

***La Loi Toubon: Language Policy and Linguistic and Cultural  
Diversity in France***

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## Abstract

This thesis is about language policy and planning in France. Through tracing the origins of the French language and policies, I demonstrate that language policy has historically been utilized to standardize and regulate French usage in order to centralize governmental power and influence. In turn, the French language became a key component of having a French national and cultural identity. However, after World War II, the rise of English and American dominance threatened the status of the French language. I therefore argue that there was a shift in French language policy following the increasing presence of English in France, which culminated with the passing of *La Loi Toubon* in 1994. *La Loi Toubon* ensured that French translations must be present in the public sector. While many French linguistic purists supported *La Loi Toubon* as a means to protect the status of French, the results from an online survey sent in Fall 2016 represent an additional shift in attitudes surrounding the role of the French language in being a key component of French history and culture. I therefore additionally argue that among a demographic of highly educated and multilingual individuals, there exists a shift in attitudes about French language policy that supports linguistic and cultural diversity.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1. Aim and Scope

In *Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Conversation*, Michael Agar argues that linguists have often drawn a “circle” around languages to understand them.<sup>1</sup> Inside of the circle are grammar, syntax and vocabulary. However, Agar stresses the importance of erasing the circle, warning that learning languages within the circle limits understanding additional components of languages, specifically in terms of their inextricable relationship to the culture(s) in which they are used. This thesis is based on Agar’s fundamental premise that language and culture are intertwined, a unity he calls “languaculture,” and that one cannot exist without the other.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis aims to frame Agar’s concept of languaculture within the context of France and French language policy through outlining the significant ways in which the French language has been preserved and later protected from foreign influences, which demonstrates the significant cultural and historical value the French language possesses. Furthermore, this thesis addresses the concept of linguistic and cultural diversity through presenting the results of an online survey sent to participants in France who indicated positive attitudes toward linguistic and cultural diversity and therefore oppose *La Loi Toubon*, which serves as the quintessential example of French language policy that promotes the singular usage of French in the public arena.

When I signed up to take French as a second language in the fifth grade, I admittedly struggled with learning a language whose grammar was entirely different from my native

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<sup>1</sup> Agar, Michael. *Language shock: understanding the culture of conversation*. New York, NY: Perennial, 2008, 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 96.

language. Fortunately, the memorization methods that my teacher taught me, which I still use today, helped me adjust my practice in speaking and writing a language that vastly differed from English. At this point in my experience as a French student, I understood the French language within Agar's "circle." In other words, I perceived French as an academic subject that required practice and memorization in order to master my listening, reading, writing and speaking skills.

When I continued taking French in high school, my courses gradually combined elements of French culture in our lessons. Nonetheless, my teachers continued to implement memorization strategies to perfect our grammar and vocabulary skills. It was not until college that I learned how closely French culture and the history of the French language across various social contexts demonstrate Agar's theory that language and culture are intertwined.

My understanding of the relationship between language and culture culminated during my study abroad experience in the south of France in Aix-en-Provence. In Aix, I not only learned how to improve my oral and listening skills but also how to appropriately use French across different social contexts. For instance, when walking into a shop, customers are expected to say *Bonjour* as a means of introduction, even if the customer is not directly addressing anyone in particular. This was because the Aixois perceived customers entering their shops as equivalent to any individual entering their home. So, it was the customer's responsibility to greet the shop owner and the shop's employees, given that they were perceived as entering the shop owner's personal space. Employees therefore based the level of customer service that they would offer to their customers based on whether or not the customer said *Bonjour* upon entering the store. This was vastly different from my

experience working in retail in the United States, where I am constantly expected to greet customers politely, and it was one of the first times that I experienced a linguistic and cultural phenomenon that was entirely different from my own.

These experiences combined made me realize that the French language and French culture were not two separate subjects to learn; rather, they were two concepts that I learned in tandem. Therefore, large portions of my coursework have been dedicated to the history of the establishment of the French language, and how the French language being a fundamental aspect of French culture has shaped the national character and identity of French for centuries.

Many academics have written and researched about the various ways in which the French language and government-sanctioned regulations regarding the French language have contributed to the French language being a fundamental element of French culture and French nationalism. For instance, K. Steven Vincent's explores the progression of French nationalism from the fifteenth century onward, and discusses the important role that language played in acting as a "unifying force" that would centralize French power and subsequently play an important role in fortifying French nationalism in "National Consciousness, Nationalism and Exclusion: Reflections on the French Case."<sup>3</sup> Vincent provides a valuable historical contextualization of understanding how a French "national consciousness" formed during and after the French Revolution, and that efforts to preserve "national unity" made France a distinguishable nation-state in Western Europe.<sup>4</sup> Vincent's exploration of the establishment of the French nation-state, and French nationalism,

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<sup>3</sup> Vincent, Steven K. "National Consciousness, Nationalism and Exclusion: Reflections on the French Case." *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 19 (1993): 436. JSTOR.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 444.

provides a relevant framework for further exploring how using the French language as a political tool centralized France and French power, which in turn built a distinct French national identity.

In “History and Politics of Language in France: A Review Essay,” Pierre Achard and his colleagues discuss the “politics of language” in France and observes the following:

The standardization of French as a national language; the suppression of the vernaculars of region, locality, class and occupation; the role of language education in the reproduction of a ‘national’ culture; the function of school grammar and spelling as forms of social discipline; linguistic competence as a criterion of selection for employment, promotion and social mobility.<sup>5</sup>

The authors’ discussion of the history of politics of language in France starts during the sixteenth century and continues throughout the Revolution and ends with the standardization of education in the nineteenth century. Achard et al. demonstrate that the French government nationalized and standardized French to establish it as the “language of reason” and as the “language of liberty.”<sup>6</sup> They then discuss, in detail, the effects of teaching a standard French in schools. Since schooling became compulsory and public in the nineteenth century, the government ensured that a standard French would be spoken and taught across the country. This example of language acquisition policy contributed to a standardized French becoming the most commonly spoken language across France, to the detriment of the dozens of other dialects and distinct regional languages. Achard et al.’s work therefore serves as an additional example of scholarship that provides a detailed

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<sup>5</sup> Achard, Pierre , Susan Bullock, and Michael Ignatieff. "History and the Politics of Language in France: A Review Essay ." *History Workshop*, 10 (1980):175 . JSTOR.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 177.

history of language policy in France and demonstrates that the French government has historically focused on using the French language as a political tool to centralize power.<sup>7</sup>

Additionally, in “Linguistic Culture and Language Policy,” Harold F. Schiffman provides an extensive investigation regarding the history of French language policy and how “language and linguistic culture constitute a core value” of the national character of France.<sup>8</sup> Schiffman discusses the origins of the French language and provides a timeline of French language policy to explain how language legislation has historically been implemented to standardize and spread the use of the French language. To do so, he explains *The Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* (1539), the first official language policy favoring the King’s French over all other dialects and languages in legal matters, and its significance, the role of the *Académie Française* (1635) in codifying and standardizing French and the French Revolution (1779) and language policy following the Revolution in transmitting a standard French across the State. In this historical analysis, Schiffman demonstrates that France has an extensive history of utilizing language policy since at least the 16th century, which allowed for the French language to become a distinct feature of French history and culture.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, in “Linguistic Anthropology and the Study of Contemporary France,” Steve J. Albert demonstrates how, in his words, “language constitutes a crucial element of the French people’s conception of themselves as a distinct national culture.”<sup>10</sup> He examines the progression of French becoming an essential characteristic of French culture from a

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<sup>7</sup> Achard,, “History and the Politics of Language in France,” 175-83 .

<sup>8</sup> Schiffman , Harold F. "Language Policy and Linguistic Culture in France ." in *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy* , 75. London : Routledge , 1996.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Albert, Steve J. "Linguistic Anthropology and the Study of Contemporary France." *French Review* 74 (2001): 1165. JSTOR .

linguistic anthropological approach, through which he “explicitly addresses the linkages between language and its sociocultural contexts.”<sup>11</sup> As a linguistic anthropologist, Albert “favors a more qualitative approach that examines aspects of language within their contexts of use.”<sup>12</sup> Albert directly examines *La Loi Toubon*, a 1994 law limiting the presence of languages other than French in the media, and studies political debate surrounding its passing. He frames this examination through explaining how *La Loi Toubon* serves as an example of the “iconic relationship between the language and the nation-state” in France.<sup>13</sup> He argues that *La Loi Toubon* marked a direct response to the increasing presence of English, and that Jacques Toubon, the Minister of Culture at the time that the law was passed, used discourse that supported this notion. Albert thus provides a detailed analysis about *La Loi Toubon* and its supporters to demonstrate that Toubon perceived language as a tool that would guarantee social cohesion and unity, and demonstrates how *La Loi Toubon* acted as a form of resistance against the English language.<sup>14</sup>

Vincent, Achard, Schiffman, and Albert, among others, thus provide key theoretical and historical frameworks that address French nationalism and identity, the ways in which French language policy has functioned to establish and preserve French nationalism and identity, and even describe *La Loi Toubon* and its significance in relation to French linguistic culture. My research is unique in its approach of determining if the relationship between French identity and language policy has shifted in its nature after *La Loi Toubon*,

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<sup>11</sup> Albert, “Linguistic Anthropology,” 1165.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 1167.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



and if the methods the French government historically implemented are necessary in the twenty-first century.

This thesis thus addresses the historical progression of the French language and language policy concerning regulating and preserving French. One piece of language policy will be analyzed: *La Loi Toubon*, passed in 1994 in France. *La Loi Toubon* mandates that the French language must be present on all public signage, all official government documents, in all workplaces, in public schools and in commercial communications. This piece of language legislation is controversial because French is and has been the official language of the French nation-state for centuries; however, supporters of *La Loi Toubon* sought to reinstate the official status of the French language due to the increasing presence of English in French media outlets across various mediums including television, radio stations, and movies.

In this analysis, I argue that *La Loi Toubon* represents a shift in French language policy in the late twentieth century, but that the increasing presence of linguistic and cultural diversity across the world represents an additional shift in attitudes surrounding the role of the French language in being a key component of French history and culture. Among a certain demographic of highly educated and multilingual French individuals who were surveyed for the purpose of this analysis, there appeared to be high levels of support for linguistic and cultural diversity. In conjunction with high levels of support for multilingualism, the majority of participants opposed *La Loi Toubon* because they perceived the law as restricting the public presence of multilingualism. Instead of promoting the sole presence of the French language in the public sector, the survey results indicate support for presence of multiple languages in the public sector, and therefore

rebut Toubon's supporters and their advocacy for protecting French against the rising presence of English.

## **2. Research Questions**

My research and analysis address three research questions:

1. Historically, what is the relationship between French language policy and French identity?
2. Has the relationship between French language policy and French identity shifted in the twentieth/twenty-first centuries?
3. Does *La Loi Toubon* represent a particular shift in attitudes surrounding language policy in the twentieth/twenty-first centuries?

## **3. Theoretical Framework**

### **3.1 Language, Culture, Identity and Nationalism**

This section provides a brief theoretical framework in understanding how language, culture and identity intersect. It is additionally crucial to address ideas of nationalism and nationhood in the context of the eighteenth century given that much of French language policy is historically rooted in the ideals of the French Revolution during the late eighteenth century (a detailed explanation of this historical time period is addressed in Chapter Two).

As mentioned in the project's *Aim and Scope*, my approach to understanding French language and French culture is fundamentally based on Michael Agar's concept of *languaculture*. Languaculture refers to the inextricable connection between language and culture, and essentially points to the fact that neither language nor culture can exist

without the other, given that “culture is in language and language is loaded with culture.”<sup>15</sup> Agar’s indication that “communication in today’s world *requires* culture” illustrates that using any language is “rooted in who you are” and any encounter with a “different mentality” or a “different meaning” makes the speaker conscious of their own language and its meanings and subsequently of their culture.<sup>16</sup> In other words, encountering a different or ‘foreign’ language allows for pointing out the differences between one’s native language and the foreign language that they are encountering. In turn, since language is loaded with culture, the same person becomes increasingly conscious of the differences between their native culture and the ‘foreign’ culture that they are encountering.

This recognition of difference when encountering a foreign culture (and language) allows for individuals to form their own identities around their native cultures. Rosemary Salomone, for example, writes that having an identity in a community implies “belonging to a group, within a larger culture, united by shared customs.”<sup>17</sup> Therefore, language can act as a distinct marker of identity within and across different cultures. On the one hand, language is used for communication, and therefore allows for members of a community to share similar “values, attitudes, and prejudices,” all of which reflect that community’s culture.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, shared languages are often “at the core of ethnic identity and ethnic pride,” which creates a distinct community with its own distinguishable culture that is characterized by its language.<sup>19</sup> In the case of France, my research will indicate that the French language and its policies are loaded with French culture and history, and that

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<sup>15</sup> Agar, *Language Shock*, 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Salomone, Rosemary C. "Language, Identity and Belonging ." In *True American*, Harvard University Press, 2010, 70. JSTOR .

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 95.

subsequently the French language has straightforwardly become a marker of French identity and culture.

Keeping in mind that language is loaded with culture and vice versa, it is also relevant to discuss the role of the nation and of the nation-state in relation to Agar's concept of languaculture to provide a framework for understanding how the French nation utilized language as a political tool to centralize its power. Alexander Caviedes defines the nation as "a human collectively defining itself as historically constituted or desired, where the nation makes some claim to autonomy."<sup>20</sup> In Western Europe, modern "nation states" developed among "ethnically defined communities" which were originally defined as kingdoms or cultural entities.<sup>21</sup> Sharing a "common territory, common origin, common language, common religion and morals, and common customs" were essential components of established nations in eighteenth-century Western Europe.<sup>22</sup> These common characteristics allowed members of the nation to develop a sense of shared nationalism and national pride, which strengthened the nation as a separate and distinct entity. Therefore, along with sharing a language that acted as a distinct cultural characteristic and identity marker, language became a political tool that was used to centralize power, and language subsequently acted as a distinct national characteristic of certain nation-states.

Keeping in mind that language has the capacity to act as distinct cultural and national characteristic of communities and nation-states, language additionally became a key component of establishing and maintaining a national identity. A national identity can be defined as an "abstract concept that subsumes the collective expression of a subjective

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<sup>20</sup> Caviedes, Alexander. "The Role of Language in Nation-Building within the European Union." *Dialectal Anthropology, Revisions of Nationalist and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Europe* 27 (2003 ): 250. JSTOR.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Karna, MN. "Language, Region and National Identity ." *Indian Sociological Society* 48 (1999): 80. JSTOR .

individual sense of belonging to a sociopolitical unit: the nation state.”<sup>23</sup> Through sharing a national language, members of a nation are enabled to connect with one another through communication but also through a shared sense of belonging. Consequently, their devotion to, and pride in, the nation subsequently develops, which in turn can strengthen the nation itself. Individuals within the nation who use the same language are enabled to share a “common bond” and thus also share a “common store of social memories.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, in the context of developing eighteenth-century nations, language acted as a symbol for developing national identities as well as a political tool for nation building.<sup>25</sup> In Chapter 2, the ways in which the French government used language policy as a tool to strengthen the nation will be addressed, so it is important to provide a broad framework of the ways in which language works to act as a symbol for nation-building and communal and national identity.

### **3.2 Minority Languages, Globalization and Multilingualism**

In *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Thomas Eriksen writes, “there is no inclusion without exclusion.”<sup>26</sup> Keeping Eriksen’s premise in mind, it would be over simplistic and perhaps too idealistic to argue that having a shared national language guarantees unity and social cohesion across all nations. Even though language acts as a unifier and as a marker of similarity, it can also be as a marker of difference. Language therefore has the capacity to create boundaries and borders, which separate one distinct nation from another, and therefore help establish “linguistically homogenous nations.”<sup>27</sup> The existence of minority

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<sup>23</sup> Karna, “Language, Region and National Identity,” 79.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>25</sup> Salomone, “Language, Identity and Belonging,” 76.

<sup>26</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. “Nationalism.” In *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 126. Pluto Press, 2010. JSTOR.

<sup>27</sup> Urciuoli, Bonnie. “Language and Borders.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 527. JSTOR.

languages is perceived to pose a threat to the homogenous nature of nationalistic language policies. Minority languages have therefore often been discouraged or suppressed “with a variety of sanctions from mockery to punishment.”<sup>28</sup>

Following the suppression of minority languages and with the rise of globalization, advocacy for promoting and preserving minority languages has increased throughout the late twentieth century. This is largely due to a human rights campaign that took charge throughout the second half of the twentieth century. This movement placed a large emphasis on “individual rights” on a universal scale and promoted justice and equality for the globally interconnected community after the Second World War. Keeping Agar’s *languaculture* definition in mind, it is reasonable to also assume that ethnic minorities sought protection of their heritage languages<sup>29</sup>, since their languages were key elements of their culture, identity and heritage.

