues and contacts were asked to send the questionnaire to anyone they knew who was French, worked in a multinational company and spoke English in the workplace. In an effort to ensure an equal distribution of gender and age, the researcher asked certain contacts to only send the questionnaire to respondents of a certain age group or gender. Unfortunately, despite these efforts, male respondents heavily outnumbered female respondents, and the 26-35 year old age group made up a significant majority of the respondent pool. As such, the researcher decided to combine the results of the 46-55 year old age group with the 56+ age group in order to have a more significant respondent pool when analyzing

variation in age. Given that the data from the qualitative research revealed little variation in terms of these two variables, it was the researcher's conjecture that these imbalances would have little effect on the outcomes of the research.

V.2.2 Questionnaire

Overall, the majority of the questions included in the quantitative questionnaire were adapted from the qualitative questionnaire in order to confirm the results of the qualitative research. To ensure the accuracy of attitudes obtained in the quantitative research, these same questions were reformulated into one-part statements in which the respondents were prompted to answer according to a five-point Likert scale. In regard to the five-point Likert scale employed in the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to respond to the various statements with a score of 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 depending on whether they strongly disagreed (1), disagreed (2), were undecided (3), agreed (4) or strongly agreed (5) with the statement.

In accordance with the data obtained from the qualitative research, the researcher chose to modify several of the test items. For example, questions 1 and 2 in the qualitative research were slightly confusing for respondents as it was difficult to comment on the importance of speaking with either non-native or native speakers in the workplace. As the majority of the respondents noted that it was equally important to speak with both sets of speakers in the workplace, it became apparent to the researcher that these questions should be reformulated to focus on the facility of communication with these different speakers rather than importance. In addition, many of the respondents in the qualitative research were confused by the question concerning whether or not certain deviations from NS standards could be considered variants of English. As the question included the term "error" instead of "deviation", the question itself may have led the respondents to determine that these deviations were in fact errors. Moreover, the question concerning whether or not the respondents liked the French accent in English, and whether or not they thought French people spoke English well, was somewhat difficult to answer as it included two parts. As a result, several of the respondents did not answer the second part of the question and only responded to

whether or not they liked the French accent in English. This question was thus separated into two independent statements in the quantitative questionnaire.

VI.2.3 Questionnaire format

Vous allez répondre à un questionnaire d'une vingtaine de questions. Merci de bien vouloir cocher un seul choix sur l'échelle allant de pas du tout d'accord (1) à tout à fait d'accord (5). Merci de répondre à toutes les questions.

1. Dans le cadre de mon travail : la plupart du temps, je parle anglais avec :
 des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle
 des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle
2. Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle. 1 2 3 4 5
4. Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais. 1 2 3 4 5
6. En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités. 1 2 3 4 5
7. Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre. 1 2 3 4 5
8. Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle. 1 2 3 4 5
9. Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs. 1 2 3 4 5
10. Les français parlent bien anglais. 1 2 3 4 5
11. J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais. 1 2 3 4 5
12. Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais. 1 2 3 4 5
13. J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail. 1 2 3 4 5
14. En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement. 1 2 3 4 5
16. A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ?
 Classer les items du plus important (1) au moins important (4).
 La compréhension écrite 1 2 3 4
 La compréhension orale 1 2 3 4
 L'expression écrite 1 2 3 4
 L'expression orale 1 2 3 4
17. Quelle est votre tranche d'âge ?
18. Quel est votre sexe ?
19. Selon vous, quel est votre niveau d'anglais ?

As with the qualitative research questionnaire, questions 1-5 and 16 were included to test the respondents' attitudes to communication in English in the workplace with both NNS and NS. The objective for including these questions was to ascertain whether or not French workers' attitudes to English use were directly related to their experience as

English users in the corporate context. In addition to the previously discussed changes to the quantitative research questionnaire, question 6 was added in order to test the respondents' perception of the importance of English use in the French workplace and for one's overall career in France. Moreover, questions 7, 8, 9 were included to test the respondents' attitudes to correctness in English in the workplace. As with the qualitative questionnaire, questions 10-14 were included to test the respondents' perception of their personal use of English, and whether or not they evaluated themselves in terms of "native-like" proficiency. Question 12 was added to the quantitative questionnaire to attempt to measure the "readiness for action" component of the respondents' attitudes to English (see Section IV.1). Due to the unstable relationship between attitudes and behavior, this question was primarily included to gauge the respondents' perception of the importance of English language skills for their work. Finally, question 15 aimed at identifying the respondents' motivation for speaking English.

VI.3 Results and discussion

VI.3.1 Attitudes to communication in English in the workplace

The means included in Table 1 reflect the means of the global respondent pool's responses to the quantitative questionnaire. Given that the majority of the means present in Table 1 were over 3 (undecided), it appears that the respondents were generally positive in orientation to the use of English as a common corporate language in the workplace. While the majority of the means were between 3 and 4, a mean of 4.18 for responses to question 6 indicates that the respondents were the most positive in orientation to the notion that the acquisition of English is important for one's career in France. A mean of 1.92 for responses to question 10 however suggests that the respondents were the least positive in orientation to the idea that French speakers speak English well.

According to the respondents' responses to question 1 of the questionnaire, it appears that the respondents have had more contact with non-native English speakers (64%) than with native English speakers (17%) (see Appendix C for this table). While it was the researcher's initial intention to have the respondents choose between non-

native speakers and native speakers, many of the respondents clicked on both responses (19%) indicating that they have an equal amount of contact with both sets of speakers. Overall, the results obtained from responses to this question confirm both the qualitative research and the theoretical research that English as a *lingua franca* is primarily employed between non-native speakers in the multinational workplace context.

In terms of attitudes to the communicative event itself, the respondents were slightly more positive in orientation to question 2 concerning the facility of communication with non-native speakers (3.98) than to question 3 concerning the facility of communication with native speakers (3.84). As revealed in the qualitative research, this slight preference for communication with NNS may result from the respondents' feelings that their non-native interlocutors experience the same difficulties when using English in the workplace. This attitude may also reflect the fact that the respondents have more regular contact with NNS interlocutors, and thus more experience adapting to these interlocutors. However, the closeness of these two figures demonstrates that the respondents were quite neutral in their attitudes to the facility of speaking with both sets of speakers. For the qualitative research respondents, it was difficult to choose one set of speakers over the other, as their attitudes to the communicative event were highly dependent on the accent and competency of their interlocutors. As such, one could infer that the quantitative respondents have had similar experiences with diverse interlocutors, and thus have attitudes that shift with regard to the interlocutors themselves. Overall, as the means of the responses to these two questions were close to 4, it appears that these French workers were generally positive in orientation to communication in English in the workplace.

If glancing at Table 1, it would appear that the respondents were similarly positive in orientation to questions 4 (3.6) and 5 (3.64) concerning their level of comfort when communicating in English during meetings. Given that the two means for these responses were between 3 and 4, one could conjecture that these respondents generally felt comfortable during meetings, but that they experienced occasional moments of discomfort.

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	3,98
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,84
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,60
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,64
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,64
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,70
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,77
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,85
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,18
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	3,98
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,87
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,23
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,92
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	2,29
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,75
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	4,08
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,56
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,22

Table 1. Means of responses from all respondents.

Results obtained from the qualitative research support this notion, as the majority of the respondents noted that they occasionally felt frustrated during meetings if they lacked the necessary vocabulary to convey their ideas or arguments. However, these same respondents also noted that their experiences speaking during meetings were generally positive given that they developed the reflex to confirm what was being said if they had any doubts. Following this line of thinking, the respondents also noted that they felt comfortable speaking during meetings because they assumed that their interlocutors would do the same if they did not understand them.

As with the responses obtained during the qualitative interviews, the data obtained from the responses concerning question 16 demonstrate that the respondents attributed more or less equal importance to reading (2.64), writing (2.77), listening (2.70) and speaking (2.85) skills in English in the workplace. It seems, however, that the respondents tended to slightly consider writing and speaking skills as more important given that the means for these two skills were 2.77 and 2.85, respectively. As such, it could be conferred that these respondents consider that accurate expression is the most important aspect of communication in English in the workplace. In this way, these results appear to support the notion that English is used as an instrument in the workplace for speakers from different linguistic backgrounds to communicate and collaborate on different projects.

Finally, glancing at Table 1 would reveal that the respondents were highly positive in orientation to question 6 regarding the importance of English for one's career in France. The positive orientation of these attitudes may be directly related to the increased function of English as a common language of communication in multinational companies in recent years. As such, it is likely that the respondents have experienced the increased need for English skills in the international workplace, and thus they recognize the importance of English for one's career.

VI.3.1.1 Age

As with the results obtained through the qualitative research, the data emanating from the quantitative research revealed little variation in terms of the age variable. If glancing at Table 2 (18-25 age group), Table 3 (26-35 age group), Table 4 (36-45 age group) and Table 5 (46+ age group), one would see that the means of the responses from the different age groups were more or less equal for the questions concerning attitudes to communication in English. Moreover, the figures present in these tables demonstrate that the respondents' attitudes to communication in English were generally positive in orientation despite differences in age. With regard to the importance of different English skills in the workplace, it appears that the respondents from different age groups tended to consider that writing and speaking skills were the most important for communication in the workplace.

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	3,79
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,88
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,54
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,58
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,71
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,63
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,83
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,92
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,38
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	3,83
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,63
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,29
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,96
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	1,96
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,54
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	4,04
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,50
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,17

Table 2. Means of responses from the 18-25 age group.

The only age group that varied in this respect was the 26-35 year old age group, for whom listening and speaking skills were more important. In either case, the data suggests that all of the respondents, despite their age, considered that the four skills in English were important for communication in the workplace as the means for this question were all between 2 and 3.

In respect to questions 4 and 5, however, the data in Table 5 reveals that the respondents from the 46+ age group tended to be less at ease when speaking in English during meetings. With means of 3.19 and 3.06 for these questions, the respondents from this age group appear to have been slightly neutral in orientation regarding their level of comfort during meetings. As such, these data reflect certain responses obtained during the qualitative research in which the older respondents noted that they occasionally

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	4,00
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	4,07
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,82
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,89
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,61
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,89
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,68
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,93
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,09
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	3,91
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,93
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,41
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,86
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,64
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	4,39
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,82
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,27

Table 3. Means of responses from the 26-35 age group.

experienced anxiety when speaking during meetings. As it is likely that the older respondents held higher positions in their respective companies, one could conjecture that this slight neutrality in attitudes resulted from feelings of incompetency during meetings if the respondents experienced difficulties expressing and asserting their opinions accurately.

Furthermore, the respondents of this same age group seem to have been significantly more comfortable speaking with non-native speakers than with native speakers as the means for questions 2 and 3 were 4.06 and 3.00, respectively. The significant difference between these two figures may point to the notion that older French speakers tend to feel more comfortable with fellow non-native speakers who experience similar difficulties as them. Inversely, one could also conjecture that the

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	4,13
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	4,00
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,60
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,60
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,27
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,87
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,67
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,27
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	3,93
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,60
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	2,67
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,93
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	2,13
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,93
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	3,93
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,07
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,53

Table 4. Means of responses from the 36-45 age group.

difference between these two means demonstrates that older French workers feel more insecure when speaking in English with native speakers. As previously discussed, this tendency for older French workers to be less comfortable when speaking in English may be directly related to the speakers' lower levels of proficiency in English and a generational gap in English skills.

VI.3.1.2 Gender

If glancing at Tables 6 (female) and 7 (male), the data for responses concerning the respondents' attitudes to communication in English reveal that little variation occurred

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	4,06
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,00
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,19
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,06
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,63
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,69
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,81
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,69
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,06
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	4,44
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,31
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,19
Les français parlent bien anglais	2,00
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	2,63
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	4,19
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	3,44
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,38
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	1,88

Table 5. Means of responses from the 46+ age group.

in terms of the gender variable. Given that there were an unequal number of female and male respondents in the respondent pool, this lack of variation in terms of gender confirms that the significant number of male responses did not alter the overall results from the respondent pool at-large.

According to the results obtained for questions 2 and 3, it appears that the female respondents were more positive in orientation to communication with non-native speakers, and the male respondents were slightly more positive in orientation to communication with native speakers in English. These results confirm the male respondents' preference for communication with native speakers in the qualitative research. As observed in these interviews, one could conjecture that the male respondents in the quantitative research were similarly positive in orientation to

STATEMENTS	
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	4,09
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,82
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,36
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,39
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,64
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,18
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	3,06
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,70
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,12
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	4,09
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,64
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,39
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,91
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	2,27
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,76
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	4,06
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,52
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,21

Table 6. Means of responses from female respondents.

communication with NS as they consider that they can learn more from these interlocutors. Apart from this slight difference in terms of orientation to communication with NS and NNS of English, the means of the male and female respondents' responses to question 16 reveal that the male respondents tended to consider that speaking (2.92) and listening (2.95) skills were more important from communication in English, while the female respondents tended to consider that speaking (2.70) and writing (3.06) skills were more important. With regard to these data, one could surmise that the male respondents were more concerned with the practice of oral communication in the workplace, whereas the female respondents were more concerned with the accuracy of

STATEMENTS	MEANS
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle	3,92
Dans mon travail, il est facile pour moi de communiquer avec des interlocuteurs dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,85
Lors des réunions, je me sens à l'aise quand je parle anglais	3,71
Lors des réunions, je peux exprimer facilement mes idées et opinions en anglais	3,76
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension écrite]	2,64
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [La compréhension orale]	2,95
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression écrite]	2,62
A votre avis, quelles sont les compétences les plus importantes pour communiquer efficacement en anglais ? [L'expression orale]	2,92
En France, l'anglais est indispensable pour développer sa carrière et obtenir plus de responsabilités	4,21
Les erreurs commises par des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle sont acceptables dans la mesure où ils arrivent à se faire comprendre	3,92
Pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	2,98
Certaines déviations dans l'usage de l'anglais peuvent être considérées comme des variantes et non comme des erreurs	3,15
Les français parlent bien anglais	1,92
J'aime l'accent des français quand ils parlent anglais	2,30
Pour améliorer mon anglais, je suis prêt(e) à prendre des cours d'anglais	3,74
J'ai un niveau d'anglais suffisant pour mon travail	4,09
En apprenant l'anglais, mon but ultime est de parler comme une personne dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle	3,58
Je serais prêt(e) à perdre mon identité française pour développer une identité anglophone en apprenant l'anglais parfaitement et intégrer une communauté native anglophone	2,23

Table 7. Means of responses from female respondents.

their written documents, emails, etc. in the workplace. As several of the female respondents noted in the qualitative research that they often relied on written feedback to confirm what they understood during meetings, it is likely that these female respondents similarly utilized written feedback as a strategy to overcome linguistic barriers in the workplace.

VI.3.2 Notions of correctness in English in the workplace

If glancing at Table 1, the means of the responses to questions 7 (3.98), 8 (2.87) and 9 (3.23) would reveal that the respondents were generally positive in orientation to the notion that non-native speakers do not need to adhere to a native speaker model in order

to communicate well in English. It should be noted here that as question 8 included the statement “*pour bien parler anglais, il faut parler comme les gens dont l’anglais est la langue maternelle*”, a mean of 1 or 2 would constitute a positive attitude to the notion that non-native speakers do not need to speak like native speakers in order to speak English well.

As the mean for question 7 was the highest, one could conjecture that French workers are more positive in orientation to the notion that errors are acceptable as long as non-native speakers are able to accurately communicate. This positive orientation was similarly revealed during the qualitative research interviews as the majority of the respondents tended to agree that errors were acceptable as long as the speaker was able to convey their message. However, as several of the qualitative research respondents also noted that the acceptability of these errors depended on certain personal or work related issues, one could surmise that the quantitative research respondents held similar attitudes. Nevertheless, the positive orientation of these attitudes demonstrates the notion that French workers have developed attitudes to correctness that reflect the function of English as a common instrument of communication in the workplace.

While the responses to question 7 were generally positive in orientation, the mean of the responses to question 8 indicates that the respondents were slightly undecided about whether or not non-native speakers must speak like native speakers in order to speak English well. On the one hand, this figure reflects the responses to the “correct English” question in the qualitative research in which the majority of the respondents cited NS standards as the norms for speaking correct English. On the other hand, the majority of the qualitative research respondents also maintained that it was not necessary to speak like native speakers, as this would be an unattainable goal for many non-native speakers. This ambiguity appears to have been echoed in the quantitative research data as a mean of 2.87 suggests that the quantitative respondents were similarly undecided with regard to question 8.

A mean of 3.23 for question 9 is somewhat surprising given that the qualitative research respondents were almost unanimous in their disagreement that certain deviations in English could be considered variants. As expressed when discussing modifications made to the quantitative research, the differences between these attitudes

may reflect the manner in which the question was initially proposed in the qualitative research (the use of “errors” rather than “deviations”). As with the responses to question 8, a mean of 3.23 for question 9 also suggests that the respondents were slightly neutral in their attitudes to the notion that certain deviations could be considered variants. The neutrality of these responses may be best explained by the notion that French workers have been exposed to English in both the academic and professional contexts. As a result, they exhibit attitudes that both reflect their experiences as students of a NS model, and their experiences as English as a *lingua franca* users in the international workplace.

VI.3.2.1 Age

In terms of the qualitative research, the results obtained during the interviews did not yield any substantial variation in terms of age. If glancing at Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 for questions 7, 8 and 9, it would appear that the same was true for the quantitative research. As with the data emanating from the overall respondent pool, the responses in terms of age appear to have been fairly positive in orientation to the notion that non-native speakers did not need to speak like native speakers, or speak a grammatically correct English, in order to communicate in English.

While these responses appear to have been generally positive in orientation, the means of the responses to question 7 appear to increase as the age group increases (3.83; 3.91; 3.93; 4.44). This increase in positive orientation to the notion that errors are acceptable as long as NNS are able to accurately communicate may be directly related to the occasional discomfort speaking English experienced by older French workers. One could conjecture that these respondents may have subsequently been more favorable to the notion that errors are acceptable given that they had the tendency to be more insecure about their English use. Moreover, if these same respondents had a lower competency in English (a generational gap in English skills), they may have also had more experience with the notion that it is possible to communicate despite certain errors in grammar or vocabulary in the workplace.

Respondents from the 36-45 (2.67) and 46+ (3.19) age groups tended to be less positive in orientation than the respondents from the two younger age groups in

response to question 9 concerning the notion that certain deviations in English could be considered variants instead of errors. One could infer from these results that the NS model is stronger for older French workers. As such, these data are quite ambiguous if considering that the older respondents tended to be more favorable to the notion that errors are acceptable if speakers are able to communicate. Here, one could conjecture that the discrepancy between the attitudes to correctness developed in the academic and professional contexts are more pronounced for older French workers.

VI.3.2.2 *Gender*

Overall, the closeness of the means for questions 7, 8 and 9 for both female and male respondents reveal that little variation in attitudes to correctness occurred according to the gender variable. If considering the means present in Tables 6 and 7, it appears that females were slightly more positive in orientation to the notion that non-native speakers did not need to speak like native speakers, yet the difference between these means is minimal. Nevertheless, as the female respondents tended to be slightly more positive in orientation to these questions, one could conclude that female French workers are less concerned by the adherence to NS models when communicating in English in the workplace.

VI.3.3 *Self-evaluation of one's use of English in the workplace*

According to the means of the responses to questions 10 and 11 in Table 1, it appears that the quantitative research respondents tended to be negative in orientation to the notion that French speakers spoke English well, and that they had a good accent in English. These results are not surprising if considering that the majority of the respondents in the qualitative research interviews were highly negative in orientation to these same notions. As these questions were ultimately included to measure how these speakers may perceive their own practice in English, one could conjecture that French speakers have a rather negative perception of their skills and accent in English. As such, this negative perception may serve as a basis for any discomfort or insecurity that French speakers experience when communicating in English in the workplace.

However, the mean of 4.08 for question 13 suggests that the respondents were generally positive in orientation to the notion that they had a sufficient level of English for their job. In this way, this figure confirms the results obtained during the qualitative research given that the majority of the qualitative respondents similarly noted that they felt that their level was sufficient for their work. As suggested in the qualitative interviews, the positive orientation of these respondents may be due to the fact that employees often only need to master the vocabulary that is specific to the domain in which they work. The discrepancy between the attitudes expressed in response to questions 10/11 and 13 may be a result of what the respondents perceive as necessary and ideal in terms of their acquisition of English.

This discrepancy may be best exemplified by the fact that the respondents were positive in orientation to the notion that they were learning English to speak like a native speaker (3.56 for question 14). It seems from this figure that the native speaker model is quite prestigious for French workers despite their acknowledgement that it is not necessary to speak like a native speaker in order to speak English correctly. As such, one could conjecture that the NS model is the model to which French workers measure their personal achievement of English.

VI.3.3.1 Age

As for variation regarding age, it appears that the only variation that occurred with regard to these questions was for questions 12 and 13. If glancing at Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5, it would appear that the respondents were more positive in orientation to question 12 as their age increased. As such, this figure may reflect other findings that pointed to a general level of discomfort when speaking English among the older respondents. Moreover, the fact that the older respondents were the least positive in orientation to question 13, concerning whether or not they had a sufficient level in English for the workplace, similarly points to the notion that the older respondents were less at ease with their general competency in English. Overall, however, the means for these questions were quite close which suggests that the respondents, regardless of their age, were generally positive in orientation to their use of English in the workplace.

VI.3.3.2 Gender

As with the results emanating from the qualitative research, the quantitative research did not yield any variation in the speakers' attitudes to their English use. The means for questions 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 in Tables 6 and 7 are all within several decimals of one another and thus reveal that the male and female respondents exhibited similar attitudes with regard to these questions.

VI.3.4 Identity

If glancing at Table 1, it appears that the respondents were generally negative in orientation to question 15 (2.22). As such, this figure reflects the responses obtained during the qualitative research in which the majority of the respondents noted that they did not learn English to adopt an Anglophone identity. As was expressed during the interviews, one could conjecture that the quantitative respondents similarly considered that it was not necessary to relinquish one's national identity when learning a foreign language.

