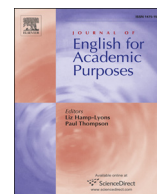


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Affordances and constraints on research publication: A comparative study of the language choices of Spanish historians and psychologists

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Research publication in the international arena, is crucial for multilingual scholars in most disciplinary areas. For many, among them Spanish scholars, it still represents a considerable hurdle. The findings we report here are part of a wider research project involving a large online [survey](#) of scholars at five universities and research institutions in Spain. We aimed to identify the needs of Spanish researchers in terms of research publishing skills in both English and Spanish, learn about their attitudes, motivations and experiences of research publication and of writing training. The present paper compares the results for scholars in History and Psychology. Through analysis of quantitative and comment data, we show how the motivations of these scholars with regard to research publication in the two languages work together with the strategies and resources available to them to determine language selection. We also review their experience of training in research writing and their willingness to pursue further training. Although the two groups of scholars differ in terms of attitudes to publication in English, they share a willingness to negotiate the challenges presented by institutional constraints, making strategic decisions about the choice of language in which to publish and their own language development.

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1. Introduction

The dominant position of English as the medium of academic and scientific communication has been regularly documented since the early 1980s ([Baldauf, 2001](#)). Equally well-documented is the impact of this situation on the academic practices of multilingual scholars working in settings outside [Kachru's \(1985\)](#) 'inner circle' of English (see [Ferguson, 2007](#)). These scholars typically face a number of additional hurdles to publication that first language users of English do not confront with the same frequency or to the same degree. Applied linguists have provided accounts of the research publication processes and experiences of these individuals, noting that they find themselves at a disadvantage in relation to their Anglophone counterparts when publishing their research findings in English ([Curry & Lillis, 2004](#); [Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada, & Plo, 2011](#); [Flowerdew, 2000](#); [Kindelan, 2009](#); [Lillis & Curry, 2010](#); [Tonkin, 2008](#)). At the same time, to meet tenure and promotion requirements, to obtain research funding and to achieve full recognition for their research contribution, these scholars are

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under increasing pressure to publish in ISI journals. As is also well known, the majority of these journals are English-medium (Lillis & Curry, 2010: 14–16).

Spanish scholars also confront these hurdles. Studies conducted over the last three decades by researchers specialising in analysis of academic discourse (Fortanet, Posteguillo, Palmer, & Coll, 1998; Salager-Meyer, Alcaraz-Ariza, & Zambrano, 2003), intercultural rhetoric (Moreno, 1998) and sociology of science (Rey-Rocha & Martín-Sempere, 1999) bear testimony to the interest and concern the situation of Spanish academics has provoked. Commitment to researching their publishing practices arises at least in part from the fact that the outcomes of this research may offer insights applicable to other contexts in Europe and beyond and reveal where they might be positioned on the core-periphery continuum in much the same way as Bennett (2011) has done for Portuguese. For example, a recent study of language choices for research publication shows that Spanish scholars did not increase their output in English between 2000 and 2011 (van Weijen, 2012), although their research productivity rose dramatically over the same period, possibly suggesting resistance to the dominance of core Anglo-American scholarship. Evidence like this of the relative resilience of research publication languages other than English is beginning to emerge but comparative sociolinguistic and bibliometric work of this kind should be extended to encompass other European and non-European languages, particularly those that normally receive scant attention.

Even though Spanish may be relatively resilient, many Spanish scholars do in fact choose to publish in English. A number of studies have sought to identify the difficulties they encounter when doing this (Burgess, Fumero Pérez, & Díaz Galán, 2006; Kerans, 2001) as well as exploring the differences and similarities between academic writing in English and in Spanish (Burgess, 2002; Martín-Martín, 2003; Moreno & Suárez, 2008; Mur-Dueñas, 2007). Others have revealed the need for Spanish academics to receive academic writing support and, more specifically, English for Research Publication Purposes (ERPP) training (Ferguson et al., 2011; Fernández Polo & Cal Varela, 2009; Pérez-Llantada, Plo, Ferguson, & Gibson, 2010).

In this paper we focus on Spanish scholars working in the fields of Psychology and History, disciplines which Ammon (2008a) suggests may be regarded as 'niche subjects' in which writing and reading in an L1 other than English is still at least partially sustained. While Spanish psychologists have received a good deal of attention, most notably in the studies carried out by Curry and Lillis (2004, 2010; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2006b, 2010), Spanish historians have not been the focus of survey-based studies of the kind we report here. Psychology and History were among the best-represented social sciences and humanities disciplines in our survey data in terms of the number of responses received. By making comparisons between the two groups of scholars, and between these scholars and those in other disciplines, we consider that important variations in terms of language selection are revealed.

We examine motivations and attitudes towards publishing research in Spanish and English, experiences of and difficulties with publication in the two languages, preferred strategies when preparing a paper for publication and views on training in research writing. The results obtained will ultimately inform the design of training courses aimed at supporting Spanish researchers seeking to publish in English-medium international publications. They also serve to provide answers to questions on the relative status of the two languages as vehicles for research publication, particularly the robustness of Spanish.