In 1948, for example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) promoted the necessity of “basic human rights,” thus implying the acceptance and promotion of minority rights. The UDHR states, “Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms...without distinction of any kind such as...language.” In 1992, the United Nations directly “Addressed the special rights of minorities” in “The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.” Additionally, in 1998, the Council of Europe held a convention that promoted protecting “National Minorities”; the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was additionally written in 1998. It is therefore evident that alongside the human rights campaign, there existed legislation that promoted

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<sup>28</sup> Wright, Sue. *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 44.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

linguistic equality demonstrated an increasing advocacy for minority languages across nations.

Additionally, as the world is becoming increasingly globalized, there is not necessarily as much rhetoric as there was in the eighteenth century that emphasized the importance of the nation in its capacity to “fulfill the individual’s need to belong.”<sup>30</sup> In an increasingly globalized world, establishing a national identity is challenged by those who “may be more likely to conceive themselves as multilayered, within their position in local communities as well as their participation in global networks contributing with nationality to their whole identity.”<sup>31</sup> Evidently, modern notions of globalization and of the global community challenged the European eighteenth-century ideology that the standardization and promotion of a national language would act as a unifier for members of the nation.

Furthermore, as minority languages and globalization continue to persist, it appears that multilingualism, linguistic and cultural diversity are three concepts that relate to celebrating minority languages and globalization. According to linguist Rita Franceschini, multilingualism can be understood as the “fundamental human ability to be able to communicate in several languages” and is additionally a “phenomenon embedded in cultural developments,” indicating that attaining multilingualism requires encounters with foreign languages and cultures.<sup>32</sup> In turn, language diversity refers to the presence of a variation of languages, and therefore indicates a presence of multilingualism.<sup>33</sup> Since language and culture are interconnected, the presence of linguistic diversity must also

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<sup>30</sup> Wright, Sue. *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 182.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>32</sup> Franceschini, Rita. “Multilingualism and Multicompetence: A Conceptual View.” *The Modern Language Journal* 95, no. 3 (2011): 346. JSTOR.

<sup>33</sup> Cenoz, Jason, Durk Gorter, and Kathleen Heugh. “Linguistic Diversity.” In *Diversity Research and Policy: A Multidisciplinary Exploration*, edited by Steven Knotter, Rob De Lobel, Lena Tsipouri, and Vanja Stenius, 83. Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press , 2011. JSTOR.

indicate a presence of cultural diversity, given that communicating via any given language(s) allows for the exchanging of cultures across various settings. The promotion of minority languages and language rights in the UDHR evidently promotes linguistic and cultural diversity, and therefore demonstrates an official recognition of multilingualism and its importance in a globalized context.

These issues of globalization and linguistic and cultural diversity, specifically in France, will be addressed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

### **3.3 Language Policy and Planning**

It is additionally important to define the components and domains language policy and planning in order to better understand the history of French language policy and planning and content of *La Loi Toubon*. Richard Baldauf defines language policy and planning as the “planning—often large scale and national, usually undertaken by governments—meant to influence, if not change, ways of speaking or literacy within a society.”<sup>34</sup> Language policy and planning (LPP) plays an essential role in establishing a relationship between language, identity and nationalism. Through LPP, governments have the authority to define one or multiple official language(s) in order to create a strong nation that has a shared language.

The need to solve social, economic and political problems through language policy and planning was especially prominent following World War II. This was largely due to British, French, Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese empires freeing their colonies and thus producing new independent nations that had complex linguistic landscapes because of the

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<sup>34</sup> Baldauf, Richard B., Jr. "Language Planning and Policy: Recent Trends, Future Directions."



“lack of fit between political and linguistic boundaries.”<sup>35</sup> In many cases, former colonies shared original native languages that were diminished by their colonial rulers. Many newly independent nations across the world were therefore compelled to determine and solve their complex linguistic situations, across which the colonial and native languages were spoken. It is therefore sensible that language policy and planning emerged as a subject of academic study because of the large-scale policy issues that were being addressed across the globe in former colonies.<sup>36</sup>

During the last thirty years of the twentieth century, according to Spolsky, “a large number of detailed studies of specific cases of language planning” emerged and featured some aspects of language policy.<sup>37</sup> Joshua A. Fisherman, for example, published significant research regarding LPP in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* and *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*. Fisherman wrote about a multitude of significant issues, including bilingual communities and their structures, bilingual education, the spread and rapid globalization of English, language and ethnicity, ethnic identity, endangered languages and language purism. Additional research surrounding LPP was published in two sociolinguistics journals: *Language in Society* and *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. As of 2008, there exist three journals that are solely devoted to the study of language planning and language policy: *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *Current Issues in Language Planning* and *Language Policy*. Most of the

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<sup>35</sup> Spolsky, B. "Language policy: The first half-century ." in *Unity and Diversity of Languages*, edited by P. Van Sterkenberg, 137, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 139.

work in these journals focus on “policies developed by national governments,” but additionally cover “locally salient issues.”<sup>38</sup>

Spools additionally remarks that many scholars study and write about language policy as linguistic imperialism in the context of colonial and postcolonial language policy. Other scholars take a different approach through “considering language policy as centrally located not in a political but a linguistic cultural context.”<sup>39</sup> They thus focus on analyzing the relationship between languages and culture, and how language policy and planning can damage or improve this relationship.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, language politics and language rights in the context of globalization have become a popular LPP topic of study. These scholars note the status of endangered and/or minority languages and language rights through covering cases about government’s efforts to “guarantee the continued use of their national language” as well as the “attempt to teach a dying or even dead language to members of the heritage community,” often in the context of globalization.<sup>41</sup>

Across the various areas of studies in language policy and planning, LPP can be understood across four domains (Baldauf), many of which often overlap one another: 1) corpus planning, 2) status planning, 3) acquisition planning, and 4) prestige/image planning.<sup>42</sup>

*Corpus planning:* Corpus planning, which is considered to be the “technical side of the enterprise” of language planning, is defined as the “creation of new forms, codification

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<sup>38</sup> Spolsky, B. "Language policy:140.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>42</sup> Baldauf, “Language Planning and Policy.”

of old ones, or the selection of alternative forms of language.”<sup>43</sup> In other words, corpus planning refers to the standardization the grammar or body of a language in order to create a cohesive standard of a language via policy, focusing on “the nature of the language to be taught and learned.”<sup>44</sup>

*Status planning:* Status planning refers to the “allocation of languages to certain functions.”<sup>45</sup> When implementing language policy in status planning terms, high-level planning questions include: “Which second languages should be known, learned and taught?” “What aspects of the language(s) chosen should be known, learned and taught, i.e. which variety and to what level?”, “Who should learn them and to whom should they be taught?”, and “When should learning begin and under what circumstances?”<sup>46</sup>

*Acquisition planning:* Acquisition (also known as language education policy planning) refers to determining how a language will be acquired and typically relates to language-in-education policies, which determines what language(s) will be taught in public schools. Through centralizing education and language-in-education policies, nation-states are able to ensure that the majority of their population will use a standard national language for communication. It is important to particularly address acquisition planning due to the emphasis that Western nation states placed on mass education. Education systems were, as historian John E. Joseph writes, the “great centralized and centralizing metropolis that everyone passes through.”<sup>47</sup> Schools thus serve as the environment in

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<sup>43</sup> Caviedes, “The Role of Language in Nation Building,” 252.

<sup>44</sup> Baldauf, “Language Planning and Policy,” 3.

<sup>45</sup> Caviedes, “The Role of Language in Nation Building,” 252.

<sup>46</sup> Van Els, T. “Status planning for learning and teaching.” In *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*, edited by E. Hinkel. Mahwah, NJ: Routledge, 2005. in Baldauf, “Language Planning and Policy,” 2-3.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph, John E. “The Social Politics of Language Choice and Linguistic Correctness.” In *Language and Politics*, 46 Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

which national citizens are cultivated. Therefore, schools and national education systems were an essential instrument in nationalizing languages.<sup>48</sup>

*Prestige/image planning:* Prestige (or image) planning refers to the state-sanctioned efforts to improve the respect and standing of a certain language. Image planning is often “related to ethnic or civic identity,” and is often associated with “motive and the activities of the language planners themselves.”<sup>49</sup>

The pieces of French language policy that Chapter 2 presents encompass all four domains of language policy and planning. For instance, corpus planning techniques were implemented through establishing the *Académie Française*, which functions to codify and regulate French grammar and vocabulary. Throughout the history of French language policy, status planning reflected a push for promoting singular French usage across the public sector. Acquisition planning in France is perhaps one of the most effective means to spread French usage through requiring all schooling to be done in French. Furthermore, French language policy can be categorized as prestige/image planning because of the effort to promote French usage and therefore restrict English usage.

#### **4. Conclusion**

This chapter has served as an introduction to the concepts, questions and arguments that I seek to address in this thesis. Through presenting the theoretical premises of the paper, the reader should have a better understanding of the ties between language, culture, identity and nationalism. It will be important to remember that language and culture are interconnected, and that French history not only serves as an example of this relationship but also demonstrates that language can function as a marker of identity

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<sup>48</sup> Baldauf, “Language Planning and Policy,” 4.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 4.

and of nationalism. By understanding how language, culture, identity and nationalism function in tandem with one another, the reader will gain a better understanding of the contextualization of these concepts in France (which is addressed in Chapter 2).

Furthermore, the questions in the online survey directly address the participant's opinions regarding French language, culture, identity and nationalism.

Additionally, through presenting the development of language policy and planning as an academic field and defining the domains of LPP, the reader will better be able to contextualize France's past and current language policies, including *La Loi Toubon*.

Moreover, the survey asks participants about their opinions regarding, most significantly, *La Loi Toubon*.

## **5. Thesis Overview**

Chapter 1 has provided an introduction to the key concepts that will be discussed in this thesis: *La Loi Toubon*, language policy and planning (LPP) and its relation to nation-building and national identity, and the shifting climate of globalization that has increasingly affected LPP.

Chapter 2 is about language policy in France. The historical significance of LPP in France is discussed to demonstrate that LPP has had a strong manifestation in France since the sixteenth century. I then examine the content and public debate surrounding *La Loi Toubon*.

Chapter 3 serves as an analysis of an online survey sent to French participants regarding their attitudes about language policy and identity in general and also in relation to *La Loi Toubon*.

Chapter 4 provides a synthesis of my findings, as well as the limitations and future directions of the focus of this thesis.

## Chapter 2: Language Policy and Planning in France

### 1. Introduction: Tracing the Origins of French

This chapter begins with a brief sketch of French language policy throughout history in order to contextualize the passing of *La Loi Toubon* in 1994. Then, the content and public discussion surrounding *La Loi Toubon* will be explained.

The early history and origins of modern day French begins with the Roman colonization of Gaul, which was a “loose confederation of tribes” and which partially constitutes modern day France.<sup>50</sup> Before it was colonized, the Celts lived in Gaul and were considered Indo-European because of their linguistic and cultural ties to the Greeks, Romans, and Germanic peoples. By 52 B.C., the Roman Empire entirely occupied Gaul, and a new form of Celtic-Roman culture (and language) would eventually emerge.<sup>51</sup>

Following the Roman conquest, Gaul’s linguistic landscape gradually changed. Latin, the language of the Roman Empire, became the language of administration and of education in Gaul.<sup>52</sup> The “Latinisation” of Gaul was gradual, and it was not until the end of the fifth century that Latin dialects, which contained aspects of Celtic languages and varied regionally, replaced the Gaulish language of the Celts.<sup>53</sup> It is difficult to distinguish the variations of Latin that were spoken across the region, but many historians collectively conclude that as the Roman Empire began to fall, the different provinces in Gaul increasingly became “cut off from each other” and therefore developed their own linguistic

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<sup>50</sup> Rickard, Peter. *A History of French Language*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, 1. JSTOR.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 5.

variations.<sup>54</sup> These variations often combined to create a “vulgar Latin,” which was essentially Latin with elements of local languages that existed before the Roman invasion.<sup>55</sup> The lack of an existing central authority could also point to the diverse linguistic landscape among the population inhabiting the Roman Empire. The use of varying languages in different regions of the area demonstrate this diversity and the evolution of spoken Latin, which would eventually evolve into modern day romance languages such as French, Italian, and Spanish.<sup>56</sup>

When the Roman Empire declined and eventually lost its territories and influence throughout the fifth century, the Merovingian and Carolingian periods began, which marked the introduction of *les Francs* (the Franks), a Germanic-speaking tribe, to the region.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the century, there were several Frank invasions and settlements across Gaul, and by the end of the sixth century, the Franks largely controlled most of Gaul.<sup>58</sup> Subsequently, the administration in the north was influenced by Germanic folk traditions and customs and Roman law heavily influenced the administration in the south.<sup>59</sup> Latin retained a prestigious reputation as the language of writing, politics, administration and education.<sup>60</sup> However, over the course of the fifth century, there existed several local varieties of Latin, thus indicating that there was not one common standard of

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<sup>54</sup> Rickard, *A History of French Language*, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Scheel, Sonya Lynn. "French Language Purism: French Linguistic Development and Current National Attitudes." Master's thesis, University of Oregon , 1998, 4.

<sup>56</sup> Fatou-Niang , Mame. *La Naissance et L'Evolution du Français*. Carnegie Mellon University. Accessed 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Schiffman , Harold F. "Language Policy and Linguistic Culture in France," 81.

<sup>58</sup> Rickard, *A History of French Language*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> Battye, Adrian, Marie-Anne Hintze, and Paul Rowlett. *The French Language Today: A Linguistic Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1992. Google Scholar.



communication used throughout the region.<sup>61</sup> These varieties differed from written Latin, and were used by the uneducated in their daily communication and activities.<sup>62</sup>

The varieties of spoken Latin across Gaul were linguistically divided into two groups: *la Langue d'Oïl*, which was spoken in the north, and *la Langue d'Oc*, which was spoken in the South.<sup>63</sup> There were of course, variations within these categories, but generally speaking, *la langue d'oïl* included dialects spoken in the Northern regions of France and had Germanic tones.<sup>64</sup> *La langue d'oc* refers to the dialects spoken in the Southern regions of France and was characterized with Latin tones.<sup>65</sup>

By the end of the eighth century, a vernacular distinct from Latin emerged, which led Charlemagne's campaign to reinstate Latin's "classical purity" through imposing a standard form of communication throughout his empire.<sup>66</sup> This further indicates that there was still a considerable variation of spoken and written forms of Latin. Charlemagne's "official recognition" of the Latin was altered in 813 at the Council of Tours.<sup>67</sup> The Council of Tours mandated that French priests were required to give their sermons in the *rustica romana lingua* (the Romance speech of the countryside) or the *theotisca lingua* (the Germanic tongue), so that Churchgoers would be able to understand the sermons. The Council of Tours is therefore significant because its content points to the linguistic diversity that existed across the region. Following the Council of Tours, Latin maintained its role as the prestigious language of the Church, of the government and of education and existed

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<sup>61</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 10.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Niang, *La Naissance et L'Evolution du Français*.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 10.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 11.

alongside local vernaculars that were “uncodified” and used for daily communication.<sup>68</sup>

There was not one standard form of communication implemented, and the French language that is used today did not yet exist.<sup>69</sup>

The idea of French being a language distinct from Latin was arguably solidified in 842 with the *Serments de Strasbourg*. The *Serments* is a written agreement of mutual support between two of Charlemagne’s grandsons, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, against their brother Lothaire, who was the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>70</sup> Although it was not an official piece of language legislation, the *Serments* are linguistically significant because one version contains the oldest known version of old French.<sup>71</sup> The *Serments* are also noteworthy to mention because it recognized the different linguistic communities through being published in three languages, further indicating the diverse linguistic landscape that was present throughout the French kingdom.