VI.3.4.1 Age

While the respondents were generally negative in orientation to question 15, the respondents from the 46+ age group appear to have been the most negative in orientation to this question (1.88). As with the results obtained during the qualitative research interviews, this slight difference in attitudes may result from the fact that the older respondents had not experienced the same international mobility that is now afforded to the younger European generation through programs such as Erasmus. Concerning these results, one could conjecture that the French identity may be more pronounced among older French workers. In either case, it seems from these results, as well as the results obtained during the qualitative interviews, that a lack of integrative motivation had little impact on the positive orientation of the respondents to English.

VI.3.4.2 Gender

If glancing at Tables 6 and 7, it would appear that the quantitative research did not yield any variation in terms of gender for question 15 (2.21 for females and 2.23 for males).

The results obtained during the quantitative research will be further discussed in tandem with the qualitative research and theoretical research findings in the summary of results.

Chapter VII. Conclusion

With the objective of analyzing the results emanating from qualitative, quantitative and theoretical research, focus will be placed on the research related to the questions presented at the outset of the research.

VII. Answers to research questions

VII.1.1 Research question 1

Research question 1: What attitudes to communication in English have French workers developed in the workplace context?

Overall, it appears that the respondents from the quantitative and qualitative research were positive in orientation to communication in English in the workplace. As was expected at the outset of the research, French workers tend to be more positive in orientation to communication with non-native speakers. This slight preference for communication with non-native speakers may result from the findings that these respondents engaged in more communication in English with non-native speakers, and thus they had more experience adapting to these interlocutors. However, this slight preference for communication with non-native speakers may also be due to a general feeling among the respondents that they were on a similar “playing field” as non-native speakers given that they all had to make a significant effort when speaking in a foreign language. As such, French workers may perceive that there is more linguistic equality when communicating with fellow non-native speakers. Whereas the respondents in the qualitative and quantitative research tended to prefer communication with non-native speakers, it was difficult for many of the respondents to choose one set of speakers over the other, as certain linguistic barriers (differing levels of competency, accents, etc.) existed in communication with both sets of speakers. In the qualitative research interviews, many of the respondents noted that they had difficulty with both non-native and native speaker accents if they had not had previous experience with these interlocutors. As was discussed in the theoretical research, one could conjecture that the ambiguity in these attitudes to communication in English is due to the notion that speakers’ attitudes are highly dependent on the specific communicative situation in which they are involved.

Contrary to what was expected at the outset of the research, the respondents tended to be comfortable speaking in English during meetings. As several of the respondents noted in their interviews, this level of comfort may be due to the fact that the vocabulary used in the workplace is often domain-specific, and thus rather limited. Moreover, many of the respondents noted that they generally felt comfortable during meetings, as they had adopted the notion that they were making an effort to speak in a foreign language so it was not a problem if they made certain errors in their communication. As such, it appears that many of the respondents adopted strategies to maintain a positive self-concept (see Section IV.2) in the workplace context when speaking in English. This finding thus points to the notion that French workers have developed certain attitudes to the use of English that reflect their adherence to an international workplace community. The fact that the respondents tended to consider that writing and speaking skills were the most important for workplace communication further confirms this notion as it highlights the idea that French workers consider that accurate expression is key when collaborating in English in the workplace. Here, it appears that French workers tend to consider that English is a vehicle through which they can collaborate with colleagues from different linguistic backgrounds, and thus they have developed positive attitudes to the use of English to ensure the efficacy of this communication.

VII.1.2 *Research question 2*

Research question #2: What attitudes to correctness in English have French workers developed in the workplace?

French workers' attitudes to correctness in English were quite ambiguous as the respondents agreed that non-native speakers did not need to speak like native speakers in order to speak English accurately, yet they also defined "correct English" in terms of NS standards. As previously discussed, the ambiguity in these attitudes may result from the French workers' experiences as learners and users in the EFL classroom and the international workplace. Here, one could conjecture that as French workers were formally trained in English in the EFL classroom, they maintain certain attitudes to correctness that reflect their experiences as students of a NS model. Moreover, these

attitudes may derive from their French linguistic identity for which the standard form remains prestigious and is strongly linked to the identity of the nation-state. As such, it may be difficult for French workers to separate the English language from one of the Inner Circle countries, as the national language is strongly linked to French culture. On the other hand, the respondents' generally positive orientation to the notion that non-native speakers do not need to speak like native speakers highlights the development of attitudes in lingua franca communicative situations in which speakers understand that certain errors do not impinge on the transmission of one's message. Thus, one could conjecture that French workers have adopted attitudes to correctness in English that reflect their French and global identities.

VII.1.3 *Research question 3*

Research question #3: How do French workers perceive their own practice of English in the workplace?

As was expected at the outset of the research, French workers tend to be negative in orientation to the notion that French speakers have a good accent in English and speak English well. Given that these questions were included to measure French workers' perception of their own practice of English, one could conjecture that French workers are not particularly satisfied with their accent in English, and thus may feel some discomfort when communicating in English.

Despite these negative attitudes to the French accent in English, French workers appear to be quite positive in orientation to the notion that they have a sufficient level in English for their work. As previously discussed, these positive attitudes may be due to the reality that the English vocabulary used in the workplace is often limited to a specific domain. In the quantitative research, however, there appeared to be a slight variation in terms of age as the older respondents were less positive in orientation to the notion that they had a sufficient level in English for their work. As such, this generational gap in attitudes may be a result of a generational gap in English skills.

While French workers were positive in orientation to the notion that they had a sufficient level in English for their job, the majority of the respondents noted that they had several improvements to make and that their ultimate goal was to attain native-like

proficiency. In this way, it appears that French workers exhibit dual attitudes that reflect their experiences speaking English in the workplace in which the transmission of one's message is key, and their experiences as EFL learners in which the model for correctness follows native speaker standards. While it was not explicitly mentioned in the interviews, one could conjecture that French workers are aware of the discrepancy between their proficiency in English and the native-like proficiency that they attain. As such, some French workers, and particularly those from older generations, may be insecure about their English language skills in the workplace.

VII.1.4 *Research question 4*

Research question #4: What are French workers' primary motivations for learning and using English? Do they desire to adopt an Anglophone identity by speaking English?

As was expected, French workers tend to be negative in orientation to the notion that they would be willing to let go of their French identity in order to adopt an Anglophone identity. In the responses to this question, it appeared that the respondents considered that the acquisition of a foreign language such as English was an addition to their linguistic repertoire and identity, and that one did not need to occur at the expense of the other. Moreover, the majority of the respondents differentiated between their French identity and the international communication and mobility that are afforded by English. Overall, French workers appear to be positive in orientation to the notion that English serves as an instrument for communication with colleagues from different linguistic backgrounds. One could thus conclude that French workers exhibit attitudes that are closer to Yashima's notion of "international posture" (see Section IV.2) in which English language learners/users desire to improve their English skills so that they can participate in the global community. Again, it appears that French workers' attitudes to English reflect their participation in the international and national communities present in multinational companies implanted in France.

VII.2 *Conclusion (with implications for further research)*

While conducting this research, it became clear that there exists a significant lack of research in the English as a *lingua franca* communication that occurs in multinational

companies implanted in France. As this research revealed that French workers now exhibit attitudes to English that are directly related to the multicultural and multilingual workplace context, it would be valuable to study these attitudes in more depth in order to better account for French workers' linguistic needs in corporate language policies. Moreover, as this research revealed that French workers are in more contact with non-native speakers of English in the workplace, it would be similarly valuable to study these communicative events in more depth to better understand the real linguistic needs of French workers in corporate English training, rather than simply adhering to a native speaker model. In this way, corporate language policies and EFL materials would be better adapted to the context-dependent needs of French workers in multinational companies.

References

- Ager, D. (1999). *Identity, Insecurity and Image*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Ammon, U. (2006). Language conflicts in the European Union. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16/3: 319-338.
- Assemblée Nationale*. (2011). Constitution de la République française. Accessed on 13 February 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.assembleenationale.fr/connaissance/constitution.asp>.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bherer, M., & Floch, B. (2013, June 3). L'anglais, chance ou danger pour le français?. *Le Monde*. Accessed on 10 November 2013. Retrieved from http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2013/06/03/l-anglais-chance-ou-danger-pour-le-francais_3422969_3232.html.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borjian, M. (2014). Language-education policies and international institutions: The World Bank's vs. UNESCO's global framework. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 38/1: 1-18.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Langage et pouvoir symbolique*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burek, C. (2010). *Post-Merger Intercultural Communication in Multinational Companies*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Byram, M. (2006, October). *Languages and Identities*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference, Strasbourg, FR.
- Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations*. New York: Routledge.
- Campus France*. Programs taught in English. Accessed on 12 April 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.campusfrance.org/en/page/programs-taught-english>.
- Chareton, A. (2013, June 21). "En entreprise, l'anglais est un facteur de compétitivité". *Le Figaro*. Accessed on 14 January 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.lefigaro.fr/formation/2013/05/22/09006-20130522ARTFIG00484-en-entreprise-l-anglais-est-un-facteur-de-competitivite.php>.

- Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cross, R. (2009). A sociocultural framework for language policy and planning. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 33/1: 22-42.
- Davies, A. (2003). *The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality* (2nd ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Deneire, M. (2008). English in the French workplace: realism and anxieties. *World Englishes*, 27/2: 181-195.
- De Swann, A. (2001). *Words of the World*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Djité, P. (2006). Shifts in linguistic identities in a global world. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 30/1: 1-20.
- Dörnyei, Z. (Ed.) (2003). *Attitudes, Orientations, and Motivations in Language Learning*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 Motivational Self System. In E. Ushioda & Z. Dörnyei (eds), *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (pp. 9-42). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dörnyei, Z., Csizér, K. and Németh, N. (2006). *Motivation, Language Attitudes and Globalisation: A Hungarian Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Durand, J. (1996). Linguistic Purification, the French Nation-State and the Linguist. In C. Hoffman (Ed.), *Language, Culture and Communication in contemporary Europe* (pp. 75-92). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- European Commission. (2013, July 8a). Erasmus Programme in 2011-2012: The figures explained. Accessed on 13 March 2014. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-%20release_MEMO-13-%20647_en.htm.

- European Commission.* (2013, July 8b). Number of Erasmus students tops 3 million. Accessed on 13 March 2014. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-%2013-657_en.htm.
- European Commission.* (2013, November 19). Erasmus+ Frequently Asked Questions. Accessed on 13 March 2014. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-%20release_MEMO-13-1008_en.htm.
- European Commission.* (2014, October 20). Eurobarometer - 40 years. Accessed on 15 April 2015. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/topics/forty_en.htm.
- European Commission.* (2014, December 15). Eurostat 2013. Accessed on 15 April 2015. Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/help/new-eurostat-website>.
- Faingold, E. (2007). Language rights in the 2004 draft of the European Union Constitution. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 31/1: 25-36.
- Fiedler, S. (2010). The English-as-lingua-franca approach: Linguistic fair play?. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 34/3, 201-221.
- Flaitz, J. (1988). *The Ideology of English: French Perceptions of English as a World Language*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Forche, C. (2012). On the emergence of *Euro-English* as a potential European variety of English – attitudes and interpretations. *Jezikoslovlje*, 13/2: 447-448.
- Freeman, H. (2008). *Language, Hegemony in Modern France: 1539 to the Millennium*. New Jersey: Summa Publications.
- Gardner, R. (1985). *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grangé, F. (2015, January 14). Peut-on travailler sans parler l'anglais?. *Le Monde*. Accessed on 14 January 2015. Retrieved from

http://www.lemonde.fr/emploi/article/2015/01/14/peut-on-travailler-sans-parler-anglais_4556188_1698637.html.

- Gubbins, P. & Holt, M. (eds) (2002). *Beyond Boundaries: Language and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Gunnarsson, B. (2013). Multilingualism in the Workplace. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 162-189.
- Haarman, H. (2010). On European identity, fanciful cosmopolitanism and problems of modern nationalism. *Sociolinguistica*, 11: 142-153.
- Harzing, A. & Pudelko, M. (2013). Language competencies, policies and practices in multinational corporations: a comprehensive review and comparison of Anglophone, Asian, Continental European and Nordic MNCs. *Journal of World Business*, 48/1: 87-97.
- Haugen, E. (2003). Dialect, Language, Nation. In C. Paulston & G. Tucker (eds), *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings* (pp. 411-423). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Héran, F. (2013). L'anglais hors la loi? Enquête sur les langues de recherche et enseignement en France. *Population et Sociétés*, 501. Retrieved from <http://www.ined.fr/fr/ressources-methodes/selection-sites-web/revues-documents-travail-dictionnaire/population-et-societes/>.
- Hoffman, C. (2000). The spread of English and the growth of multilingualism with English in Europe. In J. Cenoz & U. Jessner (eds), *English in Europe: The Acquisition of a Third Language* (pp. 1-21). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: a threat to multilingualism?. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7/4: 556-578.
- Jeannot, C., Tomc, S., & Totozani, M. (2011). Retour sur le débat autour de l'identité nationale en France: quelles places pour quelle(s) langue(s)?. *Lidil*, 44: 63-78.

- Jenkins, J. (2006). English pronunciation and second language speaker identity. In T. Omoniyi & G. White (eds), *The Sociolinguistics of Identity* (pp. 75-91). London, New York: Continuum.
- Jenkins, J. (2007). *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and Identity*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, J. (2009a). *World Englishes* (2nd ed.). London, New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, J. (2009b). English as a lingua franca: interpretations and attitudes. *World Englishes*, 28/2: 200-207.
- Joseph, J. (2006). Linguistic identities: Double-edged swords. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 30/3: 261-267.
- Kachru, B. (1992). *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (9th ed.). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B., Kachru, Y., & Nelson, C. (eds) (2009). *The Handbook of World Englishes*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Kimura, G. (2005). How do researchers on language policy perceive language? From the language policy/language attitude dichotomy to language management theory. *Gengoseisaku*, 1: 1-13.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2007). *World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramsch, C. (2010). The symbolic dimensions of the intercultural. *Language Teaching*, 44/3: 354-367.
- Kritzman, L. (1995). Identity Crises: France, Culture and the Idea of the Nation. *Substance*, 76/77: 5-20.
- Larçon, J.P. (2011, April). Du Multilinguisme et du Management Interculturel. Paper presented at the roundtable of Université Antilles-Guyane.

- Lasagabaster, D. (2006). Les attitudes linguistiques: un état des lieux. *Ela. Études de linguistique appliquée*, 144: 393-406.
- Le Monde*. (2013, July 9). Enseignement supérieur: la loi Fioraso définitivement adoptée. Accessed on 10 November 2013. Retrieved from http://abonnes.lemonde.fr/enseignement-superieur/article/2013/07/09/le-parlement-a-adopte-le-projet-de-loi-sur-l-enseignement-superieur-et-la-recherche_3445148_1473692.html.
- Le Monde*. (2015). Offres d'emploi. Accessed on 20 April 2015. Retrieved from <http://abonnes.lemonde.fr/emploi/annonces/>.
- Liddicoat, A. & Baldauf Jr., R. (eds) (2008). *Language Planning and Policy: Language Planning in Local Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Loos, E. (2007). Language policy in an enacted world: The organization of linguistic diversity. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 31/1: 37-60.
- Marino, C. (2011). Reflecting on the dichotomy native-non native speakers in an EFL context. *Anagramas*, 10/19: 129-142.
- Mair, C. (2013). The World System of Englishes : Accounting for the transnational importance of mobile and mediated vernaculars. *English World-wide*, 34/3: 253-278.
- McGroarty, M. (2012). Home Language: Refuge, resistance, resource?. *Language Teaching*, 45/1: 89-104.
- McKenzie, R. (2010). *The social psychology of English as a global language*. London, New York: Springer.
- Mercer, S., Ryan, S., & Williams, M. (eds) (2012). *Psychology for Language Learning: Insights from Research, Theory and Practice*. London, New York: Continuum.

- Mercer, S. (2012). Self-concept: Situating the Self. In S. Mercer, S. Ryan, & M. Williams (eds), *Psychology for Language Learning: Insights from Research, Theory and Practice* (pp. 10-25). London, New York: Continuum.
- Miles, C. (2007). Identity's Playground: Linking Second Language Use with Strategic Competence. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 13.
- Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 5/4: 530-55.
- Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. (2014). Les langues vivantes étrangères. Accessed on 13 April 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid206/les-langues-vivantes-etrangees.html>.
- Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. (2014). Repères et références statistiques sur les enseignements, la formation, et la recherche (RERS 2014). Accessed on 15 April 2015. Retrieved from http://cache.media.education.gouv.fr/file/2014/04/7/DEPP_RERS_2014_344047.pdf.
- Modiano, M. (1999). International English in the global village. *English Today*, 15/2: 22-34.
- Morita, N. (2012). Identity: The Situated Construction of Identity and Positionality in Multilingual Classrooms. In S. Mercer, S. Ryan, & M. Williams (eds), *Psychology for Language Learning: Insights from Research, Theory and Practice* (pp. 26-41). London, New York: Continuum.
- Neeley, T. (May 2012). Global Business Speaks English. *Harvard Business Review*. Accessed on 10 November 2014. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2012/05/global-business-speaks-english>.
- Nekvapil, J. (2012). From Language Planning to Language Management: J.V. Neustupny's Heritage. *Media and Communication Studies*, 63: 5-21.

- N’Kaoua, L. (2012, April 10). L’anglais en entreprise: gare aux abus. *Les Echos*. Accessed on 13 January 2015. Retrieved from http://www.lesechos.fr/10/04/2012/LesEchos/21162-044-ECH_1-anglais-en-entreprise---gare-aux-abus.htm.
- Norton, B. & Toohey, K. (2002). Identity and Language Learning. In R. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 115-123). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oakes, L. (2001). *Language and National Identity: Comparing France and Sweden*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- O’Connell, A. & Chaplier, C. (2014). Quelle anglicisation des formations?. *Les Langues Modernes, Dossier: L’anglicisation des formations dans l’enseignement supérieur*, 108: 26-34.
- Omoniyi, T. & White, G. (eds) (2006). *The Sociolinguistics of Identity*. London, New York: Continuum.
- Oxenden, C. & Latham-Koenig, C. (2010). *The New English File Advanced*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.
- Peranteau, P. (2001). *Language and National Identity: Comparing France and Switzerland*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Phillipson, R. & Skutnabb-Kangas. (1996). English Only Worldwide or Language Ecology?. *TESOL Quarterly*, 3/3: 429-452.
- Piller, I. (2002). Passing for a native speaker: Identity and success in second language learning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6/2: 179-206.
- Prodromou, L. (2009). English as a Lingua Franca: A Corpus-based Analysis. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13/2: 272-275.
- Riley, P. (2007). *Language, Culture and Identity*. London, New York: Continuum.

- Rogerson-Revell, P. (2007). Using English for International Business: A European case study. *English for Specific Purposes*, 26: 103-120.
- Saulière, J. (2014). Corporate language: the blind spot of language policy? Reflections on France's Loi Toubon. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 15/2: 220-235.
- Schiffman, H. (1996). *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2003). A Concept of International English and Related Issues: From 'Real English' to 'Realistic English'?. *Council of Europe*.
- Seidlhofer, B., Breiteneder, A., & Pitzl, M. (2006). English as a Lingua Franca in Europe: Challenges for Applied Linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26: 3-34.
- Shi, X. (2007). Intercultural Language Socialization: Theory and Methodology. *Intercultural Communication Studies XVI*, 1: 230-242.
- Singleton, D. (2014). How Do Attitude and Motivation Help in Learning a Second Language?. In V. Cook & D. Singleton (eds), *Key Topics in Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 89-108). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Suleiman, Y. (2006). Constructing Languages, Constructing National Identity. In T. Omoniyi & G. White (eds), *The Sociolinguistics of Identity* (pp. 50-71). London, New York: Continuum.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997). Language and Identity. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 315-326). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Thomas, C. (2007). Language Policy in Multilingual Organizations. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 22/1: 81-104.

- Truchot, C. (2001). The Languages of Science in France: Public Debate and Language Policies. In U. Ammon (Ed.), *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science: Effects on Other Languages and Language Communities* (pp. 319-328). Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Truchot, C. (2013). Internationalisation et choix linguistiques dans les entreprises françaises: entre “tout anglais” et pratiques plurilingues. *Synergies*, 9: 75-90.
- Ushioda, E. & Dörnyei, Z. (2009). Motivation, Language Identities and the L2 Self: A Theoretical Overview. In E. Ushioda & Z. Dörnyei (eds), *Motivation, Language Identities and the L2 Self* (pp. 1-8). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ushioda, E. (2013). Motivation: L2 Learning as a Special Case?. In S. Mercer, S. Ryan, & M. Williams (eds), *Psychology for Language Learning: Insights from Research, Theory and Practice* (pp. 58-73). London, New York: Continuum.
- Van Parijs, P. (2007). Tackling the Anglophones’ free ride. *AILA Review*, 20: 72-86.
- Vanting Christiansen, P. (2006). Language policy in the European Union: European/English/Elite/Equal/Esperanto Union?. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 30/1: 21-44.
- Welch, D., Welch, S., & Marschan-Piekkari. (2001). The Persistent Impact of Language on Global Operations. *Prometheus*, 19/3: 193-209.
- Wodak, R. (2012). Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching*, 45/2: 215-233.
- Wright, S. (2006). French as a Lingua Franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26: 35-60.
- Yashima, T. (2009). International Posture and the Ideal L2 Self in the Japanese EFL Context. In E. Ushioda & Z. Dörnyei (eds), *Motivation, Language Identities and the L2 Self* (pp. 144-163). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Zhang, W., & Grenier, G. (2013). How can language be linked to economics?.
Language Problems and Language Planning, 37/3: 203-226.

