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Publication date
2013
Document Version
Final published version
Published in
Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. European and Regional Studies

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):
Janssens, R., Mamadouh, V., & Marácz, L. (2013). Multilingual higher education in European regions. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. European and Regional Studies*, *3*, 5-23. http://www.acta.sapientia.ro/acta-euro/C3/euro3-1.pdf

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Download date:09 11月 2026

Acta Universitatis Sapientiae

European and Regional Studies

Volume 3, 2013

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
Scientia Publishing House

Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies, 3 (2013) 5-23

Multilingual Higher Education in European Regions

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Abstract. Although English is often conceived as the dominant language of international and transnational communication in higher education, it is not the only medium of communication in the academic community. National, regional and local languages remain important, in some European countries more than in others. In Janssens, Mamadouh and Marácz (2011) we have argued that too little attention is paid to languages in the realm between the local and the global domain: what we called languages of regional communication, that can be used in multilingual and in border regions. Here we focus on multilingualism in higher education in regions where global and regional languages are in contact or compete with each other for hegemony. Will the languages - in the 20th century quite often national languages - of higher education be replaced by English or will there be developing a more balanced situation where next to English also national, regional and local languages play a role in higher education. We will conclude in this paper that the rise of English in the higher education in the context of national, regional and local languages is impressive but that the non-global languages have a robust position in higher education that is rooted in history and connected to the identity of its speakers. The case studies presents evidence from regions where multilingualism does not necessary mean Englishization. Flanders with the role of French, Dutch and English, Hungary and the Carpathian Basin

with Hungarian as a national and minority language, and universities on the border between Romance and Germanic languages.

Keywords: multilingual higher education, Englishization, language policy, internationalisation

1. Introduction

English is often conceived as the dominant language of international and transnational communication in higher education. It has been increasingly the case in the academic community when it comes to research: both as *the* language of international conferences and international academic journals. This article considers whether other languages of regional communication are used next to English and national languages at European universities. It will therefore consider occurrences of multilingualism in higher education and the way English impact on to the balance between different languages in multilingual regions.

The use of English at universities is linked to the recruitment of international students and temporary exchange programs. Bolsmann and Miller (2008) have identified three types of discourse for the recruitment of international students: academic internationalism or "the republic of letters/science discourse"; the economic competition discourse, and the developmental discourse. This pertains to the ideal of the universities as centers of scholarship (foreign students as intellectual assets), irrespective of state borders, the second to the idea of university as economic motor (foreign students as source of revenue) and the third to the training of foreign students as developmental aid to developing countries (Bolsmann and Miller 2008:18-19). Similar considerations can apply to the use of other languages of wider communication, as they can be used to create a regional transnational academic community, to attract and service students from across the border, or to cater host students from specific developing countries (in French or in Spanish rather than in English for example). In addition political motives play a role in the use of multiple languages at universities: it can be a strategy to alter the balance between languages in the region, to enhance the status of a language and to strengthen historical and cultural ties in a cross-border regions. The article first discusses the relation between Dutch and French in Flanders, then turn to the role of Hungarian in the Carpathian Basin and finally consider universities were multilingualism is more than the addition of English. In all three sections, we will consider how English competes with the other languages in place, and whether English expands at the expense of other languages of wider communication.

English and the Dutchification of Education in Flanders

Language use in education is one of the most sensitive issues in the complex history of Belgian language relations. To understand the current discussion on the use of 'other' languages in higher education, it is necessary to take a quick look at the arising of the current language laws and regulations in education.

French and Dutch in higher Education

In 1830, the French language provided the young Belgian state with a sense of cultural unity after its secession from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands that was created in 1815. Both in the Dutch-speaking north as well as in the French-speaking south of the country, French was the language of instruction in secondary and higher education. In Flanders, primary education was available in the local Dutch vernacular although for the middle and upper class primary education in French was organized as well. The French-speaking political elite rejected the idea of general bilingualism on the level of the nation. Education in Wallonia was solely in French notwithstanding the high number of Dutch-speaking working class people living in the industrial basins, Brussels was officially bilingual but in reality education was in French which triggered the process of Frenchification of the Dutch-speaking majority, and in Flanders a Dutch-speaking majority and a French-speaking elite resulted in a bilingual class-based system where Dutch was used in primary school but where an alternative in French was available for the higher social classes (Witte & Van Velthoven, 2011). After the First World War, the introduction of the universal male singular suffrage increased the influence of the Flemish Movement, a political and cultural movement striving for education in the language of the region. The language laws on primary and secondary education of 1932 abolished the freedom of choice by the head of the family and introduced the language of the region as language of instruction. Nevertheless, some French-speaking sections in official state education survived for another 30 years while the law only slowly penetrated the Catholic education system (Janssenswillen, 2009).