Flowerdew and Li (2009), in their study of language choices by Chinese Social Sciences and Humanities scholars, draw on Jernudd and Baldauf's Model of Language Selection in Scientific Communication (Baldauf, 2001: 141). The model posits a series of 'ecological variables' operating at three levels: macrolinguistic (the sociolinguistic context, community expectations and institutional constraints), microlinguistic (language management and resources, time and setting, role relationships and domains of discourse) and individual (skills, feelings, ideologies and beliefs). These ecological variables act in concert to lead scholars to choose one research publication language over another. In his adaptation and application of the model, Swales (1990:104–105), recasts 'sociolinguistic context' as the main academic languages used in a particular country or region. The status of these academic languages is then enhanced or limited by institutional constraints, including policies in which publication in one language or another is privileged or undervalued. Academics' connections with local, national and international communities also make a contribution, especially in determining the kinds of resources available to them. These might include collaborative authorship, advice and mentoring, training and access to funding. At the individual level Swales (1990:105) includes variations in the strength of national or regional linguistic loyalties. In addition to these variables, which establish a general orientation towards research publication languages, there are also circumstantial variables that affect individual instances of research publication writing and language choice.

Through our examinations of informants' responses to an online survey, we show how these ecological variables function in the Spanish context in these two disciplines. We examine both the quantitative data obtained and, where applicable, draw on comments made by individual researchers to particular questionnaire items. In the first part of the paper we provide a description of the survey and the surveyed population. The second section examines the results, looking first at personal, professional and linguistic profiles of the informants from the two disciplines. We then turn to questions on motivations and attitudes, publication experiences and strategies, past training experience and future training needs. In the final section of the paper we summarise the key findings and offer some suggestions as to how first language users of English might lessen the burden on multilingual scholars and support the use of languages other than English as media of research publication.

2. The ENEIDA (Spanish team for Intercultural Studies on Academic Discourse) survey

The data we present are drawn from a larger study initiated by the ENEIDA (Spanish team for Intercultural Studies on Academic Discourse) research team in late 2010. Spanish scholars with doctorates who had received most of their secondary and pre-doctoral education in Spain and in Castilian Spanish, and who were working at either a research-only institution (the

Spanish Council for Scientific Research) or at one of four Spanish universities (the University of La Laguna, the University of León, the University Jaume I and the University of Zaragoza) responded to an online survey. Detailed information on the methodology used in the design, validation and implementation procedures of the ENEIDA survey can be found in [Moreno et al. \(2011, 2012\)](#).

A link to the web-based questionnaire was sent out by e-mail in late 2010. Of the 8794 academics who received the email, 1717 responded (response rate = 19.6%). Only responses from the 1454 informants who met the L1 and educational background criteria were used in the study. Responses were received from scholars in the following disciplines, classified according to the UNESCO code they used to identify their main area of research interest and in order in terms of the number of responses received: Life Sciences, Technological Sciences, Chemistry, Physics, Agricultural Sciences, Earth and Space Sciences, History, Medical Sciences, Economics, Mathematics, Linguistics, Psychology, Pedagogy, Arts and Humanities, Law, Astronomy and Astrophysics, Sociology, Geography, Political Sciences, Philosophy, Anthropology, Demography, Logic and Ethics. The subset of responses we present from scholars in the two disciplines chosen for comparison is made up of 93 responses from History and 50 from Psychology. Responses to an item in the survey asking scholars to name key journals in their field show that a range of sub-disciplines in the two fields were covered. In Psychology applied, theoretical, clinical and general journals were listed while in History there were a substantial number of scholars recommending journals in Ancient History and Archaeology, Economic History, Social History and History of Medicine.

The questionnaire ([Moreno, Burgess, Sachdev, López-Navarro, & Rey-Rocha, 2013](#)) comprised 37 items including closed- and open-ended questions. Many of the closed questions were followed by comments sections or space for respondents to suggest options other than those posed in the question itself. We report on both the quantitative findings and these comments and responses.

3. Discussion of survey results

3.1. Personal information, professional status and self-reports of EAP writing competence

Initial questions (items 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) in the survey sought personal and professional information. This is summarised for the two groups of scholars in [Table 1](#).

While gender did not reveal correlations with other variables in the study, factors concerning the seniority or length of service of the scholars were of relevance when examining variation in other variables such as degree of difficulty experienced with the writing of research articles ([Moreno et al., 2012](#)). In the survey data we examine here, it can be observed that there are large number of scholars in History with over 15 years postdoctoral research experience and a much larger proportion working in a research-only institution, the Spanish Council for Scientific Research (CSIC). Since they are not required to teach they have more time to devote to research and to honing their research publication skills. The CSIC is in fact one of the five top-ranked Spanish institutions in terms of research output. In contrast, almost two thirds of the psychologists answering our survey are untenured. This suggests that they are closer to the novice end of the spectrum, a finding that has relevance, we believe, to their attitudes to publishing in English, to the difficulties they experience with writing research papers and to their interest in participating in future training.

Informants were then asked to provide self-reports of their competence in English and Spanish for both general and academic purposes (item 11). We report only the findings for written academic English. The item asked scholars to assess their competence in all aspects of academic writing implicated in the research publication process, i.e. the preparation of the research article and all accompanying documentation.

As can be seen in [Fig. 1](#), the two disciplines share similar self-reported competence levels in written English for academic purposes. Only just over a quarter (25.8%) of the historians rate their competence as high to very high, and the figure in Psychology is also low. The levels for Psychology and History are also substantially lower than those for the general survey group.