Appendix

Appendix A. Pilot study transcript.

Question: To what extent do you agree that...?

- when non-native speakers of English talk to each other, they should not worry about making mistakes as long as they can communicate
- non-native speakers do not need to speak like native speakers, nor should they feel inferior to them
- certain grammar mistakes should be considered ‘variants’ of English, not ‘mistakes’

Responses:

CB: We totally agree with the statement...we think that it’s not a problem to make some mistakes when we speak together with non-native speakers of English. We can understand each other despite the mistakes.

Teacher: Do you all agree with this?

CF: Yes we agree (laughing)...I mean I think for everybody.

CF: We discussed in fact that...we all agreed that we don’t have to feel inferior to native speakers because first we are able to speak to them so that’s already a point. But we said also that we think that it’s important to try to improve and to reach a level of a perfect English.

TL: ...to be as accurate as possible.

Teacher: When you say perfect English, what does that mean to you exactly?

CF: It would be an English without mistakes.

AE & CM: ...and perfect pronunciation.

CM: ...not being stressed.

Teacher: Is it necessary to speak perfect English?

CM: It depends on who you talk to.

AE: ...and what you’re talking about.

CM: But some native speakers may not do some efforts to understand you...I know some Americans, because I lived there, who say “what was that?”. And then there’s some people who are open-minded about the accent.

AE: As long as there are no misunderstandings.

Teacher: Yes, some Americans don’t know what it feels like to speak a second language.

CF: That could bring to the feeling of superiority, not inferiority of non-native speakers but of native speaker Americans. I find it so surprising that a lot of Americans don’t speak another language. For example, I work in a research lab with an American postdoctoral fellow. He refuses to speak French when we eat with him. He always begins a conversation in American because he knows we will be able to answer.

TL: That’s fine at work but what about outside work...he should make an effort.

CF: He feels kind of superior to everything.

CM: Maybe it’s more because of his job than his nationality.

AE: Yeah maybe. Maybe he’s not aware in fact.

CF: Uhh I told him several times (laughing).

CM: A lot of Americans too when you speak in their country and when you speak to them and they understand you're French or whatever, they say "oh I did French twenty years ago!"...I think it's nice.

CM: I know just a couple of times when people were like "what was that?", and you know, you get like red and you don't want to say it again.

MC: As an American in France, you don't find that people are laughing when you speak when you arrived? Because the French are...

AE & CM: ...not so tolerant.

Teacher: What about question number three? Grammar mistakes or variants?

Various students: mistakes, mistakes!

CM: You can't change the basics of a sentence...it's the basis of a language.

TL: If you want to use a language, you need to use a sentence.

AE: Grammar is grammar...you can't change it.

CB: Don't you think that English is flexible enough to support these mistakes?

CF: It disturbs me a bit to say that you accept all these variants because what is the norm after that...what is the right English, the very correct thing.

AE: Maybe it's because as French, we are very perfectionist about language, and maybe American people are more flexible about these kinds of things.

CM: What about sending a work email full of grammar mistakes, I don't think it's a good thing.

CF: For our own language it depends also on some people who consider very very strongly their grammar, and some other aren't willing to speak the right way. But yes it does matter! I say that everyday to my son...you can't just one time put an "s" and the other time not.

AE: I'm the same way with my daughters.

Question: How important is it to you to be able to speak English accurately?

Responses:

CF: Very important.

MC: I think that it's very important especially if you have to speak for work or a job interview.

CF: It allows you to go into more detailed conversations about feelings.

AE: ...and it's very frustrating.

CF: For example, when I was in Germany, I had an Italian roommate and we couldn't have a very deep relationship. We couldn't express more the very strong ideas we had in mind.

CM: It depends on who you're talking to. If it's with a client, you need to be more fluent...it gives you more credibility also.

CM: When traveling, it's important to speak correct English.

TL: It's important to know typical expressions, regionalisms that you don't learn at school.

Question: How important is it to you to be able to write accurately in English?

Responses:

AE: It's even more important.

MC: It's easier to be writing with computers because you have the correction.

CM: You have more time to correct what you've written.

Question: How important is it to you to be able to pass international exams in English?

Responses:

CM: That's important to certify which level you have.

Question: How important is it to you to be able to communicate with native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English?

Responses:

MC: It depends on what you do...if you want to travel the world you have to communicate with non-native speakers and native speakers...for your job too.

AE: If you want to learn correct English, I think that you really need to talk with native speakers to have a good pronunciation. Once you speak pretty well you can travel everywhere and speak with non-native speakers...but first it's important to do that.

CF: I would say the same thing...I think it's more important for me to speak with native speakers than with non-native speakers, because non-native we would be all of us able to speak with non-native speakers, whereas it's not the same with native speakers. Where we have, for example, a group of native speakers in the tramway, we can listen to their conversation and try to understand. Personally, for example, if they are Americans, I can't understand what about they're speaking, but I don't understand everything because they speak very quickly, they have accents, and things like that...so it really isn't the same aim for me to be able to speak to these people and to understand their conversation when they are among themselves...in comparison to be able to communicate with non-natives.

Commenting on the following quote: "If you ask me, the one thing that would really improve the level of English here would be if they stopped dubbing all the American programmes on TV and at the cinema, and had them in English with subtitles. But I don't think they'll ever do it. The politicians wouldn't dare." (Maite, Spain)

Responses:

CM: I agree with her, that would be great if...now we can do it in France. If you have a serie or movie, you can watch it in English...I mean you have the choice. Even for kids! My kids now watch the Disney channel in English.

Commenting on the following quote: "In my opinion, nowadays people in public life really ought to be able to speak good English. I feel really embarrassed when I hear how some of our politicians or sportspeople speak." (Marc, Grenoble, France)

Responses:

AE: I never heard politicians speaking in English (laughing)...French politicians speaking in English.

TL: They speak very good foreign language, maybe not English but German, Spanish, Italian.

VD: ...but English no.

AE: I feel the same thing as him, I feel embarrassed when French people on TV try to talk in English...that's pretty horrible.

Teacher: I don't think I've ever seen an American president speak in another language.

CM: It's not the same...I mean everything is in English so I mean, I don't know, I don't see the same...I don't know.

CM: When you have like an international summit, it's always in English, I mean you can see everything's in English...so it's known now that like English is a universal language.

AE: I agree with him because in France when people hold a high position, they should be able to speak in English, but it's not the case.

TL: I'm not talking about politicians but sportspeople...they're not supposed to speak a foreign language.

AE: Even sportspeople...French sportspeople.

CM: It's a bit more about journalists...that's how I read it.

AE: When you interview international people, you should be able to speak English.

Commenting on the following quote: "Personally I think that pop groups in my country shouldn't sing in English. I mean, I know it's more universal, but they aren't English, and not everybody in Hungary understands English. I think they should sing in Hungarian." (Ferenc, Hungary)

Responses:

MC: If the pop groups want to sell in like other countries, they have to sing in English.

CM: I think English is easier to write for songs than for French, I don't know for Hungarian...that's what I've heard but I don't know.

VD: It depends on the text of the song, if they want to say something I think the singer usually uses their own language...I think I noticed that.

CB: I completely disagree with him when he says that Hungarian people don't understand English so they don't have to sing in English. It's a good way to learn...especially with teenagers.

CM: I think it depends if you listen to some music if you want to understand the lyrics...or if you're just listening to the sound.

Commenting on the following quote: "In some secondary schools in my country they are now teaching other subjects like maths and science in English, apart from the normal English language classes. In general I think it's a really good idea – so long as the teachers' English is good, of course." (Karolina, Brno, Czech Republic)

Responses:

TL: I think math and science is already difficult, if you add some difficulty in the equation, you would need to have a very good level in English.

AE: Even in math, for others maybe, but for children...because I remember my daughters learned first math and science in English and it wasn't a problem.

CM: I think you just get used to it.

CF: I would say there's another point with what she proposes here...that is the fact that the teachers have to be able to speak well.

CM: ...mmhmm of course yeah.

CF: ...because we find that in elementary schools in France that they are forced to speak English but they have in front of them French teachers, and they don't know themselves very well the accent, the grammatical rules...

CM: ...that's true.

CF: So they try to teach it, English, this which they don't have themselves at a very high level.

MC: But it's very new in France...about six years.

CM: I just think that...my son is in 4ème and I think that when he got in 6ème, I think it's easier for them to learn English more seriously because they have the basics.

Commenting on the following quote: "In Italian they use a lot of English words like *weekend*, *stress*, *OK*, *cool*, *know-how*, words like that. I personally hate it. I think we ought to use our own words for these things, not just borrow from English. And people even use some words which don't exist, like *footing*, when the English word is *jogging*." (Paola, Milan, Italy)

Responses:

CM: I think it's OK...in Germany I remember, I mean German people use more English words, words that in English are used in English, not translated...I don't know how to explain that...it's just really natural.

VD: You see a lot of advertising in English in Germany.

CB: In English too, you employ French words? (everyone starts offering French borrowings in English)

Appendix B. Qualitative research interview transcripts.

Interview #1 (BR): 1:35:10, 28/02/2015

1.

BR : Oui...alors...au niveau de travail ça permet de...on travaille pas mal avec des clients, avec des collègues qui sont américains, par exemple, et...donc, c'est nécessaire pour nos échanges...pour des réunions...

Interviewer : Et pour toi, personnellement, est-il important ?

BR : Je vais un peu répondre à la deuxième question en même temps, je ne vais pas faire particulièrement la différence entre les gens de langue maternelle et les autres...et, pour moi, c'est de pouvoir communiquer avec d'autres gens...à la limite même dans leur langue, je dirais que si je suis en face d'un allemand, je parle allemand, j'aimerais bien pouvoir communiquer en allemand avec lui...c'est quelque chose, souvent, alors dans le travail, l'anglais on mélange un petit peu tous, tout le monde parle anglais donc ça va bien, après c'est vrai que quand je suis en face de quelqu'un qui a une autre langue que moi, j'aimerais bien parfois parler la langue de l'autre personne pour bien se comprendre

Interviewer : Penses-tu qu'il est important de pouvoir communiquer dans la langue de l'autre pour avoir des relations avec eux ?

BR : Je pense que...alors, l'anglais ou une autre langue de communication, mais principalement l'anglais, ça permet quand même de communiquer, ça n'empêche pas d'avoir les relations plus proches avec les gens...après, je pense qu'une des principales différences elle va être le contexte, en fait, la répartition des langues, en fait, dans un groupe, c'est-à-dire que si je me retrouvais avec, je ne sais pas, quatre italiens, où et puis on est deux français, où on n'est que des français et que des italiens, à ce moment-là, je trouve que ça permet de mieux comprendre les gens de pouvoir parler leur langue maternelle...moi, je fais un peu la différence entre l'anglais que je vais utiliser comme langue de communication internationale et l'anglais si je ne me retrouve que avec des anglais, là je vais avoir peut-être, entre guillemets, plus m'impliquer, on va dire ça comme ça...alors, après, c'est difficile à dire mais...

Interviewer : Et c'est quoi la différence entre les deux ?

BR : Pour moi, après la différence n'est pas très, très forte mais quand on est de plusieurs langues différentes, le but avec l'anglais c'est de se comprendre, après on peut très bien s'entendre, mais, il y a une espèce de consensus avec des anglophones, je vais peut-être avoir plus tendance à essayer de m'intégrer, alors je parle avec eux si j'étais avec eux

Interviewer : Pour t'intégrer, fais-tu plus attention à ton usage de l'anglais ?

BR : Peut-être, après j'ai déjà remarqué, je sais que quand je parle anglais avec des gens de tous les pays que chacun a son accent, ses erreurs, que c'est un peu tout mélangé, bon, je vais peut-être avoir la tendance à parler un anglais un peu basique...et si je ne suis que avec des anglophones, sans doute un peu à cause de l'accent, je vais arriver sans doute plus facilement à répondre avec un accent plus proche

Interviewer : Donc tu utilise l'anglophone comme un modèle ?

BR : Oui, ça va être une référence...

2.

BR : J'ai un projet avec les Etats-Unis...ça dure depuis un an et demi, il y a des mails mais à l'oral il y a une raison que tous les quinze jours d'avoir une réunion, donc ce sont les seules personnes de langue anglaise, et après, sinon, je suis dans un projet européen où il y a des allemands et des italiens, des espagnols...donc je dirais que c'est un peu équilibré, en fait...et puis comme c'est un projet européen, on se retrouve généralement avec des espagnols, des allemands, donc là on est obligé d'utiliser l'anglais

Interviewer : Fais-tu plus de projets européens comme ça ?

BR : A l'heure actuelle c'est un peu 50/50...

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu parles anglais avec des français lors des réunions ?

BR : Hmm...difficilement...c'est quelque chose que je n'aime pas...si on est des français et qu'il y a d'autres langues et qu'il faut parler anglais, il n'y a pas de soucis...mais c'est vrai que ce sont des habitudes...il y a des personnes avec qui j'ai l'habitude de parler en français, je vais parler en français avec eux...

Interviewer : Il y a des entreprises qui ont une politique de *English-only* au travail pour éliminer des problèmes de langue, qu'en penses-tu ?

BR : Il y a des pour et des contres mais j'ai du mal, en fait, à être que l'un ou que l'autre...je me dis qu'on peut essayer d'arriver avec les deux...au temps dans le tout français, souvent je trouve que le tout français, et au final à la fin les gens ne savent pas parler anglais quand ils sont des étrangers, ou les gens ont peur de parler en anglais, etcetera, tu détruis pas mal de communication, je trouve ça dommage parce que c'est ultra français...après le tout anglais ça dépend, ça peut être intéressant, après le souci c'est que comme tout le monde n'a pas le même niveau d'anglais, il ne faut pas pénaliser les gens qui ne parlent pas suffisamment bien anglais

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu as déjà remarqué ça au travail ?

BR : Oui, en général ils ne vont pas forcément prendre la parole...mais ça se fait toujours quand il y a quelqu'un qui parle très bien anglais, forcément à côté les gens qui parlent moins bien anglais vont moins intervenir...mais je n'ai pas vu de situations très fortes...c'est encore très français quand on est ensemble et aux occasions où on parle anglais, généralement les gens qui sont autour de la table ne parlent pas trop mal anglais
4.

BR : C'est sans doute un peu plus facile avec les personnes qui ne sont pas de langue maternelle anglaise parce que c'est vraiment une langue d'échange...avec, après ça dépend toujours des ratios, si on n'est vraiment que avec des gens de langue maternelle c'est plus difficile, après s'il y a un anglais ou un américain dans un groupe un peu plus mélangé, ça se passera un peu mieux, après c'est vrai que...je trouve ça plus difficile parce que je me dis qu'il faut parler mieux anglais...les anglophones eux c'est leur langue maternelle donc ils parlent beaucoup plus vite, tout vient plus vite donc il faut suivre à un niveau de compréhension...après avec les personnes de non-anglophone...j'ai une expérience de quand j'étais étudiant, on avait une association européenne pour des étudiants de technologie pour se retrouver aux conférences...et dans cette association-là ils ont toujours exclu les anglophones, et en fait le but c'était qu'on parle tous en anglais mais que ce soit la langue maternelle de personne, et en fait c'est assez marrant parce que au final, on se retrouvait avec des espagnols, des allemands, des italiens, des russes, des français, chacun parle son anglais avec son accent, ses fautes, il y a des pays qui parlent un peu mieux que d'autres, mais bon...de toute façon on se comprend, on discute, peu importe l'anglais, c'est vraiment utilisé

comme un outil de communication...et ça a évité, en fait, d'avoir des gens qui parlaient mieux anglais, qui arrivaient mieux...là, en fait, c'était tout le monde parle et on se débrouille...et c'est marrant parce qu'au final en écoutant bien on disait « oui, les français ça sonne comme ça, quand c'est des russes ça sonne différemment, voilà c'est assez intéressant ce côté-là...donc c'est un peu plus facile parce que je pense que, au final, on discute et puis peu importe, alors qu'avec des gens anglophones, forcément, c'est plus difficile...mais au travail on se comprend...je vois les échanges qu'on peut avoir nous avec des américains, il y en a dans mes collègues qui parlent moins bien anglais, et puis on arrive à communiquer

5.

BR : Alors dans des discussions au travail, dans des réunions, etcetera, généralement, moi, je n'ai pas de soucis, j'arrive à exprimer mes idées, mes opinions, ça dépend des jours...on va dire en parlant un peu plus souvent anglais ça devient plus facile, donc il y a ce facteur là...après de temps en temps, sur certains mots, sur certaines choses, je tourne dans ma tête et je n'arrive pas forcément à m'exprimer, des fois je cherche et je bloque un peu, mais c'est plutôt occasionnel

Interviewer : Comment te sens-tu quand ça arrive ?

BR : Si ça dure longtemps ça peut être un peu stressant, mais la plupart du temps ça va...après, des fois c'est presque plus une...ça peut être plus une frustration de temps en temps quand on veut dire une idée précise...parfois on a une idée très claire en français mais on n'arrive pas forcément à trouver les équivalents en anglais...ça m'arrive de temps en temps dans l'autre sens aussi...après des situations...ça m'est déjà arrivé, dans une présentation pour un projet européen, donc j'ai présenté ma présentation et puis en voulant parler d'un sujet un petit peu technique, etcetera, ça m'est arrivé à un moment où quand on a besoin des bons mots pour que justement les gens en face comprennent bien, j'ai cherché le mot en disant...je mettais d'autres mots mais ce n'était pas...alors de temps en temps il y a quelqu'un dans l'assemblée qui trouve le mot et là tu fais « oui c'est ça, c'est exactement ça », ça peut arriver

6.

BR : Je pense que les deux plus faciles, mais qui sont pour moi, assez importantes, c'est comprendre et lire...parce que c'est la base, c'est au moins le point de départ et, moi, c'est des points que je maîtrise assez bien...c'est-à-dire qu'à la limite dans une réunion, dans une discussion, même si on dit rien, ou même si on s'exprime pas suffisamment, on a compris de quoi ça a parlé déjà, on est bien partis, après on commentera, on pourra peut-être avoir le temps pour répondre plus tard...et après, pour la lecture, l'anglais écrit, alors l'anglais oral il faut être en face d'un interlocuteur anglais, bon ces occasions sont moins nombreuses...idem pour parler, pour écrire, il faut écrire aux gens qui sont anglais ou des étrangers, par contre, lire en anglais c'est l'essentiel, parce qu'on peut tomber sur des documents, sur des choses où on n'a aucune interaction avec des anglais mais on a des informations en anglais, et il y en a de plus en plus et il y en a beaucoup, et je pense que ça c'est les deux bases...après parler en anglais, oui c'est, je pense que c'est une des pistes, après il y aura deux aspects là-dedans, on va dire dans la lecture et la compréhension, je pense qu'il faut vraiment bien comprendre, ça peut suffire, mais je pense que quand tu comprends vraiment bien ce que tu lis ou ce que tu entends déjà tu es sûr une bonne base...dans le monde de travail, souvent l'écriture c'est très sommaire, c'est des mails, c'est oui c'est non, après là où ça devient important ça va être pour des

gens qui font plus les lettres, les documents, les présentations...et là ce n'est pas forcément dramatique s'il y a quelques fautes mais, après, les fautes de tournure c'est toujours difficile parce que ça, pour le coup, un anglophone dira ça ne se dit pas comme ça, après quelqu'un qui n'est pas anglophone, en général, les formulations ou les manières de dire ça passe inaperçu...je trouve ça...à mon avis, quand on écrit, les fautes de grammaire, les fautes d'orthographe, les choses de base, il peut y en avoir une, deux, de bien écrire c'est quand même important...ça dépend de l'interlocuteur en face mais je trouve que ça donne plus de sérieux quand c'est bien écrit, et puis après, je ne sais pas dans le monde de travail quand il s'agit d'écrire une lettre officielle ou des vrais documents, etcetera, il faut que ce soit bien écrit, après c'est comme en français...donc, en résumé, pour moi, *listening, reading* c'est essentiel de vraiment les maîtriser pour comprendre de quoi il s'agit, et après *speaking and writing*, la plupart du temps au travail on arrive à s'exprimer...et après, c'est selon l'interlocuteur s'il faut être meilleur

7.

BR : Alors je pense que...il y a deux aspects, un aspect c'est, on va dire, c'est le plaisir à parler correctement une langue, de savoir que je peux bien m'exprimer dans une langue, à la limite tu peux presque ne pas forcément être identifiable entre guillemets, mais ça c'est peut-être un peu plus personnel, mais identifiable en tant qu'anglophone, mais ça c'est difficile, peut-être justement avec la question suivante c'est arriver à avoir un niveau suffisant pour que les fautes ne choquent pas les interlocuteurs en face...après c'est très relatif aussi...

Interviewer : C'est choquant pour qui exactement ?

BR : C'est difficile à dire, en fait, parce qu'on va dire du point de vue de moi, quand j'écoute d'autres gens, j'ai envie de dire non mais il faut mieux parler anglais, c'est désapaisant des fois, les gens qui ne parlent pas suffisamment bien anglais, etcetera, après en tournant dans l'autre sens, quand il y a un étranger qui parle français dans un groupe français, je pense que personne ne porte vraiment de jugements...tout le monde arrive à communiquer...donc c'est un peu une histoire de point de vue, je pense que, en fait, les anglophones, avec des gens qui ne parlent pas forcément très bien anglais, des fautes ça ne devrait pas les choquer, tant que ça

8.

BR : J'aurais plutôt tendance à dire que c'est bien, c'est appréciable de savoir bien parler anglais au plus proche d'un anglophone, après ce n'est pas dramatique si ce n'est pas le cas...c'est plus un objectif personnel...entre guillemets, le jour où tu parles et tu arrives à parler d'une manière bilingue en anglais, entre guillemets, tu n'as pas d'objectif...tant que tu ne parles pas aussi bien comme un anglophone, tu peux dire je peux progresser, j'ai des points à progresser, il faut que je travaille mon anglais, etcetera...