For the Flemish Movement, an exclusively Dutch-medium university was the ultimate corner stone in their strive for the formation of an own Flemish cultural and political elite. After the independence of Belgium, Latin was replaced by French as lingua franca at the universities. The State University of Ghent became temporarily Dutchified during the First World War as a result of the German 'Flamenpolitik', a policy using the linguistic tensions in Belgium to incorporate a part of the Flemish Movement into the Pan-German ideology. In 1923, after a tough political struggle, a parallel system was introduced so that in the Dutch-medium section of the Ghent University, two third of all courses were taught in Dutch. Finally in 1930 Dutch became the only official language for management

and education of the university. Remarkably one of the arguments against the use of Dutch was the loss of students from abroad and a poorer starting position for the career of the graduates (De Clerck 1980). Meanwhile since 1911 at the Catholic University of Louvain some courses where taught in Dutch and from 1936, a parallel system in which most of the courses could be attended in both French and Dutch was established. In 1968 student protests cumulated in street riots and after the fall of the government on the linguistic problems in Louvain, the Belgian bishops agreed to split the university and to build a new French-medium catholic university town in Wallonia (Louvain-La-Neuve). The Catholic University of Louvain became solely Dutch-speaking. In its slipstream, the Free University of Brussels, where since 1935 a growing number of courses were taught in Dutch as well, became an independent Dutch-medium university in Brussels in 1970. The Dutchification of higher education was the starting point of a continuing process of fundamental state reform (De Clerck 1980).

Current legal and political Framework

The political battle on the Dutchification of the universities in Flanders led to the abolition of the National Ministry of Education. From 1988-89, education became the responsibility of the communities resulting in three governing bodies for respectively the French-speaking, German-speaking and Flemish (Dutch-speaking) Community. The principle of territoriality is the rationale behind this language policy. There are four language areas: a Dutch-speaking area corresponding with the Flemish region, a French-speaking area and a small German-speaking area both constituting Wallonia, and the bilingual area of Brussels where Dutch and French have the same status. The official language is the only legally accepted language of instruction at school. The only exceptions are municipalities with language facilities around the linguistic border and around Brussels, where French speakers (in Flanders) Dutch and German speakers (in the French-speaking part of Wallonia) and French speakers (in the German-speaking part of Wallonia) have the right to ask for primary education in their home language. For all other municipalities, the official language is the single language of instruction in education. In the bilingual region of Brussels every inhabitant has a free choice between an educational system with Dutch or with French as the language of instruction. The second language, obligatory from the 5th year of primary education on, is French or English in Flanders and Dutch, German or English in the French- medium system in Wallonia. In Brussels the second language of the Dutch-medium school system is French, for the French- medium one it is Dutch. According to the language laws; the language of instruction can only be the language of the region. Since in Brussels, schooling is organized by both the Flemish and the French Community, bilingual education violates the

current legal framework. However the French Community used a loophole left by the law. Given that language education is a competence of the communities, bilingual education can be considered as a method of language learning. Since 1998[1] the French Community allows that the curriculum in primary and secondary schools can be taught in two languages, French on the one hand and Dutch, English or German on the other. Nowadays, immersion schools (Lambert & Tucker 1972) are quite common. In the Dutch- medium system, apart from some experiments, the use of other languages of instruction but Dutch is rejected by the Flemish Community. Apart from the historical sensitivity due to the negative experiences of Dutch speakers with bilingual education resulting in social inequality, the fact that in the Dutch- medium schools in Brussels and in some urban areas in Flanders Dutch-speaking pupils are a minority among the school population feeds the idea that bilingual education would mainly favor the non-Dutch speakers and that on the contrary more attention should be paid to the teaching of Dutch itself.

The situation in higher education, and especially at the universities, differs substantially from compulsory education because of its triple objective: scientific research, education, and a service to the community. However given the Belgian political context, language use has always been a sensitive theme in these different aspects of university life.