The most significant vernacular to mention is *françoys* or *françois*, because it is what would directly evolve into modern day French. *Françoys* was a dialect of *langue d’oïl* spoken in the Ile-de-France region, which is where Paris is located. *François* was viewed as the prestige language of the region for several reasons. For one, the Ile-de-France region played a significant historical role in politically developing Northern France, which would lead to the eventual unification of the northern and southern regions that constitute modern day France. Evidently, political power was largely concentrated in Paris, which was considered as a flourishing and prospering city. Paris was where members of the royal court resided and eventually formed the administrative structure of the kingdom. So,

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<sup>68</sup> Battye, “The French Language Today,” 11.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

through becoming the language of a politically central city, *françoys* gained more prestige as a language. Additionally, several schools were established in the Ile-de-France region, and subsequently made Paris a prestigious place to live. By the end of the thirteenth century, *françois* became a dialect with notable status and was thus the “desirable norm for speech.”<sup>72</sup>

The origins of the French language are fairly complicated, largely due to the diverse linguistic landscape of the region. Through reporting this diversity, one can appreciate the complex evolution of the Celtic languages of the Gaul’s to Latin/Celtic vernaculars, all of which would eventually evolve into modern day French via language policy and planning implementation throughout the following centuries.

## **2. French Language Policy From François I to the Fifth Republic**

### **2.1 François I**

By the fifteenth century, *françois* was fairly widespread, but Latin retained its status as the language for academic and religious matters. However, in 1539, King François I attempted to diminish the linguistic value of Latin with the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*. The Edict effectively replaced Latin with the *langage maternel françois* as the administrative language of the kingdom. So, *françois*, the language of the king and of the elite who resided in the Ile-de-France region, was recognized as the language for legal and official documents. Through recognizing the language that he used as the official language of his kingdom, François effectively diminished the Church’s power and influence through rejecting Latin, the language that symbolized the power of the Church, as the

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<sup>72</sup> Battye, “The French Language Today,” 14.

administrative language of the kingdom. Instead, his official recognition of *françois* symbolized and centralized the King's power and authority.<sup>73</sup>

Despite François's attempt to condense and centralize his political power and influence through *L'Ordonnance*, there still existed a largely diverse linguistic landscape across the French kingdom. *Françoys* was notably spoken in Paris, but various *patois* dominated certain regions of the kingdom. For example, in Bretagne, *Breton* was popularly spoken, *Basque* was spoken in Bearn, and Flemish and *Francique* were spoken in the Northeast.<sup>74</sup>

## 2.2 Le Grand Siècle: The Seventeenth Century

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the French government actively worked to codify a language that could be shared throughout France, which was largely due to the fact that there still existed varying *patois* regionally. Louis XIV, *le roi soleil* and the quintessential absolute monarch, consolidated his power as king and thus France's political power throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>75</sup>

During *Le Grand Siècle*, France became internationally recognized for its social and economic prosperity. By the mid 1600s, King Louis XIII and his chief minister Cardinal Richelieu effectively centralized the French monarchy. Following King Louis XII, King Louis XIV worked to further centralize the monarch's power. In doing so, he became the "roi soleil" ('the Sun King'), because he represented the center of France's power. Through centralizing France's power, a distinct and prestigious French culture among the

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<sup>73</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 15.

<sup>74</sup> Leclerc, Jacques. "L'expansionnisme linguistique du monde romain" in *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval, [[http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST\\_FR\\_s1\\_Expansion-romaine.htm](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST_FR_s1_Expansion-romaine.htm)].

<sup>75</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 16.

aristocracy and elite upper classes emerged, due to the fact that the wealthy flourished and thrived under Louis's reign.

French became a "badge of identity" for the aristocracy, and their usage of the language contributed to the ongoing elite reputation of the French language.<sup>76</sup> Members of the aristocracy in Paris and at Versailles spoke the *bel usage* version of French to distinguish themselves as a distinct social class. *Bel usage* is characterized by exaggerated and poetic terms that replace simple phrases in French. Members of the elite at salons would often create new expressions and would change the spelling of words.<sup>77</sup> Table 1 contains a few examples that demonstrate the French words whose *bel usage* terms were used to poetically describe what the speaker was communicating.<sup>78</sup>

**Table 1. *Bon usage* vs. *bel usage***

Word	<i>Bel Usage</i> Term
<i>Nuit</i> ('night')	<i>Mèr de silence</i> ('sea of silence')
<i>Oreille</i> ('ear')	<i>Portes de ma compréhension</i> ('doors of/to understanding')
<i>Chapeau</i> ('hat')	<i>Affronteur des temps</i> ('fighter of the weather')

Coinciding with using *bel usage* to signify membership to the upper class, *la préciosité* movement promoted using French in a lyrical and artistic manner. *Les précieuses* were upper class women who adopted a refined lifestyle and expressed this obsession through dress, mannerisms and language in salons, where members of the aristocracy discussed theater, literature, philosophy and the art of conversation. Evidently, using a

<sup>76</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 20.

<sup>77</sup> Vincent, "National Consciousness, Nationalism and Exclusion," 97.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid..

certain style of French among the upper classes represented the cultural value that the French language retained during the seventeenth century.

The French language also represented sophistication and refinement because of notorious French authors and playwrights such as Bousset, Corneille, Molière, La Fontaine and Pascal using French in their work. Through using written French in their work, which became a central feature of French high society culture, these authors and playwrights gave cultural value to the French language. Furthermore, French became the language of diplomacy and was spoken in royal courts across Western Europe. Through observing the distinct ways that the upper classes used a form of French, it is evident that the French language embodied wealth and prestige, and so not only became a fundamental part of the elite culture, but also allowed for the language to maintain a prestigious value across Europe.<sup>79</sup>

While the aristocracy used a poetic form of French, the *Académie Française*, which was founded by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635, promoted *bon usage* throughout France to standardize and codify the language. The *académiciens*, members of the *Académie*, were responsible for monitoring and standardizing the French language. One significant member who promoted *bon usage* was Claude Favre de Vaugelas, who published the *Remarques sur la langue française* in 1647, which served as a guide for the elite who continuously used the *bel usage* in the courts. Members of the *Académie* similar to Vaugelas promoted the proper grammatical use of the French language throughout the late seventeenth century, and thus

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<sup>79</sup> Leclerc, Jacques. "Le français au Grand Siècle" in *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval, [[http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST\\_FR\\_s6\\_Grand-Siecle.htm](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST_FR_s6_Grand-Siecle.htm)].

represent an attempt to use language as a unifying force, which would allow for the better centralization of political power.<sup>80</sup>

Despite the fact that the French language gained prestige among the aristocracy, playwrights, authors and other members of the upper class in Paris and at Versailles, and despite the efforts of Vaugelas and the Académie to standardize the French spoken in Paris, the majority of the French population retained the usage of their *patois*. By the eighteenth century, an estimated three million (out of a population of 25 million) French individuals spoke popular French. Despite the introduction of elementary and formal schooling, the Church persistently taught Latin, further indicating that French was not popularly used throughout the country. So, by the French Revolution, there still did not exist a standard, national language that was spoken by the majority of the population.<sup>81</sup>

### **2.3 The French Revolution and French Language Policy**

The French Revolution completely altered France's political landscape through eradicating age-old institutions such as the monarchy and feudal system. Not only did the French Revolution replace the kingdom with a republic, but it also transformed French language policy and planning, which would become a crucial instrument in the process of creating a new nation. As mentioned in Chapter 1, language policy plays an essential role in nation building, given that language can act as a means to strengthen nationalism and the prestige of the nation itself. And since the French political climate transformed from kingdom to nation during the Revolution, it was essential to build a strong French nation based on the Revolutionary and democratic principles of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. Policy

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<sup>80</sup> Battye, "The French Language Today," 23.

<sup>81</sup> Leclerc, Jacques. "La Révolution française: la langue nationale" in *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval, [http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST\_FR\_s8\_Revolution1789.htm].

implemented by Revolutionaries in the late eighteenth century thus “radically altered French national minority policy” in order to centralize the power of the newly founded French nation and bolster French unity and identity.<sup>82</sup>

Since the French Revolution established the modern French nation state, it needed to be founded on the basis of a “unified political institution and a common economic market” but also on a common culture, which in one way, could be reflected through having a national, “shared language.”<sup>83</sup> Pierre Achard writes, for instance, that sharing a common language after the Revolution would instigate the “bureaucratic regulation of communication and the emotional and symbolic communion of the whole nation.”<sup>84</sup>

However, by the end of French Revolution, there was not a distinct set of language policies that regarded the “promulgation of standard French throughout the Republic.”<sup>85</sup> The first known linguistic policies that regarded the use of French required the “translations of all laws and decrees into local vernaculars.”<sup>86</sup> Soon after the implementation of these heterogeneous policies, certain members of the National Assembly recognized the importance of establishing one language for one nation.

The Jacobin dictatorship that followed the Revolution heavily promoted the importance of establishing a common national language for the new French nation. In order to have a strong, united constituency, many revolutionaries argued that the French nation needed “to be founded on a ...shared language,” and nationalizing the French language would allow for French citizens to communicate with one another and to create a

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<sup>82</sup> Cartrite, Britt . "Minority Language Policy in France: Jacobism, Cultural Pluralism, and Ethnoregional Identities." in *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies*, edited by Marc Howard Ross, 131. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. JSTOR.

<sup>83</sup> Achard, “History and the Politics of Language in France,” 239.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>85</sup> Cartrite, “Minority Language Policy in France,” 132.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.



shared sense of a “unified national spirit” that would bond them together.<sup>87</sup> Many members of the National Assembly additionally argued that a single, standard language would allow for the “free exchange” of the democratic ideals of the Revolution.<sup>88</sup>

Perhaps one of the most notorious examples of the National Assembly advocating for a unifying language is visible in Abbé Grégoire’s analysis of a survey taken across France that was used to determine the French linguistic landscape. The analysis, “Sur la nécessité et les moyens d’anéantir les patois et d’universaliser l’usage de la langue française” (‘On the necessity and the means to annihilate the *patois* and to universalize the French language’), indicated that a minority of the French population spoke Parisian French, and the rest spoke at least thirty dialects. He wrote:

It is no exaggeration to say that at least six million Frenchmen, particularly in the countryside, do not speak the national language; that an equal number are more or less incapable of sustaining a coherent conversation; that as a result, the number of true speakers does not exceed three million, and that the number of those who write it correctly is probably even smaller.<sup>89</sup>

Grégoire advocated for the annihilation of ‘patois’ dialects throughout France so that all French citizens could share the same national language in common.<sup>90</sup> Due to Grégoire’s results and similar arguments made by other members of the National Convention, a series of laws were passed in 1794 that officially banned the use of any language other than French in public services and in education.<sup>91</sup> The foundations of language policy of the

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<sup>87</sup> Kasuya, Keisuke. "Discourses of Linguistic Dominance: A Historical Consideration of French Language Ideology." *International Review of Education* 47 (2001 ): 235-51 . JSTOR .

<sup>88</sup> Cartrite, “Minority Language Policy in France,”132.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.,132.

<sup>90</sup> Kasuya, “Discourses of Linguistic Dominance,” 240.

<sup>91</sup> Cartrite, “Minority Language Policy in France,”133.

French nation during the French Revolution were therefore based in the ideology that having a shared language was essential in fortifying a cohesive and collective French national identity, which is an important theme in the history of French language policy and planning.

## **2.4 The Eighteenth Century: Language in Education Policies**

When Napoleon ascended to power in the early nineteenth century, the majority of the French population retained their local community's dialect. So, in 1820, the French government decreed, "all acts of civil status (of persons) be written in French, which is the only official language. Hence the patois of the different regions in France are forbidden."<sup>92</sup> However, the majority of the French population still did not share one common language; French officials therefore began to use language-in-education planning as a means to spread the use of Parisian 'standard' French and eradicate patois.

French schools were created with the intent of molding French citizens through cultivating nationalism through the transformation of "Peasants to Frenchmen."<sup>93</sup> Using education and schooling as a means to standardize and spread the use of the French language culminated with *La Loi Ferry* in 1882 when the Third Republic's government mandated compulsory and free public education.<sup>94</sup> Students were exclusively taught in French, and any student who was heard speaking their community's local dialect would be punished and often "be made to wear a token around their neck; the actual object varied, a peg, a paper ribbon or metal object, or a brick."<sup>95</sup> In 1845, a French official instructed a group of teachers in Brittany to "remember that you have been posted here exclusively to

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<sup>92</sup> Cartrite, "Minority Language Policy in France," 133.

<sup>93</sup> Achard, "History and the Politics of Language in France," 242.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>95</sup> Cartrite, "Minority Language Policy in France," 134.

kill the Breton language.”<sup>96</sup> The obligatory use of French in the classroom was a serious task for teachers. French schools additionally taught students their “shared history and civic values,” which helped in breaking down local identities and building a collective, national identity.<sup>97</sup>

The French government’s language policies throughout the eighteenth century therefore sought to eliminate French minority dialects to minimize local patriotism and to increase a collective national patriotism, which would continue to centralize France’s power. Largely due to these language-in-education policies, by the beginning of World War I in 1914, the majority of France’s population spoke a standard French, and the *patois* used by local communities gradually became minority dialects.

## **2.5 World War II and Americanization**

By the twentieth century, due to years of efforts to standardize and spread the use of French, the language began to represent the prestige of the French nation and French culture leading up to the World Wars, and for some acted as a source of national identity and pride. French was even established as the language of diplomacy, which was strongly reinforced when the Treaty of Versailles (1919) was written in English and in French.<sup>98</sup> However, as the United States emerged as a political and economic power after WWII, the English language materialized as a symbolic representation of American prestige.

Prior to World War I the United States government was primarily concerned with domestic policy. Therefore, the US wasn’t necessarily recognized as a militaristic, economic superpower leading up the First World War. In the interwar period, US policy focused on

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<sup>96</sup> Cartrite, “Minority Language Policy in France,”133.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Leclerc, Jacques. “Le français contemporain” in *L’aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval, [[http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST\\_FR\\_s9\\_Fr-contemporain.htm](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/HIST_FR_s9_Fr-contemporain.htm)].

improving the economic problems of the 1930s, which resulted in a “policy of isolationism” until Pearl Harbor, which drew the U.S. military into World War II. World War II was a pivotal moment in US history, for it is arguably when the US emerged as a global superpower.<sup>99</sup> By the end of the war, because of the glorification of the United States and its involvement and victory during the war, English “became the language of the victors and of military might.”<sup>100</sup> In contrast, French began to lose its prestige due to the Nazi occupation and Vichy’s collaboration with Hitler and the Nazis. Subsequently, French, which was had previously been considered as the language of diplomacy, was “ousted as the main language of postwar negotiations” and replaced by English.<sup>101</sup>

Following World War II, the US was considered to be a dominant political force on a global scale. The Western rejection of Communism and the appraisal of the American model of democracy additionally contributed to the rise of the US as a dominant political force. Coinciding with this rise to power, English became associated with economic globalization, and “contact across linguistic borders” was very likely to be in English throughout the twentieth century.<sup>102</sup> English was increasingly taught as a second language across the world due to its widening presence in politics, economics and also in technological advancements. This holds to be especially true for “language born cultural products” such as movies, music, television shows, books, journals and computer software, all of which became the “largest US export sector” by the 1990s.<sup>103</sup> Evidently, following World War II, the English language became increasingly globalized and accessible, and

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<sup>99</sup> Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 143.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

arguably replaced the French language as the prestigiously recognized and utilized language of the global world.<sup>104</sup> English thus is increasingly recognized as the “lingua franca” of the contemporary world, meaning that it became the global language used for international communication across various domains, including cultural, scientific, technological and political affairs.<sup>105</sup>

Because France was under Nazi occupation for most of World War II and would later free its colonies, its status was arguably diminished. This resulted in Charles de Gaulle’s active efforts to “restore its political and economic authority” during his presidency.<sup>106</sup> De Gaulle pulled France from NATO, discharged American troops in French territory and made France a nuclear power with “an independent weapons capacity.”<sup>107</sup> De Gaulle additionally created the *Haut Comité*, which acted to promote the use of French in “international settings” while also promoting the concept of an *international Francophonie*.<sup>108</sup> More than 20 committees and councils were created during the middle of the twentieth century, all of which were established to monitor and preserve the French language. Some of these councils include the *Comité d’étude des termes techniques français*, which works to find French equivalents for foreign technical terms and creates new definitions for technological terms; the *Conseil international de la langue française*, which aims to promote French as the “language of economic and social development” in the modern world; and the *Organisation Défense de la langue française*, which “reports the daily decisions of the *Académie Française*.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 143.

<sup>105</sup> Leclerc, “Le français contemporain.”