Interviewer : Dans le monde de travail, penses-tu qu'il est nécessaire de parler comme un anglophone ?

BR : Non, tant qu'il n'y a pas...sauf si on est dans les pays anglophones...après c'est plus personnel en termes de progression...après je trouve que quelqu'un qui a des responsabilités dans les entreprises, plus tu as à faire, plus là je trouve moins excusable de ne pas maîtriser l'anglais...il y a juste la seule différence, c'est la génération

Interviewer : Tu vois ça au travail ... cet écart entre les générations ?

BR : Oui, je pense que les plus jeunes globalement ça va, mais les plus anciens, il y a des gens qui ont peut-être appris l'anglais après la sortie de l'école
9.

BR : Il n'y a pas de raison de se sentir inférieur, après je pense quand même que les anglophones, en général, ont souvent l'impression qu'eux ils parlent la langue que tout le monde parle donc ils n'ont pas besoin de connaître d'autres langues...donc après, dans une discussion en anglais je n'ai pas forcément l'impression que les anglophones font sentir aux autres qu'ils ne parlent pas assez bien anglais

10.

BR : J'aurais quand même plutôt tendance à dire qu'il y a *British English, American English*, après *Australian, New Zealand English*, on va dire les gens qui ont quand même cette langue depuis longtemps, en France, en Allemagne, l'anglais n'est pas une langue officielle, entre guillemets...donc après, oui, ça m'est déjà arrivé, j'ai trouvé ça marrant en discutant avec des indiens qui faisaient un peu le leçon en anglais en disant nous on parle bien anglais, etcetera, parce que c'est quand même une des langues maternelles ou une des langues qu'ils apprennent très tôt...après, j'aurais plutôt tendance à dire qu'il y a les différents anglais de langue maternelle, donc l'anglais britannique on va dire que c'est l'anglais académique de référence, après l'anglais américain, les différences entre l'anglais américain et l'anglais britannique, on ne peut pas dire qu'il y a un qui est juste et un qui est faux, c'est sûr...j'aurais envie de dire que si on écrit une lettre ou quelque chose de littéraire on l'écrit en anglais britannique, si on écrit quelque chose de commercial ou de technique on l'écrit en anglais américain...après ce sont les variantes dans le monde anglophone...et après, à côté de ça, je dirais qu'il y a un anglais international mais, moi, je ne considère pas que l'anglais international et les autres pays où ce n'est pas une langue officielle, où il n'y a pas académiquement quelque chose d'établie, je ne considère pas que les fautes, les différences que font les français quand ils parlent anglais, *French English*, je ne considère pas ça comme des variantes, pour moi ça reste des fautes, après ça ne m'empêche pas de communiquer...mais sinon, je regarde ça d'un point de vue un peu académique, dans une langue il y a quand même des règles, etcetera...c'est peut-être une vision un peu scolaire mais, pour moi, dans une langue il y a quand même des règles académiques et des choses qu'on dit, qu'on ne dit pas, en français c'est pareil...mais, pour moi, dans une langue il y a quand même une version de la langue, après les variantes...tant que c'est la même langue maternelle il y a des variantes...après pour l'anglais dans les autres pays, bon bah, je ne considère pas vraiment que c'est une variante puisque l'anglais français c'est juste la manière dans laquelle les français parlent anglais, il n'y a pas d'académie d'anglais en France...sinon tout le monde invente sa langue...ce n'est pas très grave, en fait, des fautes, mais ça reste des fautes pour moi

11.

BR : Alors ça c'est dur (rire)...j'aurais envie de dire l'anglais britannique académique, celui qui s'apprend...après dans un pays il y a toutes les variantes possibles, puis chacun va avoir sa manière de dire...donc l'anglais correct je n'aurais pas vraiment de réponse à part de dire celui qu'on apprend à l'école...mais je pense que la question, à mon avis, est difficile pour un anglophone aussi...un français correct, pour moi, c'est celui qu'on apprend à l'école

12.

BR : Alors moi, personnellement, je trouve ça horrible (rire)...et je pense que les français ne parlent pas assez bien anglais, après...je pense qu'on est aussi plus sensible à notre propre accent, c'est-à-dire entendre des français quand ils parlent anglais c'est quelque chose qui nous choque, après parler anglais avec des italiens, des espagnols, il y a des trucs aussi qui sont monstrueux...donc je pense que l'accent français n'est pas pire que les autres mais en tant que français je pense qu'on l'entend plus, et moi, personnellement, c'est un accent que je n'aime pas

13.

BR : Un accent favori en anglais...après ça va dépendre, je ne connais pas tous les accents anglais...après, on va dire l'anglais britannique, c'est vrai que quand on est en Angleterre et les gens parlent anglais britannique, il y a vraiment cette sensation du, ça va avec l'image en fait (rire)...je trouve que l'anglais britannique sonne distingué, très petite cuillère dans le thé (rire)

14 & 15.

BR : Bon, pour le travail, je pense que j'ai un bon niveau d'anglais...après je ne me considère pas comme parlant suffisamment bien anglais mais c'est plus dans le sens que j'aime bien pouvoir progresser en anglais, maîtriser le plus possible la langue...après, je pense que je parle mieux anglais que j'ai jamais parlé anglais

16.

BR : C'est un peu difficile à dire...je pense qu'il y a un peu l'idée de pouvoir parler comme un anglophone...après c'est jamais le cas...après, je pense que j'ai besoin de pouvoir dire et me prouver que mon niveau d'anglais finalement sera perçu comme un niveau d'anglais qui est suffisant pour toutes les situations en fait

17.

Interviewer : En termes d'identité, comment te sens-tu?

BR : En termes d'esprit...je me sens européen

Interviewer : Plus que français ?

BR : Oui, je me sens...c'est à la limite presque plus linguistique...je me sens français au sein de l'Europe, mais justement dans cet intérêt, d'une certaine manière de diversité...pour moi, c'est un phénomène qui est plus fort en Europe parce qu'il y a plus de liens, c'est plus facile de se sentir européen pour moi

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu te sens plus européen en parlant une certaine langue ?

BR : En fait, en échangeant, en sachant plusieurs langues, en discutant avec différentes personnes, après on utilisera la langue qui va bien et puis voilà, c'est ça que je trouve intéressant

Interviewer : Et pour les européens, est-ce que tu penses qu'il est important de parler plusieurs langues au lieu de parler sa langue maternelle et l'anglais par exemple ?

BR : Pour moi, oui, je pense que c'est une des, on va dire qu'il y a la langue maternelle qu'on a, ensuite il y a l'anglais qui va permettre de communiquer avec tout le monde ce qui est vraiment important, et après une autre langue ça permet de se dire je suis européen mais finalement je suis de mon pays natal mais il y a un autre pays avec lequel je peux communiquer, avec lequel je suis proche...parce que je pense que quand on maîtrise une langue on arrive quand même à être plus proche du pays

17.

BR : Alors, pour moi, c'est un peu particulier parce que je suis...j'ai une grand-mère qui est allemande, j'ai grandi à la frontière avec l'Allemagne et la suisse, donc même pour moi, j'ai un peu cette notion d'identité partagée, c'est quelque chose qui est vraiment importante pour moi et où je me dis...alors ce que je trouve important c'est d'être...ce qui est sympa en Europe, c'est de dire qu'on a chacun nos identités, nos particularités, et, en fait, ce qui est sympa c'est de les partager...après j'ai eu une discussion avec mon coloc sur l'anglais, la particularité de l'anglais c'est que la culture anglaise, ou américaine, c'est un peu la culture internationale, l'anglais c'est un peu la langue internationale...donc au final, l'anglais, mon coloc le disait « l'anglais, je ne considère pas ça comme si important parce que je pense que c'est vraiment la langue de communication, et en termes de culture elle n'est pas forcément très intéressante parce que c'est la culture de tout le monde, de tous les jours », et moi, je n'étais pas d'accord parce qu'en maîtrisant la langue ça permet de se rapprocher des cultures anglophones

Interview #2 (CM): 0:51:34, 04/03/2015

1.

CM : Dans le cadre de mon boulot, c'est important effectivement de pouvoir communiquer avec des interlocuteurs anglais parce que de plus en plus on est amenés à travailler avec des équipes internationales et notamment avec des américains, des anglais...et le fait de pouvoir s'exprimer correctement et de communiquer avec ces équipes-là

Interviewer : Ils viennent des quels pays ces interlocuteurs ?

CM : Ils sont américains, anglais, et sud africains essentiellement...les australiens un peu aussi

Interviewer : Est-ce qu'il y a des interlocuteurs avec qui il est plus facile de communiquer ?

CM : C'est difficile parce qu'il y a des fois des américains qu'on comprend très bien et d'autres pas du tout...des anglais aussi, donc ça dépend beaucoup de la personne et de l'accent...je pense que pour moi il n'y a pas réellement de catégorie bien figée quoi...par pays je veux dire

2.

CM : C'est pareil que pour la question 1, parce que dans le même temps qu'on travaille avec des anglais, des américains, on est amenés à travailler avec essentiellement des collègues portugais, allemands, italiens, etcetera...donc même réponse sauf qu'ils ne sont pas des interlocuteurs natifs...mais donc c'est l'anglais qui nous permet de communiquer...donc c'est important de pouvoir s'exprimer correctement, c'est exactement le même problème

Interviewer : Entre les deux, est-ce que tu penses que tu communique plus avec des natifs ou avec des non-natifs ?

CM : Sur le principe, il n'y pas de différence...c'est-à-dire qu'on ne va pas faire le distinguo parce que c'est un américain...c'est vrai que souvent c'est plus simple...on est plus à l'aise avec des non-natifs parce que voilà c'est une langue...on est face au même problème donc il y a moins de gêne ou moins de scrupule à faire des erreurs...c'est peut-être plus simple et ça pose moins de problèmes

Interviewer : As-tu plus de contact avec des natifs ou des non-natifs ?

CM : Il se trouve que actuellement je bosse pas mal avec des allemands donc...mais c'est des circonstances qui font que je passe plus de temps avec des allemands, mais demain ça peut-être différent parce qu'on va changer d'équipe

3.

CM : C'est un peu ce qu'on vient de dire

4.

CM : D'une manière plus factuelle, c'est vrai qu'il se trouve, donc, si on prend l'exemple des allemands, je pense...si on généralise...ils ont un niveau d'anglais qui est supérieur à celui des français (rire)...en tout cas c'est ce qu'on constate avec les personnes avec qui on travaille...donc c'est un complément en disant que bon les français, on est moins...les personnes avec qui je travaille, c'est vrai qu'on n'a pas de complexes, mais on sent que quand même on a en moyenne un niveau qui n'est pas forcément...qui ne joue pas en notre faveur...je ne sens pas ça comme un handicap, mais c'est juste que c'est un fait

Interviewer : Quand tu dis «ce n'est pas en notre faveur», ça veut dire quoi exactement ?

CM : C'est-à-dire que le niveau des relations...ils sont plus à l'aise avec leur niveau d'anglais que nous...il n'a pas de rivalité, mais c'est vrai qu'on a souvent plus d'efforts à fournir ou plus de mal à communiquer qu'eux qui ont un bon niveau d'anglais en général...donc c'est dans ce sens-là

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu trouves que c'est plus le cas avec les allemands qu'avec les portugais, les espagnols par exemple ?

CM : Oui, oui, j'ai l'impression...et leurs accents...ils sont moins polyglottes...ils n'ont pas forcément une pratique, un niveau d'anglais qui est au niveau des pays du nord...mais après ce n'est pas scientifique du tout, c'est plus mon expérience

Interviewer : Et avec des natifs ?

CM : Après ça dépend beaucoup de la personne aussi...les efforts qu'ils vont faire eux justement d'essayer d'être plus clair, donc est-ce que c'est plus facile?...je ne sais pas mais ils font moins d'erreurs donc ça nous aide plus, et c'est plus profitable pour nous en tant qu'apprentissage, etcetera

Interviewer : Parce qu'en discutant avec des natifs tu les écoutes pour les structures grammaticales, etcetera ?

CM : Absolument, oui, oui...donc on est sur qu'on peut en retirer des choses...quand on est en conversation avec des allemands, des espagnols, on comprend très bien mais pour capitaliser, peut-être que c'est moins pertinent

5.

CM : Pour moi, en ce qui me concerne en tout cas, moi je ne suis pas super à l'aise en anglais, donc au niveau de la compréhension ça va, pas trop mal, mais au niveau de l'expression je suis loin d'avoir un niveau suffisant pour m'exprimer sans chercher mes mots clairement et sans fautes...donc c'est vrai que ce n'est pas toujours confortable quand on est dans des réunions avec beaucoup de personnes où il faut effectivement derrière apporter un argumentaire, apporter la contradiction, et éventuellement peser sur une décision quand on ne maîtrise pas correctement ou suffisamment la langue...donc c'est sur que c'est, dans le cadre du travail, ça reste quand même un handicap si on est réellement amenés à devoir échanger beaucoup avec des personnes en anglais...voilà donc avec des situations, après, de ce fait-là, il arrive qu'on ne va pas au bout des choses

par rapport à des problématiques de tous les jours au niveau du boulot...donc c'est au détriment du travail

Interviewer : Peux-tu décrire une de ces situations ?

CM : C'est des situations où, par exemple, on est amenés à présenter, par exemple, une situation technique ou une proposition d'architecture, et où on va vous poser des questions, où il faut réagir à des commentaires, souvent on va prendre des raccourcis en étant un peu simpliste plutôt qu'essayer d'avoir un dialogue, un échange un peu plus riche parce que, justement, on n'est pas capable d'aller suffisamment loin dans l'expression pour pouvoir apporter des éléments plus consistants par rapport aux questions ou commentaires qui viennent dans le cours de la discussion...on ne va pas aller dans la profondeur des choses, les choses qu'on ferait naturellement en français

6.

CM : Je pense que le plus important pour moi, c'est le *speaking, listening* et *speaking*, les deux...sachant que l'écoute, et la compréhension, et l'expression, et en sachant que la compréhension, si on a une bonne expression, la compréhension n'est pas un gros problème parce qu'on est à l'aise, donc je pense que c'est l'expression qui est, pour moi, la compétence la plus fondamentale...parce qu'après, la lecture, c'est quelque chose auquel on est déjà assez bien préparés, parce que tous les documents sont en anglais...donc on n'a pas de problème, même si on ne comprend pas tous les mots, ce n'est pas un souci...on a plus de temps

Interviewer : Tu parles des documents pour l'entreprise ?

CM : Oui...tous les documents techniques sont en anglais et, après, de plus en plus, même la communication interne, donc pour le marketing, RH, et au niveau d'encadrement, c'est de plus en plus en anglais aussi

Interviewer : Et vous parlez en anglais pendant des réunions aussi ?

CM : Oui, dès qu'il y a quelqu'un qui ne parle pas français...ça se comprend...je ne sais pas si ça se comprend mais c'est comme ça en tout cas (rire)...maintenant on est rattaché à Sage Europe, donc toutes les communications se font, tout ce qui est officiel est traduit dans les cinq ou six langues...mais l'anglais est quand même toujours la langue de référence, voilà, même si on est capable de trouver des traductions sur les communications qui portent sur les aspects liés au règlementaire ou aux RH...

7.

CM : Tant que les personnes en face sont tolérantes, donc, je pense que effectivement il n'y a pas de gêne à faire des fautes...après s'il y a des personnes dans les groupes, des individus qui font preuve de cynisme, ou qui profitent de certaines fautes justement pour derrière retourner la situation, et puis en faire un argument pour déstabiliser...oui, ça devient gênant, oui, je ne sais pas si c'est clair...donc c'est ça quoi, ce n'est pas très gênant tant qu'il y a une bonne coopération et qu'il n'y pas de mauvaise foi

Interviewer : « Pour nous déstabiliser », ça veut dire quoi exactement ?

CM : Parce qu'au travail il y a toujours des relations de force, c'est inévitable, selon les équipes, selon les intérêts de chacun, il y a toujours des rapports de force, et c'est justement dans ces rapports de force qu'il y a une des armes utilisées par un tiers, c'est de dire « je comprends rien de ce qu'il dit », ou « il ne s'exprime pas correctement, je ne peux plus bosser avec lui », ou « son travail il n'est pas de qualité »...donc ça peut arriver, ça fait partie du monde de travail

Interviewer : Tu te sens comment quand ça arrive ?

CM : Après ça dépend de qui ça vient aussi, donc si on sait de qui ça vient et on sait par ailleurs que c'est sa manière de fonctionner ce n'est pas grave...mais si c'est réellement très vicieux, ou si c'est fait d'une manière très, très, avec une volonté réellement de nuire, et avec beaucoup de poids...ça devient embêtant, c'est très embêtant même, bon, ça m'est jamais arrivé, mais bon ça peut arriver

8.

CM : Ca me semble effectivement...jusqu'à quel point...c'est inévitable quoi, au moins de baigner dans la culture de la langue en permanence, autrement, il y aura forcément un décalage entre un natif et un non-natif, et du coup...donc je pense que c'est normal que dans tous les cas...donc, un étranger ne pourrait jamais parler aussi bien qu'un *English native*, donc, je pense que c'est un fait même...et que ce n'est pas gênant

Interviewer : Parce que...?

CM : Parce que d'une part, déjà, ils se rendent compte que si on a inversé les rôles ça ne serait pas sympa pour eux, donc j'imagine qu'il y a un minimum de respect par rapport à ça...et dans tous les cas, après, ça ne...tant que ça...ça ne pose pas trop, trop de problèmes au niveau opérationnel... je pense que ça fait partie de maintenant, on peut...c'est une donnée dans le monde professionnel...c'est une donnée comme une autre...on sait qu'on est amenés à échanger avec différents types de populations...même pour un natif s'il a en face de lui un interlocuteur qui n'est pas super *fluent*, ce n'est pas grave tant qu'on peut se comprendre, que l'échange est de bonne qualité

Interviewer : Tu m'as dit que les allemands ont un bon niveau d'anglais en général, est-ce qu'on peut dire la même chose par rapport aux allemands ? Est-ce que les allemands s'attendent à un niveau élevé ?

CM : Vis-à-vis des français ?...non, je pense que c'est...je ne sais pas quoi dire...il n'y a aucun signe qui me laisse penser qu'il peut y avoir un sentiment différent, mais je ne sais pas quoi dire...après je ne suis pas dans la psychologie...donc j'imagine que au-delà uniquement des faits il y a aussi des considérations culturelles qui peuvent venir se rajouter, et peut-être que les français sont par moment dénigrés parce que les allemands passent un peu...ce n'est pas comme les italiens...c'est un pays nordique...il y a un peu, peut-être, une forme de supériorité...je ne sais pas...donc, ça peut jouer au-delà de la langue elle-même...mais bon, je pense que c'est important face à, c'est important aussi quoi

9.

CM : Oui, je pense oui, effectivement il n'y a pas à se sentir inférieur...jusqu'à quel point...il n'y a pas de limite...on a effectivement un handicap sans doute par rapport à l'expression et à la communication...après, se sentir inférieur, non, on n'est pas sur la même base...donc on a une difficulté...on peut se sentir mal à l'aise par moment...ce n'est pas un sentiment d'infériorité

Interviewer : Tu m'as dit que si c'était dans l'autre sens pour les natifs ça serait un peu difficile pour eux...

CM : C'est sur que, au moins des américains, ou peut-être des anglais dans une moindre mesure...c'est rare de trouver des personnes qui parlent français, il y en a qui parlent français, mais le niveau est souvent bas, mais ça peut se comprendre...ce n'est pas un jugement de valeur parce que c'est le système éducatif qui fait que...c'est comme pour nous, par rapport à l'anglais...ce n'est pas très développé...ce n'est pas une priorité pour

le système éducatif américain, mais c'est vrai que de ce point de vue-là, il n'y a pas de complexes à faire (rire)

Interviewer : Quand les gens essaient de parler français, qu'est-ce que tu penses de ça ?

CM : Je pense que c'est plutôt une bonne chose...c'est certain que dans la mesure où nous...ça doit être bizarre pour un anglais quand on parle anglais, on sait que ce n'est pas simple...on sait qu'on doit faire ce qu'il faut pour échanger des idées...donc en prendre conscience que dans ces situations il faut faire des efforts

10.

CM : Oui, complètement...pour moi c'est difficile à dire...non, c'est complètement con ce que je viens de dire...c'est une faute, c'est une faute quoi...si on arrive à se comprendre c'est l'essentiel, mais ce n'est pas suffisant dans l'absolu

Interviewer : Est-ce qu'on peut parler d'un *French English* par exemple ?

CM : Ce ne sont pas vraiment des variantes...c'est juste que c'est faux quoi

Interviewer : Selon qui ?

CM : Selon la grammaire française...

Interviewer : Non, non je parle de l'anglais...

CM : Non mais même, ce sont des erreurs...ce sont des erreurs...en tout cas, mais je ne suis pas suffisamment...mon niveau n'est pas suffisamment élevé pour que je puisse jouer avec des subtilités anglaises ou américaines, donc si je le fais c'est par hasard (rire)...pour des personnes avec un niveau très bon en anglais effectivement ça peut être le cas mais...

Interviewer : C'est quoi la différence ?

CM : C'est que quelqu'un qui parle très bien anglais pourrait...non, en fait je mélange un peu les...non, non, c'est plus par rapport aux variantes, pas par rapport aux fautes...non, laisse tomber...je pense qu'elles sont clairement des fautes, mais c'est vrai que les français font toujours tels ou tels types de fautes, donc ça peut devenir quasiment une variante admise d'une manière informelle

Interviewer : Et pour admettre ces variantes, qu'est-ce qu'on doit faire ?