The last 50 years, without any doubt, English became the first language in the scientific world. Where the French-medium universities could still rely on an important input of scientific research in their language, the Dutch-medium universities quickly adopted English as the scientific vernacular. With an increasing internationalization, English became more and more prominent. Nowadays research projects and scientific publications, the main output of university research and the base of its competitiveness and ranking, is essentially peer-evaluated and written in English. The increasing impact of the European Union and the importance of its scientific funding by the Research Framework Programs stresses this evolution. In that respect, English has fundamentally replaced Dutch and French as scientific languages.

Teaching is a much more contested domain according to the use of languages. English always had a prominent place, textbooks and readers in that language were quite common. Nevertheless teaching and examination in Belgium were by definition in French or Dutch. This was regulated by law. The language regulations in higher education follow logically from those in primary and secondary education: the language of instruction is the language of the region, and in Brussels one has the choice between Dutch or French as language of instruction. The Flemish Ministry of Education allowed the use other languages in following

[1] Décret du 13 juillet 1998 portant sur l'organisation de l'enseignement maternel et primaire et modifiant la réglementation de l'enseignement

situations: when a foreign language is the subject of the course, when master courses are given by visiting professors who do not master the language, in programs designed for foreign students, in post-academic courses and in additional doctoral and post-doctoral training attended by foreign graduates[2]. At master level, students are allowed to attend 20% of the courses in another language but Dutch. Nevertheless, they have the right to complete their master degree in Dutch and even if they attend a course in another language, they can ask for an examination in Dutch. In 2010, a further relaxation of the law on the language of instruction in higher education enabled institutions in higher education to organize a master degree in another language (which means in fact in English) but only when the same curriculum is presented elsewhere in Flanders. On bachelor level, 1/6 of all credits can be obtained in English. In the French-medium system, the decree of March 31 2004 permits the use of another language in order to integrate the program into the European Higher Education Area, when they are part of an international program, of a program organized in cooperation with another language community or when the language is the most common language according to the subject.[3]

The French Community is less rigid with language regulations and can present whole curricula in English. A shift towards an increasing use of English seems inevitably. Over the last decades there is a gradual move from the use of English in post-academic training towards master degrees and bachelor courses, first in the exact sciences, later in the life and social sciences. Given the academic context, the language law was considered as an obstacle in comparison to the neighboring countries and therefore neglected. Also the EU plays a substantial role. Initiatives like the Erasmus program and the Marie Curie grants, improving international mobility, resulted in an increase of the use of English. Where the Erasmus program aimed at the immersion of students in the language and culture of another European country, given the weak status of Dutch as an international language, in the Dutch-medium universities it resulted in the fact that more and more courses where offered in English. But the current international labor market asks for multilingual graduates as well. In different curricula, more attention is paid to language training. Teaching courses in another language is considered as an important asset for the students. A good example here is the cooperation in Brussels between the French-speaking Université Libre de Bruxelles and the Dutch-speaking Vrije Universiteit Brussel where civil engineers have the option to

[2] Decreet van 12/06/1991 betreffende de universiteiten in de Vlaamse Gemeenschap - Hoofdstuk. III, afdeling 14. - De onderwijs- en bestuurstaal (B.S. 03/10/1991)

[3] See for instance: Arrêté du Gouvernement de la Communauté française accordant une dérogation aux institutions universitaires quant à l'usage de la langue d'enseignement et d'évaluation pour le master ingénieur civil en informatique et les masters en sciences informatiques 60 et 120 crédits 27 mai 2009

be taught in a trilingual environment French/Dutch/English. Apart from the 'scientific logic', the importance of language learning and the EU, the number of foreign students became an indication of prestige and an extra source of income for the universities. To meet the reality of everyday university life, the Flemish Ministry of Education puts less emphasis on the strict application of the language law but decided that all lecturers who teaches a course in English should pass a test to prove that they meet the European C1 standard for English. Foreign lecturers, not teaching in Dutch, should however obtain a B2 standard for that language to participate fully in their Dutch-speaking environment.[4]

No way back?

The (limited) public discussion on the use of English in higher education is mainly confined to the social aspect of the mission of the university towards the community that finances them. The race for A-publications and its impact on the competitiveness and ranking of the universities makes that scientist pay less and less effort to the academically undervalued publications in the local language. The use of English facilitates the international mobility of students and lecturers, but decreases the value of the local language as a scientific language and deteriorates the richness of the local culture, especially in the human sciences (see Deneckere & Mantels 2011). The use of 'English only' endangers the transfer of knowledge to the practitioners in the field and deteriorates the public discussion. However, debate is scarce and this evolution is widely considered as inevitable. Nevertheless Flemish nationalist politicians oppose the general use of English and the liberalization of the educational market downgrading the local language comparable to the use of French 50 years ago.