3.2. Motivations and attitudes

The first bank of questions in our survey was devoted to motivations and attitudes. Responses to these questions provide information on the operation and interaction of the macro- and micro-linguistic ecological variables cited by [Jernudd and Baldauf \(in Baldauf, 2001\)](#) and [Swales \(1990\)](#). Respondents were first asked to indicate the number of research papers they had published as corresponding author in the two languages over the ten years prior to December 2010 (item 12).

Table 1
Personal and professional information: History and Psychology.

	History (n = 93)	Psychology (n = 50)
Average age	49	45
Numbers of female and male informants	44:56	28:22
Average number of years since completion of Ph.D	13.8	12.5
Scholars with 15 years + postdoctoral experience	51	21
Percentage of CSIC employees	50.5	4
Percentage of untenured staff	34	62

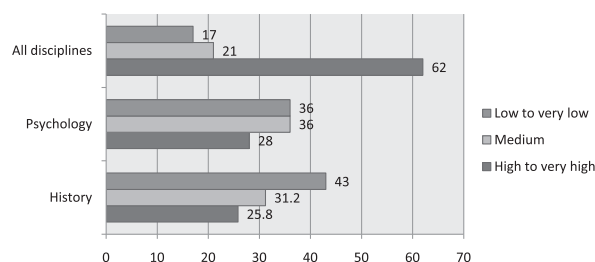


Fig. 1. Percentages of scholars reporting levels of competence in writing for academic purposes: All disciplines, Psychology and History.

The preferred language of publication for both groups is Spanish, though the proportions of the average number of papers published differ across the two disciplines. The psychologists report publishing a third of their average total output (15 papers) in English but the historians, though producing more papers overall (24 papers), publish over four fifths of these in Spanish (20 papers). The contrast with other disciplines is striking. Scholars in Medicine participating in our survey, for example, published an average of eighteen papers over a 10 year period, 83% of which were published in English (Burgess et al., 2013).

Lorés-Sanz, Mur-Dueñas, Burgess, Rey-Rocha, and Moreno (2012) and Mur-Dueñas, Lorés-Sanz, Burgess, Rey-Rocha, and Moreno (2012), when examining differences between scholars in Chemistry and Business Studies responding to our survey, suggest that different degrees of disciplinary “internationalization” (Petersen & Shaw, 2002) may affect publishing rates in the two languages. They note two possible factors contributing to Business Studies scholars’ decision to continue to publish in Spanish-medium journals, namely local focus and applied nature. Scholars working in applied sub-disciplines in Psychology are well represented in our survey, if the journal recommendations we mentioned earlier are to be relied upon. Active membership of local, regional or national discourse communities may make the use of Spanish as a language of publication the obvious choice, particularly when local practitioners, or local issues are discussed. For historians working on Spanish history, it can seem odd to write in a language other than Spanish, even if it is not one’s first language, as this anonymous historian points out:

I haven’t felt any overwhelming urge [to publish in English] because I am a hispanicist and our language is the best tool for scientific communication. I also consider that we should take on the vital challenge of promoting it as a scientific medium, particularly in English-speaking contexts.

When invited to list other languages of research publication, the psychologists cited three publications in French and single publications in Catalan, Portuguese and Italian. The historians also published in these languages but to a far greater extent, with 25 papers in French, 11 in Catalan and Italian and six in Portuguese. They also differ from the psychologists in that they do not restrict themselves to romance languages. They report publishing seven articles in German, two in both Russian and Modern Greek and one article in Hungarian.

As we shall see later when we turn to our respondents’ preferences for manuscript preparation, an important publishing strategy for these researchers is translation. We assume that their publications in some of these languages are translated from Spanish. While finding a translator with sufficient knowledge of the discipline and the particular issues addressed is often a major challenge (Lillis & Curry, 2010:95) finding someone with the right background who will also respect the often radically different epistemological traditions (Bennett, 2011:24) that underpin what is considered to be good writing in their language and in their field is likely to be even harder, particularly when a dominant language such as English is the target. It is possible, however, that translators working into these non-hegemonic languages are less likely to impose their discourse norms on their clients or that many values in relation to text production are shared.

The next question (item 13), which focussed on the factors influencing the choice of language of publication, gives us information on the macro-linguistic variables of discourse community memberships, the influence of institutional constraints such as pressures from institutions to publish in particular languages and the individual variables of commitment or loyalty to a particular language (Swales, 1990:105). Respondents were asked to rate a series of factors on a five-point scale in terms of the extent to which they play a part in a decision to publish in one language or the other. These were the factors:

- a desire to communicate research results to the international scientific community
- a desire to communicate research results to the local community
- a desire to be cited more frequently
- a desire for intellectual development through receiving comments from editors and peer reviewers
- a desire to meet the requirements for professional promotion
- a desire to increase one’s chances of receiving a bonus payment
- a desire for one’s research work to be recognised
- a desire to respond to a commission or invitation from an institution, association or publisher, etc.
- a desire for stimulating challenges
- a desire for the continued existence of scientific journals in the language
- one’s assessment of one’s ability to write up research results in the language

- one's assessment of the quality of the article
- one's experience of publishing in the language
- a desire to improve writing ability in the language

We looked at the average ratings for each, taking as the most influential those with the highest average ratings. The results for the general survey show that when a scholar decides to publish in Spanish, the factors that appear to have had the greatest influence are (in order of degree of importance) the desire to communicate results to the local community, the desire to respond to a commission or invitation, the desire to gain recognition for research work and the desire to foster the continued existence of Spanish-language journals. The average importance ratings are, however, lower than they are for the factors cited in the decision to publish in English, suggesting that they may exert less influence on scholars.