CM : Je pense que ce n'est pas forcément une bonne chose de les admettre...il faut enseigner les langues selon les règles et les usages de la langue, autrement, on dégrade énormément l'enseignement de la langue et l'apprentissage...ça devient quelque chose qui n'a plus de structure...si chaque pays a sa propre variante...à la fin on s'éloigne beaucoup de la langue origine et toute sa richesse et ses règles...c'est au détriment de la langue

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu penses que la langue anglaise est liée à la culture anglophone ?

CM : C'est un peu difficile parce que dans le monde actuel où c'est la langue de référence pour la communication internationale, donc c'est de moins en moins liée à la culture des pays anglo-saxons...mais en même temps c'est un peu dommage aussi parce qu'on perd beaucoup en richesse, c'est comme pour la nourriture...trouver une espèce de référence qui est un peu bâtarde, du coup, qui est un peu insipide...c'est pareil...on perd toute sa subtilité, tout ce qui fait le valeur d'une langue

11.

CM : Un *correct English*, c'est un anglais sans faute vis-à-vis de la grammaire et de la prononciation et du vocabulaire...l'accent, c'est peut-être un peu moins grave...après, c'est surtout au niveau grammatical...pour moi c'est un anglais correct

Interviewer : En suivant les règles de qui ? C'est quoi la référence ?

CM : C'est l'anglais qui est enseigné dans les livres de grammaire (rire)...je ne sais pas...oui, c'est tout ce qu'on peut voir dans les livres de grammaire

12.

CM : C'est vrai que parfois c'est un peu pourri...après, ça dépend beaucoup de la personne je pense, c'est très variable...mais je pense que s'il n'y a aucun effort qui est fait, l'accent français est assez mauvais...après ce n'est pas une fatalité...il y en a beaucoup qui font des efforts, donc c'est variable

13.

CM : Je pense que dès le départ les français ne sont pas exemplaires si on compare par rapport aux allemands, par rapport aux néerlandais, par rapport à tous les pays de l'Europe où ils parlent anglais couramment et pour nous ce n'est pas le cas

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu penses que c'est un problème en France ?

CM : Oui, je pense que ça peut être un problème...je pense que ça serait important effectivement qu'on en prenne conscience en France, qu'on comprenne pourquoi...c'est un problème par rapport aux échanges internationaux...et si on veut être amenés à communiquer avec nos, soit pour les affaires, soit au niveau culturel avec nos compatriotes européens et au-delà...mais pas que ça se fasse au détriment de la langue française

Interviewer : Tu penses que ça peut être le cas...que l'anglais remplace le français ?

CM : Non...en France non...mais c'est possible de dire que le français va perdre son influence à l'étranger...et comme l'anglais devient la langue de référence, c'est sûr que le français perd son pouvoir, son influence...et au-delà de la langue, c'est la culture française, et, et, la France en tant que nation

13.

CM : Je ne sais pas l'accent anglais est assez sympathique...c'est plutôt agréable je trouve

14.

CM : *Read*, ça va, *write*, moyen, et *speak* c'est moyen...

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu penses que ton niveau est suffisant pour travailler ?

CM : Non, je pense que quand même il faut je fasse quelques efforts et que je progresse encore un peu...c'est suffisant, mais c'est...on arrive à travailler, il n'y a pas de problème, mais ce n'est quand même pas super confortable...il faudrait que je sois un peu plus à l'aise pour que mon travail soit plus facile et profitable

16.

CM : Le but c'est de pouvoir parler facilement sans gêne et avec un anglais suffisant pour ne pas faire trop de fautes, des fautes de grammaire...ça serait le but

17.

CM : Euh non (rire)...non, non, clairement non...ce n'est pas le but, ce n'est pas parce qu'on souhaite parler correctement une langue que derrière ça veut dire qu'on souhaite abandonner sa propre identité et sa culture...ça n'empêche pas qu'on apprécie beaucoup de choses de la culture du pays en question...ce n'est pas au détriment de l'autre...c'est plus par addition que par soustraction

Interviewer : Tu penses qu'on peut avoir plusieurs identités par exemple ?

CM : Je pense que je suis d'une génération encore où l'Europe ce n'était pas encore quelque chose de peut-être si important qu'actuellement...je pense qu'il y a quand

même, par rapport à ma génération, il y a quand même chez les jeunes une ouverture plus importante par rapport à la culture européenne ou internationale, mais bon, après tout ça ce n'est pas figé...ça dépend de beaucoup de choses...moi je me sens français avant tout...après, français dans son projet européen et avec une ouverture à l'international...on a quand même des racines, une base culturelle

Interview #3 (PC): 0:43:20, 05/03/2015

1.

PC : Dans mon travail c'est indispensable tout simplement, plus de la moitié de mes interlocuteurs sont...parlent anglais...il ne sont pas, ils ne parlent pas français

Interviewer : Ils viennent de quels pays ?

PC : Etats-Unis, Angleterre, Afrique du sud, Espagne, Allemagne

Interviewer : Et les interlocuteurs natifs ?

PC : des Etats-Unis principalement

2.

Interviewer : Et les interlocuteurs non-natifs ?

PC : Allemagne, Espagne

Interviewer : Plutôt des allemands ou des espagnols ?

PC : plutôt des allemands, la majorité

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu vois une différence entre les allemands et les espagnols quand ils parlent anglais ?

PC : Oui, oui il y a une différence avec l'accent déjà...et puis peut-être aussi dans le vocabulaire...ils n'utilisent pas le même vocabulaire

4.

Interviewer : Et avec les interlocuteurs natifs ?

PC : Pour moi, c'est un peu pareil, il n'y a pas une différence très nette parce que ça reste quand on est dans le domaine du travail...donc le vocabulaire il est moins riche parfois chez les non-natifs mais ça suffit, et les autres ont le bon vocabulaire mais il y m'est guère plus riche parce que c'est le même sujet...il n'y a pas vraiment une grosse différence

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu préfères parler avec les natifs ou avec les non-natifs ?

PC : Oui, oui je préfère avec les natifs parce que j'apprends plus, c'est plus riche quoi...l'échange est plus riche...j'apprends les mots qu'ils utilisent souvent, les expressions qu'ils utilisent régulièrement...et puis leurs accents

Interviewer : Et ce n'est pas pareil avec les non-natifs ?

PC : Non, ce n'est pas pareil...j'écoute aussi les différences mais je n'ai pas envie de reproduire ça par exemple...je n'ai pas envie de parler comme un allemand, comme un espagnol

Interviewer : Même avec les gens qui parlent très bien l'anglais ?

PC : Oui, oui mais c'est rare quand même...disons que les non-natifs font beaucoup de fautes donc ça me sert juste à repérer quelques fautes de temps en temps, mais ça ne me sert pas trop pour progresser

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu rencontres parfois des difficultés linguistiques ou culturelles quand tu parles anglais avec les gens au travail ?

PC : Non parce que les sujets sont techniques

5.

PC : Oui pour exprimer mon point de vue, mes idées, je n'ai pas de soucis...je n'ai pas de problème...si, parfois il y a une manque de vocabulaire pour m'exprimer comme je veux

Interviewer : Donc pas d'angoisse ?

PC : Non, plutôt du plaisir de parler anglais...la communication est assez naturelle

6.

PC : Il faut déjà comprendre au téléphone ou en Webex, en communication où le son n'est pas toujours bon...donc il y a déjà l'écoute...après il faut savoir s'exprimer et puis en deuxième ou troisième position être capable de rédiger des mails, des documents...il y a déjà un premier niveau c'est d'écrire des messages rapidement sans trop de fautes...pour moi le plus important c'est d'être capable de comprendre ce qu'il se dit dans une réunion, sinon tu fais rien, tu peux rien faire quoi...il y a plusieurs façons de dire les choses mais il n'y a qu'une façon de comprendre

Interviewer : Pouvez-vous décrire une situation où vous n'avez pas tout compris lors d'une réunion ?

PC : Oui, oui ça m'arrive...il y a des situations où plusieurs personnes parlent en même temps...leurs rythmes s'accroissent parce qu'ils mettent de l'humour, ils plaisantent...je peux perdre des morceaux de phrases comme ça

Interviewer : Est-ce que tu vois une différence entre les non-natifs et les natifs au niveau de la compréhension dans les réunions ?

PC : Disons que les différences ne sont pas de même ordre parce que comme les non-natifs font des fautes de temps ou de vocabulaire, il faut retraduire ou essayer de comprendre ce qu'ils essaient de dire...et sur les faux-amis, il y en a qui se trompent tout le temps *actually, eventually*...tout ça, donc c'est pénible parce que, à chaque fois, il faut que je recherche pourquoi ils se trompent et revenir sur le vrai sens et je ne suis pas sûr

Interviewer : Est-ce que ça te dérange si les gens font des fautes comme ça ?

PC : Oui tout le temps, tout le temps, tout le temps

Interviewer : Pourquoi ?

PC : Parce que déjà je n'aime pas quand les gens n'utilisent pas les mots exacts...ici, dans l'open space, j'entends les gens parler au téléphone et j'entends des fautes et je le leur ai déjà dit parce qu'il faut les aider

Interviewer : Ils réagissent comment quand tu les corriges ?

PC : Ils sont contents...il y a une façon de dire « au fait, tu sais que c'est un mot vraiment difficile pour nous parce que ça ressemble au français, c'est ça et ça ne veut pas dire... »...et quand c'est des étrangers, j'essaie de savoir est-ce qu'ils se trompent ou est-ce que c'est parce que dans leur langue c'est un faux-amis...donc ça peut-être parfois difficile...c'est dommage parce que c'est facile à corriger ça...il y en a pas beaucoup à apprendre (les faux amis)...ça permet à avoir un meilleur vocabulaire avec pas beaucoup d'efforts

Interviewer : Pour votre travail, est-ce qu'il est nécessaire d'avoir un vocabulaire riche ?

PC : Non, ce n'est pas nécessaire...mais pour moi c'est important pour avoir une meilleure qualité d'écoute, surtout avec les natifs

Interviewer : Et pensez-vous que c'est important pour eux (les natifs) ?

PC : Je pense que pour eux ça doit être pénible d'avoir les gens qui parlent comme des petits nègres comme on dit chez nous tout le temps...il y a beaucoup d'étrangers qui parlent l'anglais et je pense que pour les anglophones ça doit être...fin j'ai des amis anglais et pour eux c'est vraiment, parfois c'est amusant parfois c'est agaçant...c'est un peu dérangent forcément d'avoir des gens qui ne parlent pas forcément très bien tout le temps

PC : Mais au-delà de ça, la grammaire ça peut être autre chose...les temps, les auxiliaires, les participes, les utiliser correctement c'est assez difficile...si tu te trompes de temps tu peux parfois ne pas dire ce que tu voulais dire, tu vois, tu peux parler du passé quand tu parles du futur...je pense que ça peut mener à des mauvaises compréhensions parfois

7.

PC : Encore une fois ce n'est pas nécessaire de limiter des fautes qu'on fait, mais c'est important voilà, c'est la différence entre quelque chose qui est urgente est importante...mais ça peut fonctionner mieux...tu peux tout faire dans la vie avec un niveau juste suffisant, avoir 10/20, avoir juste la moyenne, mais tu peux avoir aussi plus et en général, moi je préfère faire des efforts

Interviewer : Comme tu es conscient des fautes des autres et de tes fautes à toi, est-ce que ça te bloque parfois quand tu communique en anglais ?

PC : Disons que quand je parle je fais attention mais ça va vite, donc je corrige mais en temps réel...donc ça ne me donne pas une conversation trop lente, c'est assez fluide...mais oui je fais quand même attention quand je parle

8.

PC : Oui je suis d'accord parce que c'est comme ça (rire)...pour moi c'est normale d'avoir des différences tant que ces différences n'empêchent pas de comprendre, d'échanger, ça me va, c'est naturel

9.

PC : De fait tu l'es forcément...ça me paraît normal que quelqu'un qui est non-natif parle moins bien que quelqu'un dont c'est la langue maternelle, donc il y a pas pour moi, ce n'est pas très logique d'imaginer que tu puisses ne pas te sentir inférieur...mais ce n'est pas quelque chose qui m'obsède...je parlerai jamais aussi bien que toi et puis tout va bien

10.

PC : (rire) Non là je ne suis pas d'accord...pour moi il y a une seule règle et après le reste, si c'est pour justifier le fait que on peut se permettre de jouer un peu parce qu'on n'a pas envie d'apprendre les règles, pour moi ce n'est pas une bonne raison

Interviewer : Quand vous dites les règles, ce sont les règles de qui ? Qui est l'autorité ?

PC : C'est l'éducation qu'on peut percevoir, des professeurs, des cours, des livres, de la lecture de l'internet, des magazines...la façon commune d'utiliser les mots, la grammaire, les expressions...il y a plusieurs façons de parler bien l'anglais...l'anglais de l'Angleterre, des Etats-Unis...tout ça, ça reste acceptable

Interviewer : Que pensez-vous d'une variante *French English* ?

PC : Je pense que si j'étais anglais, ça m'embêterait qu'il y ai un *French English*, *Spanish English*, un *German English*, *Vietnamese English*, *Chinese English*...ça fait beaucoup quoi donc qu'un français trouve ça bien, pour moi c'est quelque part excuser

ses fautes facilement...mais la prononciation c'est autre chose...il y a certains qui n'ont pas l'oreille

11.

PC : Pour moi, l'anglais correct c'est un bon vocabulaire, une bonne grammaire, une bonne prononciation, un bon accent, c'est tout ça à des niveaux divers...mais aller le plus loin possible

PC : C'est dommage d'avoir un accent horrible et puis d'avoir un bon vocabulaire, tu vois, c'est comme un visage avec juste un bouton sur le nez, tu peux être très beau mais avec juste un petit bouton tout le monde va regarder le bouton

Interviewer : C'est quoi le modèle dans ces cas-là ?

PC : Là c'est vraiment personnel mais pour moi, ça serait que je comprenne vraiment toutes les subtilités d'une discussion en dehors du travail, et puis après avoir un accent où les gens disent « tiens, je ne devine pas d'où il vient »

12.

PC : Si j'ai bien compris les américains et les anglo-saxons aiment bien l'accent français en général, donc pas de problème...et après...est-ce que les français ont un bon accent en général ? Non, non je ne crois pas non...quand j'entends un bon accent je suis étonné parce que c'est rare

13.

PC : Pour moi, la différence ça serait...pour moi en fait, j'aime bien...c'est un mélange entre l'accent américain et l'accent UK...l'accent américain est un peu trop exagéré sur certains syllabes et l'accent anglais est un peu trop formel je trouve...donc un petit mélange entre les deux

14.

PC : Je pense que j'ai un niveau qui est correct, entre correct et bon

15.

PC : Oui mais c'est oui...pour mon travail il n'y a pas de problème ça va

16.

PC : Pour moi, c'est d'être très à l'aise dans toutes les situations de la vie quotidienne, et d'avoir un accent presque local

17.

PC : Cette question elle est vraiment différente que les autres non ?

PC : C'est presque un autre sujet l'identité nationale...le fait d'apprendre une langue étrangère, le but c'est rarement de changer l'identité...moi je n'ai pas envie de changer d'identité, j'ai envie de communiquer avec le plus de monde possible et en plus je trouve que l'anglais est une belle langue à pratiquer...mais je reste comme je suis...

PC : Je parle anglais pour me rapprocher des gens, le mélange des cultures est bien

Interviewer : Donc tu restes avec une identité française quand tu parles l'anglais ?

PC : Oui c'est ça, c'est même sur...et je pense que quelqu'un qui imagine le contraire, à mon sens, je peux me tromper, mais je ne vois pas comment tu peux, dans ton cerveau, faire abstraction des millions d'heures que tu as passé dans ta culture et en sortir juste parce que tu parles une autre langue...pour moi c'est vraiment illusoire

Interviewer : Pensez-vous que vous avez une identité européenne ?

PC : Je dirai un petit peu si on veut comparer ça à une identité du moyen orient, une identité asiatique, une identité anglo-saxonne...oui je pense que je me sens plus européen, une identité européenne

Interviewer : Est-ce que la langue anglaise donne accès à cette identité européenne ?

PC : Ce n'est pas liée mais l'anglais m'a aidé au moins à communiquer avec d'autres pays de l'Europe et à me rendre compte qu'on avait des points en commun et qu'on avait des éléments de culture qui se ressemblent...donc l'anglais ça aide surtout à communiquer et à comprendre les autres

Interviewer : Maintenant dans les entreprises françaises, les gens parlent de plus en plus anglais, est-ce que ça te paraît normal ?

PC : Oui, oui ça me paraît normal et même urgent

Interview #4 (MC): 0:48:56, 18/03/2015

1.

MC: Dans une entreprise, chacun arrive avec son niveau...dans une réunion, on peut avoir des niveaux d'anglais très différents du fait du multiculturel, donc on a des français qui ont leurs niveaux qui peuvent être très variables, après on a très peu d'anglais mais on a beaucoup d'indiens, beaucoup de chinois et après d'autres nationalités turcs et autres qui font que dans une réunion, où on peut être tous présents, on peut arriver plus facilement à se comprendre parce qu'on se voit et parce qu'on va faire un signe ou on va dire entre français éventuellement, ou expliciter autrement...alors que aujourd'hui, la plupart de nos réunions se font par téléphone, en Webex, et donc du coup, la personne parle et dit « vous avez compris ? », tout le monde va dire « oui » parce qu'ils ne vont pas oser la question ou parce que le timing fait qu'ils sont en Chine, ils sont aux Etats-Unis, et que on va faire une réunion de telle heure à telle heure parce que pour certains c'est 22h et pour d'autres c'est 6h du matin...donc on va être très directifs et du coup on va dire « voilà, la formation on fait ça on fait comme ça », celui qui va animer...chacun va dire « oui », « non », et puis voilà, point, et après il y aura un compte rendu qui va permettre à chacun de comprendre si éventuellement il y a des choses qui sont passées à côté...mais la difficulté c'est justement les niveaux, les niveaux, mais aussi la prononciation, parce que les indiens roulent les « r », les chinois vont parler très haché et puis on travaille nous avec des allemands qui ont un anglais très très, comment dire, profond, donc ce n'est pas toujours évident...la disparité des niveaux fait que c'est indispensable de parler anglais, mais la difficulté c'est justement que chacun arrive avec son propre niveau, et acquis dans le domaine, son propre vocabulaire, ça aussi, chaque domaine a son vocabulaire, donc on est capables de parler du sujet parce qu'on aura travaillé dans le sujet, qu'on aura appris le vocabulaire, mais si on sort de ce contexte, ou si on arrive dans un nouveau contexte, on se rend compte très vite qu'il nous faut vite acquérir des mots pour comprendre de ce qu'on dit couramment sur le sujet

Interviewer : Oui, parce que le vocabulaire est limité au domaine du locuteur et c'est difficile de comprendre le vocabulaire d'autres domaines ?

MC : Oui, c'est beaucoup ça...donc ça je l'ai vécu parce que j'ai travaillé dans l'informatique et l'informatique a son jargon, je travaille dans l'environnement aujourd'hui, l'environnement a son jargon...donc on voit bien qu'il est nécessaire d'acquérir le vocabulaire propre du domaine dans lequel on travaille pour pouvoir échanger correctement avec les autres interlocuteurs

2.

MC : Donc la question ne se pose pas parce que soit on parle français soit on parle anglais, on ne va pas parler chinois, on ne va pas parler allemand...donc on reste dans un domaine où on se dit dans le monde de travail, si la personne ne vient pas de notre pays on va parler anglais, si elle parle français, elle va dire « oui je parle un petit peu », donc bon voilà...donc pour la réunion on va parler anglais, donc ça, maintenant, c'est posé comme ça, on parle anglais, on ne se pose pas la question, on rencontre quelqu'un et on dit « *nice to meet you, you're coming from where ?* »...mais on a un anglais, moi mon anglais est très mauvais, je comprends, par contre j'écris beaucoup...c'est plus facile pour moi d'écrire et on échange beaucoup par écrit...si dans une réunion on ne se comprend pas on va chatter « *are you sure you want to say that ?* », et puis on va écrire le mot qu'on a compris parce que c'est par téléphone, on va chatter...c'est le seul moyen qu'on aie aujourd'hui pour être sûr quand on est en *face to face*, mais par téléphone on chat...donc chez Schneider, à Grenoble, on parle dans un même bureau, on est tous de nationalités différentes...le dernier bureau où j'étais il y avait des personnes qui étaient mexicaines, une autre personne qui était algérienne, une autre personne qui était hongroise, une autre un peu plus loin qui était indienne, des français, donc on parle forcément anglais même dans son propre bureau

3.

MC : Donc pour répondre à la question 3, c'est un mélange...et globalement c'est tout le temps comme ça...(rire) c'est plus difficile de parler avec des non anglais qui parlent anglais qu'avec des vrais anglais...ça c'est sûr...parce que les mots ne sont pas les mêmes, et la prononciation, c'est la prononciation qui est la plus dure

Interviewer : Avec quelles nationalités par exemple ?

MC : Les chinois...les chinois...parce que les intonations n'ont rien à voir, donc le rythme qu'ils mettent dans la prononciation est surprenante...donc ça nous demande d'habituer notre oreille à entendre parler anglais par un chinois...après les indiens ne sont pas toujours faciles à comprendre parce qu'ils roulent les « r » et ils peuvent les rouler de façon très différents...par contre ils ont une structure dans leurs mails qui est beaucoup plus facile à comprendre

Interviewer : Vous pouvez donner un exemple ?

MC : Comme ils sont très...bien sûr ils étaient sous une culture anglaise...quand ils écrivent, ils ont, c'est des phrases qui ont du sens...alors que certains chinois, et même nous, utilisons des traducteurs (rire), et puis on a des phrases très courtes mais très directives, et le multiculturel on n'en prend pas compte, du coup on paraît très directifs alors que c'est une traduction qui n'est pas bonne, ou c'est quelque chose qu'on a appris et on l'utilise sans savoir qu'on peut blesser...donc il y a des cours chez Schneider pour nous expliquer comment c'est préférable d'échanger avec un indien, avec un mexicain en anglais pour ne pas les blesser, mais dans la fuite de l'action, oui, voilà

5.