The Rise of English in Hungarian higher Education

The introduction of Hungarian as a medium of instruction in higher education took place in the second half of the nineteenth century after the Ausgleich between Austria and Hungary in 1867. The language of instruction at the Hungarian universities and colleges before the Ausgleich in royal Hungary was Latin and German. In 1810, all courses at the Hungarian universities and colleges were offered in Latin. In the middle of the nineteenth century this changed, although Hungarian as a medium of instruction was not introduced across-the-board. This had to wait until the Ausgleich. In 1856/1857 at the University of Pest of the 838 students, 72 percent were registered as Hungarians. However, only 28 percent of the courses were taught in Hungarian. The majority of the courses, i.e. 48 percent

[4] Draft decree discussed in the plenary session of the Flemish Parliament, October 17th 2012.

were offered in German. Note that these changes were indeed extensive. Within almost fifty years Latin as a medium of instruction fell back from 100 percent in 1810 to 23 percent in 1856-1857.[5]

After the Ausgleich, Hungarian liberal ministers of Education like József von Eötvös and Trefort Ágoston established a number of new universities, i.e. in Kolozsvár (today's Cluj-Napoca), Debrecen and Pozsony (today's Bratislava) and the Technical University of Budapest in 1870. At the end of the Austro-Hungarian period on the eve of the First World War the language of instruction at Hungarian universities was completely Magyarized. This led to grievances among the nationalities of Hungary, i.e. the Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs, and so on that they were excluded from higher education in their own mother tongue (Marácz 2012). The Magyarization of education in dualist Hungary and the ensuing nationalist tensions were one of the reasons why the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed at the end of the First World War.

After the Treaty of Trianon (1920), smaller Hungary became a national state and large groups of Hungarians became national minorities in the neighbouring countries of Hungary, like Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In the Hungarian state, tertiary education was completely in Hungarian due to the fact that the Hungarian national language had a dominant position as a marker of national identity. The Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries were confronted with the pressure of Romanization, Czechoslovakization and Serbocroatization of the education system. Hungarian as a minority language was only marginally allowed in the 20th century as a medium of instruction in universities or colleges where the Hungarian minorities lived. It was only the collapse of communism that radically changed this situation.

In the 20th century starting from the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918-1920 until Hungary's accession to the European Union the language of tertiary education was dominated by the nation-state paradigm. Although in the Interwar period for Hungarian children it was possible to attend elementary and secondary German-, French- or Italian-medium teaching schools that were supported by the states concerned (Vámos 2011) these schools were rather marginal phenomena. The language of education in Interwar Hungary was at all levels Hungarian. After the Second World War these foreign languages schools were closed and the Hungarian educational system was Sovietized by the post-War authorities. This implied that the marginal teaching of Western languages was replaced by the massive teaching of Russian. During communism however Russian as a language imposed by the communist regime, was never popular or widely used among Hungarians (Dörnyei, Csiszér and Németh 2006).

[5] We are indebted to Pieter van der Plank for bringing these data to our attention. See also for further discussion of the languages of education in the Habsburg Empire Van der Plank (2012).

After the collapse of the communist system in 1989 a quick disappearance of Russian from the Hungarian educational system can be observed. In the academic year 1995/1996 the last courses in Russian were offered in Hungarian elementary schools. Russian was replaced by German or English. This started already in the beginning of the nineties. In 1999, there was still a slight majority of German as a target language of teaching in Hungarian elementary schools. With the start of Hungary's accession to the Bologna Process, dated in 1999, English as a foreign language in Hungarian education became more prominent than German. In the school year 2009-2010 of the 600.000 pupils in Hungarian elementary schools one-third took German as a foreign language and for two-third English became the main foreign language (Vámos 2011, 196).

Englishization

In 2005, the Eurobarometer 243 survey demonstrated that only 42 percent of the Hungarians speak a foreign language. 25 percent speak German and 23 percent English (Marácz 2009, 133).[6] Having these alarming figures in mind and with the help of Bologna Process the successive Hungarian governments tried to boost the interest for foreign language learning in Hungary. Hungarian elementary pupils start now with their first foreign language at the age of 10 or 12. Most of the children choose English that is functioning in more and more bilingual Hungarian-English schools also as the language of instruction (Szabóné Papp 2009).