The psychologists and historians also see communicating results to the local community as the prime motive for the choice of Spanish as a language of publication. For the psychologists, the next most influential factor was the desire to support the continued existence of Spanish-language journals, whereas the Historians, while citing this factor as among the four most influential, rate the desire to respond to a commission or invitation as more important.

Scholars from the two groups also use Spanish because they seek recognition for their work and as a result of their own assessment of the quality of their article, two factors that are also cited as important reasons for publishing in English. Their occurrence here is further evidence that both the psychologists and the historians still consider Spanish to be a legitimate medium in which to publish their work. Considering the pressures to publish in English, it might be assumed that if they chose to publish their work in Spanish on the basis of their assessment of the quality of their articles, this assessment would be a negative one. We do not believe this to be so in all cases. When contrasting responses to this item with the comments made by individual researchers, it becomes apparent that for some of the historians Spanish is seen as an appropriate medium for work of high quality. A comment by one anonymous historian is a case in point.

[Writing in English] is not something I'm about to lose any sleep over. I think scientific research in English is over-rated. We have a marvellous language in which we can do equally marvellous work.

When English is the chosen language of publication, the respondents in the general survey, cite, in order of importance, communicating results to the international community, gaining recognition for research work, meeting the requirements of professional promotion and getting cited. The first three are also rated as important by both the historians and the psychologists. The desire to gain citations, however, is not a factor they include among the four most influential. Instead, they nominate their estimation of the quality of the article.

The relative lack of interest in citations on the part of scholars in these two disciplines could be understood to suggest that they are resisting one of the major institutional constraints on choice of language of research publication, namely the privileging by the national research assessment agency and other local agencies of publication in indexed journals and of demanding that scholars demonstrate the impact of their work through citation counts. These agencies assess scholars for performance-related salary increments and, as [Lillis and Curry \(2010:60\)](#) note, exert considerable pressure to publish in English. [Jiménez-Contreras, de Moya Anegón, and Delgado López-Cózar \(2003: 138\)](#) suggest that disciplines in which the number of successful applications for these increments is low, or where there has not been a steady increase in successful applications since the system's implementation in 1989, may well be those in which scholars have not taken on board the criteria the agency applies. [Jiménez-Contreras et al. \(2003\)](#) include both History and Psychology among these disciplines.

[Rey-Rocha and Martín-Sempere \(1999\)](#), [Archambault, Vignola-Gagne, Côté, Larivière, and Gingrasb \(2006\)](#) and [Lillis and Curry \(2010: 14–16\)](#) in fact make a strong case for questioning the reliability of publication in ISI journals as a measure of research productivity on several grounds, particularly the fact that they seriously underestimate the research contribution of scholars in non-English-speaking countries, Spain among them. By failing to take due account of publications in languages other than English they undervalue research of local relevance. It may be that in much the same way as the scholar profiled in [Lillis and Curry \(2010: 147–148\)](#), the historians and psychologists in our survey are committed to research that is relevant locally and are reluctant to change their research agenda in order to see their work published in Anglophone-centre journals. It is perhaps for this reason that they are less concerned about citations than scholars in the general survey.

Those researchers who had not published in one or other of the two languages were then asked directly whether or not they had considered it and, if they had, why they had ultimately decided not to proceed (item 17). For the three psychologists who had considered and then dismissed the possibility of publishing in Spanish, the main reason was the absence of prestigious Spanish journals in their field and an acknowledgement of the fact that publishing in their first language would not offer them the benefits they sought, presumably a means of successfully communicating their results to the international community, gaining recognition for research work and meeting the requirements of professional promotion (the three most highly rated factors in the responses to item 16). The same reasons were the most frequently cited by scholars in the general survey. All of the historians, on the other hand, had considered publishing in Spanish and had indeed gone on to do so.

With their colleagues in the general survey, the six psychologists and eighteen historians who decided not to attempt publication in English made this decision primarily because they considered their writing ability to be below the standard required by the journal. They share two further concerns, namely the costs of translation and of authors' editing services, both of which also act to reduce the likelihood of their publishing in English. Time and effort involved were also felt to be too great. This is especially the case for several of the historians, who were not convinced that publishing in English would offer them the benefits they sought.

The questions on the factors leading to the decisions not to publish in one or other of the languages in fact elicited many comments from the historians, through which they make their resentment of institutional pressures to publish in English particularly clear, thus sharing an attitude found for their colleagues in other countries such as Portugal (Bennett, 2011) and Germany (Ammon, 2008a). Several considered the quality of published research in English to be inferior to work in Spanish. This anonymous historian was particularly excoriating:

Every time I read a book or an essay translated from English and published by a major Spanish publisher such as *Crítica*, I nearly die laughing at the extremely poor quality of the research. I could provide numerous examples but I don't want to buy into vacuous arguments about languages.

Another commented that the privileging of research publications in English by Spanish institutions was the result of a failure to appreciate differences in research publication practices across the disciplines and particularly between the experimental sciences and the humanities.

I will resist the temptation to publish in English, which I see as a response to the influence of the Natural Sciences on the Humanities. Allowing oneself to come under this influence is a serious error, in my opinion.