MC : *How do you feel ?...not comfortable...*(rire)...pourquoi ? Parce que dans une réunion le sujet va très vite, tout le monde échange, et avoir quelqu'un qui a un anglais très très *fluent*, qui va poser son idée, et si on n'a pas des arguments suffisants pour défendre son point de vue, ça devient compliqué...je dirais c'est principalement ça, après au téléphone c'est toujours très difficile de comprendre quelqu'un qui va parler de son contexte industriel alors qu'on ne sait pas dans quoi il est, ni vraiment la difficulté qu'il a...c'est ça, de s'imaginer effectivement dans quel contexte il est...ce n'est pas

facile...moi c'est ce que j'ai rencontré, et expliqué ce qu'on attend de la personne et de dire « voilà il faut faire comme ça, deuxièmement, troisièmement... », c'est plus facile que la personne qui nous répond en disant « oui mais non, moi je ne peux pas parce que moi, industriellement, voilà ça se passe comme ci, ça se passe comme ça », on ne peut pas tenir compte et c'est très difficile de tout comprendre...pour moi en tout cas, mon niveau ne me permet pas toujours de comprendre hors contexte ce que la personne peut dire...c'est ça...si on est en visuelle et tous présents, on va pouvoir capter la réaction, demander aux voisins « c'est ça ce qu'il a dit ? »...au téléphone ce n'est pas possible...ça va très vite donc parce qu'il y a deux types de réunions, il y a des réunions formelles...tout le monde est là, tout le monde écoute, il y a quelque chose qui est informatif donc tout le monde doit écouter la bonne parole, donc là il n'y a pas d'échanges...on comprend, on ne comprend pas...il y a d'autres réunions qui sont plus pour créer quelque chose ou pour avancer sur une situation, et là il faut argumenter, et là ça devient plus compliqué si on n'a pas des bons termes pour expliquer ce qu'on pense, c'est ça la difficulté, c'est le fait de ne pas se voir et d'être nombreux à discuter de quelque chose, voilà

6.

MC : *Writing* est plus facile, *reading* aussi...*speaking* ça dépend du contexte...et écouter ça dépend aussi de l'accent...donc il faut déjà comprendre ce qu'il dit pour pouvoir échanger, et ensuite faire un retour écrit...donc...mais bon, vu que moi j'ai appris l'anglais jusqu'au BAC, et pas dans les écoles supérieures, et du coup quand je suis arrivée dans l'entreprise on ne parlait pas anglais à l'époque, on parlait français, et c'est parce qu'on a été amenés à devoir échanger avec des collègues américains que je me suis mise à parler au téléphone pendant des heures avec un collègue, et c'est là où j'ai appris à parler un peu mieux...après j'ai eu des cours d'anglais avec Schneider qui étaient avec Option, une société qui est sur Grenoble, et là on avait des cours qui se voulaient interactifs...mais entre francophones...donc voilà...je pense que rien ne vaut l'immersion...ça j'en suis convaincue

Interviewer : Avec des nationalités différentes ?

MC : Oui, justement...donc maintenant il vaut mieux de mélanger

Interviewer : Donc l'idéal pour vous c'est d'avoir des cours d'anglais plus multiculturels ?

MC : C'est un contexte qui nous amène à devoir entendre différentes formes d'expression d'une même langue, et qui nous oblige aujourd'hui à ne pas que parler avec des anglophones, mais justement comprendre que l'expression de cette langue-là peut être faite par différentes personnes issues de d'autres formations et qui expriment quelque chose de façons qui peuvent être très différentes, donc d'où la nécessité d'avoir, à mon sens, des cours multiculturels avec des personnes chinoises, etcetera, qui s'expriment avec des accents très, très différents...c'est la grosse difficulté...un anglophone on comprend...il n'y a rien à faire...aujourd'hui c'est ce que j'ai vécu en tout cas

7.

MC : Oui, oui pas de problème avec des erreurs parce que tout le monde comprend que tout le monde essaie de faire le mieux possible, et si on ne se comprend pas directement on reformule...mais il n'y a pas de problème...au temps j'ai travaillé avec des anglais pendant un certain temps, et je faisais très attention à la façon dont je formulais les

choses parce que je savais que c'était très à cheval...au temps mes autres collègues, aujourd'hui, on fait tous des erreurs, donc, du coup, mais on finit par se comprendre quand même (rire)...donc je pense que le fait de bien parler anglais c'est bien, mais si on ne parle pas correctement ce n'est pas grave, on finit par se comprendre

8.

MC : Oui évidemment...

Interviewer : Est-ce que c'est le but ultime de parler comme des *native speakers* quand même ?

MC : Oui, malgré tout, oui...je suis toujours impressionnée quand je vois une personne qui arrive du Chine et qui parle super bien...je me dis, parce que c'est difficile pour eux, je trouve ça super agréable...c'est sur que c'est bien préférable que tout le monde aie un niveau supérieur pour qu'on puisse mieux se comprendre...je pense que dans l'efficacité de ce qu'on veut faire dans une entreprise, il vaut mieux que tout le monde aie un niveau à peu près égal

Interviewer : Est-ce qu'il y a des traducteurs au sein de Schneider ?

MC : Non...il n'y en a plus, avant on faisait appel aux traducteurs quand on faisait des séminaires si il y avait suffisamment de personnes étrangères, on faisait venir un traducteur qui traduisait en simultané les conférences ou les séminaires...maintenant on part du principe que tout le monde doit avoir un niveau...je suppose...mais il n'y a pas de traducteurs...on fait appel aux personnes en interne quand on doit envoyer quelque chose pour laquelle on a des doutes...mais de plus en plus rarement

9.

MC : Non, personne ne se sent inférieur...la langue sert à s'exprimer mais les connaissances restent à la personne, donc ce n'est pas si j'ai des collègues allemands qui font passer des documents allemands, donc pas traduits, c'est parce que le document ils ne vont pas le traduire, c'est ce qui était publié et ce qui reste, donc ils vont le donner, ou ils vont traduire une partie qui est importante pour que tout le monde comprenne, et voilà...de ce qui est important c'est l'expertise, les compétences de la personne

Interviewer : Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il y a un problème d'infériorité et de supériorité entre les natifs et les non natifs ?

MC : Je ne suis pas sûre...je n'ai pas de cas en tête

Interviewer : Et pour vous, vous ne vous sentez pas comme ça ?

MC : Il y a des moment où je ne comprends pas tout ce qu'ils disent mais je me dis j'ai retenu l'essentiel, et après il y a un compte rendu donc je ne le ressens pas comme ça...je pense que ça dépend des contextes, je pense vraiment, dans des milieux où on est amenés à discuter autour d'un projet, si chacun est là c'est parce que chacun a son rôle, donc chacun s'exprime ou écoute et partage, après je pense que dans des réunions planaires où il peut y avoir des gens qui s'expriment, et puis d'autres qui n'ont pas le même niveau pour comprendre, ça peut peut-être se présenter, mais moi, dans ce que je connais, ce n'est pas ce que j'ai vécu

10.

MC : Oui, largement, oui...je crois que les règles d'expression grammaticale n'ont pas lieu...je pense que ça devient trop compliqué, et au final il y a même des gens qui mélangent leurs langues natives avec l'anglais quand ils s'expriment et on finit quand même par comprendre des fois donc...ça fait rire des fois...c'est peut-être plus important dans l'écriture, d'écrire vraiment de façon correcte, alors que quand on

s'exprime avec quelqu'un, si on voit que la personne...je n'ai pas dû dire les choses correctement, on peut recommencer, reformuler...par écrit, ça me paraît plus important que de s'exprimer correctement...si c'est un compte rendu, ça signifie qu'on est en train de faire un sommaire de ce qu'il a été décidé donc il faut que ça soit bien compris et si après on décline un plan d'action, il faut que les actions soient comprises

11.

MC : *Good English...correct English...* je crois que la langue dans une entreprise comme Schneider, à mon niveau, parce que je pense qu'il y a des niveaux supérieures...mais il est certainement appauvri, déformé, parce qu'on utilise des mots, notre jargon qu'on adapte et tout le monde finit par comprendre, donc je pense que le *correct English* c'est celui qui fait qu'on arrive quand même à se comprendre au bout d'un moment...après, l'accent anglais des français est très mauvais...je connais peu de personnes chez Schneider qui parlent vraiment un anglais avec un accent très bon, ce sont les gens qui ont vécu aux Etats-Unis, ils ont des très bons accents...c'est un peu simpliste mais à mon niveau, par rapport à mes besoins, dans ce qui est attendu de moi, c'est suffisant...je ne fais pas de la négociation, je ne suis pas dans les achats, je suis dans des projets transverses où il n'y a que de responsabilité fonctionnelle, il faut arriver au but et le planifier...je n'ai pas une obligation d'avoir un anglais très évolué par rapport à ce que j'ai à faire

12.

MC : Donc, l'accent, définitivement je trouve qu'il est très mauvais en France, sauf pour ceux qui ont vécu en Angleterre ou aux Etats-Unis

13.

MC : Entre les américains et les anglais ?

Interviewer : Oui, mais ça peut être un accent *non-native* aussi.

MC : Non, *non-native* c'est compliqué...on comprend très bien les français qui parlent anglais (rire), ça me repose moi, ça me fait rire parce qu'on comprend tout...*a favorite*, je ne sais pas...peut-être des anglais, ils sont plus faciles pour nous, et je pense que ça vient de notre, on avait toujours, on entendait toujours des anglais nous parler, pas avec un accent qui traîne, donc toujours très, pour moi, avec ma génération...donc je dirais l'accent anglais...*sorry* (rire)

14.

MC : C'est d'estimer mon niveau ?

Interviewer : Oui.

MC : Moyen, moyen...écrire, c'est plus facile, parler, c'est suffisant pour ce que j'ai à faire, lire, je prends un journal que je lise brutalement un sujet dans lequel je ne travaille pas c'est un peu compliqué parce qu'il y a beaucoup de vocabulaire que je ne connais pas...c'est une question de vocabulaire souvent...donc moi, j'ai un niveau moyen qui est suffisant

15.

MC : Ca peut être mieux c'est sûr...

16.

MC : Moi je n'ai pas de limite, je pense que c'est devenu indispensable même si, quand je voyage moi, je suis contente quand j'entends parler anglais, même à Grenoble j'entends parler anglais, je suis contente, je comprends...non, je pense qu'il n'y a pas de limite...si je peux évoluer, tant que je peux évoluer tant mieux...je pense que si je peux

être franchement *fluent* je serais ravie... par contre j'ai bien conscience que le gap, il me manque beaucoup de bases de vocabulaire, donc du coup j'ai dans la tête des phrases que j'utilise parce que je sais qu'elles sont les bonnes, donc je les ai apprises... mais bon, ce n'est pas dans mes objectifs personnels du moment

17.

MC : Donc je pense que c'est très vrai pour des personnes de votre génération, ça l'est beaucoup moins pour moi parce que j'ai jamais vécu à l'étranger, j'ai voyagé mais je n'ai pas vécu... donc je pense que pour Pauline, ou même Augustin, qui ont vécu dans des différents... ils ne se sentent pas forcément français uniquement car ils ont vécu ailleurs... et cette notion de l'identité, je pense qu'elle se développera... l'identité anglophone ou internationale, viendra se développer de plus en plus parce que votre génération, vous vivez ailleurs que dans votre pays d'origine... je pense que c'est là où ça va évoluer... parce que ma génération, on est nés en France, on reste en France... donc je pense que c'est là où moi je me sens profondément française, mais je pense que les générations qui nous suivent, non, et c'est bien, c'est bien

Interviewer : Et pour vous, est-ce qu'il y a un lien entre la langue française et l'identité française ?

MC : Oui, oui, aujourd'hui oui je pense... pourtant à Montréal ils parlent français, et pourtant il y a d'autres pays francophones, mais je ne me sens pas québécoise, je me sens bien française... donc je pense que la langue française est l'identité française, mais bon, pas plus que ça

Interviewer : Et une identité européenne ?

MC : Oui, oui parce que moi, je suis à la fois française et européenne... oui

Interviewer : Et au travail... est-ce que vous vous sentez vraiment française ou est-ce que ça change avec des échanges internationaux ?

MC : La notion de l'identité française dans un groupe international, elle n'y est pas tellement... je trouve... on finit par la perdre parce que justement on est en contact avec différents pays, donc je ne me sens pas française, je me sens, ça peut surprendre, comme faisant partie d'un groupe qui est international... donc la notion de l'identité propre à un pays, elle se perd dans ce cas-là... mais bon, c'est une notion d'appartenance

Interviewer : Et vous pensez que c'est vrai pour tout le monde ?

MC : Je ne sais pas... mais je pense que ça peut être vrai pour des personnes qui ont beaucoup bougé, moins pour des personnes qui sont restées dans une fonction sur Grenoble... ou qui n'ont pas été confrontées à devoir faire partie de l'idée du groupe international

Interviewer : Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que l'anglais va devenir la langue à parler en France ?

MC : Ce n'est pas une menace, mais ça sera la deuxième langue... ça sera par défaut, parce que dans le monde de travail il faut parler anglais, ça sera la deuxième langue... mais ça sera une obligation pour pouvoir travailler... aujourd'hui c'est encore une obligation, ce n'est pas un plaisir, c'est le contexte économique qui nous oblige à parler anglais... donc tant que ça devient une règle, il n'y a pas de notion du plaisir... mais je pense que ça va changer avec votre génération

Interview #5 (SG): 0:47:02, 01/04/2015

1.

SG : Donc, pour la première question, c'est un peu compliqué de répondre (rire)...oui, c'est important, après, je dois vraiment répondre par rapport à moi ce que je fais?...alors, personnellement, je travaille sur un domaine vraiment international avec tous les pays dans lesquels il y a des sites de Schneider Electric, donc c'est sûr que c'est très, très important pour moi de parler anglais...alors, après, différencier entre la question une et la question deux c'est un peu compliqué parce que, du coup, j'ai autant besoin de parler avec des natifs qu'avec des non-natifs, donc plus pour la question une...c'est important parce que, sinon, on ne pourrait pas travailler en fait, c'est notre seul moyen de communication ensemble, effectivement je n'ai pas beaucoup plus de détails à donner pour la question une

2.

SG : Après pour la question deux...avec des personnes dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle, la plupart du temps c'est le seul lien qu'on a sauf pour quelques exceptions quand on parle avec des personnes du Maghreb qui donc parlent français, avec des belges qui parlent français, mais du coup c'est parce que c'est ma langue à moi, ma langue maternelle, mais en dehors de ça c'est vraiment notre seul moyen de communication...voilà, parce que je ne parle pas d'autres langues que l'anglais, j'ai une petite base en allemand mais vraiment très, très petite, donc on ne va pas aller bien loin s'il n'y a pas l'anglais effectivement...est-ce que je parle plus avec des personnes dont l'anglais est la langue maternelle ou pas?...c'est dur à dire, je dirais que peut-être plus avec des personnes dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle, tout simplement parce que comme je disais, je travaille vraiment de manière mondiale, et du coup, il y a quand même beaucoup plus de pays dont la langue maternelle n'est pas l'anglais

3 & 4.

SG : Le plus simple à communiquer...je n'ai pas de réponse définie, ni l'un ni l'autre, ni les deux (rire), parce que chacun a sa spécificité...je trouve qu'il est plus facile de communiquer avec des personnes dont la langue maternelle n'est pas l'anglais parce qu'on va dire qu'eux font également l'effort à faire de ne pas parler leurs langues maternelles, donc en instance, pour moi, ça c'est plus facile parce que je me dis qu'ils font peut-être moins attention aux fautes, mais peut-être que c'est un peu plus complexe pour eux de comprendre parce que si eux, ils parlent bien anglais, ils ne vont pas forcément comprendre mes fautes alors qu'un anglophone pourrait peut-être plus facilement comprendre mes fautes à moi...donc, plus facile oui et non, je dirais quand même oui avec des non-natifs...du fait que, effectivement, ils font également aussi l'effort à faire comme je disais...avec des natifs ça va vraiment dépendre de l'accent je dirais, parce qu'il peut y avoir une grosse facilité pour certaines régions...et pas pour d'autres...mais ça peut arriver aussi avec les indiens, les chinois, qui ont aussi un accent un peu plus poussé, et donc ça peut être compliqué...donc la facilité de communication entre les deux, je dirais, en fait, je dirais ni l'un ni l'autre (rire)...c'est vraiment trop aléatoire, ça dépend trop de l'origine de la personne

5.

Du coup j'en ai déjà parlé un peu finalement...oui je peux facilement exprimer mes idées, mes opinions, ce n'est pas toujours évident par rapport à l'anglais parce que c'est

vrai qu'on va dire que j'ai appris en travaillant ici, parce qu'avant je n'étais pas du tout bonne en langues, donc je n'ai pas forcément un bon niveau de grammaire, je fais quand même des fautes... je pense régulièrement, après, je me rends moins compte parce que, du coup, comme je me sens à l'aise, malgré tout, même si je fais des fautes, c'est vrai que je passe un peu au-dessus en me disant que s'ils ne me comprennent pas, ils vont me reposer la question et idem, si moi je ne comprends pas ce qu'ils me disent, je vais leur demander de reformuler et, en général, on se comprend... en tout cas je n'ai pas de soucis à exprimer mes idées, mes opinions en anglais, même si la grammaire n'est pas toujours correcte... décrire une situation... je n'ai pas forcément d'idée qui me vient à l'esprit, après, ce qui me fait penser que je me fais bien comprendre c'est qu'à des moments, quand on est en réunion, il m'arrive, pour essayer de détendre un peu l'atmosphère, d'essayer de faire une blague ou deux... la plupart du temps les gens comprennent et ils rigolent, donc je me dis voilà, ça prouve que quand même ils comprennent, après, c'est vrai que les mots ne sont pas forcément les mêmes d'un pays à l'autre, donc ça dépend de la situation sachant que je travaille, moi, sur la vidéo conférence, donc j'ai aussi l'aspect du langage du corps qu'on n'a pas forcément ailleurs, et du coup quand je fais des vidéos conférence, en plus de ce qu'on dit, il y a vraiment le langage du corps qui aide à se faire comprendre la situation dans laquelle on est, si on est plus en situation d'énervement, en situation de rigolade, donc il y a cet aspect-là qui aide beaucoup aussi et que moi j'apprécie bien en tout cas, au travail je trouve que c'est vraiment un plus d'avoir ce langage du corps et ces expressions, la tête, où on peut vraiment voir ce que ressentent les personnes, si le message est passé également... ça permet aussi d'être sûr qu'on a bien été compris, alors si je ne suis pas toujours en vidéo conférence, je fais énormément de meetings par téléphone

6.

SG : Les compétences... euh toutes... toutes, alors moi, quand j'ai commencé, j'ai vraiment commencé avec l'écrit parce que c'est vrai que l'oral c'est pas du tout simple, donc j'ai vraiment commencé avec des emails, apprendre à lire des emails, apprendre à bien répondre aux emails, et puis, après, petit à petit on est passés sur l'oral, parce que bon l'écrit est plus facile, on peut se relire, on peut faire une petite traduction pour être sûr qu'on n'a pas fait d'erreurs, l'oral c'est en live donc c'est quand même plus compliqué d'être sûr qu'on n'a pas fait d'erreurs, donc pour tout ce qui est parlé, écouté, moi, j'ai vraiment commencé par l'écoute... au départ j'ai écouté vraiment et puis, après, j'ai commencé à parler... pour moi effectivement, les quatre sont très importantes, je dirais que peut-être que l'écrit est encore plus important parce que après une réunion on fait un feedback écrit qui permet d'avoir quelque chose qui va rester ancré et qui va confirmer vraiment ce qu'on a dit, donc peut-être un plus pour l'écrit

7.

SG : Alors là c'est compliqué de savoir comment les personnes qui ne sont pas de langue maternelle peuvent être embêtées par les fautes...

Interviewer : Quand je dis variantes, ça peut être *American English*, et ça peut même être des variantes qui viennent des gens dont l'anglais n'est pas la langue maternelle...

SG : Alors oui, c'est sûr que ce sont des fautes, alors moi, personnellement, je vais vraiment différencier l'écrit du parlé parce que je me relis toujours et à l'écrit, en général, sauf expressions qui peuvent différencier, du coup, français/anglais, de bêtement traduire ce qu'on veut dire en français à l'anglais, en général, j'essaie de plutôt

réfléchir directement en anglais, donc l'écrit je dirais que ça va, je pense que je ne fais pas beaucoup de fautes, ça va être plus compliqué pour la partie orale...en fait, disons que ça vient comme ça et que je vais dire les phrases sans forcément, après, réagir en disant mince j'aurais dû employer le passé, j'ai employé le présent, donc oui ça m'arrive, après, je pense que ce n'est pas un énorme problème dans le sens où les personnes elles comprennent...je pense que, peut-être que je me trompe, mais à mon avis, quand je ne comprends pas ce que quelqu'un a dit, je demande vraiment de répéter, donc je pars du principe que si je me suis mal exprimée parce que j'ai fait une erreur, elle va la comprendre...je pense que ce n'est pas plus problématique que ça, en tout cas à mon sens

9.