Hungarian secondary pupils have to do a final, school-leaving exam at the end of the secondary education in grammar and vocational schools. In 2005, a new school-leaving examination was introduced. The aim of the new examination was to harmonize it with the exam system of the European Union. The school-leaving exam is not only the closing act of the secondary studies but it also part of the entrance examination to higher education. There are five compulsory subjects in the Hungarian school-leaving examination. One of these must be a foreign language. The fifth subject can be chosen from any subject in the curriculum. Hence, two languages can be part of the final exam of secondary education. As the compulsory foreign language mostly English is chosen. Hence, the English language can be compulsory, compulsory eligible or optional as an examination subject, depending on the type of school and the candidate's choice (Csernoch, Korponayné Nagy 2005). A successful language test in the school-leaving exam is relevant. The Hungarian universities have the right to add extra admission points

[6] In a recent survey (Eurobarometer 386) it was noted that the 42 percent of 2005 has decreased notably with -7 percent to 35 percent. This drop has probably to do with the large number of youngsters that has left Hungary in the recent years due to the bad economic situation and lack of employment opportunities. In any case, we must conclude on the basis of this decrease that the language policy to strengthen multilingualism has not been very successful.

on the basis of the results for the language-test of the school-leaving examination (Szabóné Papp 2009). A language test, most often English is also a prerequisite for finishing any discipline in higher education. At present, a quarter of the higher education students do not get their degrees because they do not possess the necessary language proficiency certificates.

The languages of instruction in Hungarian higher education have been regulated by Act LXXX of 1993 on Higher Education. This Act was in force between 1 September, 1993 and 28 February 2006 and was repealed by the Act CXXXIX of 2005 on Higher Education. Section 8 (2) of the Act states that "the language of instruction in higher education shall be Hungarian. […] Instruction in higher education – in part of whole – may be provided in a language other than Hungarian." The Hungarian Act of Education opens the possibility for education in a global lingua franca as English or a traditional regional lingua franca as German. Characteristic for the past twenty years in education has been the expansion of higher education in Hungary. Higher education institutes have developed into institutes for mass education in line with global trends. With around 400.000 students measured in 2009/2010 the number of the students is three times higher than in 1990/1991 (Balázs et. al. 2011). This means that there is an expansion of the foreign languages – mostly English – as well.

According to Coleman (2006), English may be allocated across seven categories: CLIL (content and language integrating learning), internationalization, student exchanges, teaching and research materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market in international students. As Hungarian drivers of English-medium teaching CLIL courses are not relevant; this is also the case for teaching and research material. Student exchanges and staff mobility are neither relevant drivers of English-medium teaching in Hungary. Only two percent of the Hungarian students study abroad. This is much lower than the average for the 27 EU member states. Most of these students go to Germany, i.e. 45 percent and to English speaking countries, i.e. 20 percent. Student and staff mobility are low because of hampering proficiency in foreign languages and due to the high costs of living in Western Europe.

For Hungary the factors of internationalization, graduate employability and the market in international students are more relevant as drivers of English-medium teaching: One of the drivers of the rise of English-medium teaching in Hungary is the growing importance of English on the labor market. In foreign or multinational companies in Hungary the language of internal communication is English. This is the case for example in the energy company E.ON, although it is a German company. Similarly English is the language of widespread outsourcing activities of multi-national companies. These companies shift certain operations to countries where human labor is cheap. In 2005, of the outsourcing target countries Hungary was 19th in the world.

Hungarian institutes for higher education have been trying to take their share in the marketization of higher education in Europe (Coleman 2006, 1, Grin 2010). To have foreign students enrolled is a means of making additional income for these Hungarian institutes. Their most important arguments to attract foreign students is to refer to public safety and the low costs of living in Hungary. In order to be attractive as a target country for higher education foreign students must be offered programs and courses in the global lingua franca English and languages of wider communication, like German and French. This is especially pressing for Hungarian is taught little elsewhere. This has been strengthening the position of English in Hungarian higher education.