The efforts involved in preparing a manuscript in English were also not seen as guaranteeing the benefits the scholar sought as the following anonymous comment shows:

I had to send my work to be translated, which cost me 600 euros. I still have no guarantee that it will be published as the conference organizers are having great difficulty finding a UK or US publisher.

English was also not seen as the ideal language. One of the historians noted that languages such as French and Italian were more appropriate.

English isn't exactly the best choice for communicating research in my field, fifteenth and sixteenth century art history. If I were to publish in another language it would be in French or Italian.

These comments are in marked contrast to those in disciplines such as Chemistry (Lorés-Sanz et al., 2012; Mur-Dueñas et al., 2012), where researchers no longer contemplate publication in Spanish and accept the dominance of English, seeing English-medium publication not as a burden or an imposition they might seek to challenge but as a responsibility they readily accept. The psychologists too are far more positive, only using the comment option to note that they were in the process of preparing papers in English for publication at the time of answering the questionnaire.

When asked directly about how far they considered it desirable for scholars in their field to publish in English (item 19), again using a five-point scale, (90.7%) of the general survey respondents saw it as very or quite desirable. A similar proportion of the psychologists, (89.9% or 45 scholars) hold the same view, whereas the figure for History is substantially lower at 80.6% (75 scholars). In terms of attitudes to publication in Spanish, the historians, the psychologists and then the general survey group fall along a cline. At one extreme are the historians, 88.2% of whom consider it very or quite desirable that scholars in their field should publish in Spanish, for the psychologists the figure is 71% and for the general survey respondents the figure is a much lower 45.6%.

We also asked scholars to evaluate to what extent publication in each of the two languages (Tables 2 and 3) might be a help or a hindrance in a series of areas (item 22).

Both the psychologists and the historians, like their colleagues in the general survey, see publication in Spanish as providing support for the survival of Spanish journals, for research on topics of local concern and for the development and maintenance of academic registers in Spanish. The historians and psychologists give higher average ratings (on a scale of +3 to –3) for the contribution publication in Spanish makes to each than the rating obtained from the general survey. In fact, the historians, unlike the psychologists and those in other disciplines such as Chemistry (Lorés-Sanz et al., 2012), do not consider publication in Spanish to be a hindrance even in areas such as international dissemination of research findings and participation and visibility of Spanish researchers.

The opposite is true for the contribution of English-language publishing. In line with the rest of their colleagues in the general survey, the historians and psychologists acknowledge the fact that publication in English facilitates the participation of Spanish researchers in international networks, the international dissemination of research results, and the visibility of Spanish researchers, though their average ratings for the contribution of publication in English to each of these areas is lower, substantially so in the case of History.

These results suggest that for both the historians and the psychologists, Spanish is still a language of local, regional, national and international academic communication, just as it was for the Spanish informants in Curry and Lillis's (2004) and Lillis and Curry's studies (2006a, 2006b, 2010). Predictably, therefore, informants were relatively comfortable about

Table 2
Benefits of publishing in Spanish.

Publication in Spanish helps:	History	Psychology	All disciplines
Research on topics of local concern	1.9	1.9	1.3
Survival of Spanish journals	1.6	1.9	1.5
Development of academic Spanish	1.6	1.7	1.4

Table 3
Benefits of publishing in English.

Publication in English helps:	History	Psychology	All disciplines
Spanish participation in international networks	1.9	2.2	2.6
Communicating results of Spanish research	1.9	2.2	2.6
Visibility of Spanish research	1.6	2.1	2.5

publishing their next paper in Spanish (item 21). Three quarters of the historians and over half the psychologists deem it quite or very likely that they will choose Spanish when they next prepare a paper for publication. Despite their more positive views of the benefits of publishing in English, a smaller number of psychologists than historians consider it probable that their next paper will be published in that language (35 as opposed to 44) but there is a larger group who are simply uncertain about this question. Only four (2%) of the psychologists can state that there is little or no chance of this occurring. Many more of the historians (23) see themselves opting not to publish in English.

The results drawn from this first bank of questions show the operation of the macro-linguistic, micro-linguistic and individual ecological variables outlined by Baldauf and Jernudd (in Baldauf, 2001) and by Swales (1990). All but the last of these are variables that operate in general and impact the scholar's bias towards one language or another. We now turn to experiences of preparing and presenting a paper for publication in the two languages.

3.3. Publication experiences and difficulties

We wanted to know how much success our informants had had with publishing in the two languages and to gain an impression of how long and how complex the process from manuscript preparation to final publication might be. Informants were asked first to rate, on a five-point scale, a series of outcomes of submitting an article for publication in terms of how often they had occurred over the ten years prior to December 2010 (item 24).

As can be observed in Figs. 2 and 3, in all cases the informants in both disciplines had seen manuscripts submitted in Spanish more frequently accepted than was the case for English. In fact, over three quarters of the historians said their papers had been accepted with few if any modifications frequently or very frequently and over half the psychologists had had the same positive experience of submission in their first language. Although half of the psychologists had, on occasions, been asked to revise issues of content in their Spanish papers, this was a less frequent occurrence for the historians, who, if asked to make revisions at all, were more likely to have to work on features of the actual writing of the paper. Outright rejection of papers is not a frequent occurrence for these scholars and, for those who have had papers rejected, it is more often on the grounds of content or, for the psychologists, because of the failure to meet the discourse conventions of the journal concerned.