SG : Au début, oui, clairement, clairement je me sentais vraiment inférieure, j'avais vraiment peur de parler, de faire des erreurs, et qu'on se moque entre guillemets, et puis, après, en fait j'ai appris...j'ai un collègue qui m'a dit « écoute, ne te prends pas la tête, eux, ils ne parlent pas une langue qui n'est pas leur langue maternelle, toi, tu fais l'effort de parler leur langue, donc il ne faut pas que tu te sentes justement inférieure par rapport à ça, s'ils parlent trop vite il faut leur dire qu'ils parlent trop vite, si ça ne va vraiment pas, s'il y a vraiment des soucis... »...lui, ça lui est déjà arrivé de dire « on peut basculer en français si vous voulez » pour leur faire comprendre « écoutez, vous, vous parlez votre langue maternelle, vous n'avez pas à faire l'effort effectivement de parler une autre langue, donc soit vous ralentissez, soit on arrête la discussion »... finalement c'est un peu de ce qu'il m'a expliqué et c'est vrai que ça m'a permis de vraiment dire oui c'est vrai, il n'a pas tort, après tout...voilà, pour une personne qui parle anglais parce que c'est son origine, alors je peux comprendre aussi que ça peut être un peu compliqué pour un anglais de comprendre quelqu'un qui parle anglais et ce n'est pas sa langue maternelle parce qu'on a des accents, on fait des fautes, donc je peux comprendre qu'un natif puisse être agacé des fois dans certaines situations s'il arrive mal à comprendre quelqu'un, mais après tout, c'est vrai que, entre guillemets, c'est nous qui faisons le plus d'effort, donc pour moi, c'est à eux de s'adapter et, du coup, en fait, ce déblocage je l'ai eu et ça fait que je ne me sens pas inférieure quand je parle anglais

Interviewer : Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que les natifs font des efforts pour parler plus lentement ?

SG : C'est complètement aléatoire, ça dépend de la personne, là il n'y a pas de réponse fixe, j'ai des personnes qui parlent très vite et qui surtout parlent en mâchant les mots parce qu'ils ont l'habitude, et moi, je pense notamment à une personne que j'ai énormément de mal à comprendre et j'ai voulu lui demander de répéter, c'est parce qu'elle n'arrive pas à comprendre que si je lui demande de répéter c'est parce qu'elle parle trop vite, ou c'est parce qu'elle mâche les mots, donc elle va continuer à parler de cette manière, donc c'est vrai dans ce cas-là que c'est un peu frustrant...c'est un peu compliqué, mais la plupart du temps, ça se passe bien...moi, je n'hésite pas à leur dire que j'ai mal compris, c'est vrai que des fois ça m'arrive de demander deux, trois fois de répéter, après, je leur réponds en fonction de ce que je pense avoir compris et si la personne constate que je réponds à côté, on va en parler, mais je fonctionne de cette manière

10.

SG : C'est un peu trop aléatoire...vous avez une idée pour les fautes qui peuvent être considérées comme des variantes ?

Interviewer : Le manque de « s » sur la troisième personne singulière, etcetera...

SG : Pour moi, ce sont vraiment des erreurs, ce sont vraiment des erreurs de grammaire...après, on est tellement enfoncés, en fait, là dedans, du coup c'est vrai qu'on ne se rend pas compte et comme les gens nous comprennent on ne va peut-être pas essayer de faire l'effort de corriger ces erreurs-là...je dirais à part faire vraiment un voyage où vraiment on reste avec des anglophones pendant un certain temps, là on va justement pouvoir apprendre à se corriger, mais sinon, en étant en France, avec nos habitudes, et on a souvent des personnes qui sont francophones dans des réunions donc on entend aussi leurs erreurs, je dirais que c'est compliqué de changer, mais en tout cas, pour moi, ce sont vraiment des erreurs, on ne peut pas les considérer comme variantes de l'anglais...déjà on a des variantes entre les anglais et les américains, donc c'est suffisant je pense (rire), après, ce n'est pas pareil, c'est autre chose, c'est vraiment les habitudes, et puis, ce n'est pas pareil qu'un français qui parle anglais ou américain, je ne sais pas faire la différence, moi...mais pour moi, non, ce n'est pas quelque chose qu'on peut considérer de mettre en place, non...on doit prononcer le « s » à la troisième personne, c'est un fait, on ne peut pas changer ça, c'est mon point de vue

11.

SG : Alors c'est compliqué, je dirais qu'on va le prendre à la source en disant l'anglais britannique, mais après, je n'ai pas d'avis exact à donner...pour moi, effectivement, ça serait soit l'anglais britannique, soit l'anglais américain, mais pas d'autres

12.

SG : L'accent français en anglais (rire)...ça c'est un accent magnifique, on a un fort accent effectivement, en général les français ne parlent vraiment pas bien anglais, ça je pense que tout le monde le sait...pour moi, l'accent français il est très fort, beaucoup plus fort que les pays de l'est par exemple, ça c'est clair...après, l'accent français, pour moi, malheureusement il est un peu trop lié à l'enseignement français de l'anglais qui n'est, pour moi, vraiment pas bon en France...je pense qu'il faudrait complètement revoir l'enseignement des langues d'ailleurs, pas forcément que de l'anglais, en France on n'apprend pas phonétiquement en fait...et du coup quand on prononce, on va prononcer comme on le lit, moi, mais du coup à la française...et vraiment il manque cet aspect d'écouter phonétiquement des anglophones parler pour mieux parler parce que forcément quand on a un fort accent, c'est un peu plus dur à se faire comprendre en anglais...donc pour moi, les français...je dirais qu'ils ont un fort accent, je ne dirais pas qu'ils parlent mal anglais, je dirais que le fait qu'ils ont un fort accent, qu'on a un fort accent, c'est un peu plus compliqué à se faire comprendre, mais par contre, ça ne veut pas forcément dire que grammaticalement on va mal parler anglais...alors je dirais que les français parlent bien anglais avec un mauvais accent

13.

SG : Non, j'ai des accents détestés mais je n'ai pas d'accent favori (rire)...

Interviewer : Et les accents détestés ?

SG : J'ai beaucoup de mal avec les chinois et les indiens, typiquement c'est vrai qu'il faut arriver à se mettre dedans...quand on a fait une demie heure de réunion, ça va, on commence à comprendre leurs accents, donc on comprend mieux ce qu'ils disent, mais wow, les premières minutes des fois ce n'est pas du tout évident à comprendre ce qu'ils

disent et c'est vrai qu'en fonction de la réunion, si c'est une réunion où tout le monde réagit, ça va aller, si c'est une réunion de présentation où on va juste écouter, j'ai tendance à perdre le fil parce que, du coup, j'ai du mal à comprendre l'accent... après, l'accent préféré... moi, j'aime bien les américains comme ils parlent, mais pas des américains texans ou ceux qui ont des accents un peu bizarres... donc je dirais l'accent américain, l'accent américain de base, le plus standard, ça me va bien

14.

SG : (rire) C'est un peu difficile de m'auto évaluer sur mes capacités à écrire et à parler l'anglais... c'est vrai que l'écriture... en fait, le problème c'est qu'au bout d'un moment on est engendrés dans ses habitudes, et qu'on ne se rend plus compte si on fait des erreurs ou pas... ça, moi typiquement, c'est un problème que j'ai parce que, du coup, quand je vois... en grammaire et à l'écrit, c'est vrai que je remarque toutes les fautes, là je parle vraiment même en français, c'est vrai que quelqu'un qui écrit mal en français, je n'arrive pas à lire correctement si ce n'est écrit avec les bons mots, si on confond le verbe être avec le verbe avoir par exemple, je ne vais pas arriver à comprendre le sens de la phrase à la première lecture, il faut que je la relise parce que ça me choque et j'ai toujours eu ce regard écrit pour ça, je l'ai un peu en anglais mais, du coup, je ne suis pas sûre d'écrire super bien en anglais non plus parce que je suis peut-être trop enfoncée dans mes habitudes, alors grammaticalement, je pense qu'il n'y a pas de soucis parce que, du coup, justement le fameux « s » (rire), pour la grammaire, je le mets vraiment très bien à l'écrit, je me relis toujours et je pense que je corrige vraiment les fautes... ça va plus être des erreurs d'expression, des expressions qu'on va dire en français mais qui ne se disent pas vraiment en anglais, que je vais faire à l'écrit... à la lecture, aucun soucis, après, il y a des mots de vocabulaire que je ne connais pas donc, dans ce cas-là, je vais aller sur un outil de traduction pour être sûr de bien comprendre, en général, je comprends le sens de la phrase mais je vais quand même vérifier pour être sûr que j'ai bien compris, et je dirais qu'en moyenne la lecture ne pose pas trop de soucis, après, le parlé anglais... je pense que je parle bien dans mon domaine, c'est-à-dire que j'ai vraiment le vocabulaire par rapport à mon domaine de travail, donc je n'ai aucun soucis... maintenant si on demande qu'est-ce que tu as fait ce weekend, je n'aurais pas le vocabulaire pour ce type de discussion-là... j'avais fait une formation e-learning en anglais il y a deux ans, franchement j'ai l'impression d'avoir rien retenu... voilà, on est dedans mais comme derrière on ne pratique pas, au travail, je pratique le vocabulaire dont j'ai besoin

Interviewer : Avez-vous fait d'autres cours d'anglais chez Schneider ?

SG : Non... du tout... on nous propose effectivement des formations, mais moi, je reste quand même sur mon idée qu'il faut vraiment s'intégrer et vraiment partir pour avoir plus que ça pour arriver à débloquer et à arrêter ces petites fautes et à supprimer cet accent, parce que même si on a une formation en face à face ici, le soir on rentre chez soi et on parle français... ça pourrait permettre peut-être de résoudre les fautes de grammaire mais pas l'accent... mais du coup, c'est vrai que par rapport à certains collègues j'ai l'impression que j'ai un meilleur accent quand même qu'eux, mais parce que, du coup, j'ai finalement réellement appris au travail et donc avec des personnes qui étaient vraiment anglophones... donc du coup, j'entendais leurs accents... je suis surprise des fois de mes collègues qui parlent justement avec l'accent français... ça me choque et je me dis wow... je n'ai pas forcément un très bon accent anglais mais je pense que je

n'ai pas non plus un accent poussé, l'accent poussé français...je suis un peu dans la moyenne

15.

SG : Oui, oui...je n'ai pas de soucis par rapport à mon travail pour l'anglais...après, c'est vrai que j'ai conscience de faire des erreurs et j'aimerais bien les corriger mais ce n'est pas évident, c'est vrai que pour apprendre à les corriger il faut avoir le temps, donc c'est un peu compliqué, et je pense qu'il y aura toujours des efforts à faire, mais ça reste suffisant

16.

SG : Mon but ultime...c'est sûr que si je peux éviter de faire des erreurs et puis avoir un accent encore mieux, ça serait bien...il n'y a pas de soucis

Interviewer : Est-ce que c'est important pour vous de parler comme un natif ?

SG : Après, c'est vrai que chacun a ses habitudes comme on disait, on a l'anglais britannique, on a l'anglais américain, donc l'idée ce n'est pas de parler à la perfection avec un anglais parfait, maintenant si j'avais la possibilité de réduire mon accent français, pour permettre aussi d'être mieux comprise, parce que malgré tout, c'est sûr que si on a un meilleur accent forcément on sera mieux compris

17.

Interviewer : Est-ce que vous pensez que vous avez une identité française et c'est tout, ou est-ce que vous pensez que vous avez plusieurs identités, une identité française, européenne, etcetera ?

SG : Alors, je dirais que j'ai une identité française, oui...mais avec la volonté aussi de pouvoir communiquer avec tout le monde que ce soit au niveau européen, au niveau international...que ce soit pour voyager et pour profiter des gens qui me racontent des choses et pour pouvoir comprendre tout ça...

Interviewer : Et quand vous parlez anglais, vous vous sentez comment ? Comme une française qui parle anglais ou est-ce que ça change dans ce contexte-là quand vous parlez avec des étrangers ?

SG : Oui, je pense que j'ai quand même bien l'accent français, mais je pense que je pourrais vite changer d'accent parce que, vraiment, comme je disais, dans des réunions s'il y a beaucoup de francophones, je vais avoir plus l'accent français en parlant anglais que si je suis avec des américains, donc je pense que je pourrais vite quand même changer mon accent en restant dans un milieu anglophone...j'ai quand même une identité française, je pense que, voilà, je ne pourrais jamais parler à la perfection avec un accent anglais parfait

Interview #6 (CA) : 0:58:46, 12/05/2015

1.

CA : Chez Royal Canin, pour la première question, c'était très important d'être à l'aise en anglais parce qu'on était au siège social et il y avait trente-six pays dans lesquels il y avait Royal Canin, donc on communiquait en anglais avec des pays anglophones, donc déjà les Etats-Unis, parce qu'on était rattaché à Mars, aussi l'Angleterre parce que l'entreprise était bien développée là-bas, et ensuite tous les pays de l'Union Européenne même si je savais parler espagnol on ne parlait qu'en anglais, voilà, parce que dans la

culture de l'entreprise c'était la langue qui était un peu imposée mais c'était un peu naturel de parler en anglais

Interviewer : Donc ce n'était pas la langue officielle pour l'entreprise ?

CA : C'était vraiment l'anglais la langue officielle quand on parlait avec des pays, dans les pays où il y avait Royal Canin, et si tu veux, il y avait Royal Canin qui appartenait à Mars, on était le siège social de Royal Canin, et ensuite, il y avait dans chaque pays Royal Canin Italie, Royal Canin Angleterre, Royal Canin Chine, Royal Canin Afrique du Sud, Brésil, et elles étaient rattachées au siège à Montpellier...et nous on dépendait de Mars aux Etats-Unis...donc c'était vraiment très, très important de parler anglais

2.

CA : Du coup ça se suit parce que, finalement, chez Royal Canin, la plupart de mes interlocuteurs n'était pas des anglophones et on devait parler anglais dans le cadre du travail...par exemple, même les stratégies, quand on faisait des plans stratégiques, nous en France, on les faisait uniquement en anglais...alors que dans mon équipe on était quatorze personnes et avec deux personnes qui n'étaient pas francophones, voilà...on faisait tout en anglais pour que Mars comprenne sur ce qu'on était en train de faire et pour que tous les pays comprennent aussi facilement sur ce qu'on travaillait...et au moins on avait des mêmes mots pour les mêmes sens, parce qu'on commence à traduire dans toutes langues, après on peut prendre facilement une précision, donc pour faire des précisions c'était très important d'avoir une langue, je pense...

3.

CA : En général, je parlais plutôt avec des personnes qui parlaient anglais mais qui n'étaient pas anglophones, ce n'était pas leur langue maternelle, parce que comme j'ai expliqué toute à l'heure, c'était l'usage, c'était la langue de rigueur dans l'entreprise, c'était la langue qu'on utilisait...mais comme on était partout dans le monde, ce n'était pas du tout la langue de tout le monde, donc en plus, on était de plus en plus en contact avec le Brésil, la Chine, la Russie et l'Inde, ces pays-là, à part l'Inde l'anglais n'est pas forcément la langue, elle n'est pas forcément une langue qu'ils apprennent très tôt, ça s'apprend à l'école comme en France...et ensuite, les six pays d'origine de l'entreprise étaient vraiment en Europe, quand on a commencé le développement international il y avait Angleterre mais sinon c'était plutôt les pays du Sud, donc ce n'est pas non plus les gens qui sont très à l'aise en anglais...mais c'était la langue qui s'est imposée quand l'entreprise a été achetée par Mars...et je pense que ça a beaucoup joué dans le recrutement aussi, parce que chez Royal Canin les personnes qui travaillaient depuis très longtemps dans l'entreprise, en général, ils avaient un anglais assez moyen...alors que quand j'y travaillais, moi, c'était obligatoire de parler anglais couramment

Interviewer : Est-ce qu'il y avait une politique linguistique dans l'entreprise ?

CA : Non, mais finalement, tous les outils de travail étaient en anglais...

4.

CA : Je pense que c'est vraiment au cas par cas, parce que, alors, je pense qu'en France, quand on commence à regarder des films, des séries, à écouter de la musique en anglais, très souvent c'est d'origine américaine, et on a un vocabulaire et un accent qui est plus facile à comprendre à part dans certains cas comme je ne sais pas le rap américain où il y aura beaucoup d'argot, donc les mots familiers...mais, sinon, de manière générale, dans des conversations courantes le vocabulaire est plus simple que quand c'est anglais je trouve, la langue anglaise, l'accent anglais, le vocabulaire anglais est très riche et

parfois c'est difficile je trouve d'arriver à comprendre le sens précis des choses, et après selon les pays, je trouve que l'accent peut-être très compliqué, les indiens, par exemple, je trouve que c'est très difficile, on arrive à comprendre que le « r » il va être un peu roulé, donc une fois que c'est compris c'est plus simple, mais ce n'est pas quelque chose qu'on a vraiment l'habitude en France, d'entendre l'accent indien...et après, je pense qu'avec les pays latins c'est facile parce qu'on fait les mêmes erreurs, donc finalement, un italien qui parle anglais, il y a certaines erreurs qu'il va faire qu'on fait aussi...donc c'est plus facile avec les pays latins

5.

CA : Parfois c'est difficile quand on a envie d'être très précis, justement, je pense que c'est un peu frustrant par moment parce qu'on a l'impression d'utiliser toujours les mêmes mots quand on commence à parler une langue, et une fois qu'on est à l'aise on reste un peu dans notre zone de confort...j'essaie de réfléchir à des situations...alors, chez Royal Canin, je devais développer un outil informatique, dans les différents pays, et du coup, le vocabulaire informatique et déjà très précis en anglais, moi, je concevais la formation, donc j'ai essayé d'apprendre un maximum de vocabulaire pour diriger les gens, par contre, parfois, quand ils avaient des questions, je n'étais pas capable de les aider autant que j'aurais voulu les aider...donc ça c'est difficile, parce que aussi l'informatique ce n'est pas non plus mon domaine de compétence, même en français je suis limitée, donc en anglais c'est plus difficile

6.

CA : Je pense qu'en anglais, pour être efficace, il faut être concis...alors qu'en France on aime bien faire des longues phrases (rire) et je pense que c'est très difficile, du coup, pour les anglophones déjà d'apprendre le français, parce que parfois on fait des phrases qui sont interminables...et à l'inverse, quand on a envie de parler anglais, on mélange tout, du coup, on fait des phrases qui ne sont pas dans des habitudes de construction du langage en langue anglaise...donc ça je pense que c'est problématique, et après, chacun s'habitue de toute manière donc quand on dialogue avec une personne, une fois qu'on est à l'aise pour lui dire qu'on n'a pas bien compris ce qu'elle a dit, mais quand c'est un premier contact, ça peut être peut-être un peu plus perturbant...et je pense qu'aussi en France, je ne sais pas si c'est lié à notre histoire avec la littérature ou la philosophie, mais parfois la langue va accompagner la réflexion et on va se perdre (rire)

7.

CA : Je pense que l'anglais c'est une langue qui va être utiliser pour, en tout cas dans l'entreprise, on va partager tout le même vocabulaire, ça va assurer que le sens est commun à tous les salariés, et du coup, à mon avis, pour, par exemple, une stratégie de communication, c'est très important d'être tous d'accord sur qu'est-ce qu'on met derrière le terme « influence », qu'est-ce qu'on met derrière le terme « lobbying », il y a plein de mots comme ça où on doit être très précis, et où on n'a pas le droit de faire des erreurs, anglophone, non-anglophone, il faut toujours partager précisément le sens parce que c'est crucial pour le développement opérationnel...ensuite, il y a certains mots qui vont être des faux amis, donc c'est très difficile pour quelqu'un qui ne parle pas anglais comme langue maternelle, donc il faut être très vigilant...après, sur des erreurs parfois de conjugaison, par exemple, je pense que ce n'est pas forcément crucial, ça dépend du contexte...quelqu'un qui va oublier de mettre un « s » à la troisième personne du singulier, je pense qu'on comprend que ce n'est pas l'impératif ou du subjonctif et on se

dit c'est une erreur mais ce n'est pas grave pour la compréhension et pour se mettre d'accord tous ensemble...mais oui dans certains cas, ça peut être gênant, après, en général, dans un métier, on utilise souvent les mêmes mots de vocabulaire donc, normalement, on est aligner sur leur sens

8.

CA : Donc je pense que les non-anglophones, à moins de vivre à l'étranger, ne peuvent pas vraiment devenir bilingue juste en pratiquant sur le lieu de travail, encore une fois parce qu'on limite le vocabulaire à certains domaines, donc c'est difficile d'élargir tout le champ lexical de tout ce qui est hors du travail, et après, à mon avis, il y a des facilités pour certaines personnes, c'est plus facile ou non pour apprendre une langue

9.

CA : Je pense que ça dépend beaucoup du cadre, par exemple en France, quand on apprend l'anglais à l'école, il y a énormément de gêne de la part des élèves, parce que les élèves se moquent beaucoup entre eux, donc finalement ça va limiter le cadre d'expression, les gens vont moins oser, et comme il y a peu qui osent, ça crée une dynamique négative, en entreprise, normalement, il y a beaucoup moins de gêne parce que la langue c'est vraiment un instrument de travail à part entier...tout comme on va utiliser certains logiciels en informatique, dans un groupe comme Royal Canin, la langue c'est clé, si on ne fait pas l'effort de parler on ne peut pas avoir des résultats derrière...et comme chacun quand même a des objectifs à atteindre, tout le monde a intérêt à y mettre du sien, voilà, et après comme tout le monde partage un petit peu la même difficulté, chez Royal Canin je parle de la difficulté parce qu'il y en avait très peu de monde où l'anglais était la langue maternelle, donc c'était une difficulté pour beaucoup de monde de parler anglais...mais les gens avaient beaucoup d'empathie envers les uns les autres parce qu'ils partageaient cette difficulté, donc il n'y avait pas de souci, en revanche, quand on avait des réunions au sein de notre équipe, qui n'intégraient pas des pays, les réunions se faisaient exclusivement en français...voilà, avec des mots anglais, donc c'était vraiment très curieux, j'essaie de trouver un exemple...un exemple de mot comme ça...ah oui, on avait un comité, donc c'était un petit groupe de réflexion, au sein de Royal Canin qui était sur le bien-être animal, et le nom du comité c'était « *animal welfare committee* », et c'était vraiment le nom à toutes les réunions porté sur ce nom-là, alors qu'on faisait des comptes rendus en français après, alors tout était en français, les conversations étaient en français...il y avait des mots aussi, après il y a des mots qui sont transparents, on a parlé de « influence », voilà...par contre, on s'est fixés des stratégies pour l'année et on leur a donné des noms un peu sexy pour, je pense que pour orienter tout le monde vers ces objectifs-là, et on en avait un c'était « *raise the bar* »...c'était l'objectif « *raise the bar* »...on en parlait comme ça...c'est assez drôle parce que, finalement, on utilise un anglais qui est un peu pauvre dans le sens où on utilise très peu de nuances et de l'autre côté, en parallèle, c'est comme si il y avait une pauvreté du français aussi, je me fais la réflexion maintenant mais d'une certaine manière c'est un peu ce qui s'est passé...c'est curieux d'ailleurs

10.

CA : Alors, sur les fautes de grammaire...je pense que ça dépend vraiment des fautes...l'avantage de la langue anglaise c'est que, par rapport au français, il y a beaucoup de choses qui sont simplifiées, on sait qu'en anglais le futur est *will*, le

conditionnel est *would*, donc ça limite quand même le nombre d'erreurs par rapport à la langue française où on a des terminaisons pour chaque pronom personnel, donc les erreurs sont multiples, c'est normal, il y a trop de variantes... par contre, c'est vrai que, du coup, je pense que confondre *will* avec *would*, pour reprendre cet exemple, c'est une erreur qui est quand même importante parce que le sens n'est pas le même, si c'est une personne au siège social qui donne des consignes à trente-six filiales, les conséquences peuvent être très importantes... donc, c'est vraiment une erreur d'employer l'autre sans distinction... après, par contre quelqu'un qui fait l'erreur de mettre *did* à chaque fois qu'il emploie un verbe au passé, ce n'est pas grave, quelqu'un dirait *I did know* au lieu de *I knew*, le sens ça peut être forcément, il n'y a qu'un seul sens possible, donc ce n'est pas très grave

11.

CA : Un anglais correct, pour moi, je pense que c'est l'équivalent de « *fluent* » en anglais aussi, c'est-à-dire qu'il est courant, il n'est pas parfait, il est parfois un peu limité, mais en tout cas il a la mérite d'être clair, pour l'interlocuteur en face, ou en tout cas de limiter des confusions... voilà... et d'ailleurs je pense que pour les français qui s'expriment en anglais, très souvent le français va dire « ah excusez mon anglais, je ne parle pas très bien anglais », alors qu'en réalité il va être capable de s'exprimer mais c'est cette gêne qui est très présente pour les français, peut-être parce que c'est un pays méditerranéen aussi, tout simplement, parce qu'il me semble que dans des pays comme la Grèce et le Portugal, il y a aussi des grosses lacunes comme ça, parce que peut-être que les gens ne sont pas très à l'aise, et souvent les gens se sous-estiment, parce que l'essentiel c'est d'arriver à avoir un échange... et à trop viser l'objectif d'être bilingue les gens se brident et ne développent pas vraiment leur potentiel à cause de la gêne

12.

CA : Alors, l'accent français... *speaks well*, pour moi, c'est un fait d'être à l'aise ou non, je ne pense pas que l'accent soit très important, par exemple, chez Royal Canin, celui avec qui j'ai travaillé avait un accent horrible, le pire de tous les accents français que j'ai jamais entendu, par contre, je pense qu'il était presque bilingue... et ça m'a marqué parce que les premières fois que je l'ai entendu parler ça m'a fait un peu rire, je me suis dit oh la la il est nul, toute suite j'ai fait l'association, alors que, finalement, je me suis rendu compte qu'il avait beaucoup plus de vocabulaire que moi, alors qu'à cette époque j'étais rentrée de l'Ecosse depuis un an, donc voilà... ensuite, l'accent, je pense que c'est important de faire des efforts pour prouver aussi à notre interlocuteur qu'on a envie de parler sa langue correctement, c'est un preuve de respect d'une certaine manière

13.

CA : Alors, mon accent favori en anglais, je pense que c'est l'accent britannique... parce qu'il a un côté très élégant, bon peut-être pas à New Castle (rire), mais, en général, l'accent un peu, voilà de Cambridge, du Sud de l'Angleterre, c'est très joli, très chantant, et peut-être aussi on le trouve élégant parce qu'il y a tout un mythe derrière, en France quand on apprend l'anglais, on nous passe toujours des extraits comme ça, d'une personne qui parle un anglais du sud de l'Angleterre parce que c'est plus chic, parce que c'est un peu cliché aussi, et on imagine très vite l'anglais avec sa veste en tweed, qui boit du thé, qui fume une pipe, je ne sais pas, ce qui est complètement folklorique, finalement, voilà... après, je pense que c'est pareil pour des anglais qui apprendront le français, ou ils vont imaginer un français en marinier avec

sa baguette (rire), mais oui, c'est un peu l'anglais de Sherlock Holmes, l'anglais de Hitchcock, c'est l'anglais un peu classe, oui...c'est vrai qu'il y a certains accents anglais qui sont très déconcertants parce qu'ils sont complètement à l'opposé de cet accent-là, quand j'étais en Ecosse, le fait que ce soit des sonorités un peu viking (rire), c'est drôle, c'est beaucoup moins *posh* comme on dit parlant des anglais, et du coup, c'est un peu étonnant, mais c'est charmant aussi (rire)

14.

Alors, je pense que j'écris assez bien en anglais quand je me concentre et quand je prends le temps de le faire...si dans mon travail j'ai besoin d'écrire des emails rapidement, je vais moins prendre ce soin de relire, d'utiliser un vocabulaire varié, par contre quand il s'agit d'écrire des choses plus développées, j'aime bien m'appliquer et prendre soin de faire des phrases construites et plus riches, voilà, à l'école c'était le cas aussi, j'aimais bien m'appliquer à l'écrit, et je pense que, en tout cas, c'est plus facile d'écrire l'anglais que le parler, parce que, finalement, quand on parle plus on a besoin d'être spontanés, on peut facilement se relire quand on écrit, on peut moins facilement se répéter à chaque fois qu'on fait une erreur, donc parfois quand on parle dans une langue qui n'est pas la notre, on va se reprendre quand on sent qu'on a fait une grosse faute et on va laisser certaines erreurs alors qu'on se rend compte qu'on a fait une erreur, mais pour éviter de sans arrêt répéter une phrase, c'est déstabilisant en fait quand on parle, le langage reflète un peu la pensée aussi, donc on est un peu plus pressés... ensuite, par rapport à la lecture, je pense que je lis assez rapidement, parce qu'avec l'habitude je vais avoir des mots qui ressortent très facilement, et puis, plus qu'on pratique moins qu'on bute sur les mots qu'on ne connaît pas, parce que, finalement, on arrive à comprendre le sens global et on ne va chercher que les mots qui sont vraiment bloquants, donc si je lis un livre, par exemple, si un mot revient très souvent je vais le chercher pour lever la barrière de vocabulaire pour ce mot là, par contre, si c'est ponctuel, je ne vais pas passer mon temps à chercher tous les mots de vocabulaire, alors que dans, sûrement une phrase sur deux il y aura un mot que je ne connais pas, ou que je ne maîtrise pas en tout cas, donc je dirais que parler est plus difficile, ensuite écrire parce qu'on fait plus facilement des erreurs, à mon avis, et lire serait le plus simple

15.

Je ne sais pas si j'ai atteint un niveau encore suffisant, ça demande beaucoup d'entraînement finalement, et quand on arrive dans une entreprise on a besoin de se perfectionner avant tout sur son poste d'abord, et à mon avis tant qu'on n'est pas à l'aise sur son poste, on ne peut pas vraiment se pencher sur la langue, tu vois, c'est un peu une chose après l'autre, donc on va maintenir une espèce de status quo, une espèce d'équilibre dans la langue le temps d'être à l'aise sur le job, et après on va essayer de se perfectionner dans la langue pour être de plus en plus à l'aise...en tout cas, au Canada c'est ce qui m'est arrivée chez Schneider, chez Royal Canin je pense que c'est ce qui m'est arrivée aussi

16.

CA : Je pense que mon but ultime c'est de, c'est, du coup je ne dirais pas être bilingue parce que ce n'est pas un but en soi, et puis, tant qu'on n'habite pas dans le pays c'est illusoire de penser qu'on peut être complètement bilingue...c'est difficile de trouver un but ultime enfin...ah je pense que c'est d'arriver à faire de l'humour facilement, parce que c'est quand même, dès qu'il y a des sous-entendus, dès qu'on voit les autres

rigolent et c'est beaucoup plus gênant de faire répéter quelqu'un quand il vient de dire une blague, parce que celui qui est en train de faire une blague, il a envie de la dire une fois pas deux fois, alors que quand c'est professionnel on va utiliser tous les moyens parce que le but c'est vraiment de terminer quelque chose de précis, donc je pense que, oui, l'humeur en anglais ce serait vraiment un objectif

17.

CA : Perdre son identité...je trouve que c'est très, très fort comme idée...moi, je suis très attachée à la France, donc perdre mon identité française c'est quelque chose qui me paraît totalement impossible, par contre, je serais capable d'avoir un regard différent sur la France, parce que je suis partie à l'étranger, et du coup, je serais beaucoup plus critique envers mon pays...parfois très fière de mon pays parce que le fait d'avoir vit d'autres choses, je me suis rendue compte des forces aussi de la France, et parfois très négative envers mon pays parce que, justement, ailleurs je trouve qu'on va être parfois plus tolérants, par exemple...parfois moins cyniques...

Interviewer : Chez Royal Canin, est-ce qu'il y avait une sorte de culture internationale qui s'est développée au sein de l'entreprise ?

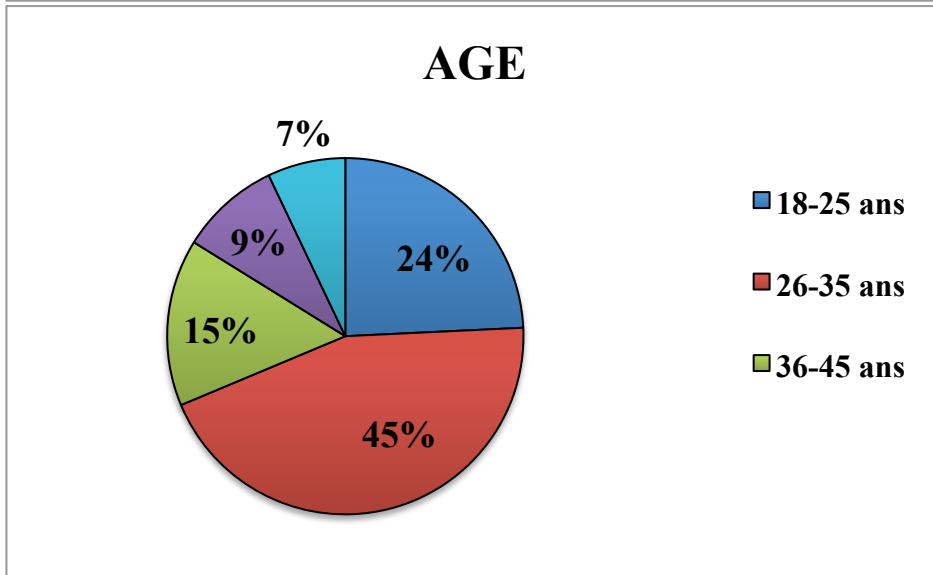
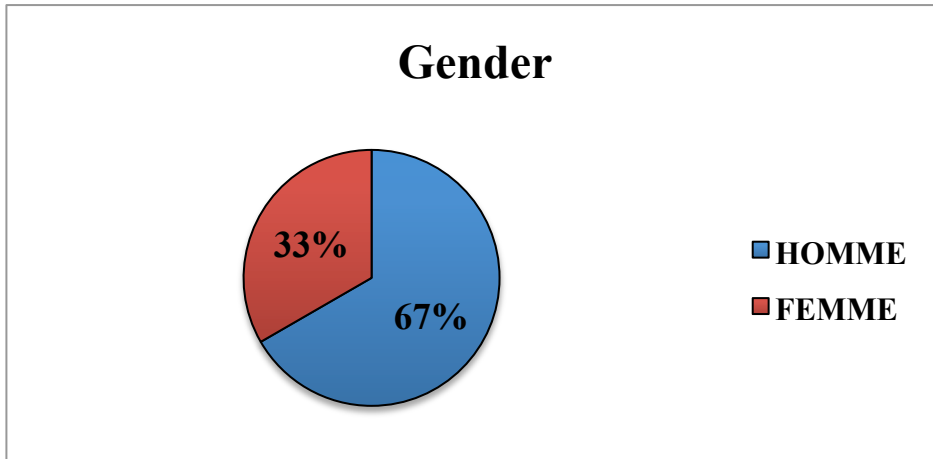
CA : Je pense que c'est très lié à l'histoire de l'entreprise, Royal Canin c'est une entreprise qui est née en mille neuf cent quatre-vingt treize, et elle est née dans le sud de la France, donc déjà c'est une région où il y a une identité très forte, donc déjà le sud de la France c'est vraiment très particulier, l'entreprise est restée là-bas, donc elle a toujours cette culture-là qui est très forte, et en même temps, elle s'est énormément tournée vers l'international dans les années quatre-vingt dix quand BNP Paribas a racheté la société, ils l'ont étalé dans six pays européens, ensuite quand Mars est arrivé en deux mille deux, et là on est passés de six pays à trente-six pays, donc c'est énorme, et on est passés de l'Europe aux Etats-Unis, de l'autre côté en Asie, donc finalement, sur le même site on avait des gens qui travaillaient pour la société depuis vingt ans et qui, du coup, sont rentrés dans une petite société française qui a énormément changé, il y avait des gens comme moi qui sont rentrés dans une société qui appartenait à un grand groupe américain, quand j'ai commencé à travailler là-bas c'était même la meilleure partie, on va dire, pour mon CV, de dire que j'ai travaillé dans l'international, dans un grand groupe, et on avait beaucoup de gens aussi qui venaient de partout dans le monde, et qui étaient recrutés de partout pour travailler au siège, donc il y avait des mexicains, des russes, il y avait une japonaise, et tout ce petit monde se courtoisait, et comme en France c'est un peu difficile de rencontrer des gens, je pense quand on est, quand on s'expatrie pour le travail, tous ces gens-là se fréquentaient entre eux aussi, donc il y avait une culture très internationale...c'était vraiment un mélange, les deux cultures coexistaient

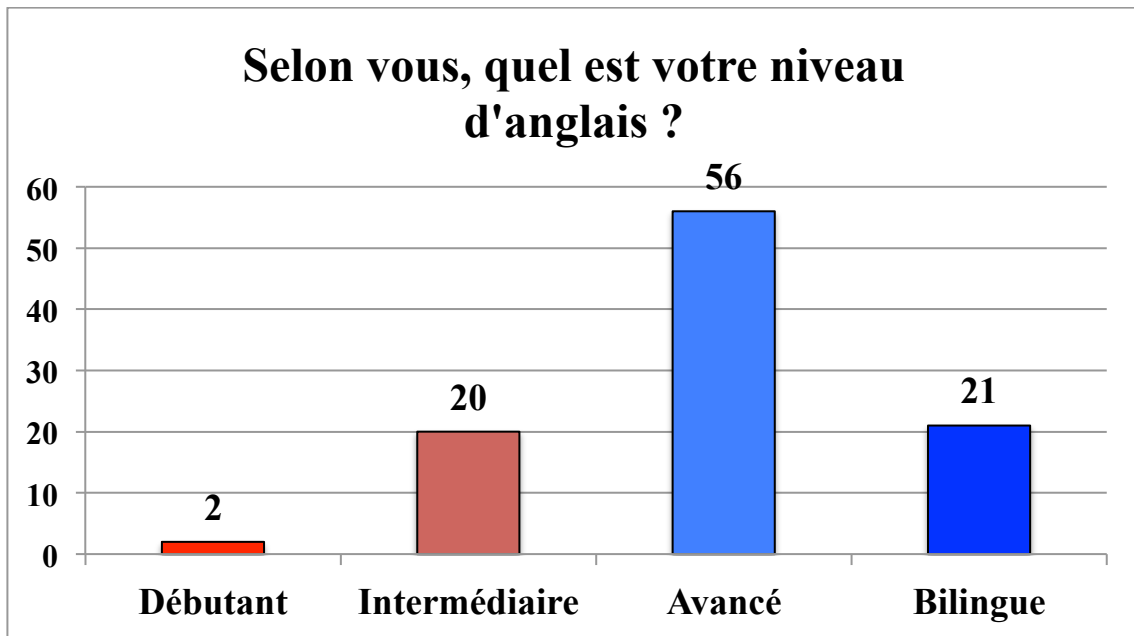
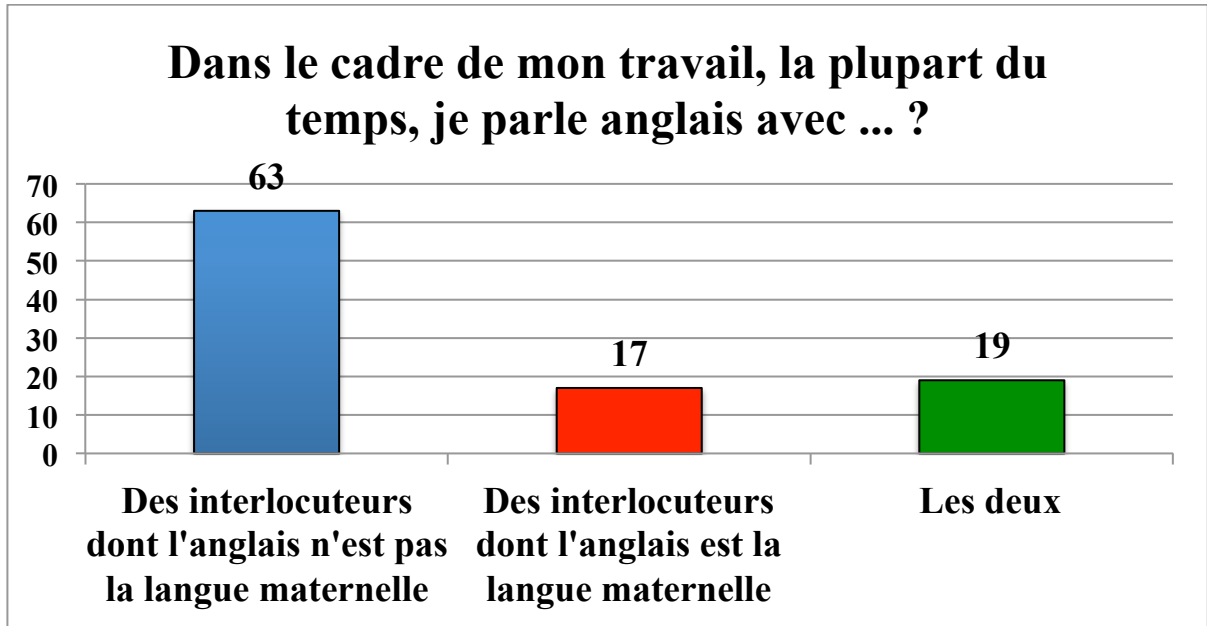
Interviewer : Est-ce que tu penses que tu as une identité européenne ?

CA : Moi, je suis partie en Ecosse avec le programme Erasmus, et du coup, en général, quand on arrive en licence trois, c'était un programme il y avait énormément de mobilité en Europe, donc je suis arrivée en Ecosse et j'ai rencontré plus d'allemands que d'écossais...j'avais jamais vraiment eu l'occasion de rencontrer des allemands, alors que c'est un pays voisin, j'ai rencontré des italiens, des espagnols, beaucoup de pays européen, et après il y avait aussi beaucoup d'américains, de russes, mais par contre, le fait d'être partie en Erasmus, j'avais des bourses de l'Union Européenne, par exemple, et à mon avis c'est des marqueurs assez forts quand même, on se dit je suis en

programme, je le fais en Ecosse mais j'aurais pu le faire en Grèce, peut-être qu'il y a des hollandais qui sont venus dans ma fac pendant que, moi, j'étais en Ecosse, donc il y a un côté très fort...et finalement, quand on est étudiant aussi, on apprend anglais obligatoirement au collège, au lycée, et la deuxième langue c'est souvent une langue européenne, donc oui, je me sens très, très européenne et puis j'ai fait du latin aussi, donc au niveau de l'histoire on est vraiment tous très, très liés, j'en ai pris conscience très tôt

Appendix C. Tables for the global respondent pool.





Abstract (anglais)

The primary objective of this research is to examine French workers' attitudes to the use of English as a common corporate language within multinational workplace contexts. Due to a lack of research in this particular domain in France, this thesis aims to investigate the development of certain language attitudes to English in the scope of language-related problems that may arise within multinational companies implanted in France. To this end, the author conducted a combination of theoretical, quantitative and qualitative studies aimed at investigating the variability of French workers' attitudes to English according to their personal experiences as English learners and users within the French, European and international cultures that co-exist within multinational enterprises.

Key words: sociolinguistics, identity, language attitudes, language policy and globalization

Résumé (français)

L'objectif fondamental de cette recherche est d'examiner les attitudes des salariés français à l'égard de l'usage de l'anglais comme langue de communication au sein des entreprises multinationales. Cette recherche a donc pour objectif d'étudier le développement de certaines attitudes linguistiques dans le cadre des problèmes liés au langage qui pourraient exister dans les entreprises multinationales implantées en France. Afin d'atteindre cet objectif, cette recherche examine la pratique de l'anglais comme langue de communication dans des entreprises multinationales opérant à l'échelle mondiale, européenne, et française, et la manière dont cette pratique pourrait influencer les attitudes linguistiques des salariés français. Pour examiner la variabilité des attitudes des salariés français à l'égard de l'anglais, la chercheuse a employé des recherches théoriques, qualitatives et quantitatives.

Mots clés : sociolinguistique, identité, attitude linguistique, politique linguistique, globalisation