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Building Walls or Bridges? An Assessment of the Duality of English as a Tool for the World's Language Ecology

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Shackle a people, strip them bare, cover their mouths:

they are still free.

Deprive them of work, their passports, food and sleep:

they are still rich.

A people are poor and enslaved when they are robbed of the language inherited from their parents:

it is lost forever.

Source: *Io faccio il poeta.* Ignazio Buttitta (1972)

A todos los que aman investigar

para comprender libre y conscientemente

a través de barreras y prejuicios.

(Salvatore Le Donne)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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GLOSSARY OF TRANSCRIPT SYMBOLS

AILA = Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée; International Association of Applied Linguistics

ANIMU = Associazione Nazionale Interpreti di Lingua dei Segni Italiana (National Italian Association of Sign Language Interpreters)

ANIOS = Associazione Interpreti di Lingua dei Segni Italiana (National Italian Association of Sign Language Interpreters)

APEC = Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN = Association of South-East Asian Nations

ASL = American Sign Language

BELF = English as a Business Lingua Franca

BICS = Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

BSL = British Sign Language

CA = Conversation Analysis

CALP = Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

CEAPAT = Centro de Referencia Estatal de Autonomía Personal y Ayudas Técnicas

CEFR = Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CI = Cochlear Implant

CILP = Current Issues in Language Planning

CLIL = Content and Language Integrated Learning

CLT = Community Language Teaching

CoE = Council of Europe

CPE = Chinese Pidgin English

EAEC = East Asian Economic Caucus

EAL = English as an Additional Language

ECHO = European Cultural Heritage Online

ECMI = The European Centre for Minority Issues

EDF = European Disability Forum

EFL = English as a Foreign Language

EIcL = English as an Intercultural Language

EIL = English as an International Language

ELF = English as a Lingua Franca

ELT = English Language Teaching

ENGO = European non-Governmental organization

ENL = English as a Native Language

ENS = Ente Nazionale dei Sordomuti (Deaf mute people's National Association)

ESL= English as a Second Language

ESOL = English for Speakers of Other Languages

EUD = The European Union of the Deaf

FALiCs = Training and Updating in LIS and Deaf culture

H = High Variety

IC = Intercultural Communication

ICA = Intercultural Awareness

ICC = Intercultural Communicative Competence

ICSU = International Council for Science

IDP(s) = Internally Displaced People(s)

IJSL = International Journal of the Sociology of Language

IM = Immigrant Minority

IMF = International Monetary Fund

INGO(s) = International Non-Governmental Organization(s)

JMMD = Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development

LEP = Limited English Proficient

LFEs = Lingua Franca Englishes

LIS = Lingua dei Segni Italiana (Italian Sign Language)

LOTE = Language Other Than English

L = Low Variety

LE = Languages in Education/Languages for Education

LPP = Language Policy and Planning

LSC = Llengua de Signes Catalana

LSE = Lengua de Signos Española

LSE = Local Standard English

LSPV (LSCV) = Llengua de Signes Valenciana

L1(s) = First language(s)

L2(s) = Second language(s)

MCA = Membership Categorization Analysis

MCE = Manually Coded English

MCP = Multilingual Cities Project

NADs = National Associations of the Deaf

NCLB= No Child Left Behind

NES(s) = Native English Speaker(s)

NGO(s) = Non-Governmental Organization

NNS(s) = Non-Native Speaker(s)

NS(s) = Native Speaker(s)

NSC = Native Speaker(s) of Chinese

OSCE = Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

RM = Regional Minority

RP = Received Pronunciation

SEU = School, Education, University

SLs = Sign languages

SLP(s) = Sign Language People(s)

SSILA = Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

ST = Sociocultural Theory

TEFL = Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TEK = Traditional Ecological Knowledge

TL = Target Language

UNEP = United Nations Environmental Programme

UNHCR = UN High Commissioner for Refugees

UNFCCC = United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

WFD = World Federation of the Deaf

WTO = World Trade Organization

PREFACE

This thesis is a conceptual and descriptive review of the working field of language ecology from a postmodernist perspective. It looks into the pluricentric, holistic, intercultural and multidisciplinary implications of language ecology and English as a *lingua franca*, i.e."[…] a contact language spoken by interactants that do not share a common L1" (Jenkins, 2006) in a variety of EU glocal, i.e. global and local, sociolinguistic scenarios. Positing a semiotic construct of language as an open and inclusive process and a close interrelationship between language and power dynamics (Bourdieu, 1982, 1986, 1991), my analysis gives an overview of theoretical questions related to the import of language ecology, diversity, bi/multiligualism and the functional role of English as a *lingua franca* and *lingua mundi*, or present-day global means of world communication, in the EU, in a geocentric, contextual, action-oriented and critical approach to language as opposed to the anthropocentric, decontextualized and fractional constructs of 20th century rational structuralism.

In his introduction to the second chapter of his inspiring work, *The Ecology and Semiotics of Language Learning. A Sociocultural Perspective*, Leo van Lier (2004) ushers in his ecocentric worldview and a new encompassing conception of language by posing a fundamental question, "[…] What is language?" […], asking the reader for a satisfactory answer beyond the traditional componential notion of building blocks— "[…] it consists-of sounds, words, sentences, and so on […]"—or "[…] a more general functional statement such as '[…] a system for communicating'— to define language "[…] with a definition you are pretty sure is accurate and complete […]" (23).

The inherent conundrum of thinking up "[…] a definition that is definitive and agreeable to everybody up and down the city streets or the college corridor" (ibid.) thriving on the postmodernist idea of the context as "[…] ever-widening concentric ripples, with the individual at the center" (van Lier, 1988: 83), or the suggestive image of the layers of an onion (van Lier, 2004: 43) reminded me of lengthy red-eyed homework hours spent on trying to carve a logical sense out of many long, disembodied and puzzling phrases and clauses from Latin and Greek as well as memorize decontextualized excerpts from English literature. That and my later experience as an English teacher in Italian secondary schools

have strengthened my personal perception of the semiotic artificiality of language learning out of a situated context, and constraints of an abstract, mental, componential, 'either-or' idea of correctness and competence in mainstream school curricula and in the approaches of cognitive science for several decades, and mainly to date.

Realizing that language does not live in a vacuum, nor—along with linguists such as Chomsky (2000) and Pinker (1994)—does it simply boil down to "[…] an 'organ' that just grows, or an 'instinct […]'" (van Lier, 2004: 32), has led me to share a number of postmodernist postulates connected to the philosophical beliefs and pedagogic research of poststructural linguists and sociolinguists, especially M. Halliday's functional perspective (1978, 1990, 2001), L.S. Vygotzky's sociocultural theory (1962, 1978) and M. Foucault's notion of problematization (1972, 1977, 1980, 1985). In fact, the late 20th century emphasis on real-world utterance and performance by pragmatics and on text and discourse by discourse analysts had laid the ground for a holistic, world-friendly, situated, interrelated and expansive centrality of the context in the language ecology representation of language, both in the theoretical assumptions and in the pedagogic applications of language learning and teaching. It is interesting, to this effect, to report what Barbara Johnstone (2008) writes about the new concept of "discourse" as worked out by Foucault and developed by Critical Discourse Analysis:

> The Western tradition of thought about language has tended to privilege referential discourse and to imagine that discourse (at least ideally) reflects the pre-existing world. But as twentieth-century philosophers (Foucault, 1980), rhetoricians (Burke, [1945] 1969), and linguists (Sapir, 1921; Whorf,

> 1941) showed us again and again, the converse is also true, or perhaps truer: human worlds are shaped by discourse (Johnstone, 2008: 11).

This study thrives, in particular, on Foucault's far-reaching construct of problematization as ethical practice that requires a definition and assessment of the most pressing problems to which one must respond rather that attempt to solve them once and for all. The authority of "Foucault" is most often deployed to support models of critical social science, understood as a set of procedures for revealing the operations of power in the routines of everyday and organisational life. In this regard, van Lier (2004: 17) voices a topical urgency: "We should put aside as immoral any views that consider students only or primarily as economic units (useful and productive citizens – in other words, fodder for a commercial and political machinery, or Foucault's (1977) *homo docilis*".

Rabinow's interview with Foucault (1984) gives good insights into his idea of problematization. The French philosopher explains the fundamental interconnection between knowledge, politics and ethics and, above all, his dynamic construct of thought: not just an object of thought, a set of ideas or a domain of attitudes but "[…] what allows one to step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present it as an object of thought and to question it as to its meaning, its conditions and its goals" (388). Against any form of dogmatism, then, Foucault appears to put forward his idea of freedom, maintaining that "the study of thought is the analysis of a freedom" (ibid.), as a kind of self-reflecting thinking motion, or heuristic for exploring (Johnstone, 2008: 9): "Thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches from it, establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem" (Foucault, 1984: 388). Thought is connected with uncertainty as a kind of proactive and creative prerequisite for a protean search for truth. This entails sharing a long-held conviction within academia, reasserted by postmodernism, that all knowledge is uncertain, truths or theories cannot be accepted as given, researchers tend to be conformist and paradigm bound (Kuhn, 1970) and theoretical developments are partly based on rethinking and challenging entrenched assumptions underlying dominating theories (Tsoukas & Knudsen, 2004). Paulo Freire introduced problematization as a "[…] strategy for developing a critical consciousness" (Montero & Sonn, 2009: 80). In his view,

problematization is a pedagogic practice that disrupts taken-for granted "truths". This objective is accomplished by posing the "myths fed to the people by the oppressors" as "problems" (Freire, 1972: 132). Such a view seems especially in line with the tenets of qualitative research: explorative, open-ended, emergent, all-inclusive. Nothing is given for granted, not even the problematizer's theoretical foundations, which, in a way, are exploratively and retrospectively reconsidered in the course of the research itself. It is reasonable to see this as the converse of the Galilean scientific method of "hypothesis/thesis/analysis/conclusion" linear progression. Consistently,

> [F]or a domain of action, a behaviour, to enter the field of thought, it is necessary for a certain number of factors to have made it uncertain, to have made it lose its familiarity, or to have provoked a certain number of difficulties around it. These elements result from social, economic, or political processes. But here their only role is that of instigation. They can exist and perform their action for a very long time, before there is effective problematization by thought. And when thought intervenes, it doesn't assume a unique form that is the direct result or the necessary expression of these difficulties; it is an original or specific response—often taking many forms, sometimes even contradictory in its different aspects—to these difficulties, which are defined for it by a situation or a context and which hold true as a possible question (Foucault, 1984: 388-389).

Grounded in hands-on English-teaching experience, this study aims to spotlight the weaknesses of a monolingual and monocultural mindset and focuses on the dilemma between a *de facto* English dominance and glocal bi/multilingual concerns across the European Union. By rejecting power-entrenched nation-state idiosyncracies, e.g. native language, speech community and mainstream assessment frameworks, and capitalizing on Foucalt's inspiring paradigm of "problematization" (1972, 1977, 1980, 1985), it looks to a new ethical and committed heuristic for exploring as a responsive engagement with the problems of our present, building on a historical setting of linguacultural groups and spotting gaps in existing theories for constructing holistic research questions. The rejection of definitive statements, the search for a critical consciousness and an ever-provisional response to a multifaceted and contradictory reality also inspire the questions I place at the end of this thesis.

From the German biologist Ernst Haeckel (1866) onwards, ecology has encompassed a variety of ideological and operative concerns and perspectives. Capitalizing on Vygotzky's sociocultural theory and quoting J. P. Lantolf (2000: 251), Leo van Lier (2004) writes that the term refers

> […] to the totality of relationships of an organism with all other organisms with which it comes into contact. Its core meaning relates to the study and management of the environment (ecosphere, or biosphere) or specific ecosystems. However, it is also used to denote a worldview that is completely different from the scientific or rational one inherited from Descartes, which assumes that it is the right of the human race to control and exploit the earth and all its inanimate and animate resources (the *anthropocentric* worldview) The ecological worldview is, by contrast, *ecocentric* or *geocentric*, and it assumes, similar to the belief systems of indigenous peoples, that humans are part of a greater natural order, or even a great living system, Gaia (the living earth; see Capra, 1996; Goldsmith. 1998; Lovelock, 1979; as well as the indigenous peoples of North and South America and elsewhere) (van Lier, 2004: 3).

Over the last decades applied linguistic research has tried to condense that germinal variety into a working theory of language ecology inspired by the wide-ranging and multidisciplinary debate on the sociocultural phenomenon of globalization and operatively applied to diverse sociocultural scenarios.

Starting on a diachronic assessment of language policy and planning (LPP) and Language Rights from a postmodernist perspective focused on the core issues of bilingual education and biodiversity, my research conducts a qualitative inquiry into a number of sociolinguistic issues searching for a viable ecolinguistic frame for the needs and developments of the current century especially focused on the EU sociocultural diversity. In view of language spread implications and the pervasive role of English as a glocal language in the Outer Circle countries (English as a Second Language) and Expanding Circle countries (English as a Foreign Language), I have surveyed distinct categories of language minorities—autochthonous, or indigenous, and lesser-used, languages, allochthonous, or migrant, languages and sign languages—, in order to draw some working

conclusions on the conditions of those language communities and real-world prospect of biocultural diversity and ecolinguistic balance. This has led me to look into the multifaceted meaning of identity and the interwoven controversial debate on bilingual and multilingual education to finally look at English as a *lingua franca* as a *de facto* world phenomenon. Drawing the strands together, I have conclusively considered the magmatic language panorama of Europe, with a survey of its multifarious pedagogic realities, and the in-the-making possibility of a post-global holistic language ecology beyond monolingual submersion and monocultural assimilation.

Ultimately, this investigation is meant to stimulate critical thought and discussion of ELF application to educational and occupational settings for the purpose of a situated, even-handed and encompassing language ecology opening "[...] windows through which we are better able to see reality" (Natsoulas, 1993).

0. INTRODUCTION

a. A postmodernist perspective. Language as a semantic process

A major breakthrough in recent sociolinguistic investigation has been to question the validity of a number of constructs and ideas traditionally taken for granted by Western linguists. The dual nature of English as a *lingua franca* and its sociocultural implications, in particular, are emblematic of the ambivalent fluidity and intercultural integrativeness of our times, mirroring the mobile, cross-cultural outlook of the glocal village. Thus, a number of mainstream formal paradigms and Chomskyan constructs based on 20th century ideological and political allegiances and proper to monoglossic and monocultural nation-state have been superseded by progressive frameworks relevant to a role-relationship of interactants in a real-world situational context.

In detail, black-and-white postulates, such as traditional grammar and its prescriptive and proscriptive mainly written standard-based norms versus functional and pragmatically inclusive description, native, second and foreign language speaker, interlanguage and target language, language competence and language performance, monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism, cultural and linguistic identity, "recitation script" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) and "analytic" teaching versus "experiential" teaching (Harley, 1991) have been replaced by 21st century concepts and frameworks massively spread by ever-cheaper and diffuse Internet availability: descriptive grammar, multitasking, nativized speaker, non-standard variety and variability, a pragmatic and holistic sense of correctness, multiple, transcultural identities, multimodal and multilingual repertoire, translanguaging

(Williams, Cen 1994, 1996), *lingua receptiva* (Rehbein, ten Thije & Verschik, 2010), semantic, cross-lingual, "experiential" scaffolding (Walqui, 2006), intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997), symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2009, 2011) and intercultural awareness (Baker, 2009, 2011a, 2012a).

From a postmodernist theoretical standpoint, at the core of much language controversy over issues such as the meaning of correctness, the choice of a standard for communication and pedagogy, identity, global submersion and individual/societal transcendence there seems to have been a persistent monoglossic and centripetal idea of language as a set "product", with linguistic boundaries, unchangeably close to the literary patterns of a dead medium.

Languages, as suggested, do not originate or develop in a vacuum: both natural and artificial languages mirror an ever-changing sociocultural reality of language interaction that makes, transforms and dissolves them over time. The alternative to language as a product is looking at language as a "process", i.e. an ongoing individual choice of strategies from a repertoire of code-mixing, code-switching, paralinguistic elements, gesture and body language geared, as mentioned, to the situational context and role relationship of interactants. I subscribe to the constructivist view of Halliday (2001), who seems to counter Chomsky's (1959: 26-58, 1965, 1972) innatist perspective as well as Sapir's (1921) and Whorf's (1940, 1956) linguistic determinism: language is a dynamic force that is produced by and produces reality. Accordingly, Halliday (2001) views language as actively creating reality, instead of passively reflecting it:

> […] language does not passively reflect reality: language actively creates reality. […] The categories and concepts of our material existence are not 'given' to us prior to their expression in language. Rather they are construed by language, at the intersection of the material with the symbolic. Grammar in the sense of the syntax and vocabulary of a natural language is thus a theory of human experience. It is also a principle of social action. In both these functions, or metafunctions, grammar creates the potential within which we act and enact our cultural being. This potential is at once both enabling and constraining: that is grammar makes meaning possible and also set[s] limits on what can be meant (Halliday, 2001: 179).

In other terms, language is "[…] the principal means of our socialization into our group and the principal means of our meaning making […]" (Wright, 2004: 5).

Indeed, if language is partly a biological phenomenon deeply investigated by today's neuroscience, it is, on the other hand, a social construct and a cultural artefact that, in a broader vision than grammar itself, "[…] makes meaning possible and also set(s) limits on what can be meant" (Halliday, 2001: 179).

Johnstone (2008: 268), quoting Becker (1991, 1995: 226-234) points out that "language" is not an object, but a process: "languaging." Becker draws on the work of phenomenologist Ortega y Gasset (1957) who writes that "[…] what [linguistics] calls 'language' really has no existence, it is a utopian and artificial image constructed by linguistics itself. In effect, language is never 'a fact', for the simple reason that it is […] always making and unmaking itself" (Ortega y Gasset, 1957: 242).

Prodromou (2006: 67) also states that language is a process which indexes "[…] face-to-face interaction in pragmatic terms, rather than a static linguistic *product*".

Conclusively, Colin Baker and Wayne E. Wright (2017) illustrate the postmodernist construct of language as a dynamic, transcultural and multilingual process quoting Ofelia García (2009a):

> The additive view of bilingualism is more of a 20th century concept. O. García (2009a) suggests that a 21st-century view is more dynamic, with the hybrid, overlapping and simultaneous use of different languages. Such 'translanguaging' reflects transcultural identities and multilingualism in an increasingly globalized world of communication. The dynamic, simultaneous existence of different languages in communication makes for a close interrelationship between languages, which is more than being additive ( ).

This construct of process resembles that of *lingua receptiva*, "[…] a dynamic process of negotiation of meanings […]" since "[…] authenticity, as Widdowson (1996) says, is not *given* but *created* by the speakers" (Prodromou, 2006: 67).

Notwithstanding, the other side of the coin, and a matter for debate, is that the very idea that language does not flow in a shapeless vacuum has pedagogic implications.

Language has to be learnt and taught *hic et nunc* so ongoing painstaking description is necessarily aimed at setting viable—though flexible and creatively scaffolded—patterns to learn, use and teach.

At the same time, the very awareness of an ever-changing process bound to a variety of situated sociocultural contexts has led me to a more sympathetic, and maybe more inclusive, idea of applied linguistics and investigation into language: not just the language of schools and academies but also too many a refugee child's and woman's cry of anguish and (often unspoken) plea for help in today's mainly wall-building world of ours.

b. Building walls or bridges? The hybrid duality of glocal English

Building on such postmodernist criteria, my thesis tries to look into the real-world hybridity of English, as clarified by Juliane House (2003: 573) providing a focus for further debate on the following points:

a. Over the centuries the spoken/written divide and sociocultural variation and variability have uneventfully featured the evolution of language. In the 5th century AD and later, for example, the use of classical Latin as a mainly acrolectal written medium never prevented speakers—be it scholars and scribes or rural agriculturalists—from dropping cases and borrowing novel words from 'barbaric' invaders to convey novel ideas in the newborn Romance tongues. Looking at language as a dynamic, transcultural and multilingual process that makes and unmakes itself rather than a set product for prescriptive and proscriptive use and pedagogy, I have tried to refute a reified image of language: language, just like the mouth organ, is neither good nor bad. It can be advantageously put to the most diverse use. This has especially concerned the instrumental function of all contact languages, like pidgins, creoles and *lingua francas*, in world history.

In fact, similar to Latin, French and other *lingua francas*, English has been the instrument of ruthless conquest, hegemony and clout, language attrition and death in the

Inner-and Outer-circle countries, covert heuristic and "mathetic"[1] submersion (Halliday 1978: 54-56), i.e. the very way of looking at reality and shaping knowledge and discourse, in the Expanding circle area,[2] US postcolonial predominance, ISIS terrorists' blood-curdling propaganda, but also the language of Shakespeare and Gandhi, human, civil and racial rights, non-violent action, women's liberation movement and gay and environmental-campaign vindication.

So, starting from a dismissal of the traditional nation-state 'one country, one people, one language' ideology, and black-and-white ideas of native/non-native speaker, identity/communication, language competence/incompetence and correctness/error, I have looked into those forms of ambivalence and duality epitomized by glocal English hegemony.

b. This duality has entailed discussing a foremost issue in the linguistic debate: the pervasive role of glocal English vis-à-vis an array of languages, i.e. European standards, regional tongues, dialects, allochthonous languages and sign languages, a good deal of which are endangered or meet with attrition and death, as D. Crystal (2000) has significantly demonstrated. Ample investigation has probed into the role relationship of these languages with glocal English and the related questions of language endangerment, attrition and death the world over. Critical linguists (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998, 1999b, 2006, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008) affirm that the defence and promotion of all minority languages is no more than defence and promotion of human rights. We know that there are 7,111 known living languages in the world just 23 accounting for more than half the world's population (*Ethnologue*, 2019). In the face of this, language diversity and related "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 1992: 274-275) should be regarded as an asset and a variegated mine of cultural voices and world views. Commissioner Reding, reported by J.W. Jones at the 2003 EU Commission Conference, 'Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity', emphasized the key role of linguacultural diversity in the EU:

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[1] From ancient Greek *μαθητικός*, i.e. relating to knowledge or to the process of learning (English Oxford Living Dictionaries 2019).
[2] See the insights of Critical Theory, especially J. Habermas' (1981) Theory of Communicative Action, M. Foucault (1972), P. Bourdieu (1982, 1991, 2001), J. Tollefson (1991, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2006) and R. Phillipson (1992) all based on A. Gramsci's (1971, 1985) concept of cultural hegemony.

> Linguistic diversity is a democratic and cultural cornerstone of the European Union, recognized in Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004-2006*).

The issue of minority language defence and revitalization—including pidgins, creoles and variously-endangered minor languages—is obviously related to the predominant role of English as a *de facto* glocal *lingua franca*, reminiscent of Swales' notion of *lingua tyrannosaura* (1996). In many cases, minority languages still have to struggle against loss and shift in a generally subtractive diglossic situation resulting from the pervasive power of English. It often looks like an uneven struggle—apparent from fashion and diet advertising—, especially in case of weak educational policies or ineffective language defence and promotion, as in Italy today. Still, the struggle, if well engineered, may revitalize a language and increase its social prestige and vigour. This has concerned a number of countries and regions in Europe, notably the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, Wales and Scotland, where the setting up of minority language radio and television channels has striven to reverse language shift, standardizing language in a wide range of styles and registers and furthering a shared sense of sociocultural identity and belonging.[3]

c. The advent, mass production and ever cheaper availability of information technology and the Internet marked an irreversible breakthrough at the close of the 20th century. We are still assessing the ongoing pros and cons of a phenomenon that has overturned the world's socioeconomic and cultural order, power relations between countries, individual life and the very perception of time, space and reality.

Digital technology has also enabled a diffuse and cheaper availability of language learning. An array of findings and studies attest to the multiple, undeniable advantages of

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[3] See the *Action Plan 2004-2006* and, as far as Britain is concerned, the *Purpose plan for delivering the BBC public purpose: Representing the UK, its nations, regions and communities*.

bi/multilingualism: mental, educational, societal, job-related, etc. (e.g. Da Silva *et al.*, 2007; Vaish, 2008a; Carreira & Armengol, 2001; McGroarty, 2002; Tse, 2001; Shinge, 2008; V. Edwards, 2004; Baker & Kim, 2003; Grin *et al.*, 2010; Heller, 1999a, 2002). Mastering more languages than English, especially other *lingua francas* such as Putonghua, Cantonese, Arabic, Hindi, Swahili and Portuguese, has only been an accrued benefit to mass tourism in several countries, as remarked by Colin Baker (2011: 421) and exemplified by Slovenia, where German, Italian and English, as well as Slovene, are widely used. Indeed, if, on the one hand, minority languages are still mainly associated with a typical "ethnic approach" of rituals and dances for gawking tourists, on the other, eco-tourism and "cultural tourism" have signified a more conscientious attitude and situated appreciation of contemporary living cultures on the part of a growing number of tourists (414-415).

The debate on the hybridity and encroaching role of glocal English has led me to an assessment of bilingualism and multilingualism in today's multicultural, cross-cultural and increasingly intercultural society. As regards the present role of bilinguals and multilinguals, this work aims to focus on the part played by English and the actual enactment of bi/multilingual policy and planning in the EU. Many linguists state the unpredictability of the balance of power between majority and minority languages in the coming decades. Yet, a closer look at five key domains—employment, tourism, mass media, information technology and economy—attests that bilingualism and multilingualism are a definite asset in the glocal village. From a real-world perspective, as signified by Susan Wright (2004), mastering English has come to be a form of empowering transcendence being the language today a commonplace, "necessary but not sufficient" baseline instrument to the advantage of European students and workers. English is further described by Grin (1999) as "[…] on the way to becoming a banal and unremarkable skill like literacy", "[…] a basic requirement for a whole raft of professions, activities and memberships" (Wright, 2004: 178). We maybe even share Fishman's optimistic description of the current spread of English as the "democratisation of a formerly elitist resource" that has become more and more available to the masses of the non-English speaking world (Fishman, 1996: 7).

d. Looking at the other side of the coin, English language spread still shuts out considerable social strata as being unable to speak English correlates with digital illiteracy and marginalization. Positing, with Susan Wright, that "The choice of language is dictated by forces outside the control of national policymakers and cannot be countered by any anti-globalisation bloc" (Wright 2004: 177), critical voices may build on José Vidal-Beneyto's view remarking "[…] el empobrecimiento que supone la abrumadora primacía del inglés, que nos está convirtiendo a todos en colonizados lingüísticos e impidiendo no ya el multilingüísmo, sino hasta el bilingüísmo, tan justificado en España"("Una lengua con otras lenguas"*, El País*, 12th July 2008) and share the critical position of Antonio Elorza in his article titled "El Manifiesto"*,* where he throws light on the renewed danger of exclusion and discrimination in the carrying out of linguistic normalization in minority language areas (*El País*,12th July 2008).

Conclusively, this thesis tries to investigate the viability of a new and possibly fairer language ecology in Europe as inspired by biodiversity and human rights awareness. We may wonder, in other terms, whether the European call for subsidiarity and devolution, the protection and promotion of regional, migrant, sign and dialectal identities and languages and the outlook on multicultural and multilingual heritage as a resource instead of a burden are workable or should only sound like wishful thinking.

In reality, in the face of these days' geopolitical turmoil, massive waves of migration as a consequence of blind Russian, American and European neo-colonial policies, inhuman conditions and great suffering of Syrian, Iraqi and African people, especially children and women—and the flimsy ideological distinction between political refugees and economic migrants—, state members' self-centred aloofness, wall building, world-surprising Brexit and US presidential elections, the plan of *strength in diversity,* in the mentioned article by Vidal-Beneyto—, "Pluralismo, pues, de las lenguas e integración lingüística, pero con diversidad cultural"—, may appear a sheer future possibility and postulate a different, more coherent, EU political framework altogether.

PART 1

A THEORETICAL BASIS FOR LANGUAGE ECOLOGY

CHAPTER 1

A THEORETICAL OUTLINE OF LANGUAGE ECOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

According to Ernst Haeckel (1866), who coined the term *ecology*—from ancient Greek *οἶκος*, "house", or "environment"; *-λογία*, "study of"—in 1866, ecology is "the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature". It is then the study of a set of interrelationships:

> […] the investigation of the total relations of the animal both to the inorganic and its organic environment; including, above all, its friendly and inimical relations with those animals and plants with which it comes directly or indirectly into contact—in a word, ecology is the study of those complex interrelations referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence (Translation by R. Brewer, 1988: 1. In Kaplan 2010: 421).

Ecology soon developed into a separate branch of biology, in which special emphasis was laid on the different relationships between animals and plants (e.g. feeder—fodder, predator—prey relationships, etc.) and in which the biodiversity of the earth was studied. Some distinguishing—and ever-topical—features of ecological thinking include:

a. Scope of investigation: not just system internal factors but wider environmental considerations.

b. Awareness of the dangers of monoculturalism.

c. Awareness of the limitations of both natural and human resources.

d. Long-term vision.

e. Awareness of factors sustaining the health of ecologies (Kaplan, 2010: 421).

A number of things have changed since Haeckel's times. In detail:

1. The extension of the ecology metaphor to new domains such as "the ecology of mind" and "the ecology of language" (ibid.).

2. The revaluation of the notion of "the conditions of the struggle for existence". Indeed, functioning ecologies tend to point out the predominantly mutual beneficial links more than the competitive nature of the relationships (ibid.).

Today 'ecological' still embraces these meanings, but, in a more general sense, it stresses the interactions between all beings while recognizing the relations between individuals (big and small) and the context they exist in, being in favour of diversity, as opposed to unification, levelling and globalization.

In his seminal work, published in 1836, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwickelung des Menschengeschlechts* [On the Diversity of Human Language Construction and its Influence on the Spiritual Development of the Human Race], the German philosopher and philologist Wilhelm von Humboldt addressed the question of language diversity, which he saw as an enormous potential for the development of human ideas and for providing "energies" for interpreting the world.

At the beginning of the 20th century, linguists began to take an interest in the connections between language and the environment. The American linguist Edward Sapir, in an article titled "Language and Environment", published in *American Anthropologist* in

1912, showed how languages are influenced by their "environment", i.e. the geographical and topographical surroundings of their speakers (Sapir, 1912). It was von Humboldt and Sapir who laid the groundwork for the modern study of ecolinguistics.

Over the last century, with the new threats of overpopulation, pollution and destruction of species, ecology began to adopt the meaning of a (healthy) network, or dynamic system, of relations between living beings, which was increasingly in danger of getting destabilized and which it was the task of scientists to save. The discipline, in a way, developed into a movement in favour of saving threatened species, using resources sparingly and sustainably and generally maintaining the biodiversity of this planet.

The ecology metaphor was first used in linguistics in a paper by C.F. Vögelin, F.M. Vögelin and N.W. Schutz Jr. (1967) on the language varieties in Arizona, where a distinction is drawn between "intralanguage ecology" and "interlanguage ecology" (Kaplan, 2010: 421-422). Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2001) remind us that "the first serious sociolinguistic attempts to explore linguistic ecology pleaded for linguistics to be grounded in societal context and change" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson 2001:1). Trim's (1959: 9-25) and Haugen's (1971) articles entail multidisciplinarity and build on multilingual scholarship. Indeed, eight works by Trim are in German, six in English and four in French, whereas today's globalization processes have turned academia more monolingual (Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson, 2001: 1).

In 1972, Einar Haugen introduced the metaphor independently in his seminal paper, titled *The Ecology of Language*, based on "The Stigmata of Bilingualism", a lecture given at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, USA, in 1970. According to Haugen, language ecology may be defined as "[…] the study of interactions between any given language and its environment […]" (Creese, Martin & Hornberger, 2008: i). The term is a metaphor derived from the study of living beings. It implies that one can study languages as one studies the interrelashionship of organisms with and within their environments and contains a number of subsidiary metaphors and assumptions. Accordingly, languages can be regarded as entities located in time and space and the ecology of languages is in part different from that of their speakers:

[…] it seems to me that the term 'ecology of language' covers a broad range of interests within which linguists can cooperate significantly with all kinds of social scientists towards an understanding of the interaction of languages and their users. One may even venture to suggest that ecology is not just a name of a descriptive science, but in its application has become the banner of a movement for environmental sanitation. The term could include also in its application to language some interest in the general concern among laymen over the cultivation and preservation of language. Ecology suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic. What will be, or should be, for example, the role of 'small' languages; and how can they, or any other language be made 'better', 'richer', and more 'fruitful' for mankind? (Haugen, 1972, reprinted in Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001: 60).