There are various ways in which we might account for this finding. It has been argued that Spanish discourse communities are less critical (Moreno & Suárez, 2008) and it may be the case that the Spanish journal editors make fewer demands of authors. It is certainly not our experience that there is a lack of rigour on the part of Spanish journal editors in our discipline, and we would imagine that this extends to other disciplines as well. We consider, therefore, that this result is more likely to indicate the scholars' greater competence in writing for publication in their first language, a finding that is supported in the work of Lillis and Curry (2010).

Our informants' success rate with manuscript submission in English is significantly lower. Fewer than half the historians and under a third of the psychologists experience acceptance of manuscripts with only minor changes frequently or very frequently. Revisions most often demanded of the historians are in relation to discourse conventions and lexico-grammatical features of their writing. The psychologists once again are asked to revise content, discourse structure and lexico-grammatical features. Frequency of outright rejection is higher for both disciplines.

The next question (item 25) asked informants how much difficulty they experienced with each of the sections of the research article and the publication documentation. Once again a five-point scale was used to elicit the difficulty rating.

Despite the fact that papers in history are frequently not divided into sections (Fuentes Cortés, 2012; MacDonald, 1994), only a small number of the historians noted that the sub-genres in this question did not occur in the articles they write. Of the

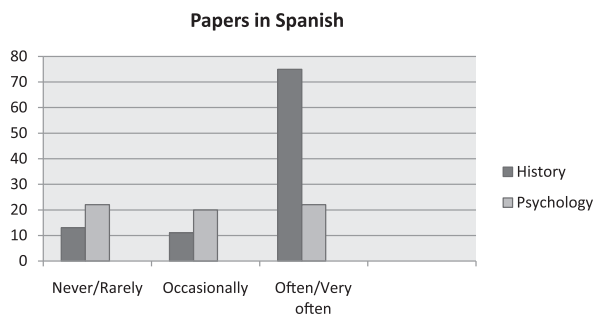


Fig. 2. Frequency of acceptance with no or only minor revisions of manuscripts in Spanish.

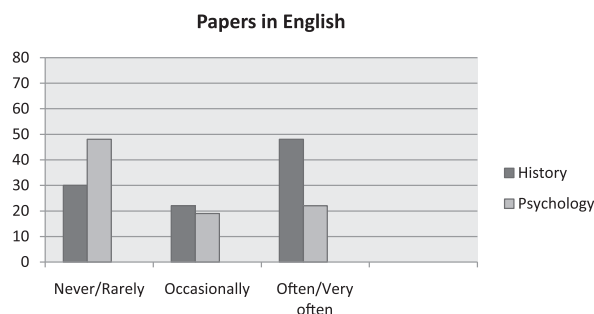


Fig. 3. Frequency of acceptance with no or minor revisions of manuscripts in English.

scholars who were able to evaluate the degree of difficulty they experienced with the various sections and related documentation, the largest proportion in both disciplines experienced difficulty with the discussion, as can be seen in Table 4. This holds true for Spanish as well as English, though the number of informants who experienced a lot or quite a lot of difficulty with the writing of this section is far greater when they write in English. The theoretical framework, the introduction and the conclusions also present important challenges to our informants, particularly when they prepare publications for English-medium journals. This is in keeping with the findings of other studies of multilingual scholars such as those in Flowerdew (1999) and for studies of Spanish writers in the work of St. John (1987).

The results in Table 4 also show that a greater proportion of the psychologists experience difficulty in both languages. For example, the same number of psychologists (10) have difficulty writing the conclusion section in Spanish as do historians writing either the abstract or the response to reviewers in English. As we observed earlier, the relative seniority in terms of research experience of the historians might account for the apparent lower rates of perception of difficulty they experience with the more challenging sections of the article and the greater difficulty the psychologists experience in both languages. This would support the findings in Moreno et al. (2012).

3.4. Publishing strategies

Lillis and Curry's (2006b) Curry and Lillis's (2004) and Burrough-Boenisch's (2003) work drew our attention to issues in relation to the strategies scholars used most frequently when preparing a manuscript for publication. We therefore asked our informants to evaluate the frequency with which they drew on the services of certain kinds of 'literacy brokers' (in this case author's editors and translators) and what their preferences were in terms of the linguistic and professional profile of these individuals (item 28). Table 5 shows the percentages of scholars evaluating a strategy as one they used quite or very frequently.

The main strategies employed by the two groups are translation into English of a text written entirely in Spanish and authors' editing of a text written entirely in English. The first of these is the most frequent strategy for the historians while the second is the most frequent for the psychologists. Both groups rely on authors' editors and translators more than their colleagues in other disciplines, such as Chemistry and Medicine (Burgess et al., 2013; Lorés-Sanz et al., 2012; Mur-Dueñas et al., 2012).

Although translation is costly, the historians use it frequently. When asked directly in the following question (item 29) about their degree of satisfaction with the pre-publication process and its relationship to the amount of effort involved, only two of the historians expressed dissatisfaction while over a fifth of the psychologists felt that the outcome was not commensurate with their efforts. The responses to this question suggest that in fields in which a greater premium is placed on

Table 4
Percentages of scholars experiencing writing difficulties by section.

	History		Psychology	
	Spanish N = 93	English N = 63	Spanish N = 46	English N = 36
Abstract	5.4 (5)	15.9(10)	6.5 (3)	25 (9)
Introduction	5.5 (5)	32.7 (20)	6.5 (3)	47.2 (17)
Theoretical framework	6.5 (6)	38.4 (24)	15.2 (7)	66.7 (26)
Material and methods	4.4 (4)	34.9 (22)	2.2 (1)	33.3 (12)
Results	7.6 (7)	34.9 (22)	6.5 (3)	38.9 (14)
Discussion	7.6 (7)	44.4 (28)	39.1(18)	82.9 (29)
Conclusions	7.6 (7)	38.7 (23)	21.7 (10)	62.9 (22)
Acknowledgements	1.1 (2)	25.4 (15)	–	22.9 (8))
Submission letter	5.4 (4)	8 (5)	2.2 (1)	38.9 (14)
Response to reviewers	6.5 (6)	15.9 (10)	8.7 (4)	57.7 (20)
Correspondence with editor	5.5 (5)	11.7 (7)	6.5 (3)	34.3 (12)

Table 5
Manuscript preparation strategies.

	History (n = 63)	Psychology (n = 36)
Submission without revision	7.9 (5)	2.8 (1)
NS familiar with field revises	15.9 (10)	22.2 (8)
NS not familiar with field revises	6.3 (4)	16.7 (6)
NNS familiar with field revises	6.3 (4)	11.1 (4)
NNS not familiar with field revises	–	–
Total authors' editing only	28.6 (18)	50 (18)
NS familiar with field translates parts and edits parts	12.7(8)	11.1 (4)
NS not familiar with field translates parts and edits parts	4.8 (3)	5.6 (2)
NNS familiar with field translates parts and edits parts	1.6 (1)	5.6 (2)
NNS not familiar with field translates parts and edits parts	–	–
Total authors' editing plus translation	19 (12)	22.2 (8)
NS familiar with field translates whole	25.4 (16)	11.1 (4)
NS not familiar with field translates whole	5.4 (5)	5.6 (2)
NNS familiar with field translates whole	4.8 (3)	8.3 (3)
NNS not familiar with field translates whole	–	–
Total translation only	44.4 (28)	25 (9)

elegant expression and the literary merit of the paper, translation may be a more successful strategy as long as funds and suitable translators are available. Instead of saying only what they can say in a language that is not their own (Pérez Llantada et al., 2010), by using translators, the historians may be able to see their ideas expressed in other languages in such a way that the differing discourse norms arising from differing epistemologies (Bennett, 2011) are preserved.

Both groups are discerning when it comes to the language professionals they employ. The ideal professional profile is a native English speaker familiar with the scholar's field. Non-native speaker authors' editors and translators with expertise in the field employed by these scholars are occasionally preferred to native speakers lacking disciplinary knowledge. The majority of our informants in the two disciplines report above average competence in reading for academic purposes and are thus in a good position to judge the quality of the translation and editing work carried out by these knowledge brokers. Indeed, as we shall see when we examine their responses to the first of the bank of questions on training experience, reading and paying close attention to features of successful academic writing in their field is one the favoured strategies used to develop academic writing skills. This lends further credence to the view that they are capable of critically evaluating translators' work.

3.5. Past training experience and future training needs

In a bid to determine the strategies that we might seek to further exploit through future training programmes and to shed light on the deficiencies in the current training provision, we asked informants to evaluate a series of strategies in terms of how far they had helped them learn to write research articles in the two languages (item 30).

As we noted earlier, a strategy that both groups of informants have found particularly helpful is paying attention to the features of texts written by successful authors. Table 6 shows that this is in fact the strategy that the psychologists found of most use when learning to write research articles in English but for the historians (and for the psychologists when learning to write research papers in Spanish), it is engaging in the actual task of writing that is rated highest for helpfulness by the largest group of informants.

Table 6
Strategies used when learning to write Spanish and English for academic purposes in order of usefulness.

	History N = 93		Psychology N = 49	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
Actually writing	78.5 (73)	46.2 (43)	69.6 (39)	61.2 (30)
Paying attention to the way others write	65.6 (61)	44.1 (41)	55.6 (38)	69.4 (34)
Paying attention to authors' editors' comments	34.4 (32)	32.3 (30)	65.3 (32)	59.2 (29)
Paying attention to editors' and peer reviewers' comments	34.4 (32)	26.9 (25)	59.2 (29)	55.1 (27)
Research group members' suggestions	30.1 (28)	18.3 (17)	51 (25)	44.9 (22)
Advice from PhD supervisors	36.6 (34)	5.4 (5)	53.1 (26)	30.6 (15)
Colleagues' suggestions	24.7 (23)	11.8 (11)	26.5 (13)	22.4 (11)
Translators' comments	10.8 (10)	25.9 (24)	14.3 (7)	40.8 (20)
RA writing manuals and textbooks	14 (13)	10.8 (10)	38.8 (19)	40.8 (20)
Advice received on research visits abroad	15 (14)	31.2 (29)	4.1 (2)	25.5 (13)
Looking for words/expressions on the internet	7.7 (4)	19.4 (14)	14.3 (7)	44.9 (22)
Doctoral courses on RA writing	9.7 (9)	–	16.4 (8)	8.2 (4)
Workshops and practical seminars	4.3 (4)	7.6 (7)	6.1 (3)	6.1 (3)

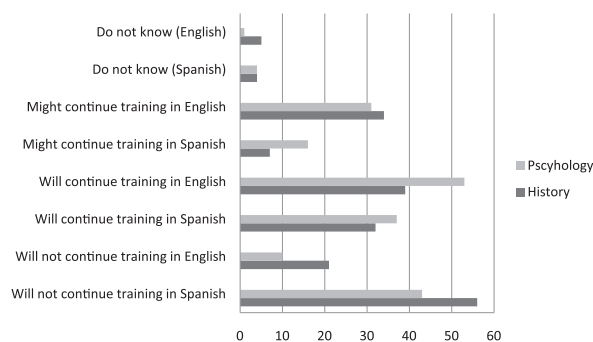


Fig. 4. Willingness to continue training in research writing in Spanish and English.

Only a small proportion of scholars rate doctoral courses and workshops devoted to RA writing as having helped them learn to write research articles. This result would seem to reflect a lack of experience with such courses and workshops rather than a dismissal of their usefulness. As Lillis and Curry (2010) note, in Spain there has been little explicit training in writing for research publication purposes until very recently. Furthermore, in one of the last questions in the survey we asked informants what form future training should take. The most popular choice for both groups of scholars, like that of their colleagues in general survey, was practical training workshops.

Despite the fact that their experience of explicit research writing training has been limited, the scholars in the two groups show a willingness to continue to develop their research writing skills (item 31).

As can be seen in Fig. 4, the psychologists are more enthusiastic about training in both languages, though training in English is a higher priority for both groups. Under a third of the historians would continue their training in Spanish, possibly because they do not regard themselves as needing it. Indeed one anonymous historian commented that he or she was now the person who provided such training.

As was noted above, practically-oriented workshops on the writing of research articles are the most popular format for this training, followed closely by consultations with staff in translation and authors' editing services. It is authors' editors or others with experience in writing and editing articles in the author's field that are deemed by both groups to be the most suitable personnel to run these courses.

4. Concluding remarks

When we began this study, we expected that analysis of responses to the questionnaire would reveal substantial differences between the two groups of scholars in terms of the ecological variables Baldauf and Jernudd (Baldauf, 2001) posit. Initial examination of the personal and professional data for the two groups showed a difference at the individual level, namely that the historians tend to be more experienced than the psychologists, a far greater proportion of whom were untenured staff. While this and other differences are apparent, a more complex picture than the one we had envisaged in fact emerges, as has been the case with many similar studies (Ferguson et al. 2011, Lillis & Curry, 2010). Although much of the data we present here is quantitative, the comment sections of the survey provide access to the sometimes discordant voices of our informants and to their values and beliefs.

On the basis of these comments, it is true to say that several of the historians are resentful of a research evaluation policy that privileges English. The quantitative data suggests that this resentment does not, however, arise because they find themselves unable to meet the challenges of research publication. Rather, they see redirecting ever more limited resources in their faculties to training in English for research publication purposes as prejudicing the teaching of other skills essential to their discipline. This anonymous historian puts it as follows:

It seems to me in my field that something very basic is being forgotten: no one studies Latin or Greek anymore in our History faculties. There will soon be no researchers capable of working in periods earlier than the 18th century. This is extremely worrying.

The historians do not, however, simply decide not to play the international publication game. Instead they appear to be fighting a quiet rear-guard action where they support publication in their own and other languages while making astute strategic use of resources that allow them to publish in English when they deem it necessary and desirable.

The psychologists in our survey, closer to the novice end of the spectrum in terms of their research publication experience and with less professional security, are less certain of where they stand in relation to the use of the two languages and less certain of their abilities. Those working on questions of local relevance, like the scholars in Lillis and Curry's studies (2010), understand that publishing in Spanish is crucial. Nevertheless, they accept more enthusiastically than the historians the premise that developing their skills in English is a good thing.

We began by reiterating what has so often been said before, namely that multilingual scholars are required to devote far more of their resources and much more of their time to the publishing process when the language of publication is not their

L1. Additionally, they may also find themselves in a position where they are engaged in defending the rhetorical norms consonant with non-centre, non-Anglophone epistemologies in a bid to resist the ‘epistemicide’ Bennett (2011) so ably describes.

Anglophone scholars who have the privilege of being able to consistently write in their own language have a responsibility to lessen the burden on their multilingual colleagues in some of the ways suggested by both Belcher (2007) and Ammon (2008b). Wood (1997) contends that the stylistic preferences of first language users of English should be entirely subservient to the communicative objectives of the multilingual scientist. Where the communicative message is clear, the stylistic niceties can be sacrificed. Both the English as an International Language (EIL) and the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) movement have gained ground since Wood wrote and are now making an impact on academic uses of English, viz. Mauranen’s (2012) exploration of the use of ELF in spoken academic genres and Ammon’s (2008b) tempered defence of “Globalish”. Given the growing numbers of ELF users (Graddol, 1997), the acceptance of their norms we are beginning to see in our own discipline should be extended to other fields.

In the humanities, where higher level literacy and literary skills are often required, the practice of journals offering translation services should be further extended. Finally, those L1 English speakers who already use a language other than English might make a greater effort to use it as a medium of publication so as to provide further support for multilingual publication and partially redress the imbalance in favour of English, the consequences of which their EAL colleagues confront.

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