Almost 35 percent, i.e. 24 institutes of the 69 institutes for higher education offer English, German or French as a medium of teaching (Balázs et. al. 2011). In the academic year 2010/2011 18.154 foreign students attended programs or courses at Hungarian universities. This number is about 4.9 percent of the total number of students. Most of these students, around three quarters come from Europe and around fifty percent of them are ethnic Hungarian minority students from the neighbouring countries.

Most popular among foreign students are the English-medium programs in medicine, dentistry and pharmaceutics. These programs can be attended at the Semmelweis Medical University in Budapest, the Universities of Szeged and Debrecen. Students enrolled in these programs have to learn during their education also medical Hungarian in order to be able to communicate with patients. Further, all sorts of engineering studies at the Budapest University of Technology and Economics; and Management and Business Administration at the Corvinus University have a tradition of English-medium teaching. The Central European University is a special institute of higher education. It offers PhD programs in English that attract students from the Central European region. Eleven institutes for higher education in Hungary present programs or courses in German. Prominent for German-medium teaching is the Gyula Andrássy German language University. Here International and Central European Studies, Law and Economics can be attended in German. Finally five institutes are offering courses in French medium-teaching. At the University of Szeged European Law can be attended in French.

In sum, Hungary follows a global pattern of becoming diglossic, with one language for local communication, education, culture and expression of identity, i.e. Hungarian and another – English – for wider and more formal communication, like in higher education with foreign students. Besides this, German will maintain its position in Hungary, although less favored than English.

The Language of Higher Education in Hungarian Minority Institutes

The Hungarian language is spoken by ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian macro-region in the seven neighbouring states of Hungary, including Romania. According to the Romanian census of 2002 there are over 1,5 million speakers of Hungarian in the traditionally multi-ethnic, multilingual region of Transylvania.

Official and everyday multilingual communication in Transylvania is classified in Brubaker et al. (2006: 240-242) as 'asymmetrical' due to political and demographic circumstances. Romania is a unitary nation-state by constitution in which the Romanian language is the only official language. The languages of the national minorities, especially Hungarian and German, are officially recognized but their use in official communication is restricted by laws. Both the Romanian and Hungarian communities strive for their separate educational systems from 'Kindergarten to the university'. This is made possible by law. The Romanian National Educational Law 1/2011 is similar to the one of Hungary of 2005 in that it allows higher education in the state language, recognized minority languages and international languages, like English, German and French. Compare Art 10. (1) "In Romania, education […] develops, under the condition of the law, in the Romanian language, as well as in the languages of the national minorities and in the international languages." Although Hungarian Transylvanian experts and commentators of higher educational issues are very well aware of the fact the internationalization, globalization, marketization and so on are on the agenda their analyses concentrate on the position of Hungarian-medium teaching in the higher educational institutes and the relation Hungarian has opposed to Romanian (see Salat et. al. 2011 45-54, Tonk 2010).

Article 3 of the educational law specifying that a person belonging to an ethnic minority should be able to preserve its cultural and linguistic identity, and article 10 stating that the mother tongue of a national minority may be used in education, gives a more solid legal base to the position of the Hungarian language in Romanian higher education. The new Romanian national educational law 1/2011 provides more possibilities for Hungarian language teaching in Romanian higher education. Twelve institutions for higher education offer 125 educational programs in the Hungarian language, sixty percent of the educational programs belong to the humanities and the social sciences. Of these twelve institutions five are state institutions, three are private institutions and four institutes are branches of an institute for higher education in the kin-state Hungary (see papers in Szikszai (ed) 2011). The law has not provided for the establishment of a separate Hungarian language state university in Romania. Hence, the Hungarian community has taken the initiative to establish separate Hungarian language universities on a private basis itself, like the Sapientia University, also known as the Hungarian University of Transylvania. It offers 22 educational programs distributed over three

Transylvanian towns (Tonk 2010). The Romanian educational law also allows for the establishment of 'mother tongue tracks' in higher educational state institutions where national minorities' programs already exists (Article 135), the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), the University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu Mures (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt am Mieresch), and the Theatre University of Târgu Mures.