Haugen, then, ushered in a form of linguistics which used the metaphor of an ecosystem to describe the relationships among the diverse forms of language found in the world and the groups of people who speak them. The notion of the environment includes both the society that uses the language and the human mind in which it may be surrounded by other languages, and implies the question: what concurrent languages are employed by speakers of a given language? (Haugen, 1972: 336) The scholar referred to two distinct levels, or fields of enquiry, of language ecology:

—A psychological level: "[…] its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi-and multilingual speakers" (325).

—A sociological level: "[…] its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication" (325).

Yet, in the end, who matters is people: "[…] the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others" (325).

When Haugen first used "ecology" as a metaphor in linguistics, he formulated ten questions which all have to do with the position of a language in relation to other languages, its different varieties, its status in a society, its overlap with other languages and the degree of bilingualism of its users. However, he was already aware of the more "ideological" meaning of ecology when he suggested "[…] that ecology is not just the name of a descriptive science, but in its application has become the banner of a movement

for environmental sanitation" (Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001: 59). Haugen also addressed the role of small languages and thus anticipated some of the topics which later became the central area of ecolinguistic research (Block de Behar *et al.*, 2009: 187). The quotation above shows that the American linguist soon came to view linguistics as dynamic, committed, real-world intervention, instead of intellectual and, often, decontextualized description. Languages have frequently been compared to organisms which grow, have a life of their own and may die from a number of causes, among them suppression by governments, but also natural extinction through the death of the last speakers. What is new about Haugen's (1972) ecological metaphor is that it compares languages not to individual living beings but rather to whole species, and that it shows languages as existing not in isolation but in their "environment", as part of an ecological system with all its interrelations and its forms of equilibrium, which may be stable or in danger of getting destabilized. This environment of a language is, as mentioned, of a twofold nature:

1. On the one hand, it is the languages interacting in the speaker's mind.

2. On the other, it is the other languages spoken in a society and the culture of this society. Creese, Martin and Hornberger (2008) write that "The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes" (i).

Thus, we can distinguish between individual and societal language contacts.

Ecolinguistics is a new branch of linguistics that studies how language influences the development and possible solution of ecological and environmental problems. Some ecolinguists use the construct of ecosystems metaphorically, as language world systems are analysed by means of concepts transferred from biological ecology. The term ecolinguistics was probably first used in 1985, in the French form "écolinguistique", by the French linguist Claude Hagège (1985). In his book, *L'homme de paroles*, he defined the term as "[…] the study of the linguistic representation of natural phenomena" (Block de Behar *et al.*, 2009: 186). Hagège's definition would today only refer to one part of the whole study. In its present comprehensive sense, ecolinguistics was used by a group of enthusiasts around Franz Verhagen, who in 1990 organized some meetings on ecological

aspects of linguistics at the AILA conference in Thessaloniki. The discipline emerged in the 1990s as a new paradigm of linguistic research, explaining not only the social context that surrounds language, but also the ecological context in which societies are embedded.

Ecolinguistics subsumes two main approaches: linguistic ecology and ecocritical discourse analysis. Linguistic ecology is based on the postulates of critical realism. It is now, to put it with Mark Abley (2003), "[…] a recognized field of study, not just a figure of speech" (273). Abley writes that dialects are to languages as subspecies are to species: "Chain saws and invaders menace them indiscriminately" (ibid.). He emphasizes the mathetic power of threatened languages and the necessity of carrying out, with their survival, "[…] the endurance of dozens, hundreds, thousands of subtly different notions of truth" (277). He also refers to the impossibility of articulating certain ideas through our tongues, which are, instead, vocalized, for example, by Aboriginal languages:

> With our astonishing powers of technology, it's easy for us in the West to believe we have all the answers. Perhaps we do—to the questions we have asked. But what if some questions elude our capacity to ask? What if certain ideas cannot be fully articulated in our words? "There are amazing things about Aboriginal languages," Michael Christie told me when I visited his office at Northern Territory University in Darwin. "Their concepts of time and agency, for example. They go right against our ideology of linear time—past, present, and future. I reckon they'd completely revolutionize Western philosophy, if only we knew more about them" (Abley, 2003: 277).

The semantic definition of linguistic ecology is still open to debate: whether a form of ecolinguistics or a part of sociolinguistics. Investigating how languages interact with each other and the places they are spoken in, the discipline is mainly concerned with, and argues for, the preservation of endangered languages as an analogy of the preservation of biological species. Some affirm that this is not ecolinguistics because it is centred on language rather than the impact of language on actual physical/biological ecosystems. Others, however, have viewed the distinction between the metaphorical "linguistic ecology" and "ecolinguistics" as reductionist (Steffensen, 2007: 3-31), on account of the close association of high linguistic diversity with high biological diversity (Bastardas-

Boada, 2002). Mühlhäusler (1995) has examined the relationship between linguistic diversity and biodiversity, especially how local ecological knowledge is built into local language varieties and threatened, when the local language is threatened by a dominant language. A compromise position allows for two possible semantic scopes: linguistic ecology is:

> a. A form of ecolinguistics if its purpose is the preservation of the actual ecosystems that sustain life and the instrument is by preserving language diversity.

> b. A form of sociolinguistics if its only objective is language diversity (Stibbe, 2010).

As relates to the application of discourse analysis to the ecology of language, Mühlhäusler and Peace (2006) hold that "[…] the structural properties and metaphors of discourses about the ecology of languages and the relationship of language to ecological matters have developed into a distinct discourse category" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 432). This especially qualifies the stance of committed linguists who equate "[…] the endangerment of the world's linguistic diversity" […]"to the loss of biological diversity" as languages are increasingly perceived "[…] as inseparable parts of the biocultural environment" (ibid.). Calvet's (2006) analysis of linguistic ecologies and relevant discourses is emblematic of "[…] how problems in prehistoric and historical linguistics can be solved by applying new ways of speaking to them" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 432).

About further potential applications of language ecology, Mühlhäusler (2010) sees "A clear advantage of ecological linguistics over other theories […]" (433) through a large number of parameters and particular applicability to a range of practical tasks including the following:

1. Language planning and language revival.

C.H. Williams (1991a) first stressed the importance of understanding language planning as ecological task in 1991. Since then ecological language planning has replaced technical structural planning the world over (Liddicoat & Bryant, 2001: 137-140). The basic question of applied ecological linguistics is "What are the minimum ecological

requirements to sustain a given linguistic practice over long periods of time? The ultimate aim of all ecological planning is to promote structured diversity […]" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 433).

2. Second language teaching and learning.

The ecological perspective has also furthered second language teaching, which is thought to involve much more than structure and lexicon. In fact, "[…] for teaching/learning to be lasting […]", a holistic vision is required: "[…] the learners, the classrooms, the attitudes of both teachers and students, and many other factors need to be included" (ibid.).

3. Literacy teaching.

Likewise, literacy "[…] is much more than skill in writing and reading" (ibid.). The scholar remarks that "When the ecological conditions for a literate community are not given […], literacy programs cannot take off" (ibid.).

4. Eco-tourism language and environmentally appropriate language.

A study on the language of eco-tourism carried out by Mühlhäusler and Peace (2006) queries "[…] nonecological focusing on a few charismatic species and heavy emphasis on "survival of the fittest"" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 433) being "[…] common in this domain" (ibid.). By contrast, some linguists have propounded environmentally more suitable language, matching similar arguments for gender, race and age sensitivity (ibid.). Mühlhäusler (2010) writes that "Generally speaking, ecological linguists are weary of control and prescriptivism and particularly of single solutions" (434). He rejects "[…] focusing on single and simple formulae or universalist explanations […]"—as yet the norm in applied linguistics—that would not allow for the holistic complexity, generated by many parameters, of genuinely ecological approaches (ibid.).

1.2 The open-ended metaphor of language and ecology. Beyond the Western mindset of homogenizing conflict

By the early 1980s, the importance of the notion of language ecology to applied linguistics had become established, especially as concerns the issue of language shift and loss (Mackay, 1980). Haugen's (1972) metaphor has been reasonably successful as a paradigm for investigating the different contacts between languages. The metaphor of language ecology has been extensively connected to the concept of biodiversity and its concern with conserving and maintaining the variety of life forms. Along these lines, writers have creatively and pragmatically described languages/literacies and their speakers in particular kinds of relationships to one another. This has characterized, for instance, Hornberger's (2002b, 2003) ecological approach to multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy. The scholar states that the language ecology metaphor "[…] captures a set of ideological underpinnings for a multilingual language policy […]" (Hornberger, 2002b: 35) and points to how languages exist and evolve in an eco-system along with other languages, and how their speakers "[…] interact with their sociopolitical, economic and cultural environments" (ibid.).

The key metaphor of the struggle for existence has characterized much earlier work on language ecology. Mackey (1980) equates languages with bio-resources. They "[…] exist in environments" being "[…] friendly, hostile or indifferent […]" to the life of each other. They "[…] may expand, as more and more people use […]" them or "[…] may die for lack of speakers" (Mackey, 1980: 34). Thus, just like any animal or vegetal species, languages must contend with each other for existence, being in constant conflict. Denison (1982) underlines the idea of "[…] supplementation of each other […]" and "[…] competition with each other for geographical, social and functional *Lebensraum* […]", and […] "the metaphorical appropriateness of the term "ecology"" (6). Nelde (1987) argues for the importance of an ecological viewpoint not "[…] for the description of stable diglossic or multilingual linguistic areas or for open bilingual conflict ones […]" (189), but for endangered language situations, i.e. "[…] linguistics/ethnic contact areas in which one or

more languages or variants are in danger of dying without any apparent political decisions—whether linguistic, administrative or repressive—being made" (ibid.). Nelde (1987), then, seems to confine the ecological perspective to "pathological" situations, implying that the metaphor is not useful for understanding language contact situations that did not result in conflict and those where languages could coexist in a single communal community (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 422). In fact, Denison's (1982) and Nelde's (1987) outlooks have focused on the effects of nation-states and national languages, two constructs that have historically produced linguistic conflict and the endangerment of many minor languages. Mühlhäusler (2010) denies the existence of universal recipes for empowering endangered languages. He reminds us that "Empowering languages and making them more competitive by giving them grammars, lexicons, writing systems, and school syllabi is a recipe that ignores a basic ecological fact: What supports one language may not support another language. Each language requires its own ecological system" (423).

The metaphor of the struggle for existence has also attracted the attention of creolists, as pidgin and creole languages result from the colonizers' "[…] imposing their patterns of communication and competition onto colonized language communities" (ibid.). Mufwene (2001) accounts for the emergence of creole languages in colonial contexts. He builds upon "[…] earlier notions of creoles being languages with European lexicon and non-European grammar […]" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 423) and looks into the "[…] selective advantages that individual grammatical features have in the competition between substratum and superstratum languages" (ibid.). Mühlhäusler (2010) infers that the notion of "[…] language evolution as an essentially biological process, triggered off by external ecological conditions […]" (ibid.) may look partial since it ignores the relevance of "[…] deliberate human choices and interventions resulting from the ability of the human inhabitants of linguistic ecologies to reflect on their languages" (ibid.). This seems to bring into question the controversial issue of individual vs societal identity being one of the strands of this thesis. Calvet (2006: 53-56) has also laid emphasis on the importance of understanding the ecology of creole genesis and criticized Bickerton's artificial creation of a creole (Bickerton & Odo, 1976).

Competition and conflict have been the hallmark of nation-state language policy and planning when colonial powers privileged "[…] particular ways of speaking, such as that of the Île-de-France located in the center of Paris, or in the case of Kâte of Papua New Guinea, the variety spoken around the main mission station" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 425). Mühlhäusler does not deny the existence of a certain amount of language conflict in pre-nation-state language ecologies but rejects the idea of "[…] language ecologies as a battlefield" (ibid.). Instead, he maintains that the vast majority of the interrelationships are "[…] mutually beneficial" (ibid.). Indeed, most of the world ecology is multilingual and "[…] a large diversity of ways of speaking manages to coexist side by side […]" (ibid.), the same community often using several varieties (or languages) to the functional advantage of communication (Fill, 1993; Pütz, 1997: ix-xxi). Supposedly, Nelde's (1987) conflict hypothesis for sociolinguistic and applied sociolinguistic research does not seem suited to the language ecologies of Melanesia and Australia (33-42), as observed by Laycock (1981: 33-38): "[…] the most isolated areas, with the most difficult terrain (i.e. the New Guinea Highlands) […]" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 425-426), have "[…] not only the largest languages and the least linguistic diversity (languages with up to 150,000 speakers), but also the largest amount of violent intergroup conflict […]" (ibid.). Conversely, "[…] in the coastal areas, with a much easier terrain, we encounter the greatest linguistic variety, few languages with more than 500 speakers, extensive trade and cultural contacts, and, apparently, a much lower degree of intergroup conflict" (426). This case and others convince Mühlhäusler (2010) that "[…] social conflict and language contact are independent parameters, not part of the same package, and that unity and cooperation are compatible with both a high degree of linguistic diversity and contact as well as quasi-monolingualism and isolation" (ibid.). He mentions a special sublanguage, in many Australian languages, called "*mother-in-law language*, which can differ lexically and structurally from the everyday languages spoken in a community" (ibid.). This link-language, closely resembling *lingua franca*, would serve "[…] the principal function of conflict reduction when communicating with disharmonic relatives" (ibid.). The inherent functionality of language variety is once more exemplified by the multifarious situation in Papua New Guinea: "[…] in addition to the very large number of languages spoken in the area, there were numerous structurally reduced intervillage pidgins used in trade relations

between different language groups" (ibid.). Being used in a small domain of discourse, these intervillage pidgins also had the effect of conflict reduction. Dutton (1983) mentions the ancient Hiri trade language of Papua, not used by women or for talking about women, thus eschewing a domain of possible conflict (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 426). To this effect, it may be useful to remember Hymes' comment as to "[…] a viable future for language study […]" (Pütz, 1994: foreward) requiring some complex comparisons between opposing language practices: those "[…] that bring people together and those that permit people to be apart, to consider what is shared and what is unique in verbal repertoires that include both *lingue franche* and personal choices" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 426). Then, he affirms that "[…] the reduction of linguistic conflict appears to require two functional types of languages: identity-preserving languages and linking languages (*lingue franche*) (428). Mühlhäusler's conclusion is especially interesting. He writes that conflict arises when the two functions are "fudged": when a language that marks the identity of a community, for example, is employed as a linking language. International English or French are cases in point as they are used, at the same time, as national media and as *lingua francas*. This dual function inevitably augments their power and prestige while reducing "[…] the power of the other languages that come into contact with them" (ibid.). In this case, when speakers of a powerless language shift to the more prestigious *lingua franca* being used as language of identity, additional conflict can arise (ibid.). And more often than not, when the two functions are "fudged", the conflict leads to the ultimate submersion of the less prestigious language or language variety. This happened, among others, to French *patois* and Italian dialects, as a result of the status planning of nation-state standards, and affects large national languages like Italian in today's globalized English-mediated village.

Mackey (1980) identifies another criticism of Haugen's equation of language with a code: it is impossible to distinguish and separate linguistic behaviour from communicative behaviour: "One may question the very existence of non-linguistic social behaviour, since both language (*langue*) and language (language) are inseparably connected with all social activity" (36). This clashes with the view of modern linguists looking at languages as given fixed codes independent of other external considerations (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 428). In Mühlhäusler's view, the notion of language as "a linguistics rule", as observed by N.V.

Smith and D. Wilson (1979: 1) or "[…] a rule governed system, definable in terms of a grammar which separates grammatical from ungrammatical sentences, assigning a pronunciation and meaning to each grammatical sentence" (31) is highly controversial and "[…] foreign to members of non-Westernized societies" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 428). B.R. Anderson (1990) takes the example of the term *Basa* in Javanese: like *Bahasa* in Classical Malay, it meant "language" but the word has transcended the "[…] broad semantic field" over "[…] the notions of civility, rationality and truth." Thus, "[…] in the profoundest sense, Javanese […] was isomorphic with the world, as it were glued to it" (Anderson, 1990: 28). In other terms, "[…] words, or particular combinations of them, contained Power, like *kings*, *grasses*, *banyan-trees* and *sacred images* […]"—what the Maori from Aotearoa call *mana*—so "[…] their utterance could unleash that Power directly on, and in, the word" (ibid.). This holistic notion of language seems connected to the new pragmatist outlook on language: far beyond the scope of a closed system of rules, language comes to be a verbal and non-verbal set of repertoires with illocutionary and perlocutionary functions. Mühlhäusler (2010) affirms "The absence of a clear boundary between linguistics and other cultural practices […]" (428-429). Significantly, in fact, "Australian indigenous ways of speaking, for instance, recognize the holistic package of speaking, knowledge, land, dreaming, people, and cultural practices, and this view has prevailed among many speakers of pre-nation-state languages of Europe despite a pretense among linguists and politicians to reduce them to closed systems of rules" (429). The scholar finally questions the very metaphor of ecology which would not accommodate "[…] a holistic view of language and culture" (ibid.). Indeed, the static etymon of ecology—*οἶκος* means "house/home"—,"[…] a cultural artifact that has boundaries and recognizes distinct inhabitants, furniture, fittings and so forth" (ibid.), does not convey the holistic perspective that conceives of speaking as an activity or mode of being closely intertwined with collective culture and individual identity (ibid.).

1.3 The crucial import of language naming in language ecology

The notion of "language" itself in Haugen's ecological metaphor has been a matter for debate, as the scholar equates it with a code and states that each language, or language variety, "[…] far from being a separate independent organism or species, is rather to be seen as a symbiotic conglomerate" (Haugen, 1972: 325). Mühlhäusler refutes the traditional "[…] characterization of languages as fixed grammatical codes […]", which he deems "[…] reductionist and at worst a contributing factor in the loss of linguistic diversity" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 423). Like Susan Wright (2004: 19-41), the linguist sees the existence of continua, or language fila, before the advent of European nation-states, and mentions the example of "[…] the Germanic, stretching from the north of Scandinavia to the north of Italy and consisting of an indefinite number of varieties, of which the proximate ones were mutually intelligible and the distant ones were not" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 423). Ultimately, the birth of nation-states marked the superimposition of national standards, "[…] such as Swedish, Norwegian, German, Dutch and Letzebürgisch […]", which can be looked upon, with Haugen, as "cultural artifacts" (ibid.) requiring a sustaining framework of "[…] political and educational institutions, information technology and the like" (424).

One relevant issue linked to the ecology metaphor is then about language labelling: "The act of name giving by European linguists and missionaries can be compared to Europeans inscribing colonial landscapes with their place-names" (ibid.). Being named means that a tongue is semantically and officially acknowledged, and this brings with it a considerable number of rights and privileges. It […] can potentially feature in catalogues such as the UNESCO Atlas of the World's languages in Danger or obtain "[…] financial support for recognized minority languages within the European Union […]" leading "[…] to considerable competition for status and recognition" (ibid.).

A case in point was the establishment of named regional languages in post-Franco Spain: "[…] Galician, Asturian and Valencian are examples of ways of speaking that are becoming bounded and recognized, in the last case in an atmosphere of considerable

political conflict" (ibid.). Mühlhäusler and Peace (2006: 457-479) have looked into language labelling in Papua New Guinea with detailed criticism. Indeed, one important outcome of language naming and bounding is that the tenuously-labelled ways of speaking have been left behind. Mühlhäusler (2010: 425) mentions, among others, some 50 controversial languages in Europe, e.g. Piedmontese in Italy. The very label "language" seems questionable to Mühlhäusler: the construct would not be applicable to pre-nation state Europe or to "[…] more traditional settings", such as the Pacific area. In fact, the idea of a fixed grammatical code as employed by mainstream linguistics does not appear applicable to the Pacific panorama, with "[…] long chains of interrelated dialects and languages with no clear internal boundaries" (424). There, any definition of language as a distinct grammatical code as well as the issue of how many languages can be counted in a group are controversial when considering, e.g., "[…] the indeterminacy as to the language limits among certain of the nuclear languages" in Micronesia (ibid.). In the end, what we now call 'languages'—such as Trukese in the Micronesian region, or the European standards—were developed into "[…] linguistic systems of *language* status" in the hub areas "[…] where missionaries, administrators, or linguists have settled […]" (ibid.). There ensued a historical diversification between the "[…] discrete abstract entities called *languages* […]" and "[…] all other reference points on the same continuum […]" which "[…] become marginalized, dialectal deviations from the standard" (ibid.).

We may conclude, with Mühlhäusler (1995), that the label "language" does not describe "[…] the actual nature of most inhabitants of language ecologies but a metaphor, based on linguists' experience of European national languages […]" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 425). The metaphor would not be immediately applicable to other societies and, at any rate, "[…] stands in need of explanation and justification" (ibid.). The Western linguists' construct of "language" owes its importance to "[…] its use in reconstructing the past" through "[…] the metaphor of a family tree characterized by divergence and parthenogenesis" (ibid.). The issue of language splits and subsequent isolation has concerned the study of linguistic prehistory for some time, for example in the writings of Hill (1978: 1-26). The newer ecological approach of the last decades, as summarized by Nichols, (1997: 359-384) has broadened the conceptual scope in that it works with units

larger than single languages, i.e. language areas or language ecologies, describing "[…] the endemic interconnections between mutually dependent language groups" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 425) as applied to understanding the linguistic prehistory of the Pacific.

Related to language naming is the issue of language change. Mühlhäusler explains that mainstream linguistics has characterized this "[…] as being governed by natural laws or by fashions" (ibid.). In marked contrast, "[…] an ecological perspective highlights adaptation to external circumstances as a major force" (ibid.). A study by Nettle (1999), in particular, correlates language size with number of endemic species and rainfall. Mühlhäusler writes that "Geographically spread out languages are encountered typically in dry areas, whereas small languages predominantly occur in high-rainfall areas" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 429). The case of English would look, thus, problematic, as the relentless spread of this high-rainfall language over the entire globe "[…] suggests problems for discourses about the management of resources in desert areas" (ibid.). There we go back to the power of "naming", as referred to Mühlhäusler's detailed study (2003) of language and of biological life forms on Pitcairn Island: plants having no name would be endangered or die out since "What is not named typically is not managed or is mismanaged" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 429). The linguist hints at a linguistic contrast between "The predominance of grammar for effective causality in environments in which human actions can control nature (Central Europe) […]" and "[…] predominant inherent causality in areas in which control over nature is difficult (e. g. in large desert areas)", though admitting that further investigation is warranted (429-430).

The open-ended nature of the language ecology metaphor seems to best fit the case of global English spread: "As languages get transported around the globe, the fit between them and the environment in which they are spoken of necessity weakens" (430). In fact, "As linguistic adaptation to a new environment takes several hundred years (e.g., the development of complex plant classification in Maori after the arrival of Eastern Polynesian with a much less complex system in New Zealand), this misfit is likely to be a prolonged one and may turn out to be an important task for language planners" (ibid.).

1.4 Language ecology. A geocentric and holistic conception of language

From the new perspective of language ecology, van Lier advances his *ecocentric* or *geocentric* worldview: "[…] humans are part of a greater natural order, or even a great living system, Gaia (the living earth […]" (van Lier, 2004: 3). This new view of ecology, launched by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess (1989), does not simply aim to investigate and fix environmental problems: "The deep way addresses the underlying causes by examining them critically and advocating deep changes" (van Lier, 2004: 21). Its range and very nature, thus, are provisional and amply based on research.

Van Lier (2004) grounds his ecocentric vision in firm theoretical underpinnings that counter the Cartesian worldview of experimental science. He mentions Reed's (1996) concept of psychology as "[…] a science of *values* instead of a science of *causes*, a science of *meaning* instead of a science of *mechanisms*" (van Lier, 2004: 166). Consistently, the ecological approach rebuts the often-still alleged notion that science is to be neutral and value-free. The Dutch scholar propounds a critical approach for language ecology, which, along with Reed's science of values, "[…] must be intervention and change oriented" (note 2, p. 168). Such a critical, ethical and committed stance seems warranted by van Lier's allegiance to the theory of chaos and complexity seen as a new starting point for language ecology. The alternative to the linear perspective of causes and effects, boundaries and dichotomies—nature versus nurture, competence versus performance, *langue* versus *parole*, macro versus micro—is thus a holistic vision of closely-interwoven and interacting mind, body and context: "Chaos/complexity encourages us to see complementarities (interactions) instead of dichotomies; the interactions between complementary perspectives are the key focus of research, avoiding the entrenchment of theories into one extreme position or the other" (198). This vantage point rejects "simple solutions to complex problems" (Larsen-Freeman, 1997:158) often defended *ad absurdum*. The chaos/complexity perspective posits, instead, the inherent instability of all complex systems. Van Lier (2004) explains that "Basically, the learner's interlanguage is an unstable language situated in an unstable linguistic environment, including the unstable target language" (199). In the theory, the importance of detail, like the smallest changes in

the learner's interlanguage, is highlighted as it "[…] may set in motion a far-reaching restructuring of the learner's interlanguage, the emergence of a whole array of new patterns" (ibid). The chaos/complexity outlook, then, implies a holistic perception of reality as "The whole cannot be explained on the basis of the parts. Therefore, any analysis of details must be intimately and continually connected to the whole. The detail must project to the whole, as it were" (ibid.). In the end, apparently divergent theories and incompatible views may often accrue, as suggested, to "[…] windows through which we are better able to see reality" (Natsoulas, 1993).

1.5 What is then language ecology?

Today's interpretations range widely:

> a. Many researchers, such as Denison (1982) and Nelde (1987), use ecology simply as a reference to, or metaphor of, "context" or "language environment" to embed language-related issues in (macro or micro) sociolinguistic, educational, economic or political settings. The purpose is to avoid decontextualizing language and situate language study, instead, in some form of context.

> b. Others have devised specific definitions and sub-categories, for example articles in Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001); Mufwene (2001); Mühlhäusler (1995, 2003); and two pioneers Jørgen Chr. Bang and Jørgen Døør (2008).

Peter Mühlhäusler (1995) gives prominence to the wider, non-linguistic implications and active commitment of language ecology: "The ecological metaphor in my view is action oriented. It shifts the attention from linguists being players of academic language games to becoming shop stewards for linguistic diversity, and to addressing moral, economic and other 'non-linguistic' issues" (2). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 1) subscribe to Wendel's (2005) definition of language ecology: "The ecological approach to language considers the complex web of relationships that exist between the

environment, languages and their speakers" (51). Here the term environment encompasses the physical, biological and social spheres. The two critical linguists observe that many sociolinguists only pay lip-service to the physical and biological environments (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001). Now language is not something to unpack and study *per se*, as for mainstream linguistics, nor is the concept of social environment propounded by sociolinguistics entirely consistent with language ecology: "Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature i.e. their social and natural environment" (Haugen, 1972: 325). Consistently, "The ecology of language" paradigm sees language not as a structure of phonological, syntactic and lexical elements, but as a dynamic force that plays an important role in the interaction between cultures as well as between thought systems and the world. Jean Louis Calvet (2006) builds upon the communicative vision of language as a social practice—"Language is not an object that can be considered in isolation, and communication does not simply occur by means of sequences of sounds. [. . .] language [. . .] is a social practice within social life, one practice among others, inseparable from its environment [...]" (22)—to explain his notion of "ecolinguistic system", where languages creatively interact with the environment:

> The basic idea is thus that the practices which constitute languages, on the one hand, and their environment, on the other, form an *ecolinguistic system*, in which languages multiply, interbreed, vary, influence each other mutually, compete or converge. This system is in interrelation with the *environment*. At every moment language is subject to external stimuli to which it adapts. *Regulation*, which I will define as the reaction to an external stimulus by an internal change which tends to neutralize its effects, is thus a response to the environment. This response is first and foremost the mere addition of individual responses--variants that, over time, lead to the *selection* of certain forms, certain characteristics. In other words, there is a selective action of the environment on the evolution of language […] (Calvet, 2006: 24).

The concept of the eco-system, which has become current in the ecolinguistics of the Haugenian tradition, was first introduced by A.G. Tansley in 1935, and then transferred to the relation between language and the world (Tansley, 1935):

"Language world systems", as they are called in ecolinguistics, are cultural systems created in an evolutionary process. The interaction within these systems occurs in such a way that languages on the one hand influence—and even construe—the world for us, but on the other hand they are shaped by their environment, e.g. the situational context, the current trends of thought, etc. Again, there is a tendency to stress the threat under which these language world systems are in our modern world, in which economy is placed high above ecology, a threat which specifically concerns the creativity of languages and diversity of their means of expression (Block de Behar *et al*., 2009: 187).

Eco-critical discourse analysis has been, in this regard, instrumental in anchoring language ecology in real-world concerns and understanding through the application of critical discourse analysis to texts about the environment and environmentalism. Its objective is to expose hidden suppositions and hidden messages and assess the effectiveness of these in achieving environmental aims (Stibbe, 2012; Harré, Brockmeier & Mühlhäusler, 1999). Eco-critical discourse examines how types of discourse can affect the future of ecosystems, e.g. the neoliberal economic discourse and the discursive constructions of consumerism, gender, politics, agriculture and nature (e.g. Goatly, 2000; Stibbe, 2004). It does not only aim at disclosing potentially damaging ideologies, but also searches for discursive representations contributing to a more ecologically sustainable society. Eco-critical discourse analysis has broadly similar objectives and techniques to other approaches such as eco-semiotics (Selvamony & Rayson, 2007), environmental communication and eco-criticism.

Overall, ecolinguists criticize the Saussurian divide between *langue* and *parole* and stigmatize unecological language uses and anthropocentrisms which portray nature from the perspective of its usefulness for humans, trying to expose ideological manipulation of language—growthism, sexism, classism and anthropocentrism—inherent in many languages and language uses. Consistently, they focus their attention on the research area of the relation between linguistic diversity and biological diversity, two phenomena that they aim to preserve. In this sense, ecolinguistics faces a double challenge: on the one hand, to investigate the contacts between languages in both society and the human mind, and explore the causes and circumstances of language diversity, with a strong emphasis on saving small and endangered languages; on the other, to explore the ecological and uneco-

logical elements of language systems, look at the linguistic representation of the environment, and take a critical view of texts relating to the role of humans in the natural world.

According to Raúl Alberto Mora (2014), language ecology studies the dynamics of interaction and coexistence of old and new languages in social contexts. Mora offers a matter-of-fact explanation of such interaction: "As society becomes increasingly more mobile, dominant languages take the place of lesser known or indigenous languages" (ibid.). The common metaphor used for describing language ecology is, again, that of an ecosystem aimed at ensuring a balanced survival of all species. In the scholar's view, a language ecology approach looks at power dynamics and issues of equity and human rights as fundamental elements in the social use of languages. The goal of language ecology, then, is to promote an even-handed and harmonious relationship between languages. In particular, the discipline would mean to prevent any form of language dominance as when, for example, the globalized spread of a language may bring on the endangerment of historically important local languages. Instead, the new ecological perspective aims to work for the empowerment of minority and indigenous languages as the result of increased social interaction with a larger world (ibid.). As regards implementation, Mora (ibid.) especially highlights language learning and teaching. Various other disciplines, however, can use ecolinguistic constructs to develop frameworks for the protection and promotion of local and indigenous languages. Language ecology inspires critical views about bilingualism and multilingualism, language policy and planning and language education, especially in developing countries and in relation to the world role of English today (ibid.). Concerning interculturalism, Mora (ibid.) writes that a language ecology outlook can infuse language learning and teaching to make them a tool for intercultural dialogue. The fundamental objective is to counter subtractive bilingualism and linguistic discrimination against minority and indigenous languages, two elements that undermine dialogue on account of the unfair power differential between languages (ibid.). Mora also remarks that language ecology has been informed by and continues to encourage debates about language imperialism and linguistic human rights (ibid.). From its perspective, scholars have discussed the validity of current frameworks to define controversial linguistic con-

structs like "language", "native speaker", "cultural diversity" and "ethnicity", and have proposed more inclusive ideas such as "additional languages", "second languages" or "languages in contact". Considering the normative agency of globalization and social mobility, the availability of stronger language ecology frameworks appears instrumental in the survival of many languages. For this purpose, the proactive co-work of interdisciplinary research and advocacy is crucial to any future language policies and curricular initiatives dovetailing with the views and aims of diversity and coexistence (ibid.).