<sup>106</sup> Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 123.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>109</sup> Rickard, *A History of French Language*,

Despite these attempts, “a steady of number of English words” entered into some French speakers vocabulary, and young students developed an increasing desire to learn English as a second language.<sup>110</sup> This desire to learn English was also arguably influenced by the spread of American cultural goods, such as music, movies and television shows, which, with the help of the Internet, were accessible to youths across the globe.<sup>111</sup> English thus gained a huge presence in the media, so much so that by the beginning of the 1980s, “three-fourths of imported television shows in France were American.”<sup>112</sup> These shows and other forms of media, which are importantly a “daily presence for people,” mainly use “Anglo-American culture and vocabulary.”<sup>113</sup> Using English became very public and very prominent among French speakers, and would be perceived, to some, as a threat to the dedication that French politicians historically demonstrated to the French language. By the late twentieth century, the efforts to establish French as a symbol for French power and prestige were diminished by the encroachment of English and American politics and economics dominating the newly globalized world.

Nonetheless, French legislation continued to preserve the French language that many government officials have historically sought to codify in order to centralize power and strengthen the French nation. In 1985, the French government created the *Commissariat Général de la Langue Française* to oversee “all government agencies monitoring the French language.”<sup>114</sup> In 1992, the French Constitution was edited to include

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<sup>110</sup> Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 123.

<sup>111</sup> Gordon, David C. *The French language and national identity: 1930-1975*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978. In Scheel, “French Language Purism.”

<sup>112</sup> Flaitz, Jeffra. *The ideology of English: French perceptions of English as a world language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988. In Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 34.

<sup>113</sup> Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 35.

<sup>114</sup> Grigg, Peter. “Toubon or not Toubon: The influence of the English language in contemporary France.” *English Studies* 78, no. 4 (1997): 368-84. In Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 44.

that the official language of the Republic was French.<sup>115</sup> And in 1994, the *Dictionnaire des termes officiels de la langue française* was published to “provide French replacements for anglicisms.”<sup>116</sup>

From François Ier to the Fifth French Republic, it is evident that the French government’s utilization of language policy reflected the need to extend power in order to establish the French nation as a powerful political entity. With this contextualization in mind, one can conclude that the French language has a significant historical and culture value, in that it was utilized as a tool for nation building to strengthen the influence and power of the French nation. For centuries, French language policy and ideology has implemented “various types of discourses ranging from irrational language myth and functional models in order to establish linguistic dominance and hierarchy.”<sup>117</sup> In other words, French language policy has focused on preserving the prestige of the French language, initially to consolidate the king’s power and later to establish and fortify the power of the nation. In turn, this consolidation of power helped establish a strong link between the French language and French national identity.

Following the discourse surrounding empowering and preserving the nation, however, it is apparent that after World War II, the English language and American culture became globally dominant, and so defending the French language in the twenty first century is often equated with a certain resistance to the increasing presence of a “global American English.”<sup>118</sup> Increasingly, many conservative linguists felt that French vocabulary

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<sup>115</sup> Wright, *Language Policy and Language Planning*, 123.

<sup>116</sup> Scheel, *French Language Purism*, 31.

<sup>117</sup> Kasuya, “Discourses of Linguistic Dominance,” 249.

<sup>118</sup> Shelly, Sharon L. “Une Certaine idée du français: the dilemma for French language policy in the 21st century.” *Language & Communication* 19 (1999): 310.

and syntax is “menaced” by English, and that English is simultaneously “usurping its (France’s) international role in political, economic and cultural affairs.”<sup>119</sup> This debate surrounding the perceived threat of English is what gave *La Loi Toubon* legitimacy in 1994.

### 3. La Loi Toubon (1994)

This section presents the content and public support surrounding *La Loi Toubon* to indicate how and why the law was passed and supported. Following this analysis in the subsequent chapter, the results from an online survey will indicate opinions that largely differ from Toubon and his supporters, and which therefore suggests that a certain demographic of individuals living in France believe in the promotion of multilingualism and therefore oppose *La Loi Toubon*.

#### 3.1 Content

It is initially important to provide a brief sketch of the content and sanctions of *La Loi Toubon*. *La Loi Toubon* actually replaced *la loi 75-1349*, also known as the *Loi Bas-Lauriol*, passed on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1975.<sup>120</sup> This piece of legislation was officially called “The Maintenance of the Purity of the French Language,” and it limited the use of foreign languages or words “in the supply and demand of goods, in advertising (whether spoken or written), in labor contracts, business transactions, instructions and guarantees for appliances, in radio and television programs, in public services and transport.”<sup>121</sup> The *Loi Bas-Lauriol* set precedent for *La Loi Toubon*, in that they both mandated the public usage of French; *La Loi Toubon*, however, was intended to be stricter in its implementation.

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<sup>119</sup> Shelly, “Une Certaine idée du français,” 311.

<sup>120</sup> Hansen, LB. “La Politique Linguistique Du Français .” 1-21.

<sup>121</sup> Rickard, Peter. *A History of French Language* . London: Unwin Hyman , 1989. in Scheel, Sonya Lynn. “French Language Purism,” 22.



Passed in August 1994, the first article of the *La Loi Toubon* mandates that “the French language is a fundamental element of the personality and patrimony of France. It is the language of teaching, of work, and of public services.”<sup>122</sup> It is interesting that the first line of *La Loi Toubon* states that the French language is an essential feature of the “personality” or culture of France, and in so doing, the law elevates the historical and cultural value of the French language. Article two mandates that French be present in any written or oral presentation or description of a product or service.<sup>123</sup> This includes television and radio advertisements, as well as public signage. Evidently, the content of *La Loi Toubon* emphasizes the public usage of French, suggesting that those who supported the law hoped that daily encounters with the French language would increase after *La Loi Toubon*’s passing. Generally speaking, *La Loi Toubon* mandates that French must be present in advertising on television, on the radio, in safety and health regulations, and in documents. If there is no “French equivalent” then the use of a foreign language is permitted.<sup>124</sup>

There exist four agencies to ensure that *La Loi Toubon* is implemented properly:

- 1) *La Direction générale de la concurrence, de la consommation et de la répression des fraudes*
- 2) *Le Bureau de Vérification de la Publicité*
- 3) *Le Conseil supérieur de l’audiovisuel*
- 4) *Les associations de défense de la langue française.*<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> France. Ministry of Cultural Affairs. *LOI n° 94-665 du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française (1)*. 1994 .

<sup>123</sup> France. Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

<sup>124</sup> Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 46.

<sup>125</sup> Hansen, “La Politique Linguistique,” 3.

The French government has the ability to punish any public persons or businesses that do not properly follow *La Loi Toubon*.<sup>126</sup> There are various fines for violating *La Loi Toubon*; any violator could be fined up to \$2,000 for a “first offense” and up to \$4,000 for any “subsequent violations.”<sup>127</sup> An instance in which *La Loi Toubon* was violated was in 2006 when an American company branch, GE Medical Systems, provided a “documentation technique” only in English.<sup>128</sup> The distribution of the document was in direct violation of *La Loi Toubon*, given that there was no French presence or translation of the document.<sup>129</sup>

*La Loi Toubon* is, on the surface, a piece of language policy that enforces and ensures the use of the French language in public spaces. Upon closer examination, with understanding the history of French language policy and planning, *La Loi Toubon* was enforced and supported to protect the French language from a perceived threat of English, which in turn indicated that there existed a perceived threat of American culture. Therefore, *La Loi Toubon* serves as a fundamental example of the French language being perceived as a fundamental aspect of French culture and French identity. This makes sense, knowing that language and culture are interconnected and that French language policy and planning has historically functioned to codify and spread and later protect the French language. In this sense, the French language is symbolic in its function as a meaningful cultural and national emblem of France.

### **3.2 Public Debate and Opinions surrounding La Loi Toubon**

At the time of its passing, there were various opinions surrounding *La Loi Toubon*. Even though the text of *La Loi Toubon* does not directly indicate or “single out any

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<sup>126</sup> Hansen, “La Politique Linguistique,” 3.

<sup>127</sup> Grigg, “Toubon or not Toubon,” in Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 47.

<sup>128</sup> Hansen, “La Politique Linguistique,” 3.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

particular language for censure,” many of its supporters and advocates indicated that the law was essential to restrict the increasing presence of English, especially “in the domains of advertising and mass media.”<sup>130</sup> For example, Jacques Toubon, who was the Minister of Culture when the law was passed, said in an interview with Claude Hagège:

Cette loi [loi Toubon] est elle-même un combat. Il est clair que la France n’est plus le centre du monde comme elle l’était au XVIIIe siècle. Augmenter les positions du français dans le monde reste donc plus que jamais un combat. C’est l’un des objectifs de cette loi (‘ This law [Toubon law] is a fight. It is clear that France is not at the center of the world like it was during the eighteenth century. To improve the position of French in the world is therefore a fight now more than ever. That is one of the objectives of this law’).<sup>131</sup>

Toubon asserts that the Toubon Law is a “fight,” and inadvertently points to English and Americanization as the entity that the law is fighting against. His rhetoric implies that English is a threat, and is something that needs to be combatted with *La Loi Toubon*. He also interestingly points to the fact that France is no longer “at the center of the world” like it used to be, but is clearly making an effort to reestablish the prestige of the French language, at least within the French nation.<sup>132</sup>

In an editorial essay in *Le Monde*, Toubon reiterated his argument that English was a threat to French culture and nationalism:

Chacun prend cependant peu à peu conscience que l’usage d’une langue étrangère n’est pas innocent. Elle devient, dans bien des cas, un instrument de domination, un

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<sup>130</sup> Albert, “Linguistic Anthropology,” 1166.

<sup>131</sup> Kasuya, “Discourses of Linguistic Dominance,” 247.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

agent d'uniformisation, un facteur d'exclusion sociale, et lorsqu'on l'utilise par snobisme, une langue de mépris ('Everyone is becoming gradually aware that using a foreign language is not innocent. It becomes, in many cases, an instrument of domination, an agent of standardization, a factor of social exclusion, and when used by snobbery, a language of contempt').<sup>133</sup>

Here, Toubon accuses English-users of snobbism, in that they are using the language of what many perceived to be the economic, military and cultural superpower of the late twentieth century. In fact, as demonstrated previously, French was the global language of domination within France as well as throughout France's colonial empire. This viewpoint is somewhat ironic given that French usage was often promoted to preserve the prestige of France, which many nationalists viewed as the economic, military and cultural center of the world, but nonetheless demonstrates that Toubon perceived the French language as having a symbolic value and that therefore needed protection from foreign influences.

Aside from Toubon, there were numerous prominent political figures in France who supported *La Loi Toubon*. The President of the National Assembly, Philippe Seguin, for example, was reported in *Le Monde* arguing that defending the French language through *La Loi Toubon* was necessary.<sup>134</sup> Edouard Balladur, who was the Prime Minister at the time, said, "le rôle de l'Etat était justement de redresser ce type d'évolution" ('the role of the state was just to address this type of evolution').<sup>135</sup> In addition to Seguin, members of the *Académie Française* fully supported *La Loi Toubon*. Mauris Druon, for instance, said in an

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<sup>133</sup> Albert, "Linguistic Anthropology," 1168.

<sup>134</sup> Peroncel-Hugoz, Jean-Pierre. "Culture: Le projet de loi sur l'emploi du français en France; Langue: l'impatience de M. Segui." *Le Monde*. 20 Jan. 1994. Online. Nexis. 21 Jan. 1994 in Scheel, "French Language Purism," 48.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

article in Le Figaro that the French media unjustly uses “false meanings, barbarisms, ignorance of the most elementary rules of syntax, defective pronunciation, the invasion of foreign terms and a general tendency to vulgarity.”<sup>136</sup> Another member, Bertrand Poirot Delpech, said, “Legislating with regard to verbal laxity in economic and administrative life is both legitimate and necessary. If it comes to imposing restraints or even fines, if the laws are broken, then why not?”<sup>137</sup>

Other supporters, who could be called “linguistic conservatives,” had similar sentiments.<sup>138</sup> Frequently, Toubon and his followers argued that using English was a “renunciation or rejection of one’s French identity and that of cultural elitism.”<sup>139</sup> Following this type of rhetoric, other French linguistic conservatives emphasized that using English reflected a sort of “cultural renunciation,” which demonstrates that these supporters feared the “multinational character” of outside influences (especially American) on French culture, which they feared would cause a rejection of an allegiance to the French nation.<sup>140</sup> Their positions therefore reflect the historical trend of French language policy’s role in strengthening and preserving French national identity in that they value the French language as being a fundamental aspect to French culture and identity.<sup>141</sup>

While there was obviously a measurable amount of support for *La Loi Toubon*, there was also opposition. Most of these objections were diverse, “ranging from objections to the limitations it would impose on the scientific community to cultural concerns,” many of

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<sup>136</sup> Nundy, Julian. “France: Out of France- Bois de L’est Rides Again, to Defend Linguistic Purity.” *The Independent*, June 2, 1994. In Scheel, Sonya Lynn. “French Language Purism,” 49.

<sup>137</sup> Grigg, “Toubon or not Toubon,” in Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 49.

<sup>138</sup> Albert, 1168.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

which related to specific articles of *La Loi Toubon*.<sup>142</sup> A French senator, Françoise Seligman, opposed *La Loi Toubon* through arguing that it would “alienate the younger generation by forbidding their slang words and manner of speech.”<sup>143</sup> So, instead of protecting the French language, some French individuals perceived the law as restricting its use, which in turn would arguably alienate a large percent of the French population. Many scientists and deputies opposed *La Loi Toubon* because they believed that the law should not interfere with language use, especially since English dominated many scientific fields. Laurent Dominati, a liberal deputy, for example, indicated that “la langue, c’est la pensée; l’Etat n’a pas à s’en mêler” (‘Language, it is thought; the State should not interfere with that’).<sup>144</sup> Perhaps one of the reasons why scientists opposed the law was because of the overwhelming use of English in scientific articles, conferences, and general correspondence.

Overall, *La Loi Toubon* was supported by some prominent political figures because they perceived English as threatening the prestige and public presence of the French language. Therefore, *La Loi Toubon* serves as an example of French language policy and planning that reflects the significant cultural value of the French language in being a marker of French identity and of centralized French power. However, *La Loi Toubon* points to the promotion of unilingualism and suggests a backlash against linguistic and cultural diversity, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

## 4. Conclusion

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<sup>142</sup> Scheel, “French Language Purism,” 51.

<sup>143</sup> Thody, Philip, Howard Evans, and Michelle Pepratz-Evans. *Le franglais: forbidden English, forbidden American - law, politics and language in contemporary France: a study in loan words and national identity*. London: Athlone, 1995. In Scheel, Sonya Lynn. “French Language Purism,” 51.

<sup>144</sup> Mikosaka, Jana, and Nicole Martriche. “Une loi controversée contre le ‘franglais’ définitivement adoptée en France.” *Agence France Presse*, July 1, 1994. in Scheel, Sonya Lynn. “French Language Purism,” 52.

Through providing the historical context under which the French language developed and became codified via law in France, I hope to have demonstrated that the French language has played a fundamental role in the development of the French nation, particularly during the French Revolution. Additionally, since the French language is symbolic of French culture and using it often acts as a marker of French identity, it is clear that French has a significant historical and cultural value that is so pervasive that *La Loi Toubon* was passed to protect French against a perceived threat of English and American culture.

*La Loi Toubon* therefore represents a shift in French language policy. As indicated earlier in this chapter, French language policy originally functioned to standardize and spread the use of French across the region to ensure that all French individuals would use one language for communication. From the government's perspective, language was used as a political tool to consolidate power, which in turn would create a distinct French national identity. However, *La Loi Toubon* is indicative of the political and economic influence that the English language gained after the Second World War, given that it was passed to protect the French language and promote its public presence years after French was declared as the official language of France.

Supporters of *La Loi Toubon* promoted the law because French was losing the prestige that it historically gained over the past centuries. Therefore, *La Loi Toubon* further suggests that the French language is symbolically perceived as a political tool for power consolidation to ensure that the French language remains a fundamental aspect of French culture and identity. And while this support reflects the historical protection and preservation of the French language, it may also suggest a fight against linguistic and

cultural diversity, which is an issue that many individuals support, especially in a contemporary context. Evidence of support for linguistic and cultural diversity is found in the survey findings in the subsequent chapter.



## Chapter 3: Survey Methods, Findings and Analysis

### 1. Introduction

This chapter serves to synthesize the findings of a web-based survey sent to participants in France. The survey's relevance to the study can be found in its content focusing on attitudes about French language, identity, and language policy, specifically in reference to *La Loi Toubon*. The previous chapters demonstrated that there exists a significant relationship between language, culture, and identity and language policy. Since language and culture are inextricably intertwined, language policy can be used as a political tool to reinforce this notion through standardizing and supporting language use in the public. In the case of France, it is evident that historically, language policy preserved and later protect the French language against outside forces, especially English. Supporters of *La Loi Toubon* followed this principle, hoping that the law would retain the French language's prestigious global role. However, the results from this survey reveal a potential shift in contemporary ideologies and opinions surrounding language policy in France among a certain demographic of individuals residing in France. While it is important to note that the participant pool does not represent the entire French nation, it does represent individuals who reside in France and thus exemplifies a portion of contemporary public opinion surrounding French language policy, *La Loi Toubon*, and French languaculture.

The purpose of this chapter is to engage a discussion about contemporary public opinion surrounding language policy in France. It will therefore serve as a comparison to the historical analysis of language policy and identity in relation to *La Loi Toubon* in France that was described in the previous chapter. I will first introduce the methods utilized to

distribute the survey and recruit participants. Second, I will present the findings of the survey. Third, I offer an analysis and discussion of the findings.

## **2. Methods**

### **2.1 Recruitment and Design**

Using *Google Survey*, an online survey was designed for this study. The researcher and her thesis advisor distributed the survey to their personal and professional contacts via email and Facebook. The survey contains six sections, divided on a topical-basis (see Appendix 2). The first portion is a required written consent form that lists the survey's purpose, procedure, risks, benefits, and confidentiality. Subsequently, there is a section with questions regarding the participant's demographic information, including their age, sex, spoken language(s), education background, native country and experience (if any) studying and/or living abroad. The questionnaire's third section contains statements concerning general attitudes about the French language's historical and cultural significance in relation to having a French national identity. Each participant was asked to rank their agreement with each statement on a scale from 1-4 (i.e., a 4-point Likert-type scale), with 1 meaning that they completely disagree and 4 meaning that they completely agree. The fourth portion of the survey contains statements regarding French language policy and the French government's role in ensuring the public presence of the French language. Corresponding with the third section, participants were asked to rank their agreement with each statement on a scale from 1-4. The fifth section has questions about the participant's interactions with foreign languages in general and particularly with English. The sixth and final portion of the survey first asks the participants about their knowledge regarding *La Loi Toubon* and its content, and subsequently has open-ended

questions regarding the participant's opinions about the implications and necessity of the law.

## **2.2 Participant Information**

A total of 44 individuals between the ages of 20 and 72 (mean=46) and currently living in France completed the survey. 20 identified as male, and 24 identified as female. The majority of participants were highly educated, with 17 doctorate degree holders, 8 masters degree recipients, 5 "licence" holders, 6 "HDRs", 2 with a BAC+5, 2 reporting a BAC+3, and 2 thesis-writers. The vast majority of the participants were from France ( $n=33$ ), followed by Algeria ( $n=3$ ). Other native countries, reported individually, included Scotland, Columbia, Ireland, Spain, Quebec, Morocco, and Greece.

In addition to the high levels of education among participants, a sizeable number of participants ( $n=41$ ) reported having at least some knowledge of additional languages, 9 were bilingual, 17 were trilingual, 13 spoke 4 languages, 1 spoke 5 languages, and 1 reported speaking 6 languages. Participants were asked to list what language(s) they spoke; assuming that the participant listed their language(s) in chronological order (i.e. the first language listed is assumed to be the participant's L1), the majority ( $n=36$ ) reported French as their L1, followed by English ( $n=2$ ), Spanish ( $n=2$ ), Kabyle ( $n=1$ ), Bambara ( $n=1$ ), Arabic ( $n=1$ ), and Greek ( $n=1$ ). English ( $n=23$ ) was reported as the major L2, followed by French ( $n=7$ ), and other languages including German ( $n=4$ ), Arabic ( $n=4$ ), Italian ( $n=1$ ), Spanish ( $n=1$ ), and Norwegian ( $n=1$ ). Participants listed English as their L3 12 times, followed by Spanish ( $n=9$ ), German ( $n=4$ ), Portuguese ( $n=2$ ), Spanish ( $n=2$ ), Arabic ( $n=1$ ), French ( $n=1$ ), and Italian ( $n=1$ ). Spanish was listed 5 times as an L4, followed by Portuguese ( $n=3$ ), Polish ( $n=2$ ), Italian ( $n=1$ ), Greek ( $n=1$ ), English ( $n=1$ ), Arabic ( $n=1$ ), and

Wolof ( $n=1$ ). Slovakian and Bamanan were listed as L5 languages, and creole was listed as an L6 language.

In addition to reporting high levels of multilingualism, a large number of participants indicated that they have studied and/or lived abroad ( $n=33$ ). 20 participants reported that they had lived in 1-3 countries, and 1 marked that they have lived in more than 3 countries. 18 reported spending a short time (less than 1 year) living abroad, with 5 marking 3 months or less, 4 marking 3-6 months, and 9 marking 6-12 months. The remaining participants indicated spending a long period of time living in a foreign country: 12-24 months ( $n=12$ ) and more than 2 years ( $n=14$ ).

When asked about their interactions with foreign languages, 29 (67.4%) of the participants reported that they interacted with a language other than French multiple times a day, followed by 11 (25.6%) who reported once a day and 6 (14%) who reported less than once a week. 21 (48.8%) reported that they encountered English language usage multiple times a day, followed by 8 (18.6%) who reported once a day, 11 (25.6%) reported multiple times a week and 6 (11.6%) reported less than once a week.

This section concluded with an open-ended question that inquired participants to report if they had any strong opinions about interacting with foreign languages in general and with English in particular. A significant amount of the participants favored multilingualism. For instance, one wrote, “Je pense que le multilinguisme est à promouvoir” (‘I think that multilingualism is something to promote’). Another participant wrote, “J’aime beaucoup avoir des interactions avec les langues étrangères” (‘I love to have lots of interactions with foreign languages’), followed by a similarly sentiment declaring, “Le monolinguisme est un mythe. Nous sommes tous plurilingues” (‘Monolingualism is a myth.

We are all plurilingual’). Another participant supported this claim by indicating, “Il faut être ouvert à toutes les langues” (‘It is necessary to remain open to all languages’). Only one participant had a strong attitude against interacting with English, writing, “Je suis hostile à l’envashissement de la culture française par la langue anglaise et la culture des Etats-Unis” (‘I am hostile to the invasion of French culture by the English language and American culture’).

### **3. Findings**

#### **3.1 Attitudes Surrounding the French Language**

This section presents the findings from two portions of the survey. Table 2 indicates the score for each statement under the attitudes about the French language section of the survey. The participants were asked to select a number on a scale of 1-4, with 1 indicating that they do not agree at all with the statement and a 4 indicating that they completely agree with the statement. Figure 1 is a bar graph representing the mean scores for each question. The scores for Figure 1 were converted to represent how each question scored on a scale from -1.5 to 1.5 to better visualize how participants leaned in their agreement or disagreement with each question.

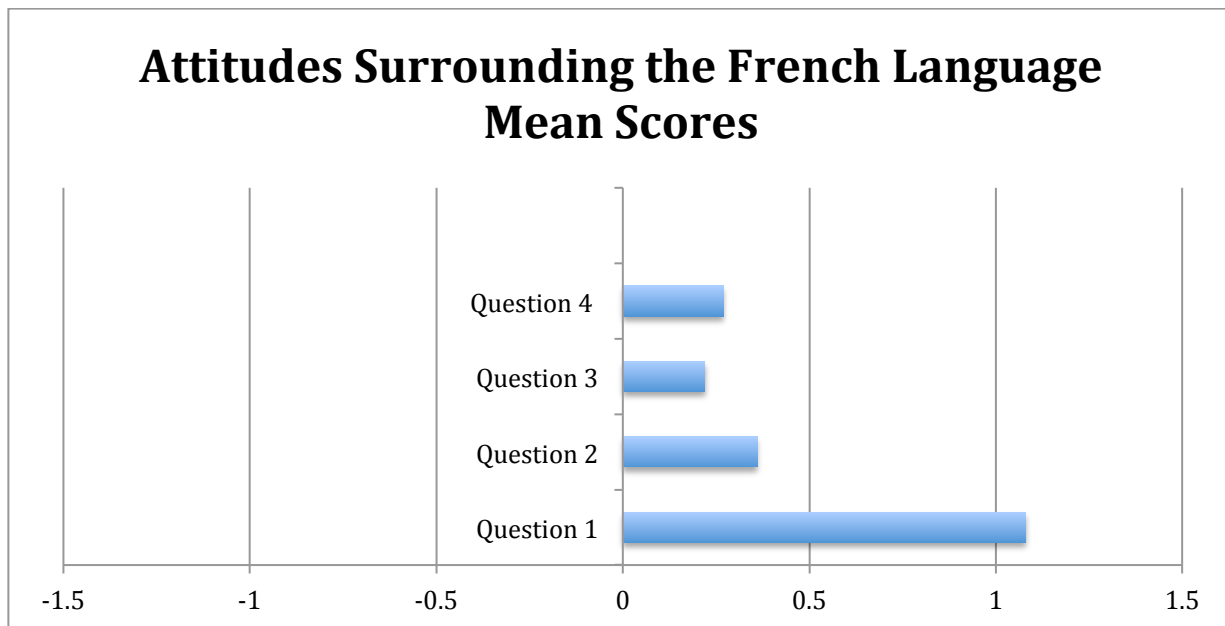
This portion of the survey was called “Attitudes Surrounding the French Language,” and was accompanied by statements that recognized the importance of the French language in relation to French culture and identity. The first statement indicated that the French language is an important aspect of the culture and history of France, and the average score, 3.58, suggests that most participants agreed with this statement. Subsequently, the second statement affirmed that all French people should know how to speak and write French. The average score, 2.86, indicates a split in agreement, but leans

more toward completely agreeing with the statement. Next, the third statement pointed to the necessity of speaking French in order to be considered French. The average score, 2.72, points to another split in agreement, with just over one-half of responders leaning toward agreement. The fourth and final statement wrote that the ability to speak French is essential to constructing a cohesive French national identity, and the average score, 2.77, demonstrates a slight leaning toward agreement.

**Table 2: Attitudes Surrounding the French Language**

	Score				
Question	1	2	3	4	Mean
1 (n=43)	0 (0%)	4 (9.3%)	10 (23.3%)	29 (67.4%)	3.58
2 (n=42)	6 (14.3%)	9 (21.4%)	12 (28.6%)	15 (35.7%)	2.86
3 (n=43)	7 (16.3%)	12 (27.9%)	10 (23.3%)	14 (32.6%)	2.72
4 (n=43)	9 (20.9%)	8 (18.6%)	10 (23.3%)	16 (37.2%)	2.77

**Figure 1: Mean Scores of Attitudes Surrounding the French Language**



### 3.2 Language Policy

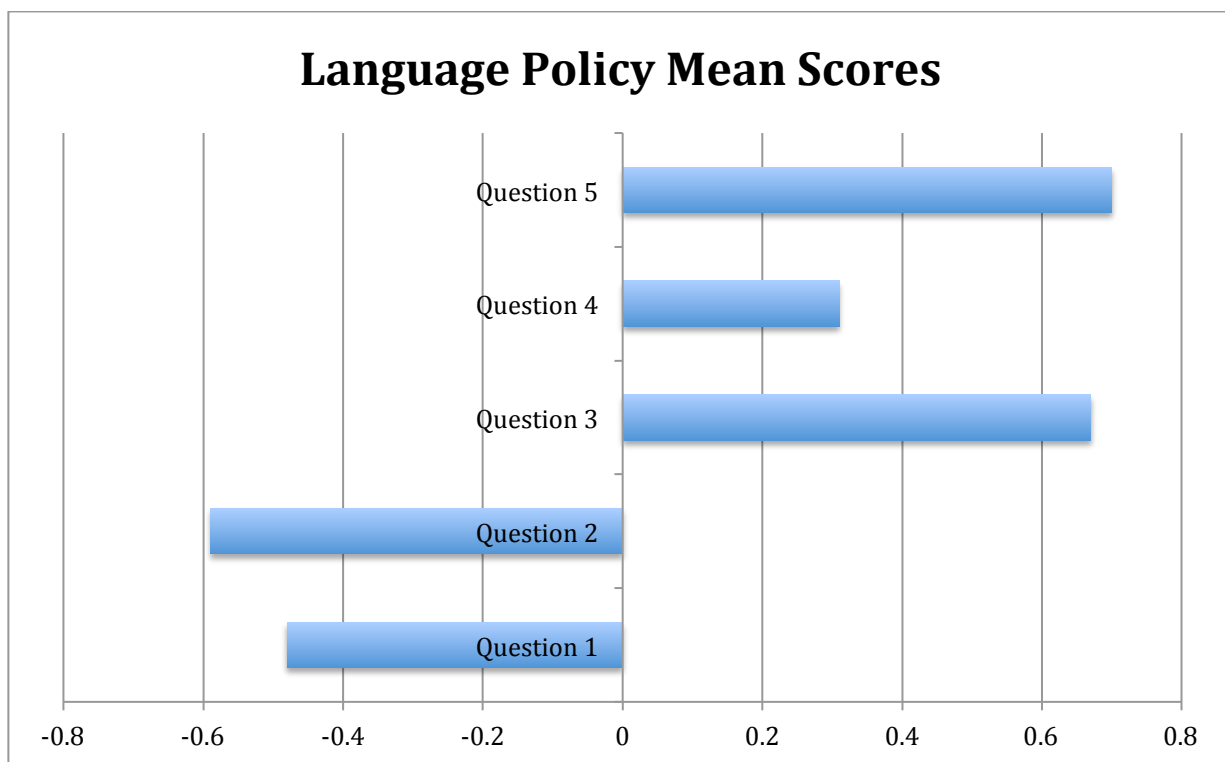
Table 3 shows the score for each statement under the Language Policy portion of the survey. Similar to the previous section, participants were asked to select a number on a scale of 1-4, with 1 indicating that they do not agree at all with the statement and a 4 indicating that they completely agree with the statement. Figure 2 indicates the average score for each question in the form of a bar graph. The scores, similarly to those in Figure 1, were converted to be on a scale from -1.5 to 1.5 to better demonstrate the split in agreement and disagreement among participants.

This section of the survey was called “Language Policy,” and was accompanied with statements regarding the French government’s role in preserving and protecting the French language. The first statement indicated that French should be the only official language of France. The mean score, 2.02 points to a leaning toward participant disagreement. The second statement pointed that the French government must ensure that French remain the only official language of France, and was accompanied by an average score of 1.91, showing a split in agreement that leaned toward disagreement. Subsequently, the third statement referred to the necessity of the French language’s presence in public spaces. The average score, 3.17, shows that participants tended to agree. The fourth statement pointed to French needing to be present in all forms of media, and the average score 2.81 indicates a slight agreement. The fifth and final statement indicated that the French language must be the language of education, work and service. The average score, 3.02, signifies participant’s inclination towards agreement.

**Table 3: Language Policy**

	Score				
Question	1	2	3	4	Mean
1 (n=43)	19 (44.2%)	13 (30.2%)	2 (4.7%)	9 (20.9%)	2.02
2 (n=43)	22 (51.2%)	11 (25.6%)	2 (4.7%)	8 (18.6%)	1.91
3 (n=43)	7 (16.3%)	5 (11.6%)	7 (16.3%)	24 (55.8%)	3.17
4 (n=43)	6 (14%)	12 (27.9%)	9 (20.9%)	16 (37.2%)	2.81
5 (n=43)	4 (9.3%)	7 (16.3%)	16 (37.2%)	16 (37.2%)	3.02

**Figure 2: Mean Scores of Language Policy**



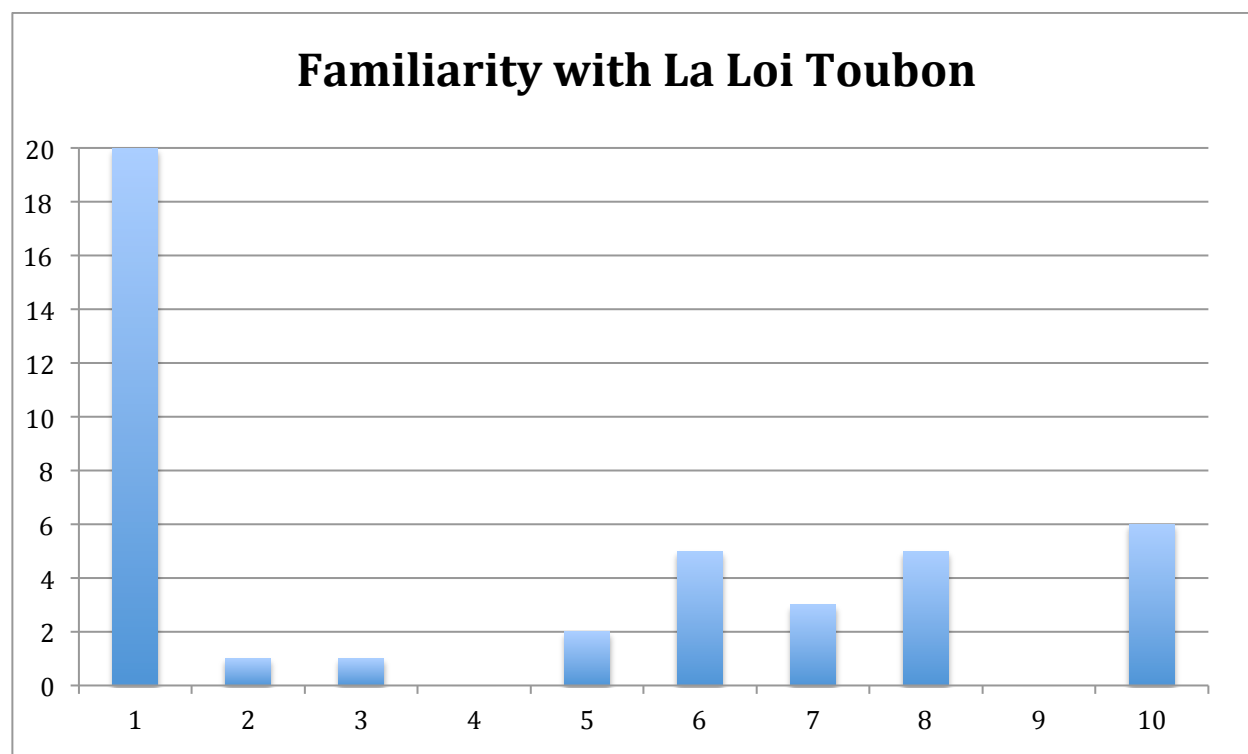
### 3.3 La Loi Toubon

This segment of the survey contained questions specifically regarding *La Loi Toubon*. Initially, participants were asked to rank their knowledge of *La Loi Toubon* on a scale from 1-10, with a 1 pointing to having no knowledge about the law and a 10



indicating knowing the law's content very well. Figure 3 is a bar graph that represents the responses to this question. The graph indicates that a significant amount of participants ( $n=20$ ), were completely unfamiliar with *La Loi Toubon* and its content. In between indicating complete unfamiliarity and complete familiarity with the law, a remaining 17 participants indicated that they were somewhat familiar with *La Loi Toubon*. Interestingly, 6 participants indicated having complete familiarity with *La Loi Toubon*. This calls for further analysis of these participants due to the significant amount that claimed that they were very knowledgeable about *La Loi Toubon* in comparison to the 20 participants who marked that they were completely unfamiliar with *La Loi Toubon*.

**Figure 3: Familiarity with La Loi Toubon**



Out of these 6 participants, only 1 indicated that they were monolingual (in French). The remaining participants marked that they spoke three or more languages (including English, German, Polish, Slovakian, Italian, German, Spanish and Breton. All 6 reported high

levels of education, 4 of which have doctorate degrees, and one with a master's degree and the other with an HDR. All but 1 is from France, with the other participant being from Ireland. All participants indicated that they spent time living and/or studying abroad in countries including Poland, Slovakia, Croatia, Germany, Scotland, Senegal, Vietnam, Montreal, Mayotte, and Switzerland.

The first open-ended question of this portion of the survey asked participants if they could describe *La Loi Toubon* after ranking their familiarity with it. P1 wrote that *La Loi Toubon* ensured the “enrichissement du français” (‘enrichment of French’). P2 and P3 wrote “oui” (‘yes’), indicating that they could describe *La Loi Toubon*, but did not elaborate. P4 actually directly quoted *La Loi Toubon*, writing that the law defines the French language as “un element essentiel du patrimoine et de la personnalité de la France” (‘an essential element to the heritage and personality of France’). P4 then inserts their personal opinion about this portion of *La Loi Toubon*, claiming that is “faux” (‘false’), and that the law “ne fait que reprendre des dispositions antérieures pour defendre le monopole du français dans l’espace public” (‘merely adopts previous provisions to defend the monopoly of French in public space’). P5 accurately defined *La Loi Toubon* as imposing the French language “dans le milieu profesionnel, la publicité, les instances publiques” (‘in the professional world, advertising, and public authorities’) and that it enforces an “obligation de traduire en français,” (‘obligation to translate into French’), with a “but est de protéger le français d’une domination par l’anglais” (‘aim to protect French from domination by English’). P6 wrote that *La Loi Toubon* “préconise que la langue française doit être préservée en tant que langue scientifique” (‘states that the French language must be preserved as a scientific language’).

After asking participant's if they could describe *La Loi Toubon*, participants were asked what the law's implications were regarding the status of the French language in France. P1 wrote that the law represented the "interdiction de donner des informations (y compris la publicité) sans version en langue français" ('prohibition of distributing information (including advertising) without a French version'). P2 wrote that the law implied the "le droit (et sur certains points l'obligation) de l'utiliser" ('right (and at certain times the obligation) to use the French language'). P3 indicated that *La Loi Toubon* signified that "la langue française est langue officielle, mais la loi n'a pas d'influence réelle sur la langue parlée par la plupart de la population française (comme toujours) mais on utilise aussi des anglicismes" ('the French language is the official language, but the law does not have any real influence on the language spoken by the majority of the French population, we continue to speak French (like always) but we also continue to use anglicisms'). The term "anglicismes" refers to English words that are slightly altered to sound and appear French. P4 wrote that under the law, "l'anglais n'en souffre guère, les langues regionales bien avantage" ('English hardly suffers,' but that "regional languages [suffer] much more'). P5 wrote that *La Loi Toubon* implies that the French language "domine tous les autres langues...elle dévalorise le plurilinguisme" ('dominates all other languages...it devalues plurilingualism'). Lastly, P6, who was under the impression that *La Loi Toubon* was passed to make French a scientific language, wrote that the law has no implications, since scientists "obligés à écrire en anglais" ('are obliged to write in English').

The third and final question of this portion regarded *La Loi Toubon's* necessity, and asked participants to explain why or why not they thought the law was obligatory. P1 wrote that they did think the law was necessary, as long as "qu'elle n'interdise pas

l'utilisation d'autres langues (regionales, étrangères)" ('it does not prohibit the use of other languages (regional, foreign)'). P2 suggested that *La Loi Toubon* was not necessary, writing that le français n'est pas menacé, il est menaçant (sauf dans la sphere scientifique)" ('French isn't menaced, it is menacing (except in the scientific sphere)'). P3 also indicated that the law wasn't necessary because "elle n'a pas d'effet réel" ('it doesn't have any real effect'). Similarly, P4 wrote that the law was not necessary because "La France est un pays historiquement plurilingue, c'est un genocide culturel qui d'occulter cette réalité" ('France is a historically plurilingual country, it is a culture genocide that obscures this reality'). P5 wrote that *La Loi Toubon* was "trop prescriptive sûrement," ('too prescriptive') and that they are bothered "qu'une loi impose l'usage d'une seule langue" ('that a law imposes the use of only language'). P6 critiqued the law for being ""factice" ('fictitious'), because it "ne s'accorde pas avec ce qui est concrètement demandé" ('does not accord with what is specifically demanded').

Apart from the comments from participant's who marked their familiarity with *La Loi Toubon* at a level 10, there are additional comments of interest to be noted from participants. For instance, when asked if they could describe *La Loi Toubon*, one participant wrote that it was implemented as a "défense du français" ('defense of French'). Another participant wrote that *La Loi Toubon* "favoriser l'usage du français en interdisant l'usage d'autres langues, comme anglais" ('favors the use of French while prohibiting the use of other languages, such as English'). Additionally, a participant wrote that the law promotes the need to "toujours utiliser la langue française et bannir tout ce qui s'écarter de la norme" ('use of the French language and banishes anything that deviates from the norm').

When asked about the implications of *La Loi Toubon* regarding the status of the French language in France, one participant notably wrote that the law gave the French language “promotion et visibilité” (‘promotion and visibility’). Several indicated that the law reinforced the notion that the French language is the “seule et unique langue de la République” (‘only official language of the French Republic’) and that the language was therefore “intouchable” (‘untouchable’). Another participant wrote that the law symbolized “l’usage sociale” (‘the social usage’ of French’), which is a “un facteur plus important” (‘more important factor’) when determining the status of the French language politically.

Many participants critiqued *La Loi Toubon* when asked about its necessity. For instance, one wrote that the law “est dépassé” (‘is outdated’), and that the French language should “à promouvoir et à protéger mais pas de force,” (‘be promoted and protected but not forced’) onto the French population. Another participant criticized the law as being “hypocrite” (‘hypocritical’), since “les universités françaises enseignent certaines disciplines en anglais” (‘French universities teach certain disciplines in English’). In addition, one participant wrote “chacun est libre de parler la langue qu’il souhaite utiliser” (‘everyone is free to speak whatever language they wish to use’), with another echoing these sentiments by stating that the law “va à l’encontre des certaines libertés et de la diversité linguistique et ses évolutions naturelles” (‘goes against certain freedoms and linguistic diversity and its natural evolutions’).

Other participants believed that the law was necessary, but that it was logistically difficult to enforce, and that it may not have any real effect. One participant, for instance, wrote, “une loi ne peut rivaliser avec l’usage. (Nous ne sommes plus au temps de l’Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts). C’est donc par l’usage que la langue française saura

d'adapter à la modernité..."le français est souvent en concurrence qu'il s'enrichit de l'intérieur (comme "binette" pour "emoticone", "pilote" pour "driver," "mdr" pour "lol")...une obligation d'application est entrée en vigueur dans l'éducation en 2016 (seulement). Mais cette réforme n'entrera dans les mœurs que si les imprimaturs/editors/medias l'appliquent, sans cela restera un vœu pieux, comme celles de 1901, 1925, 1976..." ('a law cannot compete with usage. (We are no longer in the time of the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts). It is therefore by use that the French language will adapt to modernity...French is often in competition which is enriched from within such as binette for emoticone, pilot for driver, mdr for lol...An enforcement obligation entered into force in 2016. But this reform will only become custom if printers/publishers/the media apply it, otherwise it will remain a pious wish, as those of 1901, 1925, 1976...').

A few participants completely agreed with the necessity of *La Loi Toubon*. For instance, one participant wrote that it was necessary to "favoriser l'existence de la langue française comme signifiant de l'identité nationale" ('favor the existence of the French language as a signifier of a national identity'). Another participant wrote that the law "évite des dérives" ('avoids drifts'), with another writing that it "peut protéger les consommateurs et les travailleurs" ('can protect consumers and workers'). Additionally, a participant wrote that *La Loi Toubon* was necessary "si le but est de garantir l'accès au droit de citoyens français" ('if the goal is to guarantee access to the rights of French citizens').

#### **4. Discussion**

This section serves as a discussion and reflection on the results and findings of the survey described above. It is initially important to recognize the significance of the participant's demographic information. As previously indicated, all of the participants were

highly educated, most likely because they were recruited by the researcher and her advisor, but of whom reached out to personal and professional contacts who would presumably have high levels of education. The reported high levels of education could potentially point to why participants were, for the most part, open to linguistic and cultural diversity, and also why many reported high levels of multilingualism.

The fact that most of the participants ( $n=33$ ) were from France is also significant for numerous reasons. For one, this could explain why the majority of participants ( $n= 29$ ) completely agreed with French being an important aspect of French culture and identity, given that they are French and are therefore familiar with the significant cultural and historical value of their native language. And since most of the participants were originally from France, it makes sense that the majority ( $n= 36$ ) reported French as their L1. Finally, this survey was intentionally sent to participants who lived in France (regardless of whether or not it was their native country), but it is logical that approximately three-fourths of participants marked France as their native country and subsequently French as their native language.

Despite the fact that most participants were native French speakers, the high levels of multilingualism that were reported points to a few interesting conclusion. For one, these reports could additionally explain why there were numerous responses whose rhetoric was heavily pro-multilingualism and pro-cultural/linguistic diversity. Furthermore, there was a wide array of languages reported, with English standing out as a major L2 language. This could point to the increasing spread of English across the globe, which was one of the primary reasons behind *La Loi Toubon's* passing. Evidently, this study signifies that English remains a popular language to learn and/or obtain. Another reason why high levels of

multilingualism were reported could be due to the majority of participants indicating that they have studied and/or lived abroad for at least 3 months.

The responses to the questions pertaining to participant's interactions with foreign languages varied, but a significant portion of participant's demonstrated favoritism toward interacting with foreign language and thus with linguistic diversity. The majority of participants ( $n=29$ ) who reported that they interacted with a language other than French multiple times a day exhibit that linguistic diversity has a significant presence in their daily lives and encounters. In relation to interacting with English, most participants reported that they encountered English usage multiple times a day ( $n=21$ ), thus further indicating that English is a popular language that is fairly widespread. It is important to note that the English users that participants could encounter may be tourists or students, but nonetheless signifies an English presence abroad. As indicated in section 2.2, many responses indicated favoritism toward multilingualism, with participants writing that "We are all plurilingual," and that "multilingualism is something to promote."

In a study conducted by Dewaele and Li, research showed that levels of tolerance of ambiguity, which is defined as the "tendency to perceive ambiguous situations as desirable," were higher among participants who were multilingual and had experience living abroad.<sup>145</sup> Defining a situation as "ambiguous" points to an individual encountering an unfamiliar experience that "requires attention to multiple cues for how to behave."<sup>146</sup> Dewaele and Li's findings suggested that higher levels of multilingualism could "positively

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<sup>145</sup> Budner, S. "Intolerance of ambiguity as a personality variable." *Journal of Personality* 30 (1962): 29-50. In Van Compernelle, Rémi A. "Are multilingualism, tolerance of ambiguity, and attitudes toward linguistic variation related?" *International Journal of Multilingualism* 13 (September 18, 2015): 61-73.

<sup>146</sup> Van Compernelle, Rémi A. "Are multilingualism, tolerance of ambiguity, and attitudes toward linguistic variation related?" *International Journal of Multilingualism* 13 (September 18, 2015): 61-73.



impact” TA, while also keeping in mind that individuals with higher levels of TA may just enjoy learning foreign languages.<sup>147</sup> Dewaele and Li’s findings could therefore further explain why the participants who reported high levels of multilingualism indicated that they were more open to linguistic and cultural diversity.

While the participant information reveals that the participant pool was quite diverse and majorly multilingual, their responses to “Attitudes Surrounding the French Language” point to a wide range of sentiments regarding French. As Table 1 indicates, in general, participants tended to fairly agree with the statements given. It is interesting that the average score for each question decreases as the questions progressed, which could indicate that participants agreed that while the French language is an important aspect of the culture and history of France, speaking French may not necessarily be an indicator of “being French” or of having a national French identity.

The “Language Policy” section scores indicate more of a split between participants in terms of agreement, with more agreeing that the French language should be present in the public sphere and in the media. Interestingly, in contrast the high numbers of participants agreeing with the importance of an existing French presence in the public arena, many disagreed about the French government’s role in ensuring French usage. This points to an interesting suggestion that participants favored French being a public and therefore official language of France, but did not necessarily think that the government played an important or essential role in ensuring the language’s public presence. Despite the lengthy history of the French government utilizing language policy to ensure the spread

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<sup>147</sup> Dewaele, J.-M., and W. Li. "Is multilingualism linked to a higher tolerance of ambiguity?" *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 16 (2013 ): 231-40. In Van Compernelle, Rémi A. "Are multilingualism, tolerance of ambiguity, and attitudes toward linguistic variation related?" *International Journal of Multilingualism* 13 (September 18, 2015 ): 61-73.

of French, the statement scores reveal dissatisfaction or disapproval from participants regarding these policies in a contemporary context. What is unclear is how the French language would be guaranteed a presence in the public sphere without government interference, so it is especially interesting that participants marked that they were not favorable toward the government's role in language policy.

The results from "La Toubon" portion of the survey indicate numerous unexpected and interesting suggestions. To lead up to this final portion of the survey, I intentionally asked questions that were relevant to the contents and implications of *La Loi Toubon*. The "Attitudes about French language" portion, for instance, contained statements regarding the value of French as being a component to French culture, history and identity. These questions relate to *La Loi Toubon* because of how French is used in this policy as a cultural emblem to protect French identity from outside influences.

Similarly, the "Language Policy" section contains statements that specifically question what role the French government should take in preserving and protecting the French language. All of the statements in this section directly relate to *La Loi Toubon's* sanctions, because they indicate that French must be the official language of France, that French must be present in public spaces, and that French must be the language of education, work and service. The participants in this section tended to favor French's necessary presence in public spaces and French being the language of education, work and service. This is especially interesting because of participant's perceived contempt for *La Loi Toubon*, since the law sanctions that French must be present in all public spaces.

What is equally interesting is the fact that the majority of participants ( $n=20$ ) indicated that they were completely unfamiliar with *La Loi Toubon*. This was a bit

remarkable because of the high levels of education that was reported. However, these levels of education could point to specialization within a certain academic area, which may not involve language policy and planning and thus would not involve *La Loi Toubon*. There was additionally a fair amount of participants who marked that they were between completely unfamiliarly and complete familiarity with *La Loi Toubon*, which could indicate that some of somewhat of an understanding of the law's content but not enough to consider themselves an expert on its content. Regardless, looking at Table 4 indicates a significant difference between those who marked that they were completely unfamiliar with the law as opposed to the few in comparison who marked that they were completely familiar with it.

When asked if they could describe the law and its content and implications, many participants either left the answer blank or wrote that they did not know. However, out of the 6 participants who ranked that they were completely familiar with *La Loi Toubon*, several succinctly described and defined it, with one participant even quoting the introduction from the law. Other participants pointed to the law protecting French from English and "anglicismes." Interestingly, one participant marked that the law acted to preserve French as a scientific language, which could be a potential interpretation of *La Loi Toubon* enforcing French translation of all texts distributed in the workplace, including scientific work that could frequently be in English. These participants tended to promote multilingualism and *La Loi Toubon*, and that it may be necessary but should not limit individual's rights to speak in the language of their choice, with one participant arguing that the law was a form of "cultural genocide" against other languages. So, out of the participants who knew what the content and interdictions of *La Loi Toubon* were, there

were high levels of opposition found. This is significant because these participants had a factual basis for critiquing the law, and therefore their responses are noteworthy in reference to contemporary public opinion surrounding *La Loi Toubon*.

In addition to the open-ended responses from the participants who marked high familiarity with *La Loi Toubon*, many other responses indicate somewhat of an opposition to the law. Calling the law “outdated” and “hypocritical” suggests a potential generational gap between those who supported the law in the 1990s versus this survey’s participants, who completed the survey in 2016-2017. This overarching theme of opposition thus points to a potential shift in attitudes of highly educated, multilingual individuals in regards to French language policy in the twenty-first century. Their responses indicate favoritism toward cultural and linguistic diversity in opposition to the monolingual nature of *La Loi Toubon*.

## **5. Conclusion**

The aim of this online study was to gauge contemporary public opinion surrounding *La Loi Toubon*. The survey’s sample size is small in comparison to the entire French population, but the responses nonetheless suggest that there exists a shift in opinion about language policy, even within a smaller sample size, regarding French language policy in a contemporary context.

The first two chapters presented a theoretical and historical framework for understanding the important role that French language policy has played for centuries to consolidate French power. In turn, following Agar’s position about languaculture, the French language has become a key feature of French culture, and thus of French identity. The context under which French power was consolidated via language policy was when the

French kingdom, and later nation, was seeking to gain a prestigious global power. The French language thus not only worked as a tool for communication, but as a symbol for French dominance. And as the United States and the English language became increasingly influential on the global stage after World War II, French language policy shifted to protect the French language from a perceived threat of English, which is precisely what *La Loi Toubon* and its content and interdictions enforced.

While it is evident that Toubon and his supporters claimed that the law would serve to preserve the purity of the French language against other languages, the results from this survey serve as a type of counter-argument against Toubon. The participants were largely supportive of linguistic and cultural diversity, and they majorly agreed that the French language was an important characteristic of French culture and history and that the French language should have a public presence. However, they also seemed to disagree with the concept of the government implementing policies that would further homogenize the language and thus would have the capacity to diminish multilingualism, which is a concept that the majority of participants valued.

## **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

### **1. Synthesis**

This final chapter serves as a synthesis of this thesis through piecing together the ideologies, histories, and analyses presented in the previous three chapters. The fundamental premise of this thesis focuses on Michael Agar's concept of languaculture, which indicates that language is loaded with culture and culture is loaded with language. While language is fundamentally used as a means of communication whose words are formulated based on grammatical structures and syntax, it can also be studied as a cultural artifact. This is because languages contain unique cultural terms that may not be applicable to other cultures. Therefore, a language can, in turn, be a key component of any culture, and using that language often becomes a marker of identity, since it functions as a marker of similarity and also of difference.

Languaculture therefore allows for the intersection of language, culture, identity and nationalism. Through language, individuals within a cultural community are able to share a form of communication that can often act as a marker of cultural pride. If that language is spoken or shared within a nation, it can also act as a marker of national identity and national pride, which in turn builds a strong sense of nationalism.

Through language policy and planning (LPP), nations can use languages as political tools as a means to centralize power and therefore build a stronger nation and subsequently a stronger national identity. This can be accomplished through corpus planning, status planning, acquisition planning and/or prestige planning, all of which often overlap one another in their implementations. These domains of LPP can also differ based on the methods used to implement them and the ideological bases and justifications used

for their implementation. On a surface level, language policy and planning appears to be a legislative approach to standardizing languages. However, keeping in mind that languages are loaded with culture and vice versa, language policies can indicate how language, culture, identity and nationalism all intersect.

The historical overview of French language policy and planning in Chapter 2 demonstrates the significant intersection of the ideologies described above. The fact that the French government has implemented language policies and planning since the 15th century to centralize French power indicates that the French language has a significant symbolic value, in that it represents a key component of French culture and French identity because of its historical significance.

French policy throughout the 16th century and into the early 20th century was used as a means to standardize and codify a national language for all French people to use for communication. The standardization of French culminated in the 19th century when public education became compulsory and free. This enabled the French government to implement acquisition planning through sanctioning the teaching of a standard French in every public school across the nation. Regional language use was therefore minimized, and the majority of the French population spoke the same language. However, after the Second World War, when the United States became increasingly influential on a global scale via political, economic and cultural power, English began to spread rapidly, and French language policy shifted to protect the French language from a perceived threat of English, which culminated with the passing of *La Loi Toubon* in 1994.

As described in Chapter 2, *La Loi Toubon* ensures the public presence of French in various forms of media, in the workplace, and in any public documents. Jacques Toubon

and his supporters defended *La Loi Toubon* through arguing that the purity of the French language needed to be protected and preserved. Their arguments reiterated the importance of maintaining the prestige of French, which indicates the important symbolic value that the French language has, and therefore asserts that the French language is a key component of French culture. And while it is clear that Toubon and his followers promoted the important role that the French language plays in having a French identity, their support of *La Loi Toubon* also represents a fight against outside, foreign languages, which indicates that they did not promote or support multilingualism and linguistic and cultural diversity.

In contrast to Toubon and his supporters, the participants of the survey described in Chapter 3 indicate support for multilingualism, given their positive thoughts regarding encountering foreign languages as well as their using and studying multiple languages. By no means do the survey participants represent the entire French population regarding language policy and identity. Instead, the participant pool indicates that the results represent the attitudes of highly educated, multilingual habitants of France who tend to be more open to linguistic and cultural diversity. Therefore, if they ranked familiarity with *La Loi Toubon*, most of the participants indicated that the law restricted and sought to minimize linguistic and cultural diversity.

The responses from the survey suggest an additional shift in attitudes toward language policy in France among a certain demographic of highly educated, multilingual participants in France. Instead of promoting one national language to promote cultural and national identity in order to centralize power, a certain demographic of France seems to favor diversity and celebrates multilingualism. Perhaps newer generations of multilingual individuals will continue to celebrate diversity instead of fear it, but the current political



climate across the world also indicates a push back against linguistic and culture diversity and a push for homogeneity.

Given the controversial and pervasive political issues that are currently arising, it is almost impossible to not discuss populism and anti-immigrant rhetoric in relation to the findings of my research. In France in particular, the head of the Front National Party, which is characterized as extremely right-wing and populist, Marine Le Pen, exhibits remarkable and noteworthy rhetoric that suggests support for similar language legislation such as the Toubon Law in France. Recently, the Front National (FN) has undergone a “political revival,” under which the party’s members and popularity have both increased.<sup>148</sup> Under the leadership of Marine Le Pen, the party’s platform has come to rest “on a combination of people-centrism and anti-elitism,” as well as on the “exclusion of specific population categories (e.g. most typically, immigrants) from the community of people, considered as a homogeneous body.”<sup>149</sup> The FN’s constituents therefore have a worldview under which the French nation “should be primarily reserved for people of a certain type: individuals who share the same ethnicity, history, religion and identity.”<sup>150</sup>

From understanding the Front National’s platform, one can assume that the party’s leaders and constituents would probably have been in favor of *La Loi Toubon*, given that they support exclusionary, anti-immigration policies and seem to be favorable towards maintaining and protecting a cohesive French national identity in the wake of globalization. The Front National’s momentum in popularity could therefore point to potential future

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<sup>148</sup> Stockemer, Daniel , and Mauro Barisione. "The 'new' discourse of the Front National under Marine Le Pen: A slight change with a big impact." *European Journal of Communication* , 2016 , 1 . Sage Publications.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 4.

language legislation in France that continues to attempt to preserve and protect the French language. These policies in turn may be believed to protect French identity, given the interconnected relationship between French language, identity, culture and nationalism.

## **2. Limitations**

The terms and theories presented in this thesis are a bit abstract. Tying language, culture, identity and nationalism isn't necessarily a cohesive concept that can be clearly defined. This may be because each of these terms varies depending on the context under which they are defined. And even within a certain context, there are clear variations and diversity in interpretations and understandings of the concepts of language, culture, identity and language.

In the case of this thesis, I, as a researcher, made certain conclusions about France's history and culture in relation to its national language and its language policies that have historically functioned to ensure the standardization and nationalization of the French language throughout the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Through understanding that language functions as an essential characteristic of one's identity and culture, and that language policy has played such a significant role in France's history, I concluded that the French language is a central component of French identity.

However, it is important to note that this conclusion may not represent the entire French population, given that it is a large country with a diverse set of individuals with different backgrounds. This is especially relevant when referring to the online survey and its analysis, given that the participant pool only reflects a certain demographic of individuals living in France. They were, for the most part, highly educated, which indicates that they were most likely members of the middle, upper-middle, or upper class. So, from

the survey results, I conclude that the participant's responses indicate that members of this demographic group tend to favor multilingualism and diversity and therefore oppose the Toubon Law, given that it restricts the public presence of foreign languages. By no means do these results reflect the entire French population's opinions regarding foreign language use and *La Loi Toubon*, which is indicated by the current political climate.

### **3. Future Directions**

Based on the theoretical and historical framework regarding French identity, culture, language, nationalism and language policy, I conclude that while the *La Loi Toubon* represents a shift in language policy through protecting French from English, the discourse used in the law is problematic in its promotion of unilingualism. As the survey results indicate, multilingualism and cultural diversity are things that ought to be celebrated, not restricted. However, after more than a decade after *La Loi Toubon's* passing, there are strong political actors who are advocating for policies that restrict the existence of cultural and therefore of linguistic diversity.

It will be interesting to see what the future for language policy holds in France. Will the promotion and protection of French be maintained as it was in *La Loi Toubon*? Or, assuming that globalization will continue to rapidly occur, will multilingualism and the diversity of cultures be celebrated?

I am hopeful that diversity is something that will no longer be feared. Interacting with people with different backgrounds, experiences and cultures opens up numerous opportunities. From personal experience, my interactions with diversity have all been positive. I can only hope that openness to linguistic and cultural diversity will continue so that others can experience the frustrations but also the joys of learning a foreign language

and experiencing foreign cultures. After all, my interactions with the French language and French culture are what inspired this project to come into fruition.

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## **Appendix 1. La Loi Toubon**

JORF n°180 du 5 août 1994

### **LOI n° 94-665 du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française (1)**

NOR: MCCX9400007L

Le Président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit:

Art. 1er. - Langue de la République en vertu de la Constitution, la langue française est un élément fondamental de la personnalité et du patrimoine de la France.

Elle est la langue de l'enseignement, du travail, des échanges et des services publics.

Elle est le lien privilégié des Etats constituant la communauté de la francophonie.

Art. 2. - Dans la désignation, l'offre, la présentation, le mode d'emploi ou d'utilisation, la description de l'étendue et des conditions de garantie d'un bien, d'un produit ou d'un service, ainsi que dans les factures et quittances, l'emploi de la langue française est obligatoire.

[Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] Les mêmes dispositions s'appliquent à toute publicité écrite, parlée ou audiovisuelle.

Les dispositions du présent article ne sont pas applicables à la dénomination des produits typiques et spécialités d'appellation étrangère connus du plus large public.

La législation sur les marques ne fait pas obstacle à l'application des premier et troisième alinéas du présent article aux mentions et messages enregistrés avec la marque.

Art. 3. - Toute inscription ou annonce apposée ou faite sur la voie publique, dans un lieu ouvert au public ou dans un moyen de transport en commun et destinée à l'information du public doit être formulée en langue française. [Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] Si l'inscription rédigée en violation des dispositions qui précèdent est apposée par un tiers utilisateur sur un bien appartenant à une personne morale de droit public, celle-ci doit mettre l'utilisateur en demeure de faire cesser, à ses frais et dans le délai fixé par elle, l'irrégularité constatée. Si la mise en demeure n'est pas suivie d'effet, l'usage du bien peut, en tenant compte de la gravité du manquement, être retiré au contrevenant, quels que soient les stipulations du contrat ou les termes de l'autorisation qui lui avait été accordée.

Art. 4. - Lorsque des inscriptions ou annonces visées à l'article précédent, apposées ou faites par des personnes morales de droit public ou des personnes privées exerçant une mission de service public font l'objet de traductions, celles-ci sont au moins au nombre de deux.

Dans tous les cas où les mentions, annonces et inscriptions prévues aux articles 2 et 3 de la présente loi sont complétées d'une ou plusieurs traductions, la présentation en français doit être aussi lisible, audible ou intelligible que la présentation en langues étrangères.

Un décret en Conseil d'Etat précise les cas et les conditions dans lesquels il peut être dérogé aux dispositions du présent article dans le domaine des transports internationaux.

Art. 5. - Quels qu'en soient l'objet et les formes, les contrats auxquels une personne morale de droit public ou une personne privée exécutant une mission de service public sont parties sont rédigés en langue française. Ils ne peuvent contenir ni expression ni terme étrangers lorsqu'il existe une expression ou un terme français de même sens approuvés dans les conditions prévues par les dispositions réglementaires relatives à l'enrichissement de la langue française.

Ces dispositions ne sont pas applicables aux contrats conclus par une personne morale de droit public gérant des activités à caractère industriel et commercial et à exécuter intégralement hors du territoire national.

Les contrats visés au présent article conclus avec un ou plusieurs cocontractants étrangers peuvent comporter, outre la rédaction en français,

une ou plusieurs versions en langue étrangère pouvant également faire foi.

Une partie à un contrat conclu en violation du premier alinéa ne pourra se prévaloir d'une disposition en langue étrangère qui porterait préjudice à la partie à laquelle elle est opposée.

Art. 6. - Tout participant à une manifestation, un colloque ou un congrès organisé en France par des personnes physiques ou morales de nationalité française a le droit de s'exprimer en français. Les documents distribués aux participants avant et pendant la réunion pour en présenter le programme doivent être rédigés en français et peuvent comporter des traductions en une ou plusieurs langues étrangères.

Lorsqu'une manifestation, un colloque ou un congrès donne lieu à la distribution aux participants de documents préparatoires ou de documents de travail, ou à la publication d'actes ou de comptes rendus de travaux, les textes ou interventions présentés en

langue étrangère doivent être accompagnés au moins d'un résumé en français.

Ces dispositions ne sont pas applicables aux manifestations, colloques ou congrès qui ne concernent que des étrangers, ni aux manifestations de promotion du commerce extérieur de la France.

Lorsqu'une personne morale de droit public ou une personne morale de droit privé chargée d'une mission de service public a l'initiative des manifestations visées au présent article, un dispositif de traduction doit être mis en place.

Art. 7. - Les publications, revues et communications diffusées en France et qui émanent d'une personne morale de droit public, d'une personne privée exerçant une mission de service public ou d'une personne privée bénéficiant d'une subvention publique doivent, lorsqu'elles sont rédigées en langue étrangère, comporter au moins un résumé en français.

[Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.]

Art. 8. - Les trois derniers alinéas de l'article L. 121-1 du code du travail sont remplacés par quatre alinéas ainsi rédigés:

<< Le contrat de travail constaté par écrit est rédigé en français.

[Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] << Lorsque l'emploi qui fait l'objet du contrat ne peut être désigné que par un terme étranger sans correspondant en français, le contrat de travail doit comporter une explication en français du terme étranger.

<< Lorsque le salarié est étranger et le contrat constaté par écrit, une traduction du contrat est rédigée, à la demande du salarié, dans la langue de ce dernier. Les deux textes font également foi en justice. En cas de discordance entre les deux textes, seul le texte rédigé dans la langue du salarié étranger peut être invoqué contre ce dernier.

<< L'employeur ne pourra se prévaloir à l'encontre du salarié auquel elles feraient grief des clauses d'un contrat de travail conclu en violation du présent article. >>

Art. 9. - I. - L'article L. 122-35 du code du travail est complété par un alinéa ainsi rédigé:

<< Le règlement intérieur est rédigé en français. [Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] Il peut être accompagné de traductions en une ou plusieurs langues étrangères.

>> II. - Il est inséré, après l'article L. 122-39 du code du travail, un article L. 122-39-1 ainsi rédigé

<< Art. L. 122-39-1. - Tout document comportant des obligations pour le salarié ou des dispositions dont la connaissance est nécessaire à celui-ci pour l'exécution de son travail doit être rédigé en français. [Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] Il peut être accompagné de traductions en une ou plusieurs langues étrangères.

<< Ces dispositions ne sont pas applicables aux documents reçus de l'étranger ou destinés à des étrangers. >> III. - Aux premier et troisième alinéas de l'article L. 122-37 du code du travail, les mots: << articles L. 122-34 et L. 122-35 >> sont remplacés par les mots: << articles L. 122-34, L. 122-35 et L. 122-39-1 >>.

IV. - Il est inséré, après l'article L. 132-2 du code du travail, un article L. 132-2-1 ainsi rédigé:

<< Art. L. 132-2-1. - Les conventions et accords collectifs de travail et les conventions d'entreprise ou d'établissement doivent être rédigés en français. Toute disposition rédigée en langue étrangère [Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994] est inopposable au salarié à qui elle ferait grief. >>

Art. 10. - Le 3o de l'article L. 311-4 du code du travail est ainsi rédigé: << 3o Un texte rédigé en langue étrangère [Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994].

<< Lorsque l'emploi ou le travail offert ne peut être désigné que par un terme étranger sans correspondant en français, le texte français doit en comporter une description suffisamment détaillée pour ne pas induire en erreur au sens du 2o ci-dessus.

<< Les prescriptions des deux alinéas précédents s'appliquent aux services à exécuter sur le territoire français, quelle que soit la nationalité de l'auteur de l'offre ou de l'employeur, et aux services à exécuter hors du territoire français lorsque l'auteur de l'offre ou l'employeur est français, alors même que la parfaite connaissance d'une langue étrangère serait une des conditions requises pour tenir l'emploi proposé. Toutefois, les directeurs de publications rédigées, en tout ou partie, en langue étrangère peuvent, en France, recevoir des offres d'emploi rédigées dans cette langue. >>

Art. 11. - I. - La langue de l'enseignement, des examens et concours, ainsi que des thèses et mémoires dans les établissements publics et privés d'enseignement est le français, sauf exceptions justifiées par les nécessités de l'enseignement des langues et cultures régionales ou étrangères ou lorsque les enseignants sont des professeurs associés ou invités étrangers.

Les écoles étrangères ou spécialement ouvertes pour accueillir des élèves de nationalité étrangère, ainsi que les établissements dispensant un enseignement à

caractère international, ne sont pas soumis à cette obligation.

II. - Il est inséré, après le deuxième alinéa de l'article 1<sup>er</sup> de la loi no 89-486 du 10 juillet 1989 d'orientation sur l'éducation, un alinéa ainsi rédigé:

<< La maîtrise de la langue française et la connaissance de deux autres langues font partie des objectifs fondamentaux de l'enseignement. >>

Art. 12. - Avant le chapitre I<sup>er</sup> du titre II de la loi no 86-1067 du 30 septembre 1986 relative à la liberté de communication, il est inséré un article 20-1 ainsi rédigé:

<< Art. 20-1. - L'emploi du français est obligatoire dans l'ensemble des émissions et des messages publicitaires des organismes et services de radiodiffusion sonore ou télévisuelle, quel que soit leur mode de diffusion ou de distribution, à l'exception des oeuvres cinématographiques et audiovisuelles en version originale.

<< Sous réserve des dispositions du 2<sup>o</sup> bis de l'article 28 de la présente loi, l'alinéa précédent ne s'applique pas aux oeuvres musicales dont le texte est, en tout ou partie, rédigé en langue étrangère.

<< L'obligation prévue au premier alinéa n'est pas applicable aux programmes, parties de programme ou publicités incluses dans ces derniers qui sont conçus pour être intégralement diffusés en langue étrangère ou dont la finalité est l'apprentissage d'une langue, ni aux retransmissions de cérémonies culturelles.

[Dispositions déclarées non conformes à la Constitution par décision du Conseil constitutionnel no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994.] << Lorsque les émissions ou les messages publicitaires visés au premier alinéa du présent article sont accompagnés de traductions en langues étrangères, la présentation en français doit être aussi lisible, audible ou intelligible que la présentation en langue étrangère. >>

Art. 13. - La loi no 86-1067 du 30 septembre 1986 précitée est ainsi modifiée:

I. - Après le sixième alinéa du II de l'article 24, il est inséré un alinéa ainsi rédigé:

<< - le respect de la langue française et le rayonnement de la francophonie. >> II. - A l'article 28, il est inséré, après le 4<sup>o</sup>, un 4<sup>o</sup> bis ainsi rédigé:

<< 4<sup>o</sup> bis Les dispositions propres à assurer le respect de la langue française et le rayonnement de la francophonie; >>.

III. - A l'article 33, il est inséré, après le 2<sup>o</sup>, un 2<sup>o</sup> bis ainsi rédigé:

<< 2<sup>o</sup> bis Les dispositions propres à assurer le respect de la langue française et le

rayonnement de la francophonie; >>.

Art. 14. - I. - L'emploi d'une marque de fabrique, de commerce ou de service constituée d'une expression ou d'un terme étrangers est interdit aux personnes morales de droit public dès lors qu'il existe une expression ou un terme français de même sens approuvés dans les conditions prévues par les dispositions réglementaires relatives à l'enrichissement de la langue française.

Cette interdiction s'applique aux personnes morales de droit privé chargées d'une mission de service public, dans l'exécution de celle-ci.

II. - Les dispositions du présent article ne sont pas applicables aux marques utilisées pour la première fois avant l'entrée en vigueur de la présente loi.

Art. 15. - L'octroi, par les collectivités et les établissements publics,

de subventions de toute nature est subordonné au respect par les bénéficiaires des dispositions de la présente loi.

Tout manquement à ce respect peut, après que l'intéressé a été mis à même de présenter ses observations, entraîner la restitution totale ou partielle de la subvention.

Art. 16. - Outre les officiers et agents de police judiciaire agissant conformément aux dispositions du code de procédure pénale, les agents énumérés aux 1o, 3o et 4o de l'article L. 215-1 du code de la consommation sont habilités à rechercher et constater les infractions aux dispositions des textes pris pour l'application de l'article 2 de la présente loi.

A cet effet, les agents peuvent pénétrer de jour dans les lieux et véhicules énumérés au premier alinéa de l'article L. 213-4 du même code et dans ceux où s'exercent les activités mentionnées à l'article L. 216-1, à l'exception des lieux qui sont également à usage d'habitation. Ils peuvent demander à consulter les documents nécessaires à l'accomplissement de leur mission, en prendre copie et recueillir sur convocation ou sur place les renseignements et justifications propres à l'accomplissement de leur mission.

Ils peuvent également prélever un exemplaire des biens ou produits mis en cause dans les conditions prévues par décret en Conseil d'Etat.

Art. 17. - Quiconque entrave de façon directe ou indirecte l'accomplissement des missions des agents mentionnés au premier alinéa de l'article 16 ou ne met pas à leur disposition tous les moyens nécessaires à cette fin est passible des peines prévues au second alinéa de l'article 433-5 du code pénal.

Art. 18. - Les infractions aux dispositions des textes pris pour l'application de la présente loi sont constatées par des procès-verbaux qui font foi jusqu'à preuve du contraire.

Les procès-verbaux doivent, sous peine de nullité, être adressés dans les cinq jours qui suivent leur clôture au procureur de la République.

Une copie en est également remise, dans le même délai, à l'intéressé.

Art. 19. - Après l'article 2-13 du code de procédure pénale, il est inséré un article 2-14 ainsi rédigé:

<< Art. 2-14. - Toute association régulièrement déclarée se proposant par ses statuts la défense de la langue française et agréée dans les conditions fixées par décret en Conseil d'Etat peut exercer les droits reconnus à la partie civile en ce qui concerne les infractions aux dispositions des textes pris pour l'application des articles 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 et 10 de la loi no 94-665 du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française. >>

Art. 20. - La présente loi est d'ordre public. Elle s'applique aux contrats conclus postérieurement à son entrée en vigueur.

Art. 21. - Les dispositions de la présente loi s'appliquent sans préjudice de la législation et de la réglementation relatives aux langues régionales de France et ne s'opposent pas à leur usage.

Art. 22. - Chaque année, le Gouvernement communique aux assemblées, avant le 15 septembre, un rapport sur l'application de la présente loi et des dispositions des conventions ou traités internationaux relatives au statut de la langue française dans les institutions internationales.

Art. 23. - Les dispositions de l'article 2 entreront en vigueur à la date de publication du décret en Conseil d'Etat définissant les infractions aux dispositions de cet article, et au plus tard douze mois après la publication de la présente loi au Journal officiel.

Les dispositions des articles 3 et 4 de la présente loi entreront en vigueur six mois après l'entrée en vigueur de l'article 2.

Art. 24. - La loi no 75-1349 du 31 décembre 1975 relative à l'emploi de la langue française est abrogée, à l'exception de ses articles 1<sup>er</sup> à 3 qui seront abrogés à compter de l'entrée en vigueur de l'article 2 de la présente loi et de son article 6 qui sera abrogé à la date d'entrée en vigueur de l'article 3 de la présente loi.

La présente loi sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.



Fait à Paris, le 4 août 1994.

FRANCOIS MITTERRAND  
Par le Président de la République:  
Le Premier ministre,

EDOUARD BALLADUR

Le ministre d'Etat, ministre de l'intérieur  
et de l'aménagement du territoire,  
CHARLES PASQUA  
Le ministre d'Etat, garde des sceaux,

ministre de la justice,

PIERRE MEHAIGNERIE

Le ministre des affaires étrangères,  
ALAIN JUPPE  
Le ministre de l'éducation nationale,

FRANCOIS BAYROU

Le ministre de l'économie,  
EDMOND ALPHANDERY  
Le ministre de l'équipement, des transports et du tourisme,

BERNARD BOSSON

Le ministre du travail, de l'emploi  
et de la formation professionnelle,  
MICHEL GIRAUD  
Le ministre de la culture et de la francophonie,

JACQUES TOUBON

Le ministre du budget,  
porte-parole du Gouvernement,  
NICOLAS SARKOZY  
Le ministre de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche,

FRANCOIS FILLON

(1) Loi no 94-665.

- Travaux préparatoires:

Sénat:

Projet de loi no 291 (1993-1994);

Rapport de M. Jacques Legendre, au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, no 309 (1993-1994);

Discussion les 12, 13 et 14 avril 1994 et adoption le 14 avril 1994.

Assemblée nationale:

Projet de loi, adopté par le Sénat, no 1130;

Rapport de M. Francisque Perrut, au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, no 1158 et annexe, avis de M. Xavier Deniau, rapporteur, au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, no 1178;

Discussion les 3 et 4 mai et adoption le 4 mai 1994.

Sénat:

Projet de loi, adopté par l'Assemblée nationale, no 401 (1993-1994);

Rapport de M. Jacques Legendre, au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, no 437 (1993-1994);

Discussion et adoption le 26 mai 1994.

Assemblée nationale:

Projet de loi, adopté avec modifications par le Sénat en deuxième lecture,

no 1289;

Rapport de M. Francisque Perrut, au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, no 134;

Discussion et adoption le 13 juin 1994.

Rapport de M. Jean-Paul Fuchs, au nom de la commission mixte paritaire, no 1429;

Discussion et adoption le 30 juin 1994.

Sénat:

Projet de loi no 502 (1993-1994);

Rapport de M. Jacques Legendre, au nom de la commission mixte paritaire, no 547 (1993-1994);

Discussion et adoption le 1er juillet 1994.

- Conseil constitutionnel:

Décision no 94-345 DC du 29 juillet 1994 publiée au Journal officiel du 2 août 1994.

## **Appendix 2. Web-based Survey (translated from French)**

### **Section 1: Informed Consent**

This survey is part of a research study conducted by Casey Devine at Carnegie Mellon University.

The purpose of this research is to determine the relationship between language policy and identity.

#### **Procedures:**

You will be asked to answer a number of questions about yourself and your thoughts on language. The survey should take less than 20 minutes.

#### **Participant requirements:**

Participation in this study is limited to individual's age 18 and older.

#### **Risks:**

The risks and discomfort associated with participation in this study are no greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during other online activities.

#### **Benefits**

There may be no personal benefit from your participation in the study but the knowledge received may be of value to humanity.

#### **Compensation & Costs**

There is no compensation for participation in this study. There will be no cost to you if you participate in this study.

#### **Confidentiality**

The data captured for the research does not include any personally identifiable information about you. Your IP address will not be captured.

#### **Right to Ask Questions & Contact Information**

If you have any questions about this study, you should feel free to ask them by contacting the Principal Investigator now at Casey Devine, 412-874-6212, [mdevine@andrew.cmu.edu](mailto:mdevine@andrew.cmu.edu).

If you have questions later, desire additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation please contact the Principle Investigator by mail, phone or e-mail in accordance with the contact information listed above.

If you have questions pertaining to your rights as a research participant; or to report objections to this study, you should contact the Research Regulatory Compliance Office at Carnegie Mellon University. Email: [irb-review@andrew.cmu.edu](mailto:irb-review@andrew.cmu.edu) . Phone: 412-268-1901 or 412-268-5460.

#### **Voluntary Participation**

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may discontinue participation at any time during the research activity.

**1. I am 18 years or older. (You must be at least 18 to participate)**

**2. I have read and understood the information above.**

**3. I want to participate in this research and continue to the survey**

### **Section 2: Demographic Questions**

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. What language(s) do you speak? (Maternal language, second, third, etc.)
4. What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?

5. What is your native country?
6. Have you studied or lived abroad? If so, for how long?

### **Section 3: Attitudes surrounding the French language**

On a scale from 1-4, indicate with what degree you agree with the following phrases (1= don't agree at all; 4= completely agree)

1. The French language is an important aspect of the culture and history of France.
2. All inhabitants of France must know how to speak/write French.
3. The ability to speak French is essential to be considered French.
4. The ability to speak French is important to construct a cohesive French national identity.

### **Section 4: Language policy**

On a scale from 1-4, indicate with what degree you agree with the following phrases (1= don't agree at all; 4= completely agree)

1. The French language must be the only official language of France.
2. The French government must assure that the French language remains the only official language of France.
3. The French language must be present on all public signage.
4. The French language must be present in all media (i.e. television, radio)
5. The French language must be the language of education, of work and of public service.

### **Section 5: Interactions with foreign languages**

1. How often do you interact with a language other than French?
2. How often do you interact with the use of the English language?
3. Do you have any strong opinions about your interactions with foreign languages?  
With the English language in particular?

### **Section 6: La Loi Toubon**

1. Do you know *La Loi Toubon*?
2. Could you describe *La Loi Toubon*? (I.e. content, interdictions)
3. What are the implications of the law on the status of the French language in France?
4. Do you think *La Loi Toubon* is necessary? If yes, why? If no, why not?