Ethnic Hungarian students from Transylvania also have the option to enrol in higher education in the kin-state of Hungary as was pointed out above (Szarka and Kötél, 2008). Most of the Hungarian minority students stayed in Hungary after finishing their studies. To enrol in a Hungarian university has become easier due to the fact that the Hungarian state has separate funds available that cover the expenses, such as tuition and accommodation in university-owned student houses, of ethnic Hungarian students from abroad. From 2010 onwards ethnic Hungarians can become Hungarian citizens receiving a Hungarian passport in accord with the Hungarian citizenship law, act no. 45/2010 on the Testimony for National Cohesion. This implies that due to this law ethnic Hungarian students from Hungary's neighbouring countries have the same rights and duties as other Hungarian students. This will make it even easier for them to enrol in a Hungarian university in Hungary, but might make their return to their country of origin even more unlikely.

In sum, the struggle for the local introduction of Hungarian in higher education in Transylvania connects Hungarian and its speakers via these institutions to the Carpathian Hungarian linguistic community. Hence, this enhances the position of Hungarian as a transnational regional language but it does not seem to stimulate exchange of students and teachers across the Hungarian linguistic area. Still, the language of regional communication does not mix as easily as English with the established language in the curriculum and is not as widely used as a public relation language (for example on websites). The different language communities are in competition with each other and stick to their own national languages for teaching purposes. Multilingualism in higher education in these multilingual areas often remains at best juxtaposed monolingualism. The question of the introduction of global or regional lingua franca in higher education is secondary. A source of multilingual higher education, including languages of the Central European region as well as global or regional lingua franca is cross-border cooperation with institutes of (higher) education in neighbouring countries that are not Hungarian minority institutions. Such cross-border cooperation exist between West-Hungarian institutes and institutes for higher education in Vienna and the Burgenland area. In these cases, the medium for teaching is quite often German or English (Forray and Híves 2011, 49).

English at multilingual Universities

In this last section we turn to the role of English at universities across where other multilingual arrangements are in place. As in Belgium, most universities in countries with two or more national languages function in one main languages: this is true of Switzerland and Finland for example. Nevertheless universities in regions that have recently obtained formal recognition for their language are more often multilingual. The recognition and institutionalisation of a regional language that was once neglected, or even repressed, has led to language policies aiming at language revitalization (Fishman 1991) and "normalization". The use of that regional language in higher education is part of the strengthening of the position of the language in all arenas of public life. As a result of such policies, universities are often bilingual, both the state and the regional languages. In such a situation the increasing use of English can disrupt a precarious balance between the languages at play, but can also be a convenient alternative to politically loaded language choices in the daily practice of teaching.

Cots et al 2012 have compared the multilingual policies and practices of three multilingual universities where two official languages have to be accommodated: the regional language and the state language. The three universities displayed different arrangements. They contrast the use of the regional language (Catalan) as the unmarked language at the University of Lleida, the official bilingualism (Spanish and Basque) of the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) and the use of the state language (English) as the unmarked language at Cardiff University in Wales. Obviously in the latest case English is both the hegemonic state language and the language of international academic communication, weakening further the attractiveness of Welsh and the university does not encourage foreign students to learn Welsh.

The contrast between the situation in Catalonia and in the Basque Country is also linked to the relative prevalence of the regional language and the distance between the two languages in place. It is easier, even for foreign and exchange students mastering Spanish, to learn enough Catalan to follow a course in Catalan than to do so with Basque. The 2006 Internationalization Programme of the Catalan university is somewhat "ambiguous about the nature of the multilingualism that is favoured" (Cotes et al 2012 p.20). to attract foreign students it promotes English as a working language and it promotes teaching in other "widespread languages"/ and linguistic competences, but it remains unclear if it means only competences in the two co-official languages or competences in English and other foreign languages. Their conclusion is that the university heads towards "solid trilingualism Catalan-Spanish-English". At the University of the Basque Country mobility is promoted and more and more subjects are offered in English (although French and German are mentioned in the Multlingualism Plan of the university).

Other interesting cases in Europe are the newly established universities of Luxembourg and Bozen/Bolzano (in South Tyrol). The Free University of Bozen/Bolzano was founded in 1997 as a multilingual, internationally oriented institution. It provides a multilingual, practice-oriented education in German, Italian and English and prepare students for a multilingual local and European labour market. Prior to that, local students would have to choose between an Italian university or an Austrian one, for example in Innsbruck where special arrangements for South Tyrolean students (Markusse 1996, 124-125). The University of Luxembourg is even more recent, It was founded in 2003 and it is characterised by multilingualism. Courses are typically held in two languages: French/English, French/German, or English/German. Prior to that, Luxembourgian students would study in France or in Belgium, sometimes in Germany. The motto of the university is "Multlingual, Personalized. Connected". The website of the university underlines the importance of multilingualism as more than the coexistence of different languages but as a daily engagement with multiple languages, Although it provides an interface in each of the three languages (for example in English http://wwwen.uni.lu/) the content is multilingual with items in the three languages being brought together. Luxembourg is also the coordinator of a project called *Université de la grande région/Universität der Grossregion* (http://www.uni-gr.eu) the crossborder region la Grande Région featuring Wallonia, the German speaking community of Belgium, Luxembourg, Lorraine, Saarland, and Rhineland-Palatinate. The university of the Grand Région is an initiative to promote the mobility of students between the part-taking universities of Saarland, Liège, Lorraine, Luxembourg, Kaiserslautern and Trier and the development of (often bilingual) joint degrees.

It is no coincidence if these two universities have been prominent in the network of Multilingual Universities since the first conference convened in 2003 in Fribourg, Switzerland in 2003. The University of Fribourg (founded 1889) is the only bilingual university of Switzerland, and the canton of Fribourg is one of the few bilingual cantons. A second conference was organized in Helsinki in 2005 (the University of Helsinki is the only bilingual university in Finland, Anckar 2010), a third in Bozen in 2007 and a fourth in Luxembourg in 2010. Both in Helsinki and in Fribourg, students can choose between curricula in one of the two languages and bilingual ones, but English is increasingly used as a language of education, especially in the master programmes.

This situation in Luxembourg, Bozen and Fribourg contrasts greatly with the situation at other universities in the borderlands between Romance and Germanic languages. In Belgium (as described above) and in Switzerland (except Fribourg), universities are either French speaking or Dutch speaking. French and German universities in the Rhineland do not make much room for the neighbouring language (Abel et al 2007). Similarly the partnership network between the four

Meuse-Rhine Euroregion universities: the University of Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany (RWTH Aachen, the University of Hasselt/Diepenbeek in Flanders, the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands and the University of Liège) Euregio-University-Cooperation ALMA functions in English (http://www.ulg.ac.be/cms/c_805674/euregio-alma) Dutch universities near the German border (Maastricht, but also Nijmegen,Twente and Groningen) do welcome significant numbers of German students, but the internationalization of their courses has gone through English.

Although French and German are important languages of regional communication, they do not really play a role in these academic circles. The lack of attention for German has signaled regularly at Dutch universities but the expansion of English has been a rather uncontested and rapid process since the end of the 1980s mainly to accommodate exchange students and recruit international students Apart from Maastricht, technical universities (Eindhoven, Twente, Delft) and the agricultural university (Wageningen) offer have mainly courses in English. At the large, general universities (such as Leiden, Amsterdam or Utrecht) a large number of masters programmes are in English. English has not only displaced the national language but even more radically other languages of wider communication such as French and German. Textbooks and literature in these languages are hardly used anymore as required readings, while this was common until the beginning of the 1990s. In the Netherlands the language of higher education remains Dutch, officially, but for pragmatic reasons English is used more and more often For the past 30 years this process has amplified, mainly to respond to the internationalization of higher education and academic research (Ten Thije et al 2012). Pragmatically, examinations can be taken and theses written in Dutch, which remove possible incentives to oppose the use of English. The public debate about English is even more limited than in Flanders, as the regression of Dutch does not echo some political mobilization of the past.

Conclusion

In larger member states with strong national languages like French, German Italian and Spanish, English has been slower to gain ground in higher education than in the smaller countries with a clear international orientation, economically and academically. Where linguistic diversity is an issue, the role of English has a different feel, it can be either an additional threat to the lesser used language or a "neutral" language of communication between two communities. The three sets of cases presented demonstrate the diversities of such situation. In Flanders the raise of English at the expend of Dutch occurs in a situation in which the national language has relatively recently be institutionalized. In Hungary, English is a more recent arrival, while Magyarization of higher education was established earlier, but

other language of wider communication (German, Russian) have played a role until recently. In Romania, the position of Hungarian has been recently enhanced but it is not used as a language of transnational regional communication to promote the exchanges of students. Finally a series of multilingual universities have been reviewed where English is also gaining weight. There are contrasted findings with universities and networks banking on English and others promoting multilingualism. In conclusion, in the studied cases, languages of regional communication seem not to be able to maintain their influence as language of higher education and academic communication to resist to the pressure of English.

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