Borrowing Dell Hymes' (2003) words to describe a speech community, linguistic ecology can thus be defined as an approach to thinking about language which attempts to see it "steadily as a whole" (33). In order to achieve this holistic view, linguistic ecology tries to integrate many different levels of explanation without privileging any single level in particular. Accordingly, different disciplinary, artistic and mythic perspectives become potential sources of insight making up an extremely complex natural system that in turn combines with the full complexity of the living world through awareness and action in human cultural communities.

Since Haugen (1972) first set the objectives and boundaries of language ecology, there has been plenty of descriptive work on a number of multilingual ecologies (Denison, 1982) as well as conceptual refinement (Enninger & Haynes, 1984). Scholarly interest in the discipline has increasingly appeared in the literature in a variety of fields and subfields, or, citing Barron, Bruce and Nunan (2002), an "[…] infinite world of possibilities for language ecology" (10):

> […] discussion related to cognitive development and human interaction, the maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, language policy and planning, language, language acquisition, language evolution, language ideology, the ecology of (multilingual) classroom interaction and the ecologies of literacy, oracies and discourses (Creese, Martin & Hornberger, 2008: i).

1.6 Language ecology in the language classroom

As far as language education is concerned, the ecological metaphor is creatively applied to classroom practices by Creese and Martin (2003), who portray classrooms as ecological microsystems where local interactions are linked to wider socio-political ideologies. On a more systematic level, Leo van Lier (2004) argues for a new field of educational linguistics based on a holistic and transdisciplinary role of language in education: "The role of language in education is not limited to first, second or foreign language classes, it pervades all of education, in all subjects" (2). Warning against the "Academic compartmentalization, the *balkanization* that Hargreaves talks about (1994) […]", he clearly states that "All education is language education, since language is a defining quality of what it means to be human" (van Lier, 2004: 2). He focuses on "[…] the dynamic and central role that language plays […]" and sets out to show "[…] how a more integrated and holistic view of language and education can give a deeper understanding of the nature of education" (ibid.). His ecological approach to language learning, which builds on a far-reaching pedagogical tradition—from Spinoza to Bakhtin, from Vygotsky to Halliday—, exploring and incorporating the interrelationship of "[…] practice, research and teaching in equal measure" (van Lier 2010: 3) and looking at "[…] both the macro and the micro sides of the ecological coin […]" (van Lier 2004: Preface), and the central role of "[…] work, academic, professional and pedagogical […]"(van Lier, 2010: 3), has an overarching and comprehensive part in the development of language ecology. Especially noteworthy is his idea that theory should not be separated from practice and that ecology strives to overcome the "[…] conflicts and friction between theoretical and practical pursuits", since, "Although firmly grounded in theory and science, it is a very practical approach to real-life phenomena" (ibid.). Hands-on daily experience instigates, in particular, his notion of individual learner variability and the need to customize teaching practice:

> A teacher might proudly announce: "I treat them all the same." But children—learners of all ages for that matter—are all different, so that equal treatment is surely a doubtful pedagogical practice. There are many differences among learners that are relevant to their educational opportunities in general, and their

classroom learning opportunities in particular. A good teacher understands the learners, and this means taking the differences into account (van Lier, 2004: 7).

Consistently, in a societal key, "However, there is also variability at a much more macro level: educational systems, far from being the equalizers that policy makers suggest they are, actually manufacture inequalities across regional and socio-economic fault lines" (ibid.). The conclusion perceptively extends to many and diverse educational contexts: "Not all schools are created equal in any country, so that school systems both homogenize and select at the same time, however paradoxical this may seem" (ibid.). In view of the fact that "[…] an ecological foundation can give a theoretical strength and pedagogical focus […]" (Preface) to the sociocultural theory (SCT) of Bakhtin (1981) and Vygotsky (1962, 1978),van Lier (2004: Preface) presents his idea of "perception-in-action" and explores notions, such as "self", "identity", "emergence", "affordance" and "scaffolding", which open up new horizons to research and provide "[…] enough food for thought and action to set the stage for lively discussion and principled progress" (ibid.). In conclusion, the purpose of ecological linguistics, in the scholar's view, is to "[…] extend the ideas of Vygotsky in the light of present-day needs and knowledge" (20). The discipline would attempt "[…] to bring SCT into a motivated, well-articulated framework that accounts for language, semiosis, activity, affordance, self and critical action" (ibid.). The ultimate aim is to offer "[…] a worldview that rejects the Cartesian dualist, anthropo-centric tradition (something that SCT does not do explicitly) and proposes an alternative quality-based pedagogy" (ibid.).

As suggested, a key concept in the study of language ecology, from its very beginning, is the idea of diversity within specific socio-political settings, where the processes of language are indexical of, and so reflect, but also create and challenge, particular hierarchies and hegemonies, irrespective of their mutability. Now language, literacy and learning are crucial to an understanding of education from two different perspectives:

a. Looking at education and classroom practice as situated and localized.

b. Zeroing in on schools and interactive classrooms as part of a bigger and more powerful polity in which ideologies serve to reproduce particular power relationships.

Concerning the former (a), van Lier (2004) holds that whereas "[…] variability relates to the ways different learners learn, and what that means for the teacher, diversity addresses the value of having different learners and teachers in a class (or school), and in more general terms, different kinds of people in a society, rather than a homogeneous population, however defined" (7). It is interesting to note that the Dutch scholar wrote his work shortly after "No Child Left Behind" was approved and signed into law by President George W. Bush on the 8th January 2002, when the Title VII Bilingual Education Act was eliminated and a radical one-size-fits-all high-stakes testing system reinforced a mono-cultural, decontextualized predominance of standard English on a multi-ethnic and multicultural variety of English language learners, placing the blame of assessment failure on the individual school or teacher instead of the system itself, which denied support for a child's bilingualism (Baker, 2011: 192-195). Now the construct of diversity comes to have a pivotal role in ecolinguistic thought and practice as a committed rebuttal of blind homogenization. The metaphor of biodiversity recurs in van Lier's assertion:

> In biology, diversity is essential in an ecosystem, and in the same way, a diverse society (in terms of language, ethnicity, religion, interests, etc.) may be healthier in the long run than a homogenous one. In addition, the language to be learned (whether L1 or L2) is presented as one that is not one monolithic standardized code, but a collection of dialects, genres and registers. It is often tacitly assumed that learners would be confused by being presented with a diversity of dialects, cultures, social customs, but it can be argued that more confusion ultimately results from the presentation of a homogeneous language and a single speech community, generalizations that in fact do not exist (van Lier, 2004: 7).

There he reaffirms the holistic validity of multilingual education: "With appropriate language and learning awareness activities, learners should be perfectly capable of understanding diversity, since it will be easy to establish that it exists in the language all around them, at home, in the community, in school, and around the world" (ibid.).
In footnote 5 (p. 7), van Lier (2004) qualifies the import of diversity: "In ecological terms, more diversity is not necessarily always better. However, reducing diversity is almost

always detrimental to an ecosystem." (ibid.) Though allowing for the "[…] very tricky and loaded subject, one that raises passions rather than rational argument […]", he puts forward the crucial, alternative variable of "*balance*" (ibid.). To this effect, an ecological approach to language education rejects "[…] the immediate, short-term, tangible effects of instruction" as in the "[…] Standards, national curricula, course materials, accountability, all these […] premised upon short-term results […]" (11) of "No Child Left Behind" and propounds, instead, an ongoing, situated, encompassing process thriving on the long-term constructs of emergence and affordances (11). I should single out, looking back on my English-teaching experience, van Lier quoting Ludwig Wittgenstein's pithy witticism: "There are remarks that sow, and remarks that reap" (Wittgenstein, 1980: 78e):

> Classrooms and schools are contexts designed to afford opportunities for learning, and they may be more or less successful at doing this. Learning opportunities can be of a sowing, or of a reaping kind. Which ones are more important, more valuable, deeper, more lasting, and more powerful? Furthermore, do we know (as teachers, as learners) when a learning opportunity is of a sowing or of a reaping kind? How can we tell? I take that in the reaping scenario we can tell, because we hold something in our hand, we can see a point to a specific item, let's say a performance of some kind by the learner, or a number of bubbles correctly filled in on a test sheet. But in the sowing situation we may be unable to tell, the seeds lie hidden beneath the surface, and may or may not bear fruit, at some unspecified time in the future, in some unspecified way. That is too much uncertainty for learners, teachers, administrators, let alone politicians. For all practical purposes then, the sowing side of learning tends to be ignored, and the focus is on reaping, or at best on a souped-up crop cycle (van Lier, 2004: 11-12).

Van Lier vocalizes that ecology looks "[…] deeper and further; it will address the notion of the *quality* of educational experience, as different from the documentation of educational *standards*" (12). What appears especially difficult, in his view, is to convince educational policy makers of the greater and cheaper learning opportunities of the sowing scenario, while "[…] the pursuit of high standards, linked to mechanisms of accountability via high-stakes tests, does not promote educational quality" (ibid.). The linguist bears out the ultimate purpose of ecological education: "[…] worthwhile and valuable outcomes in the future" (17) against high-stakes standards accountability and enacted commercialization of education that features, in particular, our globalization-levelled society. He calls, as already mentioned in the preface, for a shift in perspective that goes

far beyond the US educational context of his day:

> We should put aside as immoral any views that consider students only or primarily as economic units (useful and productive citizens—in other words, fodder for a commercial and political machinery, or Foucault's *homo docilis*, 1977). Good teachers of course always see their students as whole persons, but at times they are almost forced into seeing their students as potential test scores, in the name of standards and accountability. An ecological and sociocultural perspective helps to provide a counter-balance and new arguments against the commercialization of schooling (van Lier, 2004: 17).

A very similar, detrimentally "commercial", mindset seems to have impoverished the Italian education system over the last four decades. Looking at schools as private unionized enterprise, in the ever-impending danger of shutting down classes for not complying with the minimum class attendance requirements, has led to the enactment of a homogenizing and perfunctory burden of "democratic" rules, the obdurate straitjacket of old-fashioned and deterritorialized curricula, a bureaucratic and intruding overpowering of schoolmasters and students' parents and a corresponding disempowerment of students who are the implicit but real victims of that system, as the underlying mindset often looks at them as unaccountable *homines dociles* and useful clients of the learning trade. The ensuing across-the-board low rate of Italian training skills and educational oucomes, especially as regards foreign language instruction, has entailed a persistent and worrying flow of young brain-drain migration from the country, as I will briefly illustrate later in this work.

Regarding the latter more general point (b), researchers and practitioners can profit from an ecological perspective to argue for political rights and challenge mainstream views of knowledge and patterns of schooling. Such ideological commitment may entail advocating the "rearrangement of power" (Creese, *et al.*, 2008: ii) in support of minority and indigenous groups and debating how people ply new technologies and existing resources to create new diversity in their literacy and oral practices. Ecolinguists, as mentioned, have brought home to us the proactive nature of the discipline beyond the mere description of the relationships between situated speakers of different languages: pulling apart language orders commonly perceived as natural, i.e. "unnaturalizing" discourses that look "naturalized", but, in fact, construe a particular power-related ideology.

The purpose is to clarify "[…] what kinds of language practices are valued and considered good, normal appropriate, or correct […]" in particular classrooms and schools, and who are likely to be the winners and losers in the ideological orientations (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 2). Capitalizing on such insights, Hornberger (2002b) observes that "[…] multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible […]" (30).

Connected to the multifaceted construct of diversity is the much-investigated problem of medium of instruction. This is now a major, and sensitive, issue for language-in-education planners, as many relevant cases follow from globalization and internationalization. The choice of a learning medium is closely intertwined with issues of power and socioeconomic differential. In Bangladesh, for example, this has produced a social and linguistic divide with parallel streams of English and Bangla instruction (Hamid & Jahan, 2015). At the university level, in particular, programmes of study are being offered in world languages like English to attract international students and improve local students' English proficiency (Ali, Hamid & Moni, 2011). The same hypercentric role of English impacts on primary education in Asia, where there is increasing pressure to begin English earlier, or to offer programmes in English (Baldauf, Kaplan, Kamwangamalu & Bryant, 2012). As in Malaysia and in other parts of Asia, the question of what variety of English should be taught is raised by Schmitz (2012) more generally, and by Vodopiji-Krstanoviæ and Btala-Vukanoviæ (2012). In many other parts of the world, where native English speakers have become a minority and most users of the language will be speaking with other nativized or non-native speakers, there arises the question of which norm should be followed and of whether using some form of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) would not be a more appropriate intercultural tool "[…] especially for a multiple native-speaking normed language like English […] (*Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada*, April/June, 2012).

1.7 A proactive outlook on language ecology. A focus for action in diversity

This short theoretical overview may give a notion of the multifarious, expansive and controversial concerns and potentialities of language ecology. The very distinctions in

defining the discipline attest to its provisional nature and status in applied linguistics. However, I should underline two outstanding elements that make language ecology especially fascinating and worth investigating:

1. Shifting from an anthropocentric, fixed and normalized idea of language, historically geared to Western colonization and its subtractive and homogenizing set of values, to a new geocentric, mobile, multiple and relational notion of diversity, affordances and mutual integration. Ultimately, the ecological shift in linguists' outlook seems to postulate a more world-responsible—individual and societal—rejection of the postcolonial, "scientific", reifying attitude in human/nature relationships—underlying sociocultural erosion and submersion, linguistic imperialism and linguacultural death and attrition—and the acquisition of a new holistic, geocentric and committed vision for the purpose of an equitable and viable language ecology the world over.

2. Moving from theoretical discussion to practical and diversified action in the various real-world applications of the discipline: from conscientious language policy and planning to situated bi/multilingual and cross-cultural/intercultural teaching and learning practices. Regarding this commitment, Mühlhäusler (2010) specifies three main purposes of ecological linguistics:

    a.   The preservation of a number of smaller languages in a single communication ecology rather than the preservation of the most widely spoken/best documented language

    b.   The offering of a range of sociologically and structurally different languages for second language learners rather than the focusing on a single world language

    c.   The inclusion of native speakers and nonspeakers as well as semispeakers in language revival programs (433).

The disruption of the world's ecolinguistic system over the last 200 years, like its age-old environmental balance, is, in the scholar's view, "[…] a result of European expansion with the consequent restriction and destruction of the majority of the world's linguistic ecologies" (434). He fears, with many others, that, if the current trends are not reversed, 90% of the world's languages may disappear within two generations (ibid.). The

German linguist highlights that, since Haugen first created the term "language ecology*"* for description, this phrase has gradually come to mean a focus for action (ibid.). The new perspective denotes, then, "[…] a home in which different communities can coexist, and their diversity is seen as a valuable resource for restoring the disturbed relationship between human beings and their natural environment" (ibid.). He observes that ecolinguistics seems to conflict "[…] with the system-focused and universalist trend in modern linguistics" and that ecologically aware linguists (e.g. the contributors to Fill, 1996) look at "[…] modern linguistics as empirically unsustainable, as irrelevant, and as an obstacle to applied linguistics" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 434). This position would also be "[…] argued in the first English language textbook on ecolinguistics (Mühlhäusler, 2003)" (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 434). Reviewing the chapter "The Golden Age That Never Was" from Jared Diamond's 1991 book, Skutnabb-Kangas (2004) calls attention to

> […] the evidence for people and cultures before us having completely ruined the prerequisites for their own life, beyond repair. They have destroyed their habitats and/or exterminated large numbers of species. This has happened in many places and it makes the 'supposed past Golden Age of environmentalism look increasingly mythical' (Diamond, 1991: 335)" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004: 16).

Summing up Diamond's factors of damage, she affirms that this occurs when people

1. colonize an unfamiliar environment;
2. advance along a new frontier;
3. acquire a new technology whose destructive power people haven't had time to appreciate;
4. have centralized states that concentrate wealth in the hands of rulers who are out of touch with their environment'(Diamond, 1991: 335-336. In Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004: 17).

Her further gloss encapsulates the answers to factors 1-4:

> As we can see, we have the perfect global prerequisites for ruining our planet beyond repair.
> Ad factor 1: Long-established small societies are breaking up, and, with urbanization and migration, people encounter new environments;

Ad factor 3: New technologies are more destructive than ever and results of biochemical and other experiments (like genetically modified crops) are taken into use before we know anything about the long-term effects on nature or people;

Ad factor 4: We have growing gaps and alienated elites;

And ad factor 2: We do not have the new planets to move to when we have damaged this one... (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004: 17).

The Danish linguist's wrap-up is lucidly topical: "Researchers have a responsibility not only to produce solid knowledge about the incredible complexities in this transdisciplinary area, but also to act on the basis of the still (probably always?) incomplete knowledge. It has to be today" (ibid.).

1.8 Conclusions. Language ecology: an open-ended field of applied linguistics

Some provisional conclusions on the far-reaching import and scope of language ecology can be finally drawn:

1. In 1990 Michael Halliday read a paper to the World Conference of Applied Linguistics (AILA) at Thessaloniki (Greece), in which he defined "the challenge to Applied Linguistics" in terms of exploring how language construed the world thus causing dangers to human and non-human life on this planet. He then wrote a seminal work, *New ways of Meaning: the challenge to applied linguistics* (1990), drawing linguists' attention to the ecological context and consequences of language. One key point was to make linguistics engaged with the issues and concerns of the 21st century, especially the widespread destruction of the ecosystems. A typical example was Halliday's account of economic growth, in which he noted how the English language tends to give a positive connotation to such unmarked terms as "large", "grow", "tall", notwithstanding the negative ecological consequences. Among the dangers, Halliday listed classism, growthism, destruction of species, and pollution, thus pioneering the study of the connection between language and environmental problems, and, going beyond this, between language, conflict and peace. This second link between language and ecology has, in the meantime, led to a body of work in ecocriticism, in which both the language system and its manifestation in various strands of discourse are criticized as unecological and thus carrying some of the responsi-

bility for environmental degradation in all of its forms.

2. The critical branch of ecolinguistics in the Hallidayan tradition has its theoretical basis in the belief in a certain interaction between language, thought and reality. Languages are thought to have developed in a long evolutionary process aimed at the proliferation of humans over the world, making the description—or rather the construction—of the world for the best use by humans a principle of this development. The resulting anthropocentrism of languages—naming the phenomena of the world according to their usefulness for humans—is now thought to have served its purpose and thus be outdated, while still exercising an influence on our way of thinking and shaping our behaviour with regard to Nature. One of the tasks of ecolinguistics, in this understanding, is to create an awareness of linguistic anthropocentrism, while the postulate of an 'eco-political correctness' involving changes in language use is rejected by most ecolinguists.

3. Halliday's initial observations paved the way for a remarkable development in the field of ecolinguistics, with a focus on analysing the ecological impact of specific discourses, rather than languages in general. The main online research forum for ecolinguistics, the Language and Ecology Research Forum, containing a wide range of resources, including the online journal *Language and Ecology* and an international network of ecolinguists, applies the discipline to examining the influence of language on the life-sustaining relationships of humans with each other, with other organisms and with the natural environment. Research ranges from the impact of advertising discourse in encouragingecologically damaging consumption to the power of nature poetry to encourage respect for the natural world. In a further extension of the ecological metaphor, such topics as the contribution of language to conflict and peace or to an equal treatment of the genders have also been dealt with under the label of 'ecolinguistics'. The linguistic side of 'eco-feminism' could, in this wider understanding, be regarded as an area of ecolinguistics. However, in recent years there has been a tendency to restrict ecolinguistics to its two topics as initiated by Haugen and Halliday and to resist efforts to include further topics, which would only turn ecolinguistics into an umbrella study.

4. A new stimulus to ecolinguistic thought may result from the recent deliberations and resolutions of the Paris Agreement, an agreement within the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) dealing with greenhouse gases emissions mitigation, adaptation and finance starting in the year 2020. An agreement on the language of the treaty was negotiated by representatives of 195 countries at the 21st Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC in Paris and adopted by consensus on 12th December 2015. The Paris Agreement was signed on 22nd April 2016 (Earth Day) by 175 UNFCCC members, 15 of which immediately ratified it (The Paris Agreement of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change).

5. Conclusively, in an ecolinguistic key, a more consistent ecological awareness, urged by the universally felt threat of imminent global warming, and its pernicious effects, seems to imply a different—non-anthropocentric—verbalization of natural phenomena. When thinking of the overpowering part of globalized lobbies, and cunning ways of consumerist advertisement worldwide, the formulation of real-world phenomena and events may sound minor or unimportant, yet, as illustrated by Halliday (2001), it may form the basis for a new world-friendly outlook and action these days.

The issues of language and ecology and ecology of languages continue to be well represented at symposia and conferences in general and applied linguistics, with a growing number of younger scholars, particularly linguists from Europe, such as Döring, (2002), as attested by the proceedings of the Thirty Years of Language and Ecology Conference (Fill, Penz & Trampe, 2002). As yet, the outcome of the ecological outlook in linguistics warrants careful documentation. What still remains to be investigated is whether the effects of this turn will bring out a paradigm shift in linguistics and whether the ecological perspective will keep its promise to contribute significantly to supporting and improving the health of endangered languages and the natural environment (Mühlhäusler, 2010: 434). It seems appropriate, to this effect, to survey the ideological positions and real-world operative concerns in the critical discussion of language policy and planning, which is the purpose of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE ON LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

2.1 Some preliminary distinctions and general object of study

The discipline name, language policy and planning (LPP), emphasizes its two complementary spheres:

1. Language policy—the plan, the laws, regulations, rules and statements of intent, which may be substantive or symbolic.

2. Language planning—the implementation, i.e. how plans are carried out.

Still the two terms have interchangeable application in the literature (Baldauf, Kaplan, Kamwangamalu & Bryant, 2012). Grabe and Kaplan (1991: 1-12) have looked at language planning as the epitome of applied linguistics matching up theoretical understanding of language with application to real-life situations.

The discipline of language planning has been described as systematic, oriented to progressive change in:

a. Corpus planning, i.e. the prescriptive intervention in the forms of a language, whereby planning decisions are made to engineer changes in the structure of the language (Ferguson, 2006).

We can further distinguish between:

b. Status planning, i.e. […] the allocation of new functions to a language (such as using the language as medium of instruction or as an official language). It affects the role a language plays within a given society (Nkopuruk, 2018: 3).

c. Acquisition planning, i.e. a type of language planning in which a national, state or local government system, or, less commonly, a non-governmental organization, aims to influence aspects of language, such as language status, distribution and literacy through education (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008).

d. Prestige planning, or language promotion taken on by authoritative organizations—most frequently governments, but, increasingly, other organizations—with some community of speakers (Baldauf, 2005; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971).

Language policy and planning has especially dealt with three phenomena:

1. Language shift, "[…] the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community" (Potowsky, 2013).

2. Language revitalization, "[…] the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to a threatened language with the aim of increasing its uses or users" (King, 2001).

3. Language maintenance through intergenerational transmission of the language, i.e. when "[…] a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres" (Pauwels, 2004/2006: 719).

2.2 Four theoretical approaches

Those looking for new procedures and methods for language planning (Kamwangamalu, 2011), or using and streamlining comprehensive frameworks, could

advantageously build on four theoretical approaches applied by scholars as a basis for research, although it is generally agreed that more needs to be done to provide a satisfactory theoretical framework for language policy and planning studies:

1. The classical approach to language planning, grounded in modernism, was originally built around Haugen's (1983) four-step framework synthesis of other theoretical work. It posits a multifaceted, open-ended and interpretive outlook on sociolinguistic issues and, in particular, "[…] a comprehensive, multidisciplinary analysis of ethnic minority language situations […]" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 465). Haugen (1972) vocalizes the predictability of mainstream linguistic description and the novel perspective of ecology of language:

> […] most language descriptions are prefaced by a brief and perfunctory statement concerning the number and location of its speakers and something of their history. Rarely does such a description really tell the reader what he ought to know about the social status and function of the language in question. Linguists have generally been too eager to get on with the phonology, grammar, and lexicon to pay more than superficial attention to what I would like to call the "ecology of language" (Haugen, 1972: 325).

This approach was built on by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997b) to encompass more recent improvements in the field (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Baldauf, 2005). The resulting eight-fold framework includes productive goals connected to language (corpus planning) (Haugen, 1983), society (status planning) (Van Els, 2005), learning (language-in-education planning) (Cooper, 1989) and image (receptive goal of prestige planning) (Ager, 2005). These goals are pursued at different levels ranging from the macro to the meso up to the micro (Chua & Baldauf, 2011), in ways that are overt (explicit) or covert (implicit) (Baldauf, 1994; Eggington, 2010). Moreover, the issue of agency, i.e. the actors involved, stands increasingly out as foremost (Baldauf, 1982; Cooper, 1989; Zhao & Baldauf, 2012).

2. The language management approach has been described as a broadly-founded general theory based on Jernudd and Neustupný's article (1987) about language planning in Québec, which developed almost in parallel with the classical approach and extends

beyond linguistics to sociocultural and sociolinguistic issues. As expounded by Nekvapil (2011), language management deals with "management of utterances (communicative acts)" taking place "[…] in concrete interactions (conversations) of individuals or in institutions of varying complexity […]" (880-881). We can distinguish between simple management occurring at the micro level and organized management dealing with macro issues. The process of language management takes place when deviations from norms are noted and evaluated positively or negatively. An adjustment may then occur and be implemented. Although mainly situational, the language management theory is not restricted to language problems as these are regarded as a point of departure for investigating a variety of language situations (Ali, Hamid & Moni, 2011; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003).

3. The domain approach stems from Fishman's initial sociolinguistic definition (1972) and has been championed by Bernard Spolsky (2004), who has played a crucial role in organizing the field through his editorial projects (Spolsky, 2012a), although, rather than this term, the linguist has preferred to use language policy and management as the umbrella term to describe the area. Among the key domains and their components, i.e. practice, ideology and management, suggested by Spolsky for language policy, are the family (Spolsky, 2012b), religion (Paulston & Watt, 2012) the workplace (Duchêne & Heller, 2012), public space (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), the school, courts, hospitals, police stations and the military.

4. The critical approach is what Tollefson (2006) has described as a critical reaction to the hegemonic approaches of classical language planning. Such a committed approach, as Tollefson vocalizes, indicates a second focus of research aimed at social change to redress various types of inequalities. This is epitomized by efforts in Africa to replace colonial languages with indigenous languages that have failed, because policy makers have privately subverted public policy (Kamwangamalu, 2004). The ideological basis underlying this approach is critical theory and its key insights into ideology, colonization, power, hegemony, struggle and resistance. The main focus is on criticizing more than planning, but two critical approaches in use stand out:

a. The historical structure approach.

The former is exemplified by Tollefson's investigation into the essentially political nature of state domination and exploitation through language policy in a number of contexts (Tollefson, 1991). Li (2011) has also used critical discourse analysis in a perceptive study to disclose how socialist ideology is moulded into primary school pupils through language policy in the Popular Republic of China. Finally, Skerritt (2012) has used the approach to examine the language planning situation in Estonia.

b. Governamentality.

In the governamentality approach, the focus shifts to individual positions in indirect acts of governing where researchers examine the techniques and practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators and other state officials at the micro level, as well as the rationales and strategies they adopt (Tollefson, 2006: 49-50).

In the theoretical evolution and critical arena of language policy and planning studies, a "monumental and groundbreaking" (Hornberger, 2010: 412) work from the perspective of sociolinguistics and sociology of language is Fishman's *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Fishman, 1966).

2.3 Fishman's framework

Joshua A. Fishman's many contributions have grounded language policy and planning in social context and national setting, focusing on the discipline as intervention in language ecology. In a 1974 work, Fishman carried out a single comprehensive framework fitting modernization and development models to language policy and planning. Four language problems were identified: "[…] selection, stability, expansion and differentiation, each corresponding to language policy and planning processes […]" (Lo Bianco, 2004-2006: 741). These resulted in the outcomes of graphization, standardazation and modernization, identified by Ferguson (1979), another pioneer in the production or use of

theories for the discipline theorization.

Fishman's framework has represented the ongoing effort to think up "[…] coherent relationships between societal and linguistic planning processes" (Lo Bianco, 2004-2006: 741). Often, the original problem that stimulates the activity is the societal, which leads to an outcome characterized in language terms. (ibid.) As observed by Lo Bianco, "Fishman (2001) has also pioneered new areas of relevance for LPP and tied it to identity in ethnically plural settings, language beliefs and attitudes, religious and sacred experience, as well as to language regeneration efforts of indigenous and immigrant minorities" (Lo Bianco, 2004-2006: 741). His ultimate construction, the Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale, locates a language "[…] on a descending scale as a heuristic for intervention to regenerate and revitalize languages in various states of attrition, facilitating cost-benefit analyses of reconstruction efforts" and combining community effort with expertise (ibid.). This may apply to reversing language shift for a number of languages such as Frisian (Gorter *et al.*, 1988), Catalan, Basque, Maori, the Celtic languages of the British Isles and Native American languages. However, as observed by Nancy H. Hornberger (2010: 419), the scale "[…] is undergoing continuing criticism and refinement based on both theoretical concerns and the experience of applying it in different language revitalization contexts (e.g. Edwards, 1993; Fishman, 2000; Myhill, 1999; Romaine, 2006)".

Conclusively, Wei *et al.* (1997) affirm that Fishman's domain analysis is the only coherent model widely used in the study of language maintenance and shift thanks to its focus on the habitual language use of individual speakers. What is needed and what they advance is a necessarily flexible "[…] model for analyzing underlying sociocultural processes, including both macrolevel social, political and economic changes, as well as linguistic and psychological processes of individual speakers in interaction, as they relate to changes in habitual language use" (365).

2.4 A macrocultural continuum for language planning. Four ideological perspectives

The real-world implementation of the discipline, i.e. language planning, has just been as diverse and controversial as divergent are the underlying ideological positions of politicians, policy-makers and the public at large. Some views aim at assimilating different language groups to an allegedly homogeneous society of monolinguals; others actively engage in preserving and enhancing diversity and pluralism. The attitude of language minorities also varies: from self-sustainability and self-determination to internationalism and globalism (Baker, 2011: 390).

Bourhis (2001b) proposes four ideologies on a continuum: from pluralism to civic ideology, assimilation up to extreme, repression-oriented ethnist ideology:

1. Pluralist ideology asserts an individual's right to own, learn and use two or more languages by means of promotion-oriented language policies (Wiley, 2002). Since language minority members also pay taxes, "[…] it is equitable that state funds be distributed to support the cultural and linguistic activities of both the majority and the minority group" (Bourhis, 2001b: 11). The pluralist ideology has inspired Canada's Official Languages Act (1969) and Multiculturalism Act (1988). Local schools, civil administration and the judiciary will expect to operate bilingually, not conflicting with national coherence and unity.

2. Civic ideology, in Bourhis' view, "[…] is characterized by an official state policy of non-intervention and non-support of the minority languages and cultures" (Bourhis, 2001b: 12). Accordingly, this ideology allows freedom for the private, individual uses of a minority language and culture, but expects language minorities to be assimilated into the public values of the politically dominant majority. Thus, as explained by Susan Wright (2004), the tolerance-oriented position will "[…] refuse state funding for any medium but the state language […]" so it "[…] is not neutral because it enshrines the *status quo*. The dominant majority continues in its role and individuals from minority groups have to assimilate if they want equality in the wider society" (note 13, p. 281).

3. Assimilation ideology tends to intervene by right in areas of private values such as language. Consequently, migrants are expected to leave their heritage language voluntarily and gradually across generations, or in the short term, by casting it aside from key domains, such as schooling. The dominant group having more economic power and political clout "[…] often has a vested interest in preserving its privileged position […]" (Baker, 2011: 391) and promotes its language "[…] along with its culture, attitudes and core values […]" (Wright, 2004: 242). As to the US language ecology, the majority language is presented as "[…] a symbol and creator of a unified and integrated nation", whereas "[…] minority languages and cultures are seen as potentially divisive and conflicting, working against national loyalty and allegiance by producing factions" (Baker, 2011: 391).

4. Ethnist ideology is the final step in the process of minority language submersion. Language minorities are encouraged or forced to give up their language and culture and adopt those of the mainstream group. In spite of individual efforts to gain cultural, linguistic and economic integration, minorities are barred from assimilating legally or socially. Based on a racial bias, this ideology defines who can be a legitimate member of the dominant group and have full legal status as determined by 'blood', birth and kinship. Ethnist thought will result in repression and political, economic and social marginalization of the weaker minorities. It may thus induce "[…] a policy of exclusion, expulsion, apartheid, ethnic cleansing, even genocide" (ibid.), as perpetrated, for example, by the Bosnian Serb forces in the Muslim Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves of Bosnia as well as the wider ethnic cleansing campaign throughout areas controlled by the army of the Republika Srpska that took place during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War. Another equally-bloody attempt at physical, cultural and linguistic erasure is the Kurdish genocide as committed by the forces of Saddam Hussein in 1988—the chemical gassing of a Kurdish village in Northern Iraq—and the ongoing programme of terror continued by the Assad regime against the Kurds, rooted in what has been labelled as the Newroz incident in Raqqa on 21st March 2010 (Rajan, 2015: 150).

2.5 A historical overview: language and nationalism

To better understand the diversity of theoretical approaches and ideological perspectives, it may be useful to survey the historical development of language policy and planning as related to the various forms and outcomes of nationalism.

As observed in the *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* (April-June 2012), the discipline is a relatively new addition to the academic arena starting in the years immediately after the Second World War. Yet, as documented by Susan Wright (2004), it dates its theoretical and practical foundations back to the Napoleonic era in France when the multilingual revolutionary army required a single language to be managed (110-111). When the nation-state emerged, language was a fundamental symbol of national identity. Colin Baker (2011) describes nationalism as […] a consciousness of belonging to a perceived separate people, located in a defined territory, bound by a belief in having a common culture and history, with common institutions and the desire to achieve or maintain political autonomy. Language helps create that consciousness (80). This complex thought was the hallmark of political policy and change throughout the 19th and 20th century. The French Revolution launched a new concept of democracy and participation of all citizens in the process of government. The focus on a common national language, propagated as an essential instrument of national unity for a country "*une et indivisible*", led to the depreciation and attempted submersion of regional *patois* and cultural diversity. This emphasis on assimilation and supra-ethnic unity has informed the making of nation-state the world over ever since (ibid.).

However, in the latter half of the 20th century there was a renewed interest in the specific identity of minority ethnic groups, together with a concern about self-determination and heritage language maintenance. Suspecting local minorities of eroding national unity, governments have attempted to eradicate their languages and establish the majority language in their place through compulsory use of the mainstream medium in education and public life. Historical examples of language imperialism were the early 20th century attempts to enforce German, Spanish and Italian standards, respectively, on the

language minorities of Danish speakers in Schleswig-Holstein, Catalans, Basques and Galicians in Spain and South Tyrolese in northern Italy.

Lately, the nationalist bias of "a space for each race", i.e. a territory for each nationality, has been challenged by cosmopolitan cities and large-scale migration from the northern and central countries of Africa all over Europe. Large multicultural centres like Brussels, London, New York and Montréal continue to attract multinational and transitional people with a multitude of languages, identities and cultures (81).

Under different circumstances, supra-ethnic nation-state has been a necessity for and a challenge to many post-colonial countries, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and Libya. On the one hand, in fact, supra-ethnic unity has permitted economic and technological development; on the other, enforcing this typically European polity on diverse ethnic groups has engendered persistent internal conflicts within modern African nations. The political and social unrest, continual inter-ethnic strife and massive migration after Gheddafi's 2011 internationally-plotted demise in Libya is a case in point.

In other countries, however, the official use of a majority language for international relations, public life and education seems to dovetail with local vernaculars being used in the home and neighbourhood. This would substantiate the fact that the nation-state does not necessarily bring on submersion and obliteration of local cultures (Baker, 2011: 81).

In its extreme fashion, nationalism inspired 20th century right-wing ideology in Europe and South Africa, embracing some forms of racism, e.g. the Nazi myth of racial purity or Afrikaner racial prejudice of the white man's superiority. Covertly or overtly, ethnist ideology has inspired the *Lega Nord* (Northern League) and other right-wing groups in Italy, which have capitalized upon the last two decades' slump, overpowering corruption, criminality, unruly immigration across the Mediterranean and a relevant, widespread sense of social and individual insecurity. Extreme populist groups in Britain and France have expressed their nationalism with explicit hatred of allochthonous languages, the current spread of racist views appearing the result of a faltering, inconsistent foreign policy and international role of the European Union and the USA.

Racism often overlaps with linguicism, i.e. language imperialism, and Robert Phillipson has significantly illustrated how US nationalism has sustained the dominance of English over immigrant languages (Phillipson, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2006a, 2008, 2012). Given the massive phenomenon od immigration and no long-shared history or overall religious dimension, US nationalism cannot be based on historical territory. Political feeling feeds, instead, on hatred of Communism and fear of terrorism, based on such nationwide values as individual enterprise and freedom, strong patriotism, social and economic mobility, economic and military advantage and the superiority of US military, political and economic power in the world. This feeling of belonging to a national group has urged, especially since the First World War, that the country be linguistically united through replacement of immigrant languages by English (Baker, 2011: 81).

In reality, language is not essential to nationalism or ethnicity *per se*. This is attested by the multifarious languages and dialects in Africa that do not constrain or influence feelings of membership, loyalty or self-determination and political independence from Europe. In countries like Pakistan, it is religion, not language, that unites ethnic groups in loyalty to the same nation. In many cases, however, language has been perceived as a badge of loyalty to one's own ethnic group and a symbol of the identity and independence of a separate people. Accordingly, the Basques define the boundaries and separatist vindication by who speaks and who does not speak the Basque language; the Québécois in Canada make French a symbol of their desire for more independence from the North American country (81-82).

More often than not, however, bilingualism has been viewed as an obstacle, not an advantage, to nationalism, by both mainstream and minority language groups. Thus, for example, the Basques and Catalans express their separate nationhood by opposing the public use of Spanish and emphasizing the Basque and Catalan languages (82). Bilingualism has also been seen as a halfway house, or transitional state, for speakers shifting from the minority to the majority language. Mainstreaming monolingual education (Structured Immersion, Mainstreaming with Withdrawal Classes, Sheltered English/Content-based ESL) and weak types of bilingual education for bilinguals (Transitional, Mainstream with Foreign Language Teaching) in the US are overt or covert

forms of submersion (207-220).

On the other hand, bilingualism can be even supported by nationalism, especially in multi-ethnic areas where a minority group uses a majority language as its mother tongue (82). This brings into question the multi-faceted aspects of assimilation and the critical role of the individual speaker's choices. Baker (2011) emphasizes "the economic reward system" as a macroeconomic reality:

> Both assimilation and pluralism can be promoted and defended as ideas by the need to earn a living and the desire to acquire or increase affluence. Assimilation may be chosen to secure a job, to be vocationally successful and to achieve affluence. The minority language and culture may be left behind in order to prosper in the majority language community. At the same time, language planning can be used to ensure that there are jobs and promotion within the minority language community […]
>
> Resolution is sometimes **pragmatic**[4] rather than philosophical. Often, being fluent in the majority language is an employment necessity, and this can promote assimilation (Baker, 2011: 396).

But making the English language one's primary and preferred medium can also simply be an individual choice. US Scandinavians and Germans, for example, seem to voluntarily abandon use of their mother tongue and rear their children solely in English. Baker writes that "All language minorities want to learn English, although Spanish, Chinese and Greek immigrants are relatively more likely to maintain bilingualism" (397). Veltman (2000) accounts for US immigrants' intrinsic motive to learn the host-community language:

> The desire of immigrants in all minority language groups to learn English and make this language their own is sufficiently high to produce the kind of outcome that most Americans cherish, that is, that immigrants become English-speaking people. I unequivocally demonstrate that rates of

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[4] Author's emphasis.

language shift to English are so high that all minority languages are routinely abandoned, depriving the USA of one type of human resource that may be economically and politically desirable both to maintain and develop (Veltman, 2000: 58).

Veltman's (2000) empirical analysis from US census data shows that US immigrants' shift to English is quite rapid as they often adopt English as their primary or favoured language, quit use of their heritage tongue (e.g. Scandinavians and Germans) and choose English-language education for their children. Most of the immigrants are eager to learn English. Salaberry (2009b) sees integrative motivation behind their wishing to learn rapidly and well. Thus, no strong measures to promote English assimilation in schools are needed, nor does immigration really threaten the supremacy of English in the USA or UK. Veltman (2000) stresses such intrinsic motivation while criticizing the loss of human resources—Moll's cited "funds of knowledge" —that English submersion brings on.

On the other hand, Baker (2011) notices how "Political changes throughout the world are changing the concept of nationhood" (82). He cites the example of China, with its 55 designated "national minorities" and a recent growth in English, where the government has tried to deal with the most critical issue of language policy (Blachford, 2004a: 154) and "[…] attain national unity by integrating the national minorities into the Han and Communist culture […]" while "[…] addressing the concerns of the minority population" (Blachford, 2004b: 99).

In our glocal social-media community, the 19th century construct of nationhood has been shaken by a new sense of supra-national membership: "In the world of the internet, the global economy and ease of transport between countries, the growth of economic and political interdependence in the world, new forms of loyalty and identity are beginning to occur" (Baker, 2011: 82). Consistently, a supra-national outlook may be thought to have a positive effect on bilingualism, as sharing a wider identity and belonging to a supra-national group, e.g. a glocal community, may initially build up a sense of loyalty and rootedness in the local community one belongs to prior to identifying psychologically with

large supra-national groups. Thus, bilingualism and multilingualism may be advantageous to multiple societal and individual identity making. Ultimately, Baker (2011) observes that the glocal clout of English as the key to accessing information and world-wide trade has urged people, in a multifarious variety of Asian, African, Latin American and European countries—notably in China, Brunei and Malaysia—to be bilingual or multilingual in English and other supranational languages (82-83).

2.6 A 20th-century evolution

The need for a single national language strengthened at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, when linguists were searching for conceptual tools to underpin and legitimate the birth of nation-states (Gal & Irvine, 1995: 967-1001). The status and corpus planning of a nationwide standard was seen of great practical relevance since it sustained the myth of one nation/one language which still informs a good deal of language planning at a national level today (Kaplan & Baldauf, in press).

Early language planning studies, influenced by modernization theory (Rostow, 1960) and the development of the discipline, initially called "language engineering", were urged by the breakup of European colonial empires after the Second World War and relevant emergence of new nations in Africa, Asia and South-East Asia, and by the need for national languages modelled after the one nation-one language construct (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Tollefson (2010) writes that "When language policy and planning (LPP) first became widely practiced in the 1960s and 1970s, LPP specialists believed that their newly emerging understanding of language in society could be implemented in practical programs of "modernization" and "development" that would have important benefits for "developing" societies" (463). There ensued "[…] an explosive growth in research […], as the new field of LPP was widely seen as having practical significance for the many newly independent states of the postcolonial period, as well as theoretical value in providing

"new opportunities to tackle a host of … novel theoretical concerns" (Fishman, 1968: x) in sociology and political science" (Tollefson, 2010: 463). Thus, borne out of an apparent nation-state perspective, early investigation analysed "[…] language planning needs specific to newly independent states, particularly language choice and literacy in processes of *nationism*, and language maintenance, codification, and elaboration in processes of *nationalism*" (Fishman, 1968).

The Ford Foundation, an American philanthropic organization, started on early language planning work in East Africa (Fox, 1975; also, Whitely, 1974 for Kenya), representing the interests of the USA, and early work was also carried out in South and South-East Asia (Fishman, 1974). The Foundation also sustained the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington, DC), which, along with the British Council, initiated language development activities in various developing countries, looking upon English as a key resource that could be tapped to enhance human capital and improve their people's lives (Kaplan 2010: 3-33). From the same perspective of modernization through one nation/one language development, Hamid relates some current practices being in use for supporting "English for Everyone" in Bangladesh (Hamid 2011: 289-310). The French through "la francophonie" (Djité, 1990: 20-32), an association of former French colonies, and the lusophone-speaking nations through the 1989-established International Institute of Portuguese Language (Da Silva & Gunnewiek, 1992: 71-92) have also promoted international language-related activities enhancing human capital (*Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada,* April-June 2012). Such language teaching projects are another type of educationally-focused language planning being carried on unabated by the polities mentioned as well as by the Chinese, Germans, Italians, Japanese and Spanish, among others, all competing for linguistic influence (ibid.).

In addition to the education sector, there are non-governmental organizations, such as the Académie française of France and the Real Academia Española of Spain, that have had a significant impact on language acquisition. These organizations often create their own dictionaries and grammar books, thus affecting the materials students are exposed to in schools. Though not holding official power, they influence government planning decisions, such as with educational materials, and so effect acquisition.

The Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy), generally abbreviated as RAE, is the official royal institution responsible for overseeing the Spanish language. It is based in Madrid, Spain, but is affiliated with national language academies in twenty-one other hispanophone (Spanish-speaking) nations through the Association of Spanish Language Academies. The institution was founded in 1713, modelled after the Italian Accademia della Crusca (1582) and the French Académie française (1635), with the purpose "[…] to fix the voices and vocabularies of the Castilian language with propriety, elegance, and purity" (Allan, 2013: 515). Its aristocratic founder, Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco, Marquis of Villena and Duke of Escalona, described its aims as to assure that Spanish speakers will always be able to read Cervantes by exercising a progressive up-to-date maintenance of the formal language. King Philip V approved its constitution on 3rd October 1714, placing it under the Crown's protection. The Real Academia Española began establishing rules for the orthography of Spanish beginning in 1741 with the first edition of the *Ortographía* (spelled *Ortografía* from the second edition onwards). The proposals of the Academy became the official norm in Spain by royal decree in 1844, and they were also gradually adopted by the Spanish-speaking countries of America. Several reforms were introduced in the *Nuevas Normas de Prosodia y Ortografía* (1959), and since then the rules have undergone continued adjustment, in consultation with the other national language academies. The current rules and practical recommendations are presented in the latest edition of the *Ortografía* (1999). The RAE dedicates itself to language planning by applying linguistic prescription aimed at promoting linguistic unity within and between the various territories. In order to ensure a common standard in accordance with Article 1 of its founding charter, the Royal Spanish Academy "[...] tiene como mission principal velar porque los cambios que experimente la Lengua Española en su constante adaptación a las necesidades de sus hablantes no quiebren la esencial unidad que mantiene en todo el ámbito hispánico".[5] The proposed language guidelines are shown in a number of works. The priorities are the Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española (Dictionary of Spanish Language of the Royal Spanish Academy or DRAE),

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[5] Artículo 1 del Real Decreto 1109/1993, de 9 de julio, por el que se aprueban los Estatutos de la Real Academia Española (B.O.E. 30 de julio de 1993).

edited periodically twenty-three times since 1780, and its grammar, last edited in October 2014. The Academy has a formal procedure for admitting words to its publications.

Manuel Díaz-Campos's recent work (2015) is a comprehensive and analytical survey of the LPP of Spain and Latin America:

> Two overarching aims […] guide Madrid's international language policy: on the one hand, the desire to maintain a position of leadership in the Spanish-speaking world as custodians of *castellano*; and, on the other, a recognition of the growing economic value of "selling" the Spanish language. To underpin these goals Spain has evolved a "panhispanic" language policy intended to touch Spanish speakers across the world.

> The principal guardians of the Spanish language (i.e. *castellano* from Spain) are two powerful institutions funded and fostered by the Spanish government: the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (the RAE) and the Instituto Cervantes […] The former is also part of a network of language academies, the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE) in existence throughout Spanish-speaking Latin America, whose main policy guidance, however, is largely directed by the Spanish RAE. Together these two institutions hold a series of regular Congresos de la Lengua Española, sponsored by the Spanish and, from time to time, by various Latin American governments, in different venues across the Spanish-speaking world. These congresos represent the principal forum for reflection and dialogue on the status, problems and challenges that the Spanish language is considered to face […] As such, they offer a window into the current workings and priorities of the language guardians, and—through the exceptional media coverage they attract—provide high-profile opportunities to promote and control discussions and debates about the Spanish language (Díaz-Campos, 2015: 754).

But Spanish promotion may also entail a covert furtherance of ideological and political hegemony analogous to the spread of global English:

> This leadership and safeguarding of Spanish from Spain, at the same time promoting the hegemony of Spanish cultural and political values throughout the Spanish-speaking world, is argument that these linguistic policies are indeed manifestations of linguistic imperialism at work. Both the RAE

and the Cervantes make claims of supporting a wider concept of "Spanish" than merely that of the variety of Spain (ibid.).

Reflecting a widespread optimistic atmosphere in the social sciences of the 1960s and 1970s, the titles of many classical language planning studies bear witness to the expectations of development, modernization and progress of that era. Accordingly, language change was thought to lead to desired political and social transformation through:

a. Access to educational opportunity.

b. Reduction in socioeconomic inequality.

c. A more unified sociocultural system towards overall societal improvement.

While language planning initially focused on new post-colonial nations in a structuralist key, by the 1970s it had become clear that the discipline, far beyond the range of developing societies, applied to more general macroproblems and situations. In particular, it extended to migration and linguistic minorities in the developed countries (Tollefson, 2006: 42-59). Tollefson describes the major achievement of this early study as "[…] a deeper understanding of the relationship between language structure and language functions on the one hand and various forms of social organization (communities, ethnic groups, nations) on the other" (Tollefson, 2010: 464). Theoretically, he stresses the LPP link with "[…] microsociolinguistics on such issues as sequencing in interactions, code-switching, and systematicity in style and register variation" (ibid.). Retrospectively, the underlying ideological faith in development and modernization, and upbeat anticipation of progress, by those involved in effecting changes in the linguistic system may look surprising (Kaplan & Baldauf, in press). Tollefson outlines a number of assumptions and limitations that came to determine "[…] the failure of LPP to achieve its goals in many contexts […]":

1. Economic models appropriate for one place may be ineffective elsewhere.

2. National economic development will not necessarily benefit all sectors of society, especially the poor.

3. Development fails to consider local contexts and the conflicting needs and desires of diverse communities.

4. Development has a homogenizing effect on social and cultural diversity (Tollefson, 2010: 465).

5. The widespread emphasis on efficiency, rationality, and cost-benefit analysis as evaluating benchmarks led to the conviction that planners were "[…] more able than political authorities to apply rational decision making in the solution to language problems" (ibid.). This meant "[…] not only a belief in the skills of technical specialists but also a broader failure to link LPP with a political analysis. The wide failure of early LPP to acknowledge that LPP is fundamentally political, involving a powerful mechanism for disciplining societies, is central to subsequent critiques of LPP" (ibid.).

6. The persistent assumption that "[…] the nation-state is the appropriate focus for LPP research and practice", with two important consequences:

a. Looking on government agencies as the main actors in LPP and focusing on the work of such agencies.

b. Adopting a top-down perspective concerned with national plans and policies rather than local language practices (465-466).

However, that aura of optimism about the efficacy of socio-economic science paradigms that had surrounded the first three post-war decades soon faded away. One decisive factor was the general collapse of social planning during the 1980s as a result of "[…] centrally planned economies […]" giving "[…] way to market economies in which planning plays a relatively limited role" (466). In particular, the gap between language planning and sociopolitical developments meant that planners could hardly predict the impact of their plans and policies. Ammon (1997) emphasizes the part played by "[…] unexpected outcomes […]" as "[…] a normal feature of highly complex social systems, in

which linear cause-effect relationships between language and society do not apply and social groups may have covert goals for LPP" (Tollefson, 2010: 466).

By the 1980s, the advent of critical sociolinguistics had marked widespread disillusionment with the directions in the field (Blommaert, 1996: 199-222). Proponents of the new "systems approach" or "ecological" perspective agreed that "[…] specialists must understand the wide range of social, economic, and political forces that affect, and are affected by, LPP processes" (Tollefson, 2010: 466) pointing up that "[…] not enough is known about the complex relationships between language and society for LPP to be used for "social engineering""(Cluver, 1991: 44; Kashoki, 1982). There followed a recent focus on "[…] limited aims, such as reducing social distance and stereotyping or increasing language learning and communicative interaction among groups speaking different primary languages (e.g. Musau, 1999)" (Tollefson, 2010: 467).

A further element of criticism, from a postmodernist perspective, regarded the insufficient attention to the language practices and attitudes of grassroots communities affected by LPP: how "[…] linguistic minorities accommodate, subvert, or transform national plans within their local communities. In addition, early LPP research did not adequately examine the involvement of business enterprises, nongovernmental organizations, professional associations (e.g., teachers' groups), and other institutions and organizations involved in LPP practice" (ibid.). Tollefson reports on "[…] the capacity of local communities "[…]", irrespective of their political power, "[…] to adopt multiple identities only partly determined by LPP and to alter significantly the outcomes of plans and policies" (Pennycook, 1995, 1998).

Tollefson (2010) deals with a third element of criticism concerning the LPP real-world application that did not meet its initial expectations of modernization and progress: instead of bringing "[…] a broad array of benefits to minority populations in developing nations […]", LPP implementation "[…] was often used by dominant groups to maintain their political and economic advantage" (467). He mentions the case of apartheid South Africa, "[…] where LPP isolated Black populations, increased conflict, and aided the White minority in its efforts to hold on to power" (Cluver, 1992; de Klerk & Barkhuizen,

1998; Kamwangamalu, 1997; Ohly, 1989). There, "[…] the ideology of racial separation that was at the heart of apartheid […]" inspired the action of the Afrikaner nationalist government, which "[…] promoted mother tongue instruction and used codification and standardization as tools for segregating different ethnic groups among the Black population, whereas other policies promoted Afrikaans rather than English" (De Klerk, 2000. In Tollefson, 2010: 467). Tollefson states that, in other African countries, "[…] LPP was used to overcome the immediate postindependence crisis of national integration, but often this goal was achieved only within the educated elite, leaving masses of the population largely cut off from economic and political power" (Mazrui & Tidy, 1984).

Top-down use of LPP by dominant groups was not limited to developing nations. In the former Soviet Union, "[…] the spread of Russian was selectively encouraged in regions where central planners sought to extend their authority" (Kirkwood, 1990). In the UK, a renewed drive to enforce standard English in the schools in the 1990s matched "[…] a wider effort to limit the role of immigrants' languages in education […]" (Tollefson, 2010: 467). In the USA, federal policies have suppressed indigenous languages (Shonerd, 1990) while the "No Child Left Behind" 2001 legislation, with its controversial high-stakes assessment, and Official English legislation in some states have been instrumental in restricting the political power of Latinos (Donahue, 2001). Baker (2011) refers to Barker and Giles' findings (2002) in one of the few empirical studies of the English-only movement to throw light on the sense of threat perceived by the anglophones in the US and the LPP ways of socioeconomic and political control of Latino vitality through English-only education:

> […] Anglo-Americans supporting the English-only position believe that Latino vitality (e.g. economic and political power and status) is growing in the US as Anglo vitality is decreasing. In this research, attachment to a traditional conceptualization of 'good Americans' was connected to an English-only position. Less contact with the Spanish language was associated with greater support for the English-only position. Those with lower levels of education were more likely to support such a position, as were those who were blue-collar or unemployed. Such groups may perceive Latinos as

more of a **threat**[6] to their chances of enhancement and improvement. This suggests that the roots of English-only may lie not only in personal **insecurity**[7] and intolerance of difference but also in perceived threats to power, position and privilege, plus a fear of difference and competition for perceived scarce resources (Barker *et al.,* 2001. In Baker, 2011: 385).

The US presidential elections in November 2016 showed that such feelings of threat and insecurity, stirred by the worldwide precariousness of a global job market, are especially prominent among Anglo-Americans and inform the widespread misconceptions about language diversity and bilingualism being perceived as a divisive weakness and handicap to overcome via monolingual homogenization:

> For English-only advocates, **bilingual education**[8] is seen as promoting separatist language communities, a division in US society, an indifference to English, and making English speakers strangers in their own localities (Crawford, 2003). Instead, the English language should unite and harmonize. Learning English early in school, and learning curriculum content through English, would produce, it is claimed, integrated neighborhoods. Thus, US English's preferred immigrant is someone who learns English quickly as well as acquiring US customs and culture, acquires skills that are useful to the economic prosperity of the country, works hard and achieves the US dream. For critics of bilingual education in the US, such education only serves to destroy rather than deliver that dream (Baker, 2011: 385).

2.7 Current and future directions in language policy and planning research

A reversal of attitude, and probably a turning point in the 1980s, was the recognition that LPP did not necessarily result in development (Tollefson, 2010: 468). Indeed, the recent revival of academic interest has centred around the LPP specialists' involvement "[…] in a broad range of social processes" (ibid.) and the proposal of "[…]

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[6] Author's emphasis.
[7] Author's emphasis.
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new models, such as the systems approach or ecological model, incorporating new metaphors, such as networks (Cluver, 1991; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997a)" (Tollefson, 2010: 471). At the same time, the expanded areas of concern brought out novel research models and methods drawn from work in anthropology, political sociology, the ecology of language, the application of discourse analysis to LPP and the use of ethnographic research methods (469-470).

In the current century, the new world order, globalization, postmodernism and linguistic human rights have opened newer and broader scenarios for the discipline (Ricento, 2000; Nekvapil, 2011). The revival of interest has inspired language planning scholars concerned with new issues such as language ecology (e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997b; Mühlhäusler, 2000), language rights (e.g., May, 1996; 2001; 2005) and the role of English and other languages in a globalizing world (e.g., Pennycook, 1998; Low & Hashim, 2012; Maurais & Morris, 2003). These developments and revived attention have produced a number of recent efforts to define the discipline. The most recent effort is Spolsky's (2012a) *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*, with important contributions from key journals such as *Current Issues in Language Planning, Language Policy* and *Language Problems and Language Planning.* A section on language planning regularly appears in handbooks on applied linguistics (Kaplan, 2010; Spolsky & Hult, 2008) and in volumes of the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (*Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada,* April-June 2012). However, as Tollefson remarks, a convincingly comprehensive theory defining LPP-relevant social processes and factors still needs to be formulated (Tollefson, 2010: 471).

While at the beginning of the 20th century the main focus of research was on the interaction between language and the birth of nation-states, current language planning investigation has been increasingly centred on issues related to globalization and internationalization. The interwoven economic, sociocultural and linguistic aspects of global and local contexts are being especially investigated in an interdisciplinary outlook on issues of power and identity, with "[…] increased recognition of the need for LPP specialists to play a more visible role in public policy debates […]" (472). But what are the key issues that may dominate future research in language policy and planning and that the

four mentioned approaches to the field are trying to engage with? (Tollefson, 2010; *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada*, April-June 2012). Ten primary directions in language planning study can be singled out:

1. Re-emerging polities and the emergence of supra-states: a new political perspective.

2. Linguistic human rights.

3. Ecology of language and biocultural and linguistic diversity.

4. Ethnography and micro-language planning.

5. Migration and the treatment of new minorities.

6. Agency and language power.

7. The global impact on language of multinational corporations.

8. Language, terror and postcolonialism.

9. Deconstructing monolingual identities.

10. Medium of instruction.

2.8 Conclusions. Language policy and planning. A crucial workshop for a holistic language ecology

The point of this short survey has been to show that, from the perspective of language ecology, the working field of language policy and planning, as a germinal strand of today's applied linguistics both in its theoretical discussion and concrete applications, has been concerned with a crucial number of multiple real-world applications: from the top-down, abstract modernization/development models of the early modernist approach,

decontextualized frameworks often born of a nation-state mindset and aimed at "efficiency, rationality, and cost-benefit analysis" (Tollefson, 2010: 465), to a bottom-up, concrete, multidisciplinary, sensitive and exploratory focus on a variety of sociolinguistic realities and allegiances, with a consistent diversity of interpretive keys and operative instruments. What is especially interesting is to note that this shift in perspective, informed by Fishman's (1968, 1972, 1974) early sociolinguistic investigation, has led to a postmodernist awareness and critical analysis of the sociocultural specifics and macro-and micro-linguistic needs and expectations of situated actors: post-colonial polities, autochthonous languages, the often controversial place of migrant languages in Western society, the unattended needs of sign languages and dialects and the varying, often unpredictable identity and agency of the individual language user towards the perfunctory assumptions and artificially-enforced schemes of "language engineering".

From a holistic language ecology viewpoint, we could then draw the following conclusions as related to the above-mentioned directions:

1. As regards the new emerging order, 1989 and the last decade of the past century marked a dramatic turnabout in the world and in Europe, in particular. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the consequent realignment of boundaries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, along with the expansion of the European Union, have led to the re-emergence of polities and the emergence of supra-states with new issues of language choice and maintenance/revival of autochthonous languages creating the need for the planning and development of sensible and sensitive language policies (De Varennes, 2012). There comes the new political commitment of critical linguists who have exposed "[…] how LPP exacerbates rather than reduces economic, social, and political inequalities (Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a; Tollefson, 1995, 2001. In Tollefson, 2010: 471), with the outcome of marginalizing already dominated populations, like Albanians in Kossovo (ibid.) or Kurds in Turkey and Syria. Apparently, a considerable amount of the new situations led to political conflict and linguistic difficulties (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2001; Skerritt, 2012). The violent and bloody fragmentation of Yugoslavia and the ongoing upsurge of Russian imperialism vis-à-vis former Soviet states like Ukraine have reasserted the fundamental, still unresolved, political problem of Europe and Central Asia: the

relationship between minorities and nation states in a globalized world. As vocalized by Tollefson (1997, 2004), "In the states of former Yugoslavia, for example, language policy has been a key issue for government leaders" (Tollefson, 2010: 468). Insofar as language is a vital part of international and intranational policy, Tollefson notes that "The LPP choices made by state planners, legislative bodies, and citizens will play a key role in the management of political conflict in these new states for decades to come" (ibid.). Economic alliances such as ASEAN in Southeast Asia and MERCOSUR (Hamel, 2003) in Latin America also bring into question similar issues about what languages will be used for what purposes (*Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada,* April-June 2012).

2. As far as linguistic human rights are concerned, the debate on the complex "[…] role of language rights in state formation, international organizations, political conflict, and other important social processes" (Tollefson, 2010: 469) goes on unabated as well as calls for implementation and expansion of these rights. Some critical linguists have advocated mother tongue-promotion policies (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a), whereas others have linked language rights to political theory, social theory and to efforts to develop a theory of LPP (Cooper, 1989; Dua, 1996; May, 2001). Recent research has examined how LPP processes are constrained by constitutional and statutory law: "For example, in the United States, the body of US law surrounding the concept of *free speech* directly affects LPP debates about the English-only movement, state efforts to restrict languages other than English, and the use of nonstandard varieties in schools" (Tollefson, 2010: 469). Tollefson recalls that "[…] language policy decisions have been overturned by courts as violations of free speech" (Donahue, 2001; Grove, 1999; Stephan, 1999). Likewise, a true understanding of language policies in the Philippines necessarily has to take account of "[…] a long history of constitutional debates about the appropriate official role for English, Filipino, and other languages […]" (Tollefson, 2010: 469), just as the relationship between Bengali and English in Bangladesh and the promotion of "[…] Bengali as a core symbol of Bangladeshi nationalism" (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007).

3. Linked to the open question of language rights is the issue of biocultural diversity and language ecology, i.e. the matching of biodiversity with linguistic and cultural diversity. The ecological approaches to LPP have evolved from real-world "[…] application in a

wide range of language studies, including literacy, language learning, language change, and language spread (e.g. Mühlhäusler, 1996a; van Lier, 2004)" (Tollefson, 2010: 470). As Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson have expounded (2008: 7), biodiversity is of paramount importance to long-term planetary survival since it promotes creativity, adaptability and, thus, stability (ibid.). Today biocultural diversity is being threatened as never before in human history. In particular, seriously-endangered languages fast disappear at the same time as other languages, official and not yet endangered, undergo domain loss in high-status areas as a result of English submersion in research, universities, businesses, media, etc. (ibid.). Their speakers start experiencing what local minorities experienced when nation-state standardization spread subtractively. The alternative to this situation suggested is "[…] maximal support for linguistic diversity and additive multilingualism" (ibid.). Education, to this effect, seems instrumental in formulating and implementing linguistic human rights: "This includes an absolute right to mother tongue medium education for indigenous peoples and minorities for most of the primary education, together with good teaching of an official language as a second language" (ibid.). The recipe put forward by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2008) is that many groups should join forces while researchers, rather than becoming irrelevant or even antithetical to such language-right founded enhancement, should engage with multidisciplinary, constructive and activist work (7). Tollefson (2010: 470) observes that the ecological perspective has offered a powerful "[…] framework for evaluating the impact of language plans and policies, including a concern for language maintenance and revival, acceptance of multiple forms of linguistic diversity, and concern for language rights", with the double goal of promotion (linguistic diversity) and implementation (community participation in policymaking) (ibid.).

On the other side of the coin, countering critical linguists' ideological commitment, recent critics of ecological models have claimed

> […] that they are metaphors rather than serious theories of language in society; that they include unjustified assumptions (e.g. that languages will survive if left free from the pressures of human intervention), and that they implicitly reflect a neoliberal fascination with small, isolated

communities whose members want access to dominant languages and institutions in order to overcome serious economic deprivation (Edwards, 2001; Pennycook, 2004. In Tollefson, 2010: 470).

4. In view of an ethnographic approach to LPP, many linguists have realized that governments may not be suitable as micro-language planners in a number of cases and that some language planning activities must occur at the local level if they are to take place at all (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). This is exemplified by Picanço's study (2012) on a revitalization project carried out in Kwatá-Laranjal indigenous land in Brazil (Chua & Baldauf, 2011. In *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada,* April-June 2012). In fact, the new ethnographic approach to LPP was "In response to the criticism that early LPP failed to examine the impact of LPP on communities" (Tollefson, 2010: 470). Zeroing in on the microlevel language of everyday life and the "unconscious lived culture" of communities (Canagarajah, 2006: 153), researchers have thrown light on "[…] community support and resistance to plans and policies, the impact of policy alternatives on communities, and the value of community involvement in LPP processes" (Tollefson, 2010: 471). Especially appropriate for qualitative ethnographic research has been participant observation over relatively long periods of time resulting in "[…] rich, multilayered analysis of language use, including code-switching, code-mixing, and language maintenance and shift" (ibid.). Application of ethnography to LPP in a variety of contexts has included Quechua language maintenance in Peru (Hornberger, 2003) and Ecuador (King, 2001), education in Solomon Islands (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2004), and bilingual classrooms in Wales (Jones & Martin-Jones, 2004. In Tollefson, 2010: 471). The chance of combining study of macrolevel policy with investigation into microlevel local practices, and the further advantage of working within a discourse analysis framework, have enabled researchers "[…] to understand how local practices are situated within the broader social and political order." (ibid.)

5. As concerns migration and the treatment of new minorities, internationalization and globalization have played a predominant part in language policy and planning, especially in the EU and the USA, as documented by Tollefson (2006). Migration, in particular, is

one of the decisive factors in the increasing learning of languages, especially global languages like English. Some migration is clearly related to economics, e.g. the employment opportunities of Turks in Germany, Indonesian maids in Malaysia, or Philippine cleaners in Italy. An alternative stimulus, often related to real-time social-media communication, is provided by matters of the heart, as in the case of Vietnamese and Taiwanese women marrying Korean men (*Revista brasileira de linguística aplicada*, Apr./June 2012). Preponderant and ever more critical, however, is the phenomenon of mass migration, especially from eastern, central and western Africa towards Europe these days. Wall building and overt rejection of refugees seeking international protection under the Geneva Convention on the part of a considerable number of EU state members, especially Eastern members, have thriven on a fuzzy and altogether questionable distinction between political and economic refugees, and the Dublin Regulation (No. 604/2013), which stipulates that the country to which the asylum seeker first applies for asylum is responsible for either accepting or rejecting asylum, and the seeker may not restart the process in another jurisdiction. In actual fact, and in apparent violation of the European Convention of Human Rights, "It has been demonstrated on a number of occasions [...] that the Dublin regulation impedes the legal rights and personal welfare of asylum seekers, including the right to a fair examination of their asylum claim and, where recognized, to effective protection [...]", as well as producing "[...] the uneven distribution of asylum claims among Member States" (ibid.). Language-in-education planning has come to have a crucial part in providing language resources suitable for those helpless multifarious people forced to risk (and often losing) their lives on long perilous journeys and crossings in utterly inhuman conditions (Conrick & Donovan, 2010: 331-345; Paulston & McLaughlin, 1994). Tollefson (1989) observes that "In many countries, LPP in education has been central to efforts to deal with this massive movement of people" (Tollefson, 2010: 468). He focuses on five key questions for applied linguistic investigation:

- What should be the role of migrants' languages in education and other official domains of use?

- How are local languages affected by migrants?

- What should be the status of new varieties of English and other lingua francas?

- How can acquisition planning be most effectively carried out?

- What factors constrain acquisition planning? (ibid.).

6. In relation to agency and language power, this issue and its implications are increasingly being investigated in a variety of contexts. Research has explored the interaction between macrostructures of top-down language policy and planning—e.g. Singaporean planners urging Chinese speakers to switch from Chinese "dialects" to Mandarin, or Malaysian officials encouraging everyone to learn the national language, Bahasa Malaysia—and the ever-greater agency of individuals who learn languages in a world where access to languages is easier, especially availability of powerful *lingua francas.* Indeed, in spite of strong campaigns to do so, individual agency has led many Chinese speakers in Singapore not to switch to Mandarin as their heritage language. Instead, they have chosen to use the dominant national language, English, in their home environment (Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Conversely, Ting (2012) has documented Chinese "dialect" speakers in Sarawak moving to Mandarin being perceived as an alternative standard language and one of ethnic solidarity. Such examples epitomize how widespread individual agency may stem and undermine the organized impact of a national language policy. (*Revista brasileira de linguística aplicada*, Apr./June 2012). Recent research has investigated "[…] how the recipients of LPP control the process of social change […]" leading "[…] to a more complex understanding of social identity, the various community affiliations that characterize individuals and groups, and the importance of institutions other than the state for language use and acquisition" (Norton, 1997a. In Tollefson, 2010: 472). Counter-examples of effective top-down policy power are to be found in the USA and Brazil. Burque and Oliveira (2012) have reviewed the mentioned "No Child Left Behind" Act in the former context, with the ensuing submersion of languages other than English, which is unofficially turned into the official medium in the polity. On the other hand, Almeida (2012) has clarified how Brazilian schools are empowered to set policy and determine what is learnt in them. Although centred around Brazil, the issues are applicable to other sociocultural realities (*Revista brasileira de linguística aplicada,* Apr./June 2012). Ultimately, research efforts "[…] should explore how communities undergo social change,

quite apart from actions of the state" (Tollefson, 2010: 472). Tollefson calls attention to analysis of "real-life language planning" (Dasgupta, 1990: 87) and "[…] the role of contact languages in promoting grassroots dialogue" (Tollefson, 2010: 472). From a flexible, situated and inclusive viewpoint, then, "[…] LPP research can move away from a restricted focus on lingua francas as mechanisms for state control and toward a deeper understanding of how they are involved in the multiple ways that power may be exercised in social life" (ibid.), with the intriguing role of LPP in identity politics (Kymlicka, 1995).

7. With respect to the impact of global economy on the various aspects of LPP, it has been observed that the making of the global village has entailed "The diminishing role of the state and the growing importance of multinational corporations as institutions of global decision making […]" (Schubert, 1990). In view of this, a number of pivotal questions needs to be answered by LPP researchers:

> a. How languages will serve local community identity and communication needs—Hüllen's (1992) functional divide between *Identifikatiossprachen* and *Kommunikationssprachen* —, while also meeting the demands of globalization.
>
> b. What position and functions official, regional and migrant languages will have within a (better) united Europe.
>
> c. How the global economy will change language acquisition and the structure of international languages and *lingua francas*.
>
> d. How educational systems will respond to the language needs of foreign workers.
>
> e. How global corporations will manage the communication needs of business.

Dealing effectively with these issues "[…] will require new forms of LPP research, no longer focused exclusively on the actions of state agencies but instead linking LPP to

related work in the ethnography of communication, in mass media, and in microsociolinguitics, as well as in sociology and political theory" (Tollefson, 2010: 472).

8. With reference to the issue of language, terror and postcolonialism, LPP study has to give careful thought to the political use of international English in the web concerning "[…] globalization, conflict over the control of natural resources (e.g. oil), political violence, and the "war on terror"" (ibid.). In fact, the IT revolution of the 1980s and the following ever-increasing worldwide spread of the net have produced boundless cultural opportunities but also a centrifugal fragmentation of information power with two opposing effects:

> a. English has been used as a vehicle for homogenizing power on the pretext of national security goals by US inner circles and transnational corporations. Karmani (2005: 101) observes that "[…] the US policy of "more English and less Islam" in the Arabian Gulf region is implemented by American and other foreign educational institutions using English as medium of instruction in order to promote US interests, undermine local educational institutions, and block the adoption of Arabic-English bilingual policies" (Tollefson, 2010: 472).

> b. The US invasion of and following war in Afghanistan (2001-2014) and Iraq (2003-2011) and the 2011 stage-managed break-up of Libya, presumably due to oil warfare, with no credible political and democratic alternative and the worsening of poor people's condition, have led to the blood-curdling rule and ongoing disruption of Isis over an extensive area of the Middle and Near East. It may be surprising that the early-medieval ideology of *sharia* has been propagated through the medium of English! This phenomenon, which encompasses and involves local powerless and illiterate people together with Western foreign fighters, cannot be simplistically dismissed as a sort of global manipulation. On the contrary, the use of multimedial English for the glocal spreading of Islamic fanaticism and atrocities warrant lucid and painstaking analysis.

9. Regarding the question of deconstructing monolingual identities, scholars have tried to deconstruct the monolingual ideology of one nation/one (standard) language in a number of polities, arguing that the presumed costs of multilingualism are outweighed by its benefits. Multilingualism has constructively inspired political debate in Guatemala, "[…] where official recognition of the country's indigenous languages was an important part of the peace accords ending the country's civil war" (Tollefson, 2010: 469). In postapartheid South Africa, the adoption of a Constitution that established eleven official languages as an element of "innovative language policies" has ultimately fostered "[…] an ideology of multilingualism as a symbol of national revival […]" (ibid.), thus enhancing the process of democratization (Blommaert, 1996). Likewise, in Timor-Leste, there has been an increasing use of vernacular languages, designated as National Languages in the 2002 Constitution, for primary-school instruction (Taylor-Leech, 2011). In view of ongoing implementation, discussion on the benefits and assumed dangers of multilingualism/plurilingualism has continued. Brutt-Griffler (2002), in this regard, has maintained that where multilingualism is well established, world languages like English will produce additive rather than subtractive bilingualism. On the other hand, Singh, Zhang and Besmel (2012) contest these conclusions in relation to Afghanistan, China, India and Nepal (*Revista brasileira de linguística aplicada,* Apr./June 2012).

10. Last but not least, research has focused on the much-debated problem of medium of instruction. This is now a major sensitive issue for language-in-education planners, as many relevant cases have been driven by globalization and internationalization. The choice of a learning medium is inevitably linked to questions of power and socioeconomic differential. In Bangladesh, for example, this issue has produced a social and linguistic divide, with parallel streams of English and Bangla instruction (Hamid & Jahan, 2015). At the university level, in particular, programmes of study are being offered in world languages like English to attract international students and improve local students' English proficiency (Ali, Hamid & Moni, 2011). The same hypercentric role of English impacts on primary education in Asia, where there is increasing pressure to begin English earlier or offer programmes in English (Baldauf, Kaplan, Kamwangamalu & Bryant, 2012). As to Malaysia and other parts of Asia, the general question of what variety of English should be

taught is raised by Schmitz (2012) and applied to the context of tertiary education in Croatia by Vodopija-Krstanović and Brala-Vukanović (2012). In many other parts of the world, where native English speakers have become a minority and most users of the language will be speaking with other nativized or non-native speakers, there arises the question of which norm should be followed and whether using some form of English as a *lingua franca* would not be more appropriate "[…] for a multiple native-speaking normed language like English […] (*Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada*, Apr./June 2012).

It seems appropriate, at this point, to briefly outline the import and evolution of language rights and how these have impacted on the implementation of a viable and equitable language ecology worldwide being the specific objective of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND BILINGUALISM

3.1 A focus on language right terminology

To exactly assess the full extent and possibly even-handed application of language rights to language ecology is still a matter for the ideological debate of theorists and a bone of contention for language planners. It has been convincingly argued that, when not looked upon as a problem, language can be regarded as a basic human and individual right, similar to religious freedom, ideology and type of education (Baker, 2011: 377-382). Currently, human rights are the object of interdisciplinary research concern for social theorists, international and constitutional lawyers, political scientists, sociolinguists, educationists, and many others. Who can have rights and to what, in particular, is a crucial and controversial issue. Two usual questions are:

1. Who is, or is not, a member of a language community?

2. What constitutes a group for collective linguistic human rights? (May, 2000: 366-385).

May (2000) reminds us that nation-states and liberalism are both built on the notion of individual citizenship rights, not group rights. Besides, collective rights may at times conflict with individual rights and freedom, as when a person has professional qualifications but not bilingual competence. Baker (2011: 379), quoting Hoffman (2000),

reports the case of Catalonia, where a form of linguistic discrimination "[…] pushes disproportionately high numbers of non-Catalan speakers into low-status occupations" (435), increasingly reserving white-collar jobs for those with fluency in Catalan. Languages can have legal personalities and rights, but also individuals, groups, organizations, peoples and other collectivities including polities can have rights and duties. Two important documents from the Council of Europe, the only binding international treaties in force about language rights, exemplify these two types of right:

• The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe, 1992) grants rights to languages, not speakers of the languages concerned. More than about rights, the charter is about standards and options from which states can choose (Grin *et al.*, 2003). One of the key domains is education, especially use of a minority language in pre-school education, which includes a variety of forms of bilingualism, from the exclusive use of the minority language (heritage language education) to dual language education and other types where there is a demand and sufficient numbers (Baker, 2011: 379).

• The Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe, February 1995) supports the rights of (national) minorities, i.e. groups (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 4).

In detail, language rights may stem from individual, group and international rights and be founded on the principle of personality (individual), on that of territoriality (societal), or on combinations of these (ibid.):

a. Individual**,** or personal, rights will draw on individual liberties and the right to freedom of individual expression (May, 2001, 2008). This especially concerns British and North American society where categories or groups of people resting on their culture, language or race are not formally acknowledged in politics or the legal system. Policies of non-discrimination, thus, tend to be aimed at individual equality of opportunity and personal rewards grounded on individual merit.

b. Group rights focus on the importance of preserving heritage language and culture communities and are expressed as rights to protection and rights to participation.

May (2001) calls for greater ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic self-determination and democracy in the face of nation-state fragmentation.

c. International rights aim to protect and promote autochthonous and allochthonous languages and cultures. For example, Article 3 of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". Article 14 reads as follows:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.

3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

A basic concept clarification has been the hallmark of investigation into linguistic human rights (Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Várady, 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994; Thornberry, 1997; De Varennes, 1996). Therefore, it may be useful to differentiate between the various categories of language rights:

• Non-binding rights**,** such as declarations, resolutions and recommendations that may exert pressure on a state to abide by them.

• Binding rights, e.g. treaties, charters, covenants, conventions that often have both monitoring and complaint procedures.

Interpretation of treaties may also be altered by litigation in time.

• Negative rights are universal declarations of human rights that generally include clauses aimed to prevent discrimination for reasons of language.

• Positive rights, which, on the other hand, imply obligations enforced by treaties on states and require that these protect individuals or groups from violation of their rights and, secondly, that states proactively promote individual rights by creating a necessary environment conducive to the full realization of the relevant rights (Article 2, Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 15, Rev. 1, 2005: 5).

Although most binding linguistic human rights so far have been negative, there have been, lately, interpretation processes towards positive group-consistent protection. A representative example was set by the UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment on Article 27, UN (Fiftieth session, 1994) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16th December 1966. In fact, the customary reading of Article 27 stated that linguistic rights were only granted to individuals, not collectivities: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language". Beyond theoretical distinction, however, language is mainly a social activity, and many linguists claim that languages exist only in use, so the right to use a language makes sense only if it is used together with others. The UN 2005 Human Rights Fact Sheet No 15 on the Covenant contains the new UN reading in their comment on Article 27. p. 7, pointing out the societal dimension of the right: "While nominally expressed as an individual right, this provision, by definition, may best be understood as a group right protecting a community of individuals" (comment on Article 27 of UN 2005 Fact Sheet No 15, p.7). This new interpretation also entails positive rights that have a mandatory validity for states (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 4).

We can also distinguish, with Kloss (1977, 1998), between tolerance-oriented rights and promotion-oriented rights:

• When language rights are tolerated, the already powerful and prestigious languages are strengthened. Therefore, top-down policy and planning have to intervene in the

protection and preservation of minority languages, especially in public domains. Governments can provide for these languages to be legally used in definite areas such as law, local government and education (Baker, 2011: 378).

• When language rights are promoted, they positively and constructively affirm the right to use a minority language freely in all official contexts. These rights are especially granted as a result of greater individual and group self-determination (Kibbee, 1998; Moses, 2000). Sometimes, however, the rights can be more idealistic than realistic. A typical case is the ideally even-handed position of all majority and minority European languages in the European Parliament since thorough cross-translation and interpretation would imply a prohibitive cost. Likewise, in South Africa, to provide the full range of educational resources for the 11 official languages would be too costly and impracticable. Still, Baker (2011) maintains that privileging one or more languages over the others would thwart many speakers' educational success and persuade them into shifting to the majority language or languages (378).

Finally, Rubio-Marín (2003:56), a constitutional lawyer, refers to two types of complementary language rights, which can be properly regarded as linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 3):

• Instrumental language rights, which "[…] aim at ensuring that language is not an obstacle to the effective enjoyment of rights with a linguistic dimension, to the meaningful participation in public institutions and democratic process and to the enjoyment of social and economic opportunities that require linguistic skills" (Rubio-Marín, 2003: 56).

• Expressive language rights, seen by Rubio-Marín as "language rights in a strict sense", which entail "the expressive interest in language as a marker of identity" aiming "[…] at ensuring a person's capacity to enjoy a secure linguistic environment in her/his mother tongue and a linguistic group's fair chance of cultural self-reproduction" (ibid.).

Ignoring this final distinction may induce sociolinguists and political scientists to deny the importance of identity-relevant expressive rights and only focus on dominant language rights for societal and individual mobility (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson., 2008: 3). Colin Baker (2011: 381-382) strikes two notes of caution about language rights:

a. The financial implications of language rights have to be taken into account for reasonable, not idealistic, implementation. This has concerned, as mentioned, the EU official languages rising from 11 in 1995 to 24 in 2016, with exceedingly high costs of interpretation and translation (Bruthiaux, 2009: 73-86).

b. Rhetoric of language entitlement and rights, of freedom and democracy, may add up to empty moral noises and "[…] hide preferences for coercion and conformity" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1991) or "[…] provide the legal minimum in support services for language minority students" since "Words do not often relate to action" (Baker, 2011: 382). As in the UK government's reports related by Stubbs (1991), in fact, "There is talk of entitlement, but not of the discrimination which many children face; and talk of equality of opportunity, but not of equality of outcome" (220-221).

3.2 An overview of language right development

References to language rights have occasionally appeared over several centuries in intra-state and bilateral legislation regulating relations between specific groups or states. The first multilateral formulation of minority rights including language rights was the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Capotorti, 1979: 2). A century later, the post-1919 territorial treaties that reshaped the political map of Europe also included many language rights. Several historical events have given prominence to language issues since then:

a. The establishment of postcolonial states with multilingual populations.

b. The re-ordering of the linguistic hierarchy in Canada.

c. The disintegration of the communist system.

d. The revitalization efforts and international UN-managed coordination of indigenous peoples (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 2).

A considerable number of measures—constitutions, socio-political legislation, litigation and education—have raised general awareness of the need to regulate the rights of speakers of different languages. After 1945 the concerted effort to create a more equitable order increased with the United Nations, notably the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. In 1971 the UN commissioned the Capotorti report, published in 1979, a major survey of juridical and conceptual aspects of language minority protection arguing for more substantial protection of cultural and linguistic minorities (Capotorti, 1979). From an ideologically-committed perspective, language rights are part and parcel of ethnic groups' rights, which include "[…] protection, membership of their ethnic group and separate existence, non-discrimination and equal treatment, education and information in their ethnic language, freedom to worship, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, employment, peaceful assembly and association, political representation and involvement, and administrative autonomy" (Baker, 2011: 379). Critical linguists emphasize the need to eradicate language prejudice and discrimination, e.g. colour, creed and other aspects of discrimination, from a democratic society by establishing language rights. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a), in particular, observes that individual countries have often ignored international declarations or contravened the agreements. Over the last decades, there has been a relentless and noteworthy struggle over language rights meant "[…] to legitimize the minority group itself and to alter its relationship to the state" (Tollefson, 1991: 202). The language human rights of immigrant language minorities, in particular, are not often recognized yet. This represents, in itself, a form of oppression, domination and injustice (Hall, 2002: 97-119).

Overall, the debate on linguistic human rights has focused on the rights of indigenous peoples and various dominated groups, including linguistic minorities. The term majority/minority, dominant/dominated imply a relationship between the former group, majority in number and dominant in political and economic power, and the latter one of minority and/or dominated speakers in regard to access to most language-related human rights. The imbalance especially concerns countries with a demographic majority, rather than those where none forms a majority, as in many African countries. As a matter of course, the language rights of a linguistic majority are seen as obvious and implemented through the medium of the dominant language. Therefore, language rights mainly refer to instruments or clauses about minorities. In particular, the subtractive imposition of a dominant language on learning may infringe linguistic human rights and bring on linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 3).

As a matter of fact, most research on language rights has been undertaken by lawyers, who have derived them from individual human rights such as freedom of speech and freedom from discrimination. In order to be effective, linguistic human rights need to be formulated in legally clear and binding statements, with multidisciplinary clarification and the political will to undertake implementation. Indeed, as already observed, sociolinguists have gone to great lengths since the very beginning to ground linguistic ecology in societal context and change, from a multidisciplinary and multilingual perspective, yet Haugen's 1971 seminal article takes account of status, standardization, diglossia and glottopolitics, but not of language rights (324-329).

Preservation and defence of language rights have mainly fallen into the category of individual liberties and have a history of being tested in US courtrooms, with a continuous debate on the legal status of minority language rights from the early 1920s to the present (Del Valle, 2003). Two landmark cases mentioned by Colin Baker (2011) were the Brown versus Board of Education Supreme Court case against black children's segregation and the famous Lau versus Nichols lawsuit leading to the "Lau remedies" prohibiting English submersion and improving bilingual education provision (Baker, 2011: 380). Colin Baker (ibid.) sets the positive action of US minority language activists, who have taken the central and regional government to court, against that of European activists, who, like the

Basques in Spain or the Welsh in Britain, have, instead, been taken to court by the central government for their actions. (C.H. Williams, 2007)

However, besides legal battles, language rights are often asserted by the local action of grassroots protests and pressure groups. Two successful cases in point have been the *Kohanga Reo* (language nests) movement in New Zealand, which provides pre-school immersion experience for the Maori people (May, 1996), and the Celtic movement for the provision of heritage language in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In these countries, bottom-up grassroots action created pre-school playgroups, "mother and toddler" groups and adult language learning classes for heritage language preservation (I.W. Williams, 2003). Strong but not violent activism led to the establishment of Welsh language elementary schools in Wales, particularly in urban areas. Here, parents that speak the heritage language joined hands with parents who speak only English to oppose antagonistic bureaucracy and have their children be taught in the heritage language and become thoroughly bilingual (Baker, 2011: 381).

On the whole, apart from individual equality of opportunity, minority language groups argue for rewards and justice based on the existence as a group in society. These rights are founded on the territorial principle or on ethnic identity and are aimed at redressing past injustices to language minorities. This may herald the way to full individual citizenship rights, but also, on a group level, to some measure of decision-making and self-determination, often mistrusted by the majority language group as a step towards secession. In reality, as May (1996) illustrates, majority group members are, more often than not, wary, suspicious of, or clearly opposed to the minority's autonomy "[…] because it may infringe on the individual rights of majority group members" (153). On the other hand, asymmetrical bilingualism in minority language areas may occasion disparity: for instance, when English monolinguals in Québec, Spanish speakers in Catalonia or Italian natives in South Tyrol cannot obtain teaching or local government posts in their homeland bilingual communities.

3.3 Assimilation versus pluralism. An ongoing debate on bilingual education

The history of language rights is strictly connected with that of bilingualism. The social and political aspects of bilingual education hinge on the two contrasting positions of assimilation or pluralism, i.e., as mentioned, the belief that minority groups should give up their heritage cultures and shift to the host society's way of life and mainstream language, or the conviction that these groups should, instead, preserve and match their cultural and linguistic heritage with the host culture. Schmidt (2000) gives a graphic account of the ideological opposition that begets and warrants two diametrically opposed views of democratic society:

> The assimilationist vision yearns for and insists upon a national community that is monolingual and monocultural, in which linguistic diversity does not threaten to engulf us in a babel of discordant sounds signifying a shredded social fabric. The pluralist vision, in contrast, understands the United States as an ethnically diverse and multilingual society with a tragic past of racialized ethnocultural domination, but standing now at a point of historic opportunity to realize—through a policy of multicultural and linguistic pluralism—the promise of its ongoing project of democratic equality (Schmidt, 2000: 183).

Accordingly, in the USA, "Pluralists favor using the state to enhance the presence and status of minority languages in the United States, while assimilationists seek state policies that will ensure the status of English as the country's sole public language" (Schmidt, 2000: 4).

On balance, assimilation has been the prevailing response to large-scale immigration in the US. The implicit agreement between the US and immigrants has been: leave behind your past poverty and culture, start a new and better life from scratch, but fully assimilate into the "American" ways. This means giving up the native tongue with no chance of dual identity (Baker, 2011: 391). Thus, assimilation has been seen as conducive to cultural unity and national solidarity. The transition from native language

monolingualism to English monolingualism has usually taken three generations among immigrant families, "[…] with 80% of the third generation being English-only speaking in the US" (Salaberry, 2009b). The assimilationist position is portrayed by the idea of "a melting pot" (Dicker, 2003) i.e. "[…] diverse immigrant elements being merged to make a new homogenized whole" (Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot*, 1914). The symbol of the crucible, or melting pot, reveals two different, but often blurred, perspectives:

> a. The official idea that the final result, e.g. the US American, is composed of the contribution of all the cultural groups that enter the pot. The final product is a unique combination in which each cultural group takes part without dominating.

> b. The more covert view of the melting pot often entailing that cultural groups have been actually melted into one substance, giving up their heritage culture and taking on the host identity (Baker, 2011: 392).

A number of common assumptions, generally championed by right-winged parties, underlie strong assimilationist belief. Consistently, immigrants are depicted as having no or few employment skills, needing welfare, being a tax burden, causing residents' unemployment, increasing crime and inter-group hostility, even threatening security with terror (Feinberg, 2002). This biased view is especially applied these days to massive migration to Europe from several African and Asian countries as a result, as mentioned, of US and European post-colonial intervention and consequent political, economic and sociocultural havoc in those continents over the last decades. In the face of such a large-scale and often tragic displacement of refugees, the political and statutory constraints of the European Union have come to the fore. The assimilationist view is partly based on an individualistic (and highly questionable) conception of equal opportunities, meritocracy and relevant chance of economic prosperity. To this effect, individual right to freedom and affluence is believed to clash with the separate existence of different racial and cultural groups. Thus, "[…] language **groups**[9] should not have separate privileges and rights from the rest of society. The advantage and disadvantage associated with language minority

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[9] Author's emphasis.

groups must be avoided so individual equality of opportunity can prevail" (Baker, 2011: 392).

Assimilation can be explicit, implied or concealed (Tosi, 1988):

Explicit[10] assimilation occurs when minority language children take monolingual education in the majority language only, e.g. mainstream education in the USA. Native Americans were explicitly assimilated when deprived of their tribal lands and forced to place children in English-only boarding schools (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Implied[11] assimilation takes place when language minority children are regarded as having "special needs" and receive compensatory forms of education, e.g. Sheltered English and Transitional Bilingual Education in the US.

Concealed[12] assimilation, finally, is a kind of disguised and covert submersion, when language minorities are taught in racial harmony, national unity and individual achievement using, however, mainstream language principles to assess their success or failure. This programme plans to achieve hegemony and ethnic harmony (Baker, 2011: 393).

The usual arguments against bilingualism put forward by assimilationists bring to mind the monocultural and monolingual vision of nation-state ideology: bilingual education would deprive children of equal economic, political and social opportunities on account of their assumed English learning deficit thus teaching them to have a separate sense of ethnic and national identity—e.g. to be Latino rather than American—and finally segregating them from mainstream students and the whole of society. Also, bilingual education would induce segregation as a result of separate funding and administrative structures (Salaberry, 2009b). Linguistic assimilation has two broad objectives:

a. Deculturation to achieve subordination.

b. Acculturation to promote absorption (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

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[10] Emphasis added.
[11] Emphasis added.
[12] Emphasis added.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) makes an important distinction between cultural assimilation and economic-structural assimilation. Some immigrant members may seek to assimilate culturally into the mainstream society by giving up their cultural identity and shifting to the dominant language and culture. Other immigrant and autochthonous language minorities may wish to avoid cultural submersion but are ready to accept economic-structural assimilation. This entails "[…] equal access to jobs, goods and services, equality in voting rights and privileges, equal opportunities and treatment in education, health care and social security, law and protection […]" (Baker, 2011: 393). Overall, as Baker observes (ibid.), "[…] structural incorporation tends to be more desired […]" because less traumatic than cultural assimilation, which is "[…] more resisted (Paulston, 1992; Schermerhorn, 1970)".

In view of the multifarious forms of assimilation, it is difficult to appraise the determining factors and full extent of the phenomenon. Should we measure it by the degree of integration or segregation in terms of housing of immigrants, economic position, intercultural marriage or individual attitude? Assimilation is a complex and multidimensional term, not easily defined or quantified (Baker, 2011: 393). Assimilationists may also have differing opinions. Some may, for instance, accept that students should maintain their heritage language and culture at home and with their local language community, but not at school. Others may advocate the abandonment of the minority language and culture. Arnold Schwarzenegger, the actor and Austrian-born Governor of California, for example, is reported to have suggested that Spanish-speaking children would improve their academic skills if they switched off the Spanish television channels and used English all the time (Dicker, 2008).

A ten-year long research on assimilation has given interesting findings. Portes and Hao (2002) investigated the predominant shift to English among 5,000 second generation immigrant students in South Florida and Southern California, of whom only 27% remained fluent bilinguals. Using a number of measures—family solidarity, intergenerational conflict, ambition and self-esteem—, their statistical study demonstrated that fluent bilinguals had the most positive profiles and higher educational aspirations. Conversely, heritage monolinguals who had not learnt English showed high family solidarity but much

lower self-esteem and ambition. The two scholars conclude that second-generation immigrants who fail to become fluent bilinguals are deprived of "a key social resource at a critical juncture in their lives" (Portes & Hao, 2002: 23). Colin Baker (2011) warns against a thorough transition to English monolingualism in the US since English monolingual assimilation "[…] has hidden costs for family relationships, personality development and adaptation" (393). Yet, we may suppose that the fallout of cultural submersion, in terms of social segregation and individual deprivation, is far greater than the economic aspects themselves.

Since the 1960s an increased emphasis on ethnicity and ideologies that surround the terms integration, ethnic diversity, pluralism and multiculturalism have challenged the assimilationist philosophy. The picture of the melting pot has been contrasted with alternative, rather simplistic, symbols: "the patchwork quilt", "the tossed salad", "the linguistic mosaic" and the "language garden". A typical and popular metaphor is "the salad bowl", in which each separate and distinctive ingredient contributes to the final dish. **"The** linguistic mosaic", used in Canada, portrays integration as a number of "[…] different pieces joined together in one holistic arrangement" (394).

The basic assumption of pluralism is, as it were, unity in diversity: different language groups can harmoniously coexist in the same territory without the unfair supremacy of one group over another (May, 2008). As Schmidt (2000) puts it, pluralists believe that "[…] individual bilingualism is not only possible but desirable in that it facilitates cultural enrichment and cross-cultural understanding" (62-63). By opposing "[…] distrust and intolerance toward linguistic diversity […]", pluralists hope to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and acceptance promoting "[…] greater status equality between ethnolinguistic groups and therefore a higher level of national unity" (ibid.). By contrast, assimilationists maintain that linguistic pluralism, rather than creating harmony, produces ethnic enclaves that engender inequalities and conflict between groups. Assimilation, instead, would ensure the social, political and economic integration instrumental in achieving equality of opportunity and political harmony (Baker, 2011: 394).

As a matter of fact, languages often have large status divides in a society, so where one language is associated with social and economic mobility, power and prestige, individuals will ultimately choose that language (ibid.). Schmidt (2000) argues that the assimilation/pluralism debate is, in the end, not about language but about identity, of which language is one remarkable component: "[…] ultimately the language policy debate in the United States is not about language as such but about what kind of political community we are and wish to be. It is, in short, centered in identity politics" (183). He also mentions two other approaches to language policy: total supremacy of the majority language group and exclusion of minority language, as in old South African apartheid, and confederation, as in Switzerland, Belgium and India (Baker & Jones, 1998).

Schmidt (2000) considers three language alternatives as referred to the US context:

1. As for assimilation, he argues that this ideology served to maintain the privileged position of white, native English speakers. He rejects this view that ignores ethnic injustice and misinterprets the relationships between identity, culture, the state and equal opportunity.

2. He sustains the obvious alternative, i.e. pluralism, but does not accept it in full. He argues that this position, based on individualist and voluntarist integration, does not redress the social inequalities between language groups that it aims to overcome. Linguistic pluralism, to this effect, would be inadequate to achieve social and economic justice for language minority communities. Schmidt doubts the pluralist belief in the existence of a real individual choice in language and culture, since he claims that there is no equal starting point or level playing field, individual choice being restricted by a set of unequal circumstances for which language minorities cannot be held responsible. The scholar, then, has a pessimistic view on the pluralist expectation of effective outcomes of free choice. He stresses the fact that English is the language of power in the US, so individuals will ultimately choose this language as a necessary tool for social mobility and economic advance. The following spotlights the unrealistic stigma that Schmidt attributes to both assimilationist and pluralist individualism:

> Assimilationists are unrealistic because their ideology posits a monocultural and monolingual country that does not exist in the real world; more importantly, a consequence of its unrealistic assumptions is the continued unjust subordination of language minority groups by the privileged Anglo, European-origin majority. Pluralists too are unrealistic in that they assume that an egalitarian society of multiple cultural communities can be achieved through a combination of individualistic rights-based free choice measures and moral exhortations to Anglos to respect linguistic and cultural diversity (Schmidt, 2000:209).

The Canadian alternative has been to establish a French language community in Québec. This should not look like a viable option for the US. In fact, non-English dominant communities would require territory of their own to resist the strong pressure to shift to English, reproduce themselves and flourish. This would give a minority language some status and reduce marginalization and stigmatization as in the island commonwealth of Puerto Rico and American Indian mainland reservations (Baker, 2011: 395). However, extending regional autonomy to such areas as southern California, northern New Mexico and south Texas seems highly improbable, especially if we consider the many language minorities that make up the heterogeneous linguistic mosaic of most urbanized US areas (ibid.).

3. Schmidt (2000) and May (2001) also advocate an enhanced form of pluralist language policy in the US that tries to achieve pluralistic integration by matching language minority group rights with the protection of individual liberties.

Ultimately, assimilation and pluralism are so ideologically opposed that compromises and resolutions are very unlikely. Basically, assimilationists see bilingualism and biculturalism as a merely temporary stage towards preferable, unifying monolingualism (Baker, 2011: 395-396). Pluralists, on the other hand, consider two scenarios when the minority culture has been assimilated into society by the second or third generation:

  a. Assimilation may be restricted to certain dimensions, e.g. language rather than economic assimilation.

b. The future generation may carry out the revival and resurrection of the heritage culture in response to past repression and shift (Baker, 2011: 396).

On a microlevel, what seems to make the difference in the assimilation-versus-pluralism debate is the economic reward system: either ideology can be promoted and advocated by the individual need to earn a living and acquire or increase affluence. Thus, individuals may choose assimilation as a necessary instrument for securing a job or achieving vocational success and affluence. Accordingly, they may leave behind their own language and culture as a form of transcendence in order to prosper in the majority language community. At the same time, language planning can work out the creation of jobs and promotion of the heritage culture within the minority language community (ibid.).

Assimilation of minority groups may be sometimes hampered by the dominant social group. In this case, the mainstream group will keep minority members in poorly-paid employment and protect their own economic advantage through internal colonialism rather than assimilation, e.g. by "[…] economically isolating or manipulating an indigenous minority language group for majority language advantage" (ibid.). On a more individual level, a minority language person, as mentioned, can pragmatically realize the necessity of being fluent in the majority language to work and compete with one's mainstream counterparts. Bilinguals may also perceive their dual ability to function in either language community and form an intercultural bridge between the two communities. However, as illustrated by Otheguy (1982), learning the majority language does not always ensure economic improvement. Mentioning the plight of most blacks, "[…] the masses of poor descendants of poor European immigrants" and "Hispanics who now speak only English […]" and "[…] can often be found in as poor a state as when they first came", he highlights the focal part of economic integration: "English monolingualism among immigrants tends to follow economic integration rather than cause it" (306).

J. Edwards (1985) indicates other halfway-house positions alternative to the divergent views of assimilation and pluralism. Thus, participation in mainstream society—and relevant degree of assimilation—does not necessarily have to clash with maintenance and preservation of one's minority language and culture. Rejecting total

assimilation and total isolation, Baker (2011) propounds "[…] some accommodation of the majority ideology within an overall ideology of pluralism; cultural maintenance within partial assimilation" (396). In other words, he writes that "[…] an aggressive, militant pluralism may be seen as a threat to the social harmony of society" (397) and suggests, instead, that "[…] a more liberal pluralistic viewpoint may allow both membership of the wider community and an identification with the heritage cultural community" (ibid.).

3.4 A human rights perspective on language ecology

In "A Human Rights Perspective on Language Ecology", Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2008) write that language rights are an existential problem for the political and cultural survival of individuals and communities worldwide (Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson, 2008: 1). This will concern relatively large minorities such as the 25-40 million Kurds across several polities in the Middle East, or the 70 million users of the numerous Sign languages worldwide, just as much as the 8 million Uyghurs in China or the small indigenous peoples like Ánar Saami in Finland counting fewer than 300 speakers (ibid.). Many language minorities have suffered cultural and linguistic discrimination, for instance the Australian Aboriginals, Maoris in New Zealand and Native Americans. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a) tells us about the oppression of the Kurdish language by torture, imprisonment, confiscation of books, dismissal from jobs, even execution. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1985) paints a harsh retrospective picture of the economic, political, cultural and linguistic discrimination that his Kikuyu[13] community has suffered in Kenya from a European colonial attitude and Americanization:

> […] In Kenya, English became much more than a language: it was *the* language, and all others had to bow before it in deference. Thus one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment - three to

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[13] As explained in Brock-Utne (2002: 145), *Kikuyu* is the name of one of the largest tribes in Kenya. *Gikuyu* is the vernacular of the *Kikuyu* and their god.

five strokes of the can on bare buttocks - or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with the inscription: I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford (wa Thiong'o, 1985: 114-115. In Baker, 2011: 378).

The writer also tells us how the culprits were humiliated when they were caught using their African language:

[…] a button was initially given to one pupil who was supposed to hand it over to whomever was caught speaking his mother tongue. Whoever had the button at the end of the day had to come forward and tell whom he had got it from, and the ensuing process would bring out all the "culprits" of the day. Thus, children were turned into witch-hunters and traitors to their own linguistic community (Brock-Utne, 2002: 145).

The topic of language rights seems to have a crucial relevance to humanity today. Only a few hundreds of the world' s 7,111 living languages (*Ethnologue* 2019) and a small number of Sign languages appear in educational curricula even as subjects, let alone used as teaching languages. In various scholars' opinion, "Schools have played and continue to play a major role in annihilating languages and identities" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2008: 1; see Magga *et al.*, 2005; articles in McCarty, ed. 2005). Optimistic linguists think that half of today's spoken languages may be dead or moribund by the end of the present century (see UNESCO's position paper Education in a Multilingual World). Pessimistic but fully realistic views place 90-95% of the world's languages in this category (Krauss, 1998: 9-21). This more pessimistic estimate is shared by UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages in their report (Paris, 10– 12 March 2003), Language Vitality and Endangerment.

As human rights formulations are not explicit or proactive enough, since the 1980s there have been attempts to specify which language rights are linguistic human rights having universal validity that states cannot be justified in infringing. The current formulations state the core linguistic human rights, or essential factors, enabling a group or

people to maintain its culture and language and evolve in processes of modernization rather than being sacrificed:

1. Positive identification with a (minority) language by its users, and recognition of this by others.

2. Learning a (minority) language in formal education, not merely as a subject but as a medium of instruction.

3. Additive bilingual education, since learning the language of the state or the wider community is also essential.

4. Public services, including access to the legal system, in minority languages or, minimally, in a language one understands (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 2).

By implementing these four conditions, languages can coexist in a balanced ecology where, as suggested by Baker (2001: 279-283), "[…] interaction between users of languages does not allow one or a few languages to spread at the cost of others and where diversity is maintained for the long-term survival of humankind" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 2). In other terms, viewing some language rights as human rights to be protected can produce additive, rather than subtractive, or replacive (Haugen, 1972) language learning and sustain the maintenance of linguistic diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 2).

3.5 Language rights, linguacultural identity and biodiversity. A working arena for a balanced language ecology

The United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (PFII) has acknowledged the importance of language and language rights but also emphasized their link with the land and with self-determination (e.g. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 13th September 2007). In actual fact, biodiversity is disappearing very

fast. Harmon's study (2002) shows the close interrelationship between biodiversity and linguistic/cultural diversity. The correlation may be causal in so far as biodiversity in the diverse ecosystems and human cultures and languages have evolved from their mutual influence (Maffi, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon, 2003; www.terralingua.org In Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2008: 5).

In the end, more than a formal universal granting of linguistic human rights to all language users, what seems crucial to glocal world ecology is the extension of these rights to those indigenous and minority groups/peoples that have a long-lasting attachment to a certain territory, with which they are so familiar that meanings of phenomena in the ecosystem have been lexicalized, i.e. incorporated into language as new words, phrases or word patterns. According to Mühlhäusler (2003), this process takes at least 300 years. The International Council for Science (2002) itself has admitted that such knowledge about how to preserve a balanced ecosystem as encoded in these languages is often more detailed and accurate than Western science (Posey, 1999). If these "funds of knowledge", which L.C. Moll (1992: 20-24) associates with complex biodiversity and sustainable management of ecosystems, are to be preserved, we should devote more resources and work to furthering the conditions of those languages and cultures by intergenerational transmission, in families and through strong forms of bilingual education. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2008) vocalize, as remarked, the necessity for major changes in educational language policy so as to curb the otherwise irreparable attrition of global linguistic diversity "[…] as a result of linguistic genocide […]" (5).

3.6 Conclusions. The challenge of linguistic human rights: accomodating holistic conceptualization and practices to sociocultural diversity

The multidisciplinary nature of linguistic human rights (LHRs) has posed many unresolved challenges advanced by the two critical linguists:

1. Concept clarification work, notably on the distinction between individual and collective rights, is clearly warranted (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 6). In view of the special character of languages, i.e. individual rights used collectively, interdisciplinary fine-tuning might enhance a more real-world understanding and situated implementation of theoretical work in the area of linguistic human rights.

2. Several critiques have accused early research on linguistic human rights of simplistically merging language and identity, as if these are compartmentalized, non-negotiable categories (several articles in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2001, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2004, Freeland & Patrick, 2004, Kymlicka & Patten, 2003). In fact, linguistic human rights are fluid and relational and may justify struggles for political recognition, and for economic and social rights. Also, they are situational, and particular claims for rights require exploring in context (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2008: 6).

3. Minority rights must be determined on objective criteria and not reluctantly recognized by a state. Here comes the relevance of sociolinguists' and applied linguists' work "[…] at the meeting point between human rights formulations and attempts to improve these, and the dynamic complexities of specific cases" (ibid.). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson reject the "[…] apolitical post-modern academic hair-splitting" and "[…] armchair theorizing" of much of today's scholarly debate in sociolinguistics when formulating crucial terms such as "language" and "ethnicity". They explain that, if "dialects" and "speech communities" have no status in law, "language" and "ethnicity" are used in public discourse and are salient political terms (ibid.). Regarding them as contingent "[…] seems to be doing the bidding of dominant groups who are reluctant to accord minorities any recognition" (ibid.). Likewise, highlighting "[…] instrumental uses and greater social mobility undermines the cause, in theory and practice, of oppressed groups" (ibid.). Therefore, the dual integrated task of education is "[…] to confirm their linguistic and cultural identity as well as to equip them to operate in languages of the wider community" (ibid.).

4. The ultimate result is likely to be complex "[…] because of linguistic diversity, urbanization, increased mobility networks that are displacing territorially defined groups […]"(ibid.)—notably in the current historical and political circumstances— and unlikely to

menace "[…] the power of dominant discourses in fundamentally unequal societies, and the cumulative effect of all of these in linguistic hierarchies that threaten the lives of those (languages) at the bottom" (ibid.).

5. Research into endangered languages has spotlighted endemic, typologically unusual or unique languages needing especial protection because of their significance for linguistics. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2008) observe that "Human rights are an integrated whole and should be applied to all" (6). Now the question seems to be the following: "When decisions are made on which languages to choose for education, in the media, etc., what criteria are legitimately applied to resolve real dilemmas equitably? Political power, sensible pragmatism, research concerns, ethics (see also Phillipson, 2003)?" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2008: 6).

6. Linguistic human rights can be seen as "a necessary but not sufficient tool" for language educators and "[…] thinkers formulating principles in the hope of influencing representatives of the state" (ibid.). The two critical linguists call for "[…] procedures […] in place to ensure implementation and redress for people who feel their rights have been infringed (regardless of whether they are citizens or not – see Human Rights Fact Sheet No. 15, 2005, 4)" (ibid.). They emphasize that lawyers tend to shun sociolinguistic niceties, apart from some multidisciplinary lawyer-linguists (Dunbar, 2001a; Dunbar, 2001b; Fife, 2005). On the other hand, many sociolinguists are not inclined to engage with legal aspects that critical linguists consider vital. In the committed view of critical theorists, looking at concepts like "language" and "mother tongue" as "[…] social constructs with little or no basis in reality, because of unclear and permeable borders or because people are multilingual or multi-mother-tongued or shift from one to another" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2008: 7) will not help improve linguistic human rights for an equitable and viable language ecology.

In other terms, proactive action posits some sort of agreed conceptualization: "If (socio) linguists claim that language and mother tongues do not exist, how can one legislate for them? Lawyers treat languages as having 'legal personalities' with certain rights, in the same way as individuals and groups and peoples can have rights" (ibid.). Nor

can, apparently, the replacing of negative terms, like LEP, i.e. Limited English Proficient in the USA, with more positively-connoted terminology (in this case "linguistically diverse students" or "English learners") grant any more rights to the students concerned. Thus, as long as "[…] linguistically diverse students and English learners are non-entities in international law […]" (ibid.), as attested by the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights itself, the essential demands for consistent political will and allocation of national resources are unlikely to be heard (ibid.).

The ongoing lively debate, especially the critical linguists' insights, show that the field of linguistic human rights still has some measure of theoretical fuzziness that informs its fluid applicability to the diversified linguistic scenarios. All this seems to call for a more detailed differentiation of the various language communities concerned in the process of language spread and their variable connection with the hypercentric English medium, as propounded in the next chapter.

PART 2

AN ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO LANGUAGE MINORITIES AND GLOCAL ENGLISH

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE MINORITIES, IDENTITY, LANGUAGE SPREAD AND HYPERCENTRIC ENGLISH

4.1 A preliminary overview. The accrued gulf of glocal world society

John Edwards (2004-2006) remarks that when Gandhi was asked by a journalist what he thought of modern civilization, his famous response was "I think it would be a good idea", and that, when interviewed by his biographer Louis Fischer in 1946, the Indian statesman observed that "A civilization is to be judged by its treatment of minorities" (451). Along the same lines, we might agree that "[…] the moral standing of societies can best be appraised through a consideration of how they treat their poorest members, the most socially disadvantaged, those marginalized by accident or by design" (ibid.).

The issue of the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" has become a crucial topic of concern these days. Large-scale, often tragic, migration from the south to the north of the world, persistent inter-ethnic conflict thinly disguised as religious strife and widespread intolerance of "non-mainstream groups" appear, in a way, even worsened by the globalized power of transnational corporations and devious clout of financial lobbies, more often than not bound to local and global weapon-trading criminality. The glocally interwoven, multifarious, but exceedingly precarious, world economy, and recent political events in Russia, EU and the USA, seem to portend a worrying concentration of financial

and political decision making, a reduction in democratic space and a resulting increase in individual and societal insecurity. The ultimate results of the warfare waged in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya by the USA and its European allies cast serious doubt on the plausibility of the modern rhetoric about "leveling the playing fields" or "equal access" that Edwards ascribes to "liberal-democratic sensitivities" (ibid.).

The ideological debate on assimilation and pluralism has not been much help to the material, socio-cultural and linguistic conditions of ethnic communities and individuals in so many world countries. Kymlicka (1995) voices that "[…] some groups require extra attention for the continuation of their culture; these are typically collectivities that have suffered at the hands of more powerful neighbors, or rivals, or colonizers" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 451).

4.2 Minorities' identity. A sociocultural and political conundrum

An overarching and still highly controversial matter for sociolinguistic debate is the definition of "minority group", or "minority language". Is French in Canada, for example, a minority language? Edwards (2004-2006) highlights "[…] the geographic perspective – provincial, regional, continental – that one adopts" (454-455). It seems to concern "[…] many minority languages in which a concentration of population has a long- or well-established homeland within some larger political boundaries" involving "[…] issues about the breadth and variability of allegiance, about state and nation, and about – more specifically – the fact that state and national borders need not coincide" (455). Edwards takes the obvious example of Québec: "[…] *un peuple*, a nation denied its proper autonomy […]" or "[…] a provincial component of federalism – an obviously distinct component, to be sure, but not of national status" (ibid.). A century-old tragic instance of minority suppression is the mentioned genocide of the Kurds, a dismembered people without a nation. When borders and state coincide, "[…] minority status may attach to the group's language, usually indicating previous historical movement […]", as the Irish in Ireland (455). Some languages, like Bulgarian, have majority status within a state but, "[…] not being so-called "languages of wider communication […]", a minority role on a continental or global stage (ibid.).

It goes without saying that numbers are important: indigenous people in Canada only number just over one million, about 3.8 % of the total population, being broken down into more than 50 language groups, only three of which having more than 5,000 speakers (Edwards, 1995b; Foster, 1982). But the issue of power, prestige and dominance will ultimately determine majority or minority status. This is epitomized by native language speakers in South Africa who vastly outnumber English and Afrikaans speakers yet make up a minority in terms of power and prestige (Edwards, 2004-2006: 455).

Another question is that of minorities within minorities, e.g. the aboriginal communities in Québec, national groups within the ex-Soviet republic of Georgia, Ladin speakers in South Tyrol. Such and other cases demonstrate that being in the same boat "[…] does not necessarily sensitize groups to the perceived plight of other, smaller entities" (ibid.) and that minorities have to struggle for a voice in the crucial game of power and clout. John Edwards (2004-2006) highlights two different conditions underlying a possible ecology of language:

a. unproblematic overlap between instrumentality of communication and identity/symbolism of language in the majority group's mainstream settings.

b. "[…] a split between the communicative and the symbolic functions of language […]" in the minority group, since "[…] you may have to live and work in a new language, a medium that is not the carrier of your culture or the vehicle of your literature (453).

Then we might focus on the laborious and thorny dialectic underlying minority members' identity and their interrelationship with the mainstream communities. Saussure refers to two conflicting tendencies, *l'ésprit de clocher* and *la force d'intercourse* governing the spread of linguistic phenomena:

> The laws that govern the spread of linguistic phenomena are the same as those that govern any custom whatsoever, e.g., fashion. In every human collectivity two forces are always working simultaneously and in opposing directions: individualism or *provincialism* [*ésprit de clocher]* on the one hand and *intercourse* – communications among men – on the other" (De Saussure, [1916] 1960: 205-206).

It is the ever-surfacing conflict between desired continuity, i.e. preservation of communal spirit, traditions, "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 1992: 20-24), group identity, and desired modernization, i.e. individual drive and need for supranational/international/cross-cultural communication and transcendence. It is, in other terms, the difficulty of preserving valued traditions, i.e. the original, the pure, the authentic, in a world increasingly full of homogenizing pressures. Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) mentions the dichotomy between *Gemeinschaft*, "[…] the small supportive, homogeneous community […]" (Wright, 2004: 282), i.e. "[…] desires to retain something "small", or "valued", or "traditional […]" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 452), and *Gesellschaf*, "the chauvinistic nation-state" (Gellner, 1983), i.e. "[…] larger, overarching, more impersonal forces" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 452-453). There has been a persistent tension between these two forces all along, from the submerging nation-state belief of "one country, one territory, one language" to the homogenizing effects of globalization.

Edwards (2004-2006: 454) reports on the position of minority groups and "stateless" peoples, which has come to the fore since the establishment of the 1982 Dublin-based Bureau for Lesser Used Languages and further European Parliament legislation in the 1990s, citing the Secretary-General's comment that "If our languages have been ignored in the past by European institutions this is no longer the case. The European Community is positive towards the cause of our languages […] to promote regional and minority languages and cultures" (Breathnach, 1993: 1). Edwards (2004-2006) recalls the phrase "Europe of the Regions" being increasingly heard and discussed, minorities "[…] looking to link their own concerns with those of others" (Dekkers, 1995), and mentions the two divergent cases of multicultural policy and planning in the USA and Canada, respectively, the "[…] recent agitations in the United States over multiculturalism […] as well as the continuing saga of the "US English" movement, clearly aimed at reducing the perceived "threat" of Spanish […]", and "[…] the ongoing struggle between English and French […]" that "[…] has concentrated minds wonderfully […]" in Canada, to focus on the fact that the "[…] debate has drawn in *all* groups (including aboriginal and allophone populations) and has occasioned intense scrutiny of officially-sponsored policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism" (Edwards, 1994b: 5-85, 1995a: 5-37, 1997: 101-109).

4.3 Classifying minorities

A core issue of language ecology is the distinction between the various categories of minority language communities. We generally distinguish between autochthonous,[14] or indigenous, language communities, allochthonous,[15] or migrant, groups and the large number of dialect speakers and sign users. Moreover, we can subsume three basic principles that underlie majority versus minority language ecology (Baker, 2011:70):

1. The territorial principle, when a specific region, such as the four language areas in Switzerland, is given language rights or laws. Speakers have language rights inside the regions, but not in the remaining areas.

2. The personality principle, when the language status is given to individuals or groups wherever they travel in a country. The status, thus, refers to the person. For example, Canadian francophones are entitled to use French in any part of Canada. In reality, though, most areas outside Québec do not have French language provision.

3. The asymmetrical principle, or "asymmetrical bilingualism" (Reid, 1993), tries to merge both principles through positive measures in favour of those who are usually discriminated against. This principle, in fact, grants full rights to minority language speakers and fewer rights to majority language members. The alleged weakness in the principle is that protection and preservation are enforced by "language policing" rather than by education and persuasion (Baker, 2011: 70).

Apart from sign languages, it has been observed that the distribution of the world's languages is very uneven. Of the world's oral tongues, just 23 are used by more than half the world's population (*Ethnologue* 2019) and many of these languages are under severe threat of imminent extinction, being spoken by very small communities. Language extinction goes hand in hand with the predominance of about fifteen languages used as

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[14] The Free Dictionary: 'Originating or formed in the place where found; indigenous'.
[15] The Free Dictionary: 'Originating or formed in a place other than where found; not indigenous'.

lingua francas the world over, i.e. Mandarin Chinese, English, Spanish, Bengali, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, German, Wu Chinese, Javanese, Korean, French, Vietnamese and Telegu, as already cited in the 1996 *Ethnologue* by Nettle and Romaine (2000). Following T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson (2001: 3), Arabic can be also included in the top five. Some of these major world languages have been labelled "killer languages" as their ever-growing number of speakers induces minority language shift through coherent administrative and educational policy and planning. English has an emblematic top place as killer of linguistic diversity. Fishman (1972, 1980) and Hudson (2002) seem to conceive of majority versus minority language ecology as an uneven struggle: "If a minority language attempts to take over (or share) the functions of the majority language, it is doomed to fail as the majority language will be too powerful, too high status, and impossible to defeat" (Baker, 2011: 69). Thus, rebutting the aim of reclaiming all functions for the minority language, they propound that each language should have its own separate set of functions and space. In order to avoid attrition, shift and death, the minority language must be safeguarded in the home and community through intergenerational transmission (Shin, 2005). However, this transmission is not in a vacuum: parents and children are influenced by the status and prestige of each language in society. Thus, increasing the functions of a minority/heritage language in institutions, public life and media can empower the language, and mediated culture, and send the right signals to parents and teachers (Baker, 2011: 69). Fishman (1980) believes that diglossia and/or bilingualism can provide a stable, enduring language ecology. Yet globalization may cause such stability to become increasingly rare as contact between communities grows with the growing ease of travel and communication, migration, urbanization, social and vocational mobility and globalized economy. There we notice that language shift is more typical than language stability. Changes in the conditions of a minority language often occur because the boundaries separating one language from another tend to change across generations. Even with the territorial principle—minority language being given official status in a specific geographic area—the power differential between the two languages varies over time. However, compartmentalizing language use in society is considered by many language planners fundamental for the minority language to survive (Baker, 2011: 69).

Over the past half century multiculturalism has induced new demands for specific language and literary proficiencies in two distinct and complementary ways:

1. maintaining, revitalizing and archiving the languages of non-dominant cultures;

2. acquiring languages of wider or official communication.

In response, experimental bilingual and multilingual education programmes have been developed as well-researched educational alternatives, now familiar in schools worldwide. Lotherington (2004-2006: 699) quotes Bourdieu's call for a total struggle to be waged by those who try to defend a threatened linguistic capital. The scholar looks on "[...] the value of a competence [...]" as submitted to the market, i.e. "[...] the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers" (Bourdieu, 1991: 57).

4.4 Autochthonous language communities

Policies for the promotion of indigenous languages are very complex and often raise delicate political issues. One example is the very concept of "minority language". Some of the literature avoids the word "minority" and prefers the adjective "regional" or "lesser-used" as referred to these languages. Even the authors of the **"**European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" (Strasbourg, 05/11/1992) deliberated for a long time before agreeing to use the terms regional or minority in the title (Grin, Regina & Ó Riagáin, D., 2003). The term "minority" is a highly controversial term in social sciences. Article 1 of the Charter identifies an autochthonous community as "[…] a group numerically smaller than the rest of a State's population […]", living within a territory of the State historically inhabited by their ancestors, speaking a language "[…] different from the official language(s) of that State […]" Thus, a minority language, in the article construct, is to be:

a. Different from any dialect of the official language/languages of the relevant State;

b. Different from any language of migrants, or allochthonous groups migrating to the territory by choice at any time in the past (Part I – General provisions. Article 1 – Definitions a, [i, ii]).

In point of fact, the Charter does not contain a list of regional or minority languages and the current definition of "minority language" is questionable since it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants. Then the meaning of "minority language" is clearly to be redefined and become more inclusive, in time, to account for dialects, sign and migrant languages.

Typical minority languages belonging to such a defined category are the three autochthonous languages of Catalan in Catalonia, Euskara in the Basque Country and Galician in Galicia, South Tyrolese German and Ladin in South Tyrol, or Alto Adige, on the northernmost tip of Italy, Catalan in Sardinia, Albanian, Greek, Slavic and Croatian in central and southern Italy, Welsh in Wales, Irish in Northern Ireland, Scottish Gaelic in Scotland and Kurdish in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Historic existence within a defined geographical boundary, e.g. Welsh in Wales, or Basque in the Basque Country, often warrants, by itself, the maintenance and spread of an indigenous language. Yet the position of language minorities in the nation-state has always been complicated. Even the aspirations of large and important groups such as the Kurds in the extensive Asian area, Macedonians in Greece and Russian speakers in independent Estonia have often been ignored. Susan Wright explains that "It is still the case that states see a cohesive linguistic group as essential for the well-being of the state. The English Only Movement in the United States employs these arguments. The *Conseil constitutionnel* in France did so recently too. Given the centripetal pressures of nationalism it is remarkable that so many languages survived in the private domain" (Wright, 2004: 44). Further ahead (66-67), she expounds on the unexpected about-turn of the Hungarian government towards the national minorities of Germans, Croatians, Romanians, Slovaks, Greeks and Armenians who live in the country. After its independence from the Hapsburgs, in fact, and the granted right to use minority languages in official documents, administrative matters, government communication, church service and education under the 1868 Nationality Act and Public School Act, the minority groups' mobilization induced the Magyar policy of the

following years to revert to Magyar-only centralism and minority incorporation. By the 1879 Act, Hungarian tuition for all trainee teachers and competence in Hungarian became a prerequisite for gaining a teacher's certificate, and "In 1907, the Apponyi Act required school children to have at least four years' tuition in the 'national' language. In other words, the Hungarian government retreated from its short-lived but liberal multilingual and multicultural position to a programme of nation building closer to the norm set by other governments of the time" (Wright, 2004: 67), especially the French state nation's policy and processes towards centripetal nation-state cultural homogeneity (66).

The 1990s marked a worldwide revival of indigenous identity rights. The World Indigenous Peoples' Education Conference at Hilo, Hawai'i on 6th August 1999 produced the Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education, stating that "Indigenous peoples have strong feelings and thoughts about landforms, the very basis of their cultural identity. Land gives life to language and culture" (The Coolangatta Statement, 2.3. In Benally & Viri, 2005). Accordingly, language rights may be enshrined in law. The 1993 Welsh Language Act, for instance, granted Welsh speakers certain language rights in Wales, including the use of Welsh in courts of law. Based on the territorial principle, however, these rights are not allowed outside the Welsh boundary (Baker, 2011: 70-71).

4.5 Allochthonous language communities

Immigrant languages constitute a very different and thorny issue today, as allochthonous communities do not belong in their new countries and cannot claim either territorial or personality rights. In fact, they do not have the advantage of a homeland or heartland as the indigenous minorities. The effect of migration has often been to expand that heartland and transcend political boundaries. This refers to many immigrant groups in the USA, Canada and Europe. The Charter defines "non-territorial languages" as "[…] languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof" (Part I – General provisions. Article 1, c). Thus, migrant, or allochthonous, languages, which are different

from the nation-state medium/s and may have been used for centuries in a specific territory, are labelled as "non-territorial" and so not eligible to be covered by the Charter. This position is emblematic of the caution, flexibility and politically correct position of the Council of Europe.

Moving from the monitoring of safeguards in the Member States' implementation of non-discrimination clauses, which are generally known as "negative rights", to the active support of minority languages being used in a range of key domains, i.e. all levels of education, judicial authorities, administration, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social life and trans-frontier exchanges, has raised delicate political issues. France, as mentioned, has been a typical example. It signed the Charter in 1992 and has theoretically championed European policy in favour of linguistic minorities, but when facing the possibility of recognizing 75 allochthonous languages in the country territory in 1998, the *Conseil constitutionnel* forbade the ratification of the Charter. This event may have had critics give the lie to the good intentions of the French and, considering, for example, the unsatisfied demand of the Breton medium Diwan schools to have state funding and the parlous position of Catalan in Roussillon, Sue Wright (2004) maintains that "[…] the French are in the majority still marked by Jacobin centralism and a belief in a French medium universalism that eschews all regionalism as tribalism " (211).

In the EU, the divide between status recognition and preservation of autochthonous and allochthonous language communities is a matter of pressing concern as the disruption of Maghreb polities has enabled criminal gangs to take advantage of dispossessed refugees being robbed of their means and dignity to embark on inhumane, desperate journeys and deadly Mediterranean crossings. In the face of the critical situation, a relevant number of EU member states, such as Italy, have not devised or enacted credible EU-wide immigration policies yet, nor do EU institutions appear especially concerned with the issue. The debate on a fair distribution of refugees across the EU, being a bone of contention, has exposed the political vacuum, fragmentation and nation-state centred constraints of the European framework. As for language, no status is accorded to various Asian languages such as Panjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Vietnamese, Korean, Hindi or Gujarati (Baker, 2011: 71). An immigrant language retains its typical attributes that inform its customs, rituals, culture, communication styles, shared meanings and literature. Diglossic

compartmentalization, as suggested, may be a solution, though not permanent, to the problem of maintaining and revitalizing a heritage language and culture (ibid.). The Hassidic Jews, for example, try to ensure this continuity by reserving an exclusive place for their language at home, and reserve English for contact with the outside secular world. In language communities, the functions and boundaries of the two languages will both affect and be mirrored in bilingual education policy and practice (ibid.).

An interesting alternative to the functional language separation of diglossia is García's concept of "transglossia" (García, 2009a). The scholar observes that many language groups do not have divisions between their languages. The fluid expressive mixture of two codes within the same domains, e.g. Spanish and English in the Puerto Rico community of East Harlem, maximizes efficiency of communication and mediates multiple identities. García looks at transglossia as a "[…] stable and yet dynamic, communicative network […]", a new form of societal bilingualism in a globalized world in which languages are mixed "[…] in *functional interrelationship*, instead of being assigned separate functions" (79). Conversely, stable and balanced diglossia is less likely in today's global village, especially in case of "[…] language conflicts, language domination and language submersion" (Baker, 2011: 69).

4.6 Dialect-speaking communities

Dialects and sign languages are not mentioned in the Charter, which apparently aims to single out and sensitize to the issue of regional and minority languages. This does not necessarily imply any failure to deal with the problems of those groups on the part of the EU with due consideration in due course. The definition of "dialect" is controversial. It generally refers to one of several sociolinguistic varieties of a language spoken in a specific area or region in a country. Over the centuries, some especially-prestigious dialects were established as national languages through consistent status, corpus and

acquisition planning by nation-states. A typical case was a learned variety of the Florentine dialect, grown in literary prestige in the 14th century, which was institutionalized as national medium by the newly independent Italian state in the 1860s. Dialects have often been looked down on as exclusively-oral L[16] varieties of a language, in spite of occasional literary output, and consistently submerged by nation-state language policy and planning.

The Charter does not offer any criteria for defining the difference between a "language" and a "dialect". To this effect, a dialect, such as Sardinian or Piedmontese in Italy, is "[…] traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population […]" being, at the same time, "[…] different from the official language(s) of the State" (The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Part I – General provisions. Article 1 – Definitions a, [i, ii]). The ratification of the Charter by Italy in 1998 was a matter of dispute between the country's authorities and those who supported a different role of Piedmontese, the dialect of Piedmont in north-western Italy. The online journal *Nationalia*, launched by Ciemen with the support of Mercator, observes as follows:

> Critical stance in Piedmont.
>
> The approval of the Charter is yet another legal basis for the protection of minorised languages (arguably stronger in this case because of Italy's commitment before Europe). But the decision has been contested in Piedmont, where grassroots organizations are fighting for the official recognition of the Piedmontese language. The Italian government has not ratified the Charter for Piedmontese, and this has led Gioventura Piemontèisa to accuse Rome of trying to "euthanize" the Piedmontese people.
>
> The Italian Constitutional Court overturned in 2010 a regional law that sought to protect Piedmontese. The judges considered that Piedmontese "is a dialect" and thus cannot be protected in a similar way to Occitan, Francoprovençal or German, languages that are also spoken in Piedmont (Italy ratifies the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, 13/3/2012).

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[16] Defining the meaning of diglossia (from koinè Greek *διγλωσσία*, "speaking two languages") as a situation in which two dialects or languages are used by a single language community, Ferguson (1959) distinguishes between the community's everyday or vernacular language variety (labelled "L" or "low" variety) and a second, highly codified variety (labelled "H" or "high") used in certain situations such as literature, formal education, or other specific settings, but not used for ordinary conversation.

The Charter does not make allowance for the sociocultural conditions of dialects in Europe and, as a matter of fact, many of them are in a certain degree of endangerment or visibly threatened with extinction. Italy, for instance, was inhabited by a multifarious variety of dialect speakers up to the end of the Second World War and the advent of popular television in the 1950s. The spreading of the national language unified the country but led to the gradual attrition of dialect, exclusively used as an oral medium. Its diaglossic use in Messina, the Straits city in Sicily where the author of this thesis lives, for example, has produced, over the decades, the impoverishment of its structures and vocabulary and the absorption into pronounced forms of localized code-mixing.

The gradual demise of chauvinistic nation-state centralism and the construction of supranational institutions has marked a renewed interest in dialects as markers of regional identity and sources of sociolinguistic research. One interesting prospect, then, would be the extension of EU legal forms of minority protection and empowerment to dialects, together with sign and allochthonous languages.

4.7 Sign language communities

As mentioned, sign languages are not mentioned in the Charter and should be appropriately covered by the European legislation. In reality, apart from the social aspects and growing position of sign speaking on TV and global media, the enormous expressive potential of sign languages in this video-mediated digital era of ours makes investigation into this field especially stimulating.

In his post "Sign Language and Bilingualism. Discovering a different form of bilingualism", François Grosjean (2011) voiced linguists' widespread enthusiasm for sign languages: "All language scientists have a wow moment in their profession. Mine was when I was introduced to sign language and to the world of the Deaf. I was simply overwhelmed by the beauty of this visual gestural language as well as by the history of Deaf people". The multiple implications of sign languages and Deaf communities make this field of research, still comparatively unexplored, of especial interest to holistic applied linguists. Not only can it cast new light on the cardinal non-verbal and visual components of spoken language as highlighted by 20th-century pragmatism, but also queries and gives insights into overarching sociolinguistic issues such as the import of "normality", use of

lingua franca, pidginization, creolization, (bimodal) bilingualism, Deaf minorities' position, rights and persistent forms of discrimination, their struggle for empowerment and inclusion in the oral mainstream and the relevant implementation of ecological LPP measures against sign language endangerment and disappearance. Moreover, holistic investigation might probe into the very value of sign and gesture as a holistic basis for understanding Western versus non-Western world views and humans/nature relationships.

In a macro-sociolinguistic outlook, an essential part of the cultural, historical and literary heritage of Europe is the diverse set of 'hidden' languages used on the continent by minorities, but of wide interest to the general public. Amongst these are the 18 sign languages of the EU, the natural languages of the Deaf. Wherever hearing people have developed spoken languages, Deaf people have developed Deaf languages, which are, in every respect, full languages (Lane, 1992; Ladd, 2003). Sign languages, then, also known as signed languages, are languages that use manual communication and body language to convey meaning, as opposed to acoustically conveyed sound patterns. To put it with Elissa L. Newport (1996) and Ted Supalla (1997), "Sign languages thus contrast, of course, with spoken languages, whose forms consist of sounds produced by sequences of movements and configurations of the mouth and vocal tract. More informally, then, sign languages are visual-gestural languages, whereas spoken languages are auditory-vocal languages" (Newport & Supalla, 1999). Since sign languages share many similarities with spoken, or oral, languages, which depend primarily on sound, linguists consider both as natural languages.

The field of sign languages and Deaf communities has a terrific semiotic potential, still mainly unexplored by applied linguistic investigation, since most sign languages in the world are not satisfactorily described or documented and, due to the unavailability of data, still need a cross-linguistic and cross-modal typological survey. Beyond the linguistic work done on a few sign languages in industrialized countries, namely, American Sign Language (ASL) in the United States, hardly anything is known about most sign languages in Asia, Africa, South America and Central America. The set of living sign languages recognized in the world, as reported by the World Federation of the Deaf (2019) and the 22nd edition of *Ethnologue* (2019), reveals a complex typological diversity based on the real-world users and use of the languages. One major issue might concern the incorporation of Sign

languages in school curricula as an instrument for everyone's and notably younger generations' deliverance from prejudice and better communicative self-awareness in daily life.

4.8 The far-reaching implications of language spread and minorities

Language spread has been explained as an increase in the number of language users, networks and functional use. The study of this field focuses on the processes of socio-cultural change and their impact on language behaviour as related to the categories of awareness, evaluation, proficiency and use (Fishman, Cooper & Conrad, 1977). In her important contribution to Kaplan's volume, "Language Spread and Its Study in the Twenty-First Century", Ofelia García (2010) notes that the general characterization of language spread has been upbeat (Fishman, 1988) "[…] as the language adds speakers, functions and ways of languaging" (García, 2010: 405). Thus, the phenomenon has been variously described as additive, dynamic, dominant, sustained over time and broad:

a. Additive. Language spread results in additive language practices. Fishman (1977) writes that language spread often begins with the acquisition of a language or language variety for H functions, i.e. technology, economics, government, high culture, religion and education. The breakthrough of globalization has boosted the spread of languages, mainly of English, and a renewed interest in bilingualism and multilingualism. New communicative functions and growing participation in the flows and exchanges of the global village respond to the worldwide "[…] movement of capital and people around the globe and to a proliferation of new products and services" (García, 2010: 405). The last decades of the past century and the first seventeen years of the new millennium have marked the predominance of English as the only global medium of individual and societal participation in the new economic and communicative world order thanks to the fast-spreading Internet and cheaper travel availability. Phillipson (1994a, 1994b) has pointedly dealt with the marketing of English "[…] as the language of economic and technological progress, national unity, and international understanding. Thus, it has spread through ideological persuasion of access to socioeconomic incentives and favors" (García, 2010: 405).

b. Dynamic. From the upbeat perspective shared by a number of linguists, language spread is not linearly additive, but dynamic (ibid.). To put it with Brutt-Griffler (2002), language spread produces language change for a speech community, i.e. "[…] complex language use that results in dynamic language practices and translanguaging" (García, 2010: 406). However, this dynamism "[…] can hide the painful social dislocation of the adopters, sometimes resulting in conflict and loss" (ibid.), as illustrated by Fishman (1988). Kachru (1986b) refers to the "alchemy of English" breeding non-native varieties of English used extensively in non-English society for H functions, even in literature (Thumboo, 1987). Thus, according to García (2010), indigenous populations, who are the victims of extensive power inequalities, will enthusiastically adopt the new language,"[…] whether an international language like English or a colonial language like French […]", (406) as an expedient instrument for individual and communal advancement.

c. Dominant. Language spread mainly occurs among groups who have economic power and a secure group language identity. For them, an additional language does not pose a threat (ibid). This is exemplified by the Netherlands, where English has spread as an additional language both in the Dutch-speaking and in the Frisian-speaking areas without menacing the language identities of the Dutch or the Frisians. Conversely, as evidenced by Phillipson (1994a), in those countries where the social divide between the poor and rich is great, e.g. Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, only the indigenous elites are bilingual English speakers. The spread of Spanish throughout Latin America, imposed by conquest and colonization, has been thorough and vigorous. Yet, "[…] there continues to be resistance against total adoption of Spanish by members of impoverished and isolated indigenous groups who fear that the pull of economic advantages will lead to sure language death" (Cobarrubias, 1990; García, 1999; Heath, 1972). Ofelia García (2010) finds an apparent link between language spread and dominance of some kind for multifarious reasons: economic, political, ideological, demographic or, especially today, simply communicative. Hence the more powerful language spreads as an additional instrument for the benefits that accrue to the adopters (Fishman, 1977, 1988). It has been observed that individuals dissatisfied with their socioeconomic status want to adopt another language or language variety because they are confident that their lives will improve as a result of the

new language behaviour: "Language spreads because there is dominance and because there are prospects for increased dominance" (García, 2010: 406).

Religion can also be an instrument for dominance thus causing language spread, since, as in the case of Arabic, prayer and ritual must be conducted in a certain language (C.A. Ferguson, 1982).

Being induced by dominance, language spread usually occurs from the top down and is effectively carried out by national language academies, language planning including, as viewed, corpus planning (especially standardization) and status planning. García (2010) sees language spread as especially effective in cities—e.g. multietnic and multicultural metropolises like New York, London or Berlin—, where intensive interaction and greater linguistic heterogeneity create a communicative need for the acquisition of different language practices. Language spread can be explicit and declared, but also undeclared (as in the case of Japan), covert (as in the case of Nazi Germany), or implicit (as in the case of Brazil) (Ammon, 1992: 47). It is not always directed by government; it may involve elite-ruled mechanisms and independent organizations such as the mass media, business, employment (Fishman, 1977), the scientific community and education, particularly institutions of higher education (Phillipson, 1994a: 20). However, it is mostly the government and the cultural elites that first adopt and promote the change by means of education, especially higher education, as well as testing and language in public space (Shohamy, 2006). Indeed, the role of governmental agencies and schools is particularly instrumental in promoting the use of different languages (García, 2010: 407). Many agencies promote or constrain the spread of language by acting as motivators, propagandists and pressure groups (Lewis, 1982: 248). Ammon (1992, 1994) has illustrated the Federal Republic of Germany's planned-out policy of spreading German. Four typical examples of successful language promotion in Europe and the world over are set by the British Council, Goethe Institut, Academie Française and Instituto Cervantes. Although language spread is usually top-down, there have been various attempts to contain and promote it through bottom-up efforts (Hornberger, 1997a; Rivera, 1999; Lin & Martin: 2005).

 d. Sustained over time. "Language spread takes place over extended time. It is persistent, consistent, and repetitive, having lasting impact on language behaviour" (García, 2010:

407). W.F. Mackay (1990) writes that the study of language spread is diachronic and explains it through analysis of demographic, geographic, and, especially, historic factors (García, 2010: 407).

e. Broad. Language spread affects not only groups, as do both language shift and language maintenance; its impact is felt between groups, among individuals as well as in socio-political contexts (ibid.). Phillipson (2003) has examined the subtle pervasiveness of English spread throughout the European Union as a result of the laissez-faire EU policies moving the EU dangerously close to being an English-only union (EU Council, 22nd February 2001).

Language can spread as a consequence of a community's conscious and planned interest, as in language policy and planning, or as a result of what Fishman (1988) calls the *Zeitgeist*, which encompasses "social mobility aspirations, hungers for material and leisure time gratifications and stylishness of the pursuit of modernity itself" (2). Communicative needs can also produce language spread in language contact situations. It is the case of a trade pidgin along contact borders, its subsequent acquisition as a creole, and its eventual decreolization (Holm, 1988; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997b; Stewart, 1989). Fishman stresses the fact that "if left unattended, the spreading language will eventually erode the other language(s) in the environment" (García, 2010: 407-408). Phillipson (1994a; 1994b) notes that the phenomenon is tied to linguistic hierarchies in the new world order, so it is never really left to chance. Calvet's point (1999) is more confident of a positive outcome of bilingualism as, in the new order, "[…] global languages can coexist with official and national languages, with regional lingua francas, and with local vernaculars without threatening them in any way" (García, 2010: 408).

Other than language maintenance, language spread is not subconscious. It happens when people believe that they will gain well-being, power and control (Scotton, 1982). Accordingly, the acquisition of a new language is more consciously pursued by the educated middle-class than by those who perceive no possible real improvement in their socioeconomic and political lives. Language spread across the African middle-class is emblematic: knowledge of one or several *lingua francas* is believed to boost

socioeconomic integration by promising "[…] to change the lives of their new speakers" (Fishman, 1988: 2). Ammon (1997: 51) regards language spread policy as the planned attempts "[…] to entrench a language more deeply in its speakers, to increase their skills and improve their attitude or to enhance its status or extend its functions in any domain" (García, 2010: 408). This policy would have five goals:

1. To increase communication;

2. To spread one's ideology;

3. To develop economic ties;

4. To gain revenue from language study and products;

5. To preserve national identity and pride (Ammon, 1997).

The issue of language minorities posits a more general viewpoint on language spread over space and time. Ofelia García (2010: 398) writes that "It is generally taken for granted that language, as a concomitant of culture, can spread", and reports Cooper's definition of language spread as "[…] an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function" (Cooper, 1982a: 6). In the framework proposed by Cooper, language spread studies try to answer the summarizing question: "Who adopts what, when, why and how?" (31). In detail:

Who: the sociolinguistic characteristics of individual and communicative network adopters

Adopts: the interaction of the different levels of language behaviour previously identified

What: the structural/functional characteristics of the linguistic innovation

When: the time of adoption

Where: the kinds of social interaction within the type of societal domain that lead to the adoption

Why: the incentives for adoption

How: the language planning activities that accompany adoption (García, 2010: 403).

García (2010: 410-411) gives a conclusive answer to the questions raised in Cooper's (1982a) language spread framework. Though it makes an overarching theoretical outline of the complex issues involved, she points up that further research is warranted for investigating the complex interaction of all those factors determining language spread.

The scholar reminds us of the concomitant spread of culture and past *κοινὴ διάλεκτος,* or common language, for mainly cultural —"[…] Greek culture and language throughout the Mediterranean world […]"—, political—"[…] Roman influence and Latin throughout the Roman Empire […]", and religious purposes: "[…] Islam as a new world religion that accompanied the spread of the language of the Koran, Arabic" (398). As perceived by children who first open their eyes to geographical and historical dimensions, we realize "[…] how most historical change has been accompanied by the spread of a culture, and consequently of a language, usually that of the more powerful or high-status group" (ibid.). We are made aware, with the linguist, of the variety of reasons that underlie language spread: from the forceful result of political conquest to the instrumental need "[…] to enjoy socioeconomic benefits or to achieve political integration […]" up to the sheer integrative object of communication, "[…] because the new messages that the new cultural context creates cannot simply be transmitted in the old way, and a new way of communicating is needed" (García, & Otheguy, 1989; Otheguy, 1993, 1995).

Eventually, when looking into the history of European languages, notably how Portuguese, Spanish, French and English spread quickly and forcibly in the Americas at the expense of the indigenous groups; when comparing that spread with the attrition and death of the many languages of African slaves and those of less powerful immigrant groups, or setting the fate of Spanish in Latin America, brought by powerful conquerors, against that of US Spanish minorities, we may conclude, with García (2010), that "[…] language spread has much to do with dominance, power, prestige, and privilege" (399). The scholar identifies three different but not exclusive phases in the study of language spread:

a. The beginnings (1970s to 1980s).

Language spread is regarded as a natural solution, following a modernist agenda, to the language problems created by language diversity and multilingualism. Scholars such as Quirk (1988, for English) report on the language planning agencies and other kinds of imperial and political control in promoting the spread (ibid.).

b. The critical period (1990s).

The new committed turn of sociolinguistics investigates the complex sociocultural processes that affect language spread. Linguists like G.D. McConnell (1990) examine "The role of class, ethnicity, race, and gender that causes asymmetrical power relations between speakers and that impacts adoption […]" (García, 2010: 399). Others, especially Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994), criticize language spread as a planned-out "[…] linguistic imperialist agenda within the context of language rights and of protecting endangered languages" (García, 2010: 399).

c. The postmodernist period (21st century).

From a postmodernist perspective, linguists like Mühlhäusler (2000) work up "[…] a language ecology framework in which languages do not compete, but re-adjust themselves to fit into an environment". The agency of individual speakers spurred by globalization and technological advances is especially emphasized. They become the actors of language spread, which they promote "[…] while appropriating and penetrating it with their own intentions and social styles […]" (García, 2010: 399).

Building on Tsuda's work on communication (1994, 1997), Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) distinguish between the diffusion paradigm and the ecology of languages paradigm in the study of language spread:

1. The diffusion paradigm refers to factors of imposition closely associated with the first period (modernization, monolingualism, capitalism), but also, as illustrated, in the case of English, by Tsuda (1997), to elements of the second phase (linguistic, cultural and media imperialism) and of the third period (globalization) (García, 2010: 399-400).

2. The ecology of languages paradigm, instead, examines those factors of the third phase connected with the sustainability of language diversity, multilingualism and the equality of languages (400). Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas's (1997) ecology of languages paradigm encompasses the protection of local production and national sovereignties. These two scholars, though supporting linguistic diversity in the face of language spread, do not promote the flexibility in language use propounded by Mühlhäusler (2000) and many other postmodernist linguists (e.g. Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994) who have looked at the

old imperialism-resistance analytical model as "[…] not relevant in postcolonial globalized contexts in which hybrid identities and flexible language practices are being constructed" (García, 2010: 400).

On balance, while early modernist work on language spread simply described and related the phenomenon to sociocultural processes, later critical work on language spread has highlighted the linguistic imperialism that accompanied development projects, including education (García, 2010: 403). Phillipson (1992) looks at the spread of English as an imperialist project carried out not through impositional force, as in the past, but through persuasion and ideas. Thus, "[…] critical language spread work questioned the role of modernization and the state, focusing not on the spread, but rather on the decline and loss of many of the world's languages" (Krauss, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000. In García, 2010: 403). In our century, "[…] globalization has become the most important sociocultural process in the study of language spread" (ibid.). The development of globalization, the end of the Cold War, state-of-the-art technological advances and the destructive outcome of western intervention in Maghreb and the Middle East, especially over the last decades, "[…] have accelerated the movement of peoples (ibid.). The very nature of language spread has changed: it is more dynamic than ever and involves not simply replacement of languages resulting from language shift, but also the acquisition of additional languages and dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009a). From a similar viewpoint, Dutch sociologist Abram De Swann (1998, 2001) developed his theory of a global world system of languages as an "[…] ingenious pattern of connections between language groups […]" in his 2001 book *Words of the World: The Global Language System*. According to him, "It is multilingualism that has kept humanity, separated by so many languages, together. The multilingual connections between language groups do not occur haphazardly, but, on the contrary, they constitute a surprisingly strong and efficient network that ties together—directly or indirectly—the six billion inhabitants of the earth" (1). The global language system draws upon the world system theory to account for the relationships between the world's languages and divides them into a hierarchy consisting of four levels, namely the peripheral, central, supercentral and hypercentral languages. The Q-value is the communicative value of a language, its potential to connect a speaker with other speakers

of a constellation or subconstellation. De Swann, then, sees a dynamic world system of languages, held together by multilinguals, that underlies language spread. Spreading languages are central because of the high percentage of multilinguals in that system whose repertoire contains that language. These central languages have more Q-value, since their utility increases with an increasing number of users. In De Swaan's opinion, (1998:71) languages spread when speakers realize that they can increase the Q-value of their repertoire by adding a given language more than any other. Then the Q-value, the worth of a language, includes:

a. The language prevalence, i.e. the number of people within a language constellation who speak it.

b. Its centrality, i.e. the number of people knowing another language who choose to use this language to communicate.

Accordingly, "[…] it is multilingualism and dynamism that stands at the centre of the spread" (García, 2010: 403). García (2010) refers to some well-known cases of language spread:

• The spread of Latin as a lingua franca in the western half of the Roman Empire until the Middle Ages.

• The spread of Arabic during the Islamic expansion.

• The spread of Spanish throughout Latin America during the conquest and colonization.

• The spread of French, Portuguese and English as colonial languages throughout Asia and Africa (García, 2010: 404).

But García remarks that all these cases, which often caused a language shift in the population as a consequence of direct military conquest, have little to do with present-day study of language spread. Advances in the sociology of language (Fishman, 1968) and the new globalized world order have marked a change in scholarship beginning after Cooper (1982b). Today "[…] the study of language spread looks at how global and discourse forces, less explicitly present than military conquest and interacting simultaneously at many social levels, impact language behaviors" (García, 2010: 404). Such insights evoke Cen Williams' (1994, 1996) construct of translanguaging, "[…] for the planned and

systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson" (Baker, 2011: 288), as a 21-st century process of hybrid meaning making, analogous to García's mentioned transglossia (2009a, 2009b), through a strategic use of two languages in a variety of global and local contexts. Ofelia García (2009a, 2009b) conceives of the term as "[…] a very typical way in which bilinguals engage their bilingual worlds" (Baker, 2011: 288). She points out that "It is not codeswitching but more about hybrid language use that is systematic, strategic and sense-making for speaker and listener" (288-289). Translanguaging is successfully adopted in Dual Language classrooms, "[…] where children move between their languages spontaneously and pragmatically" (Baker, 2011: 229). The underlying principle is to move away from compartmentalization of two languages and clear-cut boundaries of use towards maximizing students' language repertoires and cognitive instruments, "[…] a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups" (García, 2009a: 307).

4.9 Language change, conflict, shift, maintenance

The general term of language spread implicates a number of cognate sociolinguistic phenomena: language change, language conflict, language shift, language maintenance, language decline and death, reversing language shift, language resurrection and language revitalization.

Ofelia García writes that language change "[…] describes the change in the linguistic forms themselves, without considering the behaviour of human beings as mediators (or sources) of change (Cooper, 1982a) or the reason for the occurrence of language change within a given sociocultural context" (García, 2010: 404).

Contact between ethnic groups with differing languages may be peaceful but also, more often than not, characterized by tensions and disputes that do not necessarily lead to conflict. However, when the conflict is extreme, civil war may ensue and the ascendant

group may seek to enforce its language. Language and cultural submersion may be induced by ethnic conflicts, as in Indonesia, Ethiopia, former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Ukraine, but also, historically, by nation-state policy and planning. The cases of France and the USA are emblematic of the inherent reasons for monolingualism since language becomes an instrument of social control. Baker (2011) explains that "[…] a monolingual and centralized bureaucracy may believe that multilingualism is like Babel: when there is linguistic diversity, there is a state of chaos, with resulting effects on law and order, economy and efficiency" (80). Institutional language planning in the two countries further demonstrates that "Monolingualism is seen as a stable condition, multilingualism as linguistic imperfection leading to problems and conflicts" (ibid.). In point of fact, as evidenced by pre-nation state peaceful multilingualism, language has hardly ever engendered conflict per se. It becomes a marker, or symbol, of a conflict, "[…] rather than the real source of the conflict […]" (ibid.), which may be economic as well as racial, ethnic, religious or cultural. The controversial role of English and place accorded to immigrant languages in US bilingual education, for example, "[…] hide deeper concerns about political dominance, status, defence of economic and social position, as well as concerns about cultural integration, nationalism and an American identity" (ibid.). Nationalists are historically wary of minority claims, so heritage language has been seen as a symbol of the threat to national unity.

In reality, language conflicts often disguise, as reported, deep-seated conflicts about political power struggles, economic advantage, geo-political predominance, ethnic or national solidarity, rights, privileges and, not least, identity. Colin Baker (2011) justly notices that "[…] politicians and administrators often seize upon language as if it were the cause, and sometimes as if it were the remedy. Underlying causes are thus ignored or avoided" (ibid.). Human history simply shows that "[…] conflicts cannot occur between languages, they only occur between the speakers of those languages" (ibid.).

Language shift and language maintenance connote a contact situation and power differential between two or more speech communities (Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996: 568; Brenzinger, 1997: 274). Accordingly, minority language speakers (in numerical or power terms) shift away from or maintain use of their language in relation to the majority language.

Language shift implies "[…] a downwards language movement […] (Hornberger, 2002a), a reduction in the number of speakers of a language, […] a loss in language proficiency, […]" or a shrinking use of the language in different domains. The result of language shift is language death, although a language could be revived from oral and/or written recordings (Baker, 2011: 72). In other words, language shift denotes "[…] the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members" (Dorian, 1982: 44). It refers, thus, to the process by which a speech community abandons a language or language variety and takes up another one. Hornberger (2010) explains it more clearly as "[…] loss in number of speakers, level of proficiency, or range of functional use of the language" (412), which accounts for attrition, or erosion. It most often starts with the displacement of a language or language variety for low (L) functions, i.e. with the erosion of diglossia, when the high (H) functions come to be mediated by the new medium, as clarified by García (2010):

> Language spread, however, most often responds to newly created communicative functions and language uses, usually for high (H) functions. Thus, in some ways, language spread disturbs what was previously a diglossic relationship between two particular languages. As two or more languages coexist within the same social spaces, a transglossia results with many languages in functional interrelationships (García, 2010: 404).

As seen, however, French sociolinguist L.J. Calvet (1999) holds that the contemporary spread of globally powerful languages can coexist with many other languages. Along these lines, beyond the scope of additive bilingualism, an ecolinguistic spread should entail the individual speaker's furthering one's language repertoire while engaging in different language practices that encompass those of the expanding speech community.

The polar opposite of language shift is language maintenance, when a language is relatively stable in the number and distribution of speakers, with proficient use by children and adults and maintenance in specific domains, e. g. home, school and religion. Traditionally, language maintenance "[…] denotes the continuing use of a language in the

face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language" (Mesthrie, 1999: 42).

An overarching point of departure regards the very meaning of language maintenance. Does this "[…] always imply vernacular oral maintenance? Could a language preserved in written form, but spoken by few (or none) on a regular basis, be considered "maintained"?" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 457). Edwards (2004-2006) states that maintenance entails "[…] a continuity of the ordinary spoken medium […]" through uninterrupted domestic transmission over the generations (ibid.). Language life depends on the nature of this transmission: if sustained, language maintenance is assured; if it falters or ends, the language becomes vulnerable and its maintenance is threatened, as illustrated by Fishman (1990) (In Edwards, 2004-2006: 457).

Not all domains are of equal weight or value for supporting linguistic continuity. The home is the most salient of all language domains, but there must also exist extra-domestic settings where the language is necessary or, at least, of considerable importance. Edwards (2004-2006) identifies, for a given variety, at a given time, in a given context, what he calls "*domains of necessity*" related to the core aspects of people's lives: the home, the school, the workplace. Conversely, domains in which participation is voluntary, sporadic or idiosyncratic are not vital to broad language maintenance. In short, effective language maintenance will require "[…] domains of central and continuing salience" (457-458). As regards the actual instruments for language maintenance, Edwards (2004-2006) singles out two major and interrelated factors:

1. The continuing existence, as mentioned, of important domains within which the use of the language is necessary. These domains depend upon social, political and economic forces both within and without the particular language community. Edwards mentions "[…] issues of linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, social mobility, and economic advancement", associating these four factors with the instrumental advantages of "large" languages and the disincentives for the maintenance of "small" ones (458).

When language contact involves varieties with very different status, and consequent imbalance of power and prestige, some bilingual accommodation is often sought. However, bilingualism, especially the "weak" forms of bilingual education, can be an unstable and impermanent way-station on the road to reinforced monolingualism in the

dominant variety, as attested in the USA (ibid.). Often, beleaguered languages can hardly stem the forces of urbanization, modernization and mobility, which place a language in danger and lead to language shift. Language decline is also occasioned by the decline in the existence and attractions of traditional lifestyles (ibid.). Linguistic standardization and modernization are always possible but not always practicable, nor do they make up for the imbalance of status and prestige among competing forms: ""Small" varieties which have developed to national language levels (for example, Somali and Guaraní) remain less broadly useful than (for example) English or Spanish" (ibid.). Edwards (2004-2006) reminds us that a key element and the norm in language history is change rather than stasis: "Environments alter, people move, and needs and demands change – and such factors have a large influence upon language" (ibid.). It goes without saying that globalization has enhanced a universal desire for mobility and modernization. In all kinds of societies, be it immigrant minorities or indigenous groups, there come to act similar pressures forcing change and throwing populations into transitional states that have unpleasant consequences (459). Thus, "Language decline and shift are most often *symptoms* of contact between groups of unequal political and economic power. Decline, then, is an effect of a larger cause, and it follows that attempts to arrest it are usually very difficult" (ibid.). A logical approach to language maintenance posits, in Edwards' view, "[…] to unpick the social fabric that has evolved and then reweave it in a new pattern". It is definitely "[…] a difficult and delicate undertaking" (ibid.).

2. The other, more intangible factor in language maintenance is, according to the linguist, "[…] the collective *will* to stem discontinuity, to sustain vigour in the face of the factors just discussed" (ibid.). This entails the far-reaching issue of identity. According to Nahir (1977), revival presupposes the existence of a variety with which a group identifies and which upholds the will to act. It also involves the symbolic value that a language has together with its more purely communicative functions. According to Rabin (1971), revival efforts are both radical, meaning a significant change to the status quo, and extralinguistic, involving social considerations and forces (Edwards, 2004-2006: 459).

Considering the powerful attractions associated with "large" languages and "large" societies, "[…] *active* moves for language maintenance are usually the preserve of only a

small number of people. There are, of course, practical reasons why the masses cannot usually involve themselves in maintenance efforts […]", apart from "[…] a broad but rather passive goodwill […]". Accordingly, the most pressing issue for activists has been to galvanize this inert quantity. Activists, however, are often atypical of the masses for whom they speak and act and, although their presence is essential, their agency in the revival as leaders is often unsuccessful. Commenting on efforts to sustain Irish, Moran (1900) wrote, to this effect, that "Without scholars [the revival] cannot succeed; with scholars as leaders it is bound to fail" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 459).

Language maintenance is a risky enterprise and, by the time that the danger of decline or death is realized, the social pressures have often assumed large proportions: "[…] traditionally, linguists themselves have seen, in most cases of language decline or shift, a "naturalness" which effectively precludes any useful intervention, even if it were thought broadly desirable" (see Bolinger, 1980. In Edwards, 2004-2006: 459).

Other scholars, especially sociolinguists and sociologists of language, have been earnestly engaged on the "public life" of language. Fishman (1982) is a good example. He noticed how regret over mother tongue loss and the implied surrender to "[…] the massive blandishments of western materialism […]" of those "[…] who experience life and nature in deeply poetic and collectively meaningful ways" (8) has brought many academics into linguistics and related fields (Edwards, 2004-2006: 460). Fishman (1990, 1991b) devoted his considerable attention and commitment to the question of reversing language shift. Consistently, he endorses a view of applied linguistics as both scholarship and advocacy. Edwards (1995b) sees some dangers in this stance. In 1992 Krauss launched into a more pressing debate over the need for linguists to actively intervene to stem "the catastrophic destruction" now threatening nine out of ten of the world's languages (Krauss, 1992: 7-8). He argued that linguistic documentation and description are insufficient by themselves, claiming that active social and political action and advocacy are required. Engagement would thus entail (9) to "[…] promote language development in the necessary domains […] [and] learn […] the techniques of organization, monitoring and lobbying, publicity, and activism" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 460).

The opposite view of the role of the linguist as a disinterested scientist was taken by Ladefoged (1992). He vocalizes a more traditional stance by which the linguist's task is to present the facts and not attempt to persuade groups that language shift is a bad thing by

itself. In his dispassionate "scientific" opinion, "[…] not all speakers of threatened varieties see their preservation as possible or even always desirable". Ladefoged rejects that outlook on language loss as a sort of "catastrophic destruction" correlating language extinction to the extinction of any animal species. He underlines that such commitment "[…] appeals to our emotions, not to our reason" (Ladefoged, 1992: 810).

From a different perspective, Dorian (1993) notes that all dispute over endangered languages is political in nature and that the low status of many at-risk varieties leads to a weakened will to maintenance. He voices that the loss of any language is a serious matter (Edwards, 2004-2006: 460) and questions the "facts" advocated by Ladefoged, which do not appear straightforward, as they are inevitably intertwined with political reasons. Hence he rather espouses the former position of linguists' advocacy (Dorian, 1993: 579).

Apart from anthologies dealing with endangered languages, Edwards (2004-2006) calls attention to several organizations devoted to the ecological perspective and active intervention for the preservation of diversity on behalf of threatened languages: among others, the Endangered Language Fund, the Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation, Terralingua, US-based Partnerships for Linguistic and Biological Diversity, UK-based Foundation for Endangered Languages, Germany's Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Sprachen, Japan's International Clearing House for Endangered Languages, the European programmes of Linguasphere and the Observatoire Linguistique. Finally, those organizations concerned with language rights legislation (Crystal, 2000; Maffi, 2000).

As Edwards (2004-2006) concludes, the area of minority language preservation is very contentious and the dichotomy between "committed" activists and "detached" scholars is outstanding: "What some would see as inappropriate and unscholarly intervention, others would view as absolutely necessary (461). He warns that "Any combination of scholarship and advocacy is fraught with potential danger […]", although he acknowledges that such commitment "[…] of at least some in the academic constituency" might benefit groups whose languages are at risk. They "might profit from the knowledge that the issues so central to them are also seen as important by "outsiders"" (ibid.). Nonetheless, Edwards reminds us that the actions of linguists, whether committed or detached, "[…] are likely to pale when compared with the realities of social and political pressures" (ibid.).

4.10 What causes language shift and maintenance?

Factors contributing to language shift and maintenance are diverse and complex. Hornberger (2010) views "[…] the science of prediction […]" as "[…] elusive if not impossible […]", in spite of the considerable number of models and typologies of relevant factors, historical, geographic, demographic, socioeconomic, religious, institutional, educational, psychological, linguistic and mediatic, propounded by scholars (413). Baker (2011: 73) highlights the presence, absence and degree of numerous determinants of language shift and maintenance, giving a precis of Conklin and Lourie's (1983) comprehensive list:

> a. political, social and demographic factors, e.g. density of language community, migration, industrialization, urbanization, employment, social and economic mobility, level of education, interlanguage marriages, state of homeland language community, ethnic group identity;

> b. cultural factors, e.g. mother-tongue institutions, bilingual education, cultural and religious ceremonies, nationalistic aspirations as a language group, emotional attachment to mother tongue for self-identity and ethnicity, emphasis on family ties and community cohesion;

> c linguistic factors, e.g. the making of a mother tongue written standard and use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy in the mother tongue relatively easy, the status of the home language, international or only regional/local, home language literacy being used in community and with homeland, the degree of flexibility in the development of the home language and relevant degree of tolerance of loan words (Baker, 2011: 73-75).

However, Baker observes that this list essentially refers to immigrants rather than indigenous minorities, although many factors are common to both groups. He points out that what is missing from the list is the power dimension, for example the subordinate status of many Latinos in US contexts (73). He underlines that language shift is "[…]

particularly related to economic and social change, to politics and power, to the availability of local social communication networks between minority language speakers, and to the legislative and institutional support supplied for the conservation of a minority language" (75). All these factors help elucidate what brings on language shift but the relative weight of each of them is still unclear and a matter for debate.

In the end, as regards the actual causes of language shift, there are different approaches, such as the political, the economic, the psychological (e.g. at the individual or home level) and the sociolinguistic. All of them "[…] interact and intermingle in a complicated equation", and thus throw light on but do not ascertain which aspects are more important or the processes and mechanisms of language shift (ibid.). By the same token, Colin Baker writes that "It is thus difficult to predict which minority languages are more or less likely to decline, and which languages are more or less likely to be revived" (ibid.).

R. García and Díaz (1992: 14) sketched out a frequent, though generalized, three-generation scenario for US immigrants shifting to English as a consequence of assimilation into American life. The scheme, from incipient bilingualism, through diglossia, second-language encroachment into contexts and domains once reserved for the native or first language, up to temporary or permanent language attrition, can be easily applied to other scenarios, e.g. Italian and Spanish immigrants in Germany or Switzerland. As observed by Baker (2011), "Eventually, third generation speakers do not use the native language. The shift completes when most of the third generation are monolingual English speakers" (76).

However, other shift models are possible. Paulston (1994) refers to the Greeks in Pittsburgh as experiencing a four-generation shift resulting from the use of a standardized, prestigious written language, availability of Greek language and literacy education and arranged marriages with monolingual Greek speakers from Greece. Conversely, the use of a non-standard, non-written dialect of Italian with little prestige, no religious institutional support of the language from Roman Catholic services and multilingual marriage to other Roman Catholics has marked the three-generation shift among Italians in Pittsburgh (Baker, 2011: 76).

Other alternatives are also possible. An even slower five-stage shift from minority language to majority language monolingualism takes place in Africa (Batibo, 2005) and Peru (Von Gleich & Wölck, 1994), where speakers shift from monolingualism in Quechua

to monolingualism in Spanish. On the other hand, cultural and material self-isolation has historically preserved the Pennsylvania Amish and avoided any shift to English. Colin Baker (2011), however, observes that the idea of "stages" can be misleading in view of the continuous change across many language dimensions (76).

4.11 Language decline and death

Languages are always changing, but in many cases their lives come to an end. In many areas of the world, economic, military, social and other pressures cause communities to stop speaking their traditional languages and turn to other, typically more dominant, codes, first and foremost globalized English. This can be a social, cultural and scientific disaster because languages express the unique knowledge, history and worldview of their communities and each language is a specially evolved variation of the human capacity for communication.

An empirical method for assessing the causes of language shift is to examine a dying language within a particular region. Gal (1979) investigates the replacement of Hungarian by German in the town of Oberwart in eastern Austria. The shift occurred after 400 years of relatively stable Hungarian-German bilingualism. The scholar focuses on the intervening processes by which economic, social and family life became more German-language based. Thus, social changes, such as industrialization and urbanization, alter environments, create new patterns of social interaction and languages take on new meanings and usage. Ó Riagáin (1997) emphasizes the key role of social networks of Irish speakers in the attempted revitalization of the language. When levels of Irish language ability and confidence decrease, e.g. after fluent Irish speakers leave school, language attrition occurs. This especially concerns 20-to-30-year-olds, particularly in the workplace, whose social networks increasingly shift to the English language (Baker, 2011: 77).

Another celebrated case study is by Dorian (1981). It describes the progressive decline of Gaelic across several generations in east Sutherland, a region in the north-east Highlands of Scotland. There, the decline of the fishing industry, inter-marriage and migration of 'outside' people to the area marked the loss of the community's fishing identity and the attrition of the Gaelic language. To put it with Dorian, "The home is the last bastion of a subordinate language in competition with a dominant official language of

wider currency [...] speakers have failed to transmit the language to their children so that no replacement generation is available when the parent generation dies away" (Dorian, 1981: 105).

Edwards (1985) offers a different and controversial point of view. A basic question he asks is whether languages die because they are murdered or because they commit suicide. He asserts that a number of them, such as the Native American languages of Canada and the USA, or the African languages of those who became slaves, were murdered. Other cases like Irish, Gaelic and the Welsh language, though testifying to English submersion, cast doubt as to whether the murder was deliberate and conscious, or somehow induced by the negligence and indifference of their speaking communities (Baker, 2011: 77-78). Colin Baker (2011) remarks the fact that minority language speakers may simply choose to shift to the mainstream medium and culture, but that, on the other hand, "[...] where people are determined to keep a language alive, it may be impossible to destroy a language. **Language activists**,[17] pressure groups, affirmative action and language conservationists may fight for the survival of the threatened language" (78). He quotes the case of Puerto Rico, where government-enforced English bilingualization in schools met with the resistance of two-thirds of the population who did not give up their identity and remained functionally monolingual in Spanish. Another significant case was the US-attempted policy of English language education for all in the Philippines, following the French model of colonial education rather than the British (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Susan Wright (2004) observes that "It was not to be entirely successful and there was no language shift at the time, as the US government had hoped" (Note 13: 271).

On the other hand, Edwards (1985, 1994a, 2002) mentions the individual's grounds for language shift, explained by Baker (2011) as "[...] a pragmatic desire for social and vocational mobility, an improved standard of living, and a personal cost-benefit analysis" (78). It is a fact that minority language speakers often have little or no real choice, being oppressed and facing the harsh realities of life in segregated societies. Several linguists have regarded attribution of language suicide as a way of "blaming the victim" and diverting the focus on the search for the real causes of language shift. In fact, many may

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[17] Author's emphasis.

agree that "Freedom of choice is more apparent than real" and that "There is often no viable choice among language minority speakers" (ibid.).

In conclusion, language shift and the attrition of minority languages have been generally associated with the spread of a few hypercentric majority languages like English, Spanish, Arabic, Mandarin and Hindi/Urdu, but the menace is especially relevant to a multifaceted imbalance of power between glocal English and a multifarious variety of threatened languages today.

4.12 Reversing language shift and language resurrection

While it is widely acknowledged that the degradation of the natural environment, in particular traditional habitats, entails a loss of cultural and linguistic diversity, new studies suggest that language loss, in its turn, has a negative impact on biodiversity conservation. There is, in fact, a fundamental linkage between language and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) related to biodiversity. Local and indigenous communities have elaborated complex classification systems for the natural world, reflecting a deep understanding of their local environment. Ethnobotanists and ethnobiologists recognize the importance of indigenous names, folk taxonomies and oral traditions to the success of initiatives related to endangered species recovery and restoration activities. This environmental knowledge is embedded in those names, traditions and taxonomies, and can be lost when a community shifts to another language.

With the disappearance of unwritten and undocumented languages, then, humanity loses not only a cultural wealth, but also important ancestral knowledge embedded in indigenous languages. However, this process is neither inevitable nor irreversible: well-planned and implemented language policies can bolster the ongoing efforts of speaker communities to maintain or revitalize their mother tongues and pass them on to younger generations.

Reversing language shift, or RLS, often mimics "[...] in reverse the process of language spread [...] It implies an attempt "[...] to spread the use of a heritage language in communicative functions for which another language is being used". As Ofelia García (2010) observes, there follows a kind of macroacquisition producing differences in the local language practices (405). Thus, even when the last speaker of a minority language

has passed away, language resurrection is possible. The revival of Manx Gaelic, the Celtic variety of Gaelic spoken on the Isle of Man, closely related to Scottish and Irish Gaelic, sets a shining example. There, the joint efforts and dedication of a few language revival enthusiasts have dovetailed with crusading parents and language planners who set up a Manx language education programme, successfully operating (Gawne, 2003), called *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh*, via second language Manx Gaelic classes in Isle of Man Elementary and High Schools (Baker, 2011: 79). From this fortunate case, Colin Baker infers that "[...] a language can be very rapidly massacred by its ban from all schools and its non-transmission in the home. The revival of a language via schooling is very slow. A language can be cut down within a few decades [...]", while, on the other hand, the revival can be laborious and difficult. He emphasizes the individual's key role in the revival process, especially the attitudes of parents, teachers and students: "The revival in education does not only start with young children; it needs *a priori* the training and availability of teachers who can operate in the revived language" (ibid.). Stressing the crucial function of the individual level in revival, he observes that "Teachers and their students are important individuals in such revitalization efforts" (ibid.). McCarty (2010) is very assertive when making this point: "When we speak of reversing language shift and revitalization, we should be ever mindful of the living, breathing children, families, and communities those abstractions reference" (ix).

4.13 Language revitalization

As viewed, language maintenance is relevant when a group and its language are at some risk of assimilation. Then the discussion of language maintenance overlaps with that of language minorities and involves at least some element of language revival, an obvious counterbalance to minority language submersion: when a variety begins to lose ground, attention becomes focused on it. Language revival does not simply mean restoration after death: it "[...] can also, quite legitimately, refer to reawakening and renewal, to the restoration of vigor and activity, to the arresting of decline or discontinuity" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 458). Fourth-generation individuals among Panjabi, Italian, Gaelic and Welsh communities in Britain, for example, react to assimilation into the majority language and

culture by wishing to revive the language of their ethnic origins. Recovering the language and culture of one's ethnic heritage appears, therefore, instrumental in achieving intercultural identity and individual self-fulfilment. Likewise, the pressure towards a European supranational identity has been counterbalanced by the need to have distinctive and intimate roots within a smaller and more domestic community, with its local benefits. There, individual identity stands to gain from heritage language revival, bilingualism providing "[...] the means to be both international and local" (Baker, 2011: 76).

Language revitalization first arose as a scholarly and activist focus of concern in the 1990s and has intensified ever since, with the increasing awareness that an alarming portion of the world's languages are endangered (Krauss, 1992: 4-10). The field, regarded as "[...] the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an embattled minority language with the aim of increasing its uses or users", (King, 2001: 23) is closely related to earlier sociolinguistic concerns with vitality, revival and more recent notions of renewal and reversing language shift (Hornberger, 2010: 413): "Language revitalization, renewal or reversing language shift goes one step further than language maintenance, in that it implies recuperating and reconstructing something that is at least partially lost, rather than maintaining and strengthening what already exists" (ibid.). The different emphasis results, at least in part, from the changing and increasingly threatened conditions of the world's languages, notably indigenous languages, in the latter years of the 20th century. Quechua is a case in point. Although it is the largest indigenous South American language with some 8 to 12 million speakers, it is nevertheless a threatened language. The changing focus of research, from language maintenance to revitalization and reversing language shift, can be attributed to the growing endangerment of Quechua from the early 1980s up to the present day (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004: 9-67).

Following Hornberger (2010), then, we could spot some points of divergence between the two fields of research:

1. While study of language maintenance and shift has focused as much on indigenous as on immigrant languages, language revitalization work has mainly concentrated on indigenous languages. For example, Fishman's *Reversing Language Shift* (1991b) includes, among its cases, Irish, Frisian, Basque, Catalan, Navajo, Maori and Australian aboriginal languages. The same scholar's *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?* (2000) includes these plus Ainu,

Andamanese, Quechua and indigenous languages of Mexico and Nigeria.

2. One more difference concerns the way of presenting the cases: research on language maintenance and shift has tended towards documenting cases of shift rather than maintenance (Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996: 568), whereas work on language revitalization stresses the positive outcomes of each case in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds against survival of the languages being dealt with (Hornberger, 2010: 414).

3. Another point of divergence between maintenance and revitalization work is about individual attitude towards language planning, i.e. the "[...] conscious and deliberate efforts by speakers of the language to affect language behaviour [...]" (ibid.). Hornberger writes that, overall, "[...] maintenance can describe a "natural" language phenomenon that does not require any deliberate planning on the part of the speakers, whereas revitalization cannot" (ibid.).

4. Finally, language maintenance efforts have often emanated from the top down, whereas striving for revitalizing a language tends to originate within the speech community itself.

4.14 Conclusions. The spread of English as a glocal language. Submersion or transcendence? A pervasive role in the world language panorama

The multifaceted questions of language minorities and language spread, as viewed, point to the salient issues of language and power and of preserving linguistic diversity. In particular, the sociolinguistic debate throws light on the pervasive role of glocal English vis-à-vis an array of languages, i.e. European standards, indigenous tongues, migrant languages, dialects and sign languages, a good deal of which are endangered or meet with attrition and death, as David Crystal (2000) has significantly illustrated. We might then draw some working conclusions:

1. Since Cooper's seminal volume (1982b) there have been only a few comprehensive general studies in the field of language spread (Ammon, 1994; Ammon & Kleinedam,

1992; Laforgue & McConnell, 1990; Lowenberg, 1988). The phenomenon "[…] has been increasingly used to describe the growth of English as the language of science, technology, finance, and higher education […]" (García, 2010: 409). Yet García remarks that the more current definition of language spread has been referred to the overwhelming expansion of English "[…] as a consequence of modern globalization and local desire and agency, and not simply of military conquest or imposition" (ibid.). The reasons for English spread have been a matter for debate and disagreement among the scholars. The opinions, as suggested by García (ibid.), are divergent:

a. Some, as Crystal (2003) argue that English happened to be in the right place at the right time.

b. Others associate English spread with globalization (Block & Cameron, 2002; Fishman, Conrad & Rubal-Lopez, 1996; Kumaravadivelu, 2006) and colonialism (Pennycook, 1994, 1998).

c. Others single out the role of the English language teaching profession (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992)

d. Other scholars explain this spread as the result of voluntary language choice (De Swaan, 2001; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Ferguson, 2006).

e. Kaplan (2001) notices the accidental confluence of forces following the Second World War.

2. Ultimately, García (2010) acknowledges the provisional character of her language spread framework which misses "[…] the complex interaction of all those factors that defines language spread" (410). The scholar affirms that adoption of a new language or language variety "[…] is most often spurred by language planning activities but many times without them, as long as the incentive is high enough" (ibid.). Thus, when "[…] adopted as an additional language, the spreading language must either be curbed by language planning efforts or even through explicit language management or it must be allowed to coexist flexibly in a stable multilingual ecology" (ibid.). She also reminds us that language spread is not a new phenomenon and is a highly complex one, the expanding

study of which has demanded a multidisciplinary and multidimensional level of analysis. English is not the sole spreading language today: Arabic, Spanish, Swahili, Hindi and modern standard Chinese, also known as *Putonghua* or Mandarin (Zhou, 2006), have expanded since the beginning of the current century. At the same time, however, English spread has been relentless "[…] not only around the Global South (which had been gaining English speakers since the days of colonization) but also significantly throughout the Global North" (García, 2010: 411). The linguist underlines the interplay between global English and local cultures as the language expansion has also meant that "[…] as English has spread across cultures, cultures and languages have spread across English, enabling people to appropriate it differently to express global and local messages" (García & Otheguy, 1989. In García, 2010: 409, 411). García concludes that the unique predominance of English as a glocal language best refers to our days of IT advancement, "[…] the spread of new technology and of media throughout the world" (García, 2010: 411). In point of fact, although the number of autonomous languages that are spreading has shrunk over the last fifteen years, new fast-spreading languaging practices, creatively incorporating features of different languages and successfully mediated by breakthrough digital technology, have shifted the traditional interpretation of language spread. As a consequence, "The shrinking of geographical space, coupled with the dynamism of the concept of time […]" (ibid.) and the hybrid flexibility of English have accentuated the intercultural scope and network of languaging spread. All this may throw new light on the inherent interrelatedness of phenomena and specific concerns in today's applied linguistic study of English spread as a glocal world phenomenon.

3. Purist idiosyncracy, as much of the past literature on the "correct" standard, and even the various efforts to carve out a phonological and lexico-grammar core of the language underlying the construct of English as an International Language and English as a *lingua mundi*, stem from and dovetail with a centripetal, monolingual and monocultural 19th-century nation-state mindset that is apparently inconsistent with the fluid cross-cultural languaging practices and repertoires of the current millennium.

4. Likewise, much of the controversy and dilemmas over such continua as "centre vs periphery" and "prescription vs description" of the English spread arise from a diffuse misconstruction of the glocal part played by this language in the current century, which ultimately diverges from that of other historical *lingua francas*. English competence today is not just instrumental in passing an exam, getting a good job in the EU institutions or having an international videochat. The special pervasiveness of this language even accounts for the L1 behaviour of those who have no knowledge of or interest in learning it. Being aware of the mathetic clout of English, then, makes meaning and helps speakers of a new variety create their own version of reality. Kirkpatrick (2007) quotes the example of Indian and Sri Lankan scholars transmitting local and traditional knowledge and calls for more research into the mathetic way of language:

> In contrast to the pragmatic uses of language that demand responses and represent a way of participating in a situation, the mathetic uses of language do not demand a response, but represent a way of learning and arise out of the personal and heuristic functions of language. In other words, the ways speakers of a new variety use the language to make meaning and create their own versions of reality must be a key question for the researcher (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 169-170).

5. The mathetic clout of English lexico-grammar and syntax, even on big European standards, is not recent, and words such as "bar" or "computer", for instance, have had no equivalent in Italian for decades. A purist position would disapprove of massive loanwords and calques, for instance, from English into Italian on an almost daily basis. Even more, it would deprecate wrong (and even funny!) use of lexis, e.g. "footing" instead of "jogging" in the 1970s and 1980s, or persistent mispronunciation, e.g. "bowling" generally pronounced /bu:ling/ by most Italians. In actual fact, the commonplace use of the Internet, social media and glocal world trade in the current century, into the remotest areas of the globe, has caused Englishization to far exceed L_1 borrowing. Notably, in those speech communities with no coherent and consistent language policy and planning, this extensive phenomenon has resulted in a worrying enchroachment upon an ever-increasing range of domains and pertinent lexico-grammar, with a serious risk of cultural submersion, crafty ideological homogenization and erasure of linguistic diversity. Hence, looking at one side

of the coin and capitalizing on the valuable insights of Critical Linguistics, and Phillipson's construct (1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006a, 2008, 2012) of *virtual colonialism* in particular, we could still put forward that English is a "killer language" that causes the extinction of local languages, in addition to colonizing local cultures, knowledge and value systems. Nevertheless, a sheer condemnation of English power is likely to add up to one-sided prejudice and we might believe that this is just half of the story.

6. In reality, as observed by Kachru in 1988, the spread of English reveals "[…] its propensity for acquiring new identities, its power of assimilation, its adaptability to decolonization as a language, its manifestation in a range of lects and its provision of a flexible medium for literary and other types of creativity across languages and cultures" (Kachru, 1988: 222). To this effect, "English spreads because it has increasingly become synonymous with globalization and with the economic and technological progress that accompanies it" (García, 2010: 409).

7. As a result of this glocal flexibility, English has been shedding its Anglo-American identity, gained new speakers and spawned new nativized English varieties (Kachru, 1982, 1992) while breeding hybrid translanguaging practices (Chew, 2007). Many different forms of English have developed; "Singlish" language practices, for example, have required government intervention to promote Standard English in Singapore (García, 2010: 409).). The hypercentral language has even spread in Cuba, thanks to its glocal identity, in spite of half a century's US-caused isolation (Corona & García, 1996: 85-112).

8. In view of the many failures and few successes of language revitalization, especially the Welsh language revival, we may especially agree with Susan Wright's (2004) emphasis on understanding the individual speaker's aspirations and transcendence when deciding to maintain, revitalize or simply stop using their heritage language. Top-down policy can be no doubt instrumental and decisive, as the Welsh and Irish cases attest, but "Speakers themselves are the ultimate arbiters of language revitalisation, and the other players need to

be sensitive if they aspire to play a role. The academic community can put the case and identify the variables but ultimately language maintenance is not their choice and they can only help if they are asked to do so" (230).

9. Overall, the ongoing debate on the issues of language minorities and language spread shows that, in the absence of credible top-down educational policies and bottom-up intergenerational transmission, the sociocultural and symbolic status of most world languages and their cultural heritage have been at risk, likewise affecting the smaller as well as the larger speaking communities. The significant corpus of studies on language attrition and loss, and related proposals to revitalize indigenous and heritage languages, has foregrounded the socio-cultural and educational complexity of the problem. To find and implement a credible and viable solution appears especially critical in the presence of subtractive language policies, which have concerned, among other things, the relationships between Spanish and the other three languages, Basque, Catalan and Galician, in the Spanish national territory, standard language versus dialect relations in Italy and an age-old educational course of all-English submersion, notably as a follow-up to the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act, in the USA.

10. In order to effectively curb submersion, an alternative language policy may propound and encourage viable forms of bilingual and multilingual repertoires, socioculturally appropriate to individual users in our glocal cross-cultural and intercultural world village.

11. Ultimately, the inherent paradox of the dual spread of English, linguaculturally and mathetically encroaching at the same time as transcending and empowering, warrants thorough and extensive empirical analysis of its use as an academic medium in the educational establishments and at grass-roots level in a variety of European contexts, far beyond the simplistic conclusions of mainstream propaganda.

The object of the next chapter, then, is to briefly look into the overt and covert forms of linguistic submersion in autochthonous and lesser-used languages and how the global medium has affected the diversity and vitality of these languages.

CHAPTER 5

THE POSITION OF AUTOCHTHONOUS AND LESSER-USED LANGUAGES. LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND THE HOMOGENYZING DANGER OF GLOCAL ENGLISH

5.1 Endangered languages. An overview

It may be useful, at this juncture, to zero in on the issue of how the glocal medium causes linguistic submersion to undermine language diversity and affect the vitality of autochthonous and lesser-used languages. Colin Baker (2011: 45) quotes the Sicilian poet Ignazio Buttitta vocalizing the symbolic calamity of language loss:

Shackle a people, strip them bare, cover their

mouths:

they are still free.

Deprive them of work, their passports, food

and sleep:

they are still rich.

A people are poor and enslaved when they

are robbed of the language inherited from

their parents:

it is lost forever.

(Buttitta, 1972)

A widespread interest in the topic of endangered languages among scholars has led to a number of meetings and researches in Europe, the USA and Hong Kong over the last two decades. As viewed, most of the world's 7,111 languages (*Ethnologue* 2019) can be considered in danger. In fact, fewer than 4 per cent of them have any kind of official status in the countries where they are spoken. Overall, at the turn of the century, according to Krauss (1992, 1998), only a small percentage of the world's living languages was safe, i.e. 5-10%; 20-50% were moribund. Thus, 40-75% of them were endangered (Krauss, 1992). The linguist's and others' calls to both scholarship and action on behalf of endangered languages have been increasingly taken up over time. Accrued commitment and participation have engaged international non-profit organizations, such as Terralingua and the Endangered Language Fund, to "[...] promote and advocate language revitalization efforts through their websites, newsletters and project funding" (Hornberger, 2010: 415). A further response comes from long-standing scholarly organizations, such as the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA, founded in December 1981), which currently report on colloquia, news items and strategies of support for endangered languages. Research attention to the maintenance and revitalization of endangered languages has burgeoned since the 1990s. Edited collections on endangered indigenous languages in the Americas include volumes on North, South and Meso-America (Hornberger, 1996; McCarty & Zepeda, 1998, 2006), Latin America (Freeland, 1999), North American Indian and Alaska Native languages (Cantoni, 1996; McCarty, Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1999; Reyhner, 1997; Reyhner, Cantoni, St. Clair & Yazzie, 1999) and Alaska, California, Hawaii, and the Solomon Islands (Henze & Davis, 1999). An important response to language endangerment has been the creation of a new discipline within linguistics: language documentation*,* or documentary linguistics. In fact, when unwritten and undocumented languages disappear, humanity loses not only an invaluable portion of its linguistic and cultural wealth, but also important ancestral knowledge

embedded in indigenous languages. Therefore, we need to assess what can be done to promote the documentation, preservation and revitalization of endangered languages.

Sue Wright (2004) identifies a continuum of endangerment with a number of variables and five categories to describe the declining possibility of survival of an endangered language:

1. Languages being capable of developing or surviving independently, with no real problem or danger of attrition. They have a robust and large speech community, a shared written standard and a sufficient range of domains for use. A large number of European languages fall into this category.

2. Languages that are viable but supported by too few speakers. However, other elements can make up for this inherent weakness, e.g. the geographical isolation of the speech community, the conservative and traditional nature of the society, the affective value of the language as a marker of identity, the high status preserved or acquired by the community in relation to neighbouring groups. This category includes languages and dialects such as Catalan in Alghero (Sardinia) and Arbresh spoken by about 7,000 people in Piana degli Albanesi (Sicily).

3. Languages in serious long-term danger. These speakers do not show a sufficient bond to or affection for the language that does not appear to express their identity. It was the case of Galician in Spain before the 1981 Statutes of Autonomy and language reversal. Speakers feel socially and economically hampered by its use, not bolstered by peer pressure, and seek social mobility through shift. Child speakers are fewer than adults. In the absence of serious measures of revitalization, these languages will die out.

4. Languages under imminent threat of disappearing. Its speakers are in their fifties or older, as young people have been educated through another medium and consequently shifted. It concerns a large number of minor languages, like Sami and Breton, and many Italian dialects in southern areas of emigration, which tend to mix and dilute with standard regional Italian, being more and more restricted to informal familiar settings, expressive usage, socio-pragmatic conventions and mainly old rural speakers.

5. Languages that are nearly extinct or altogether dead. As it already happened to thousands of languages in poor and remote pockets of the world, surviving monolingual mother tongue speakers are very old or have died. Just like Latin or Old Greek, these languages may survive in written or recorded form (229).

There are basically two reasons why a language ceases to be spoken: language attrition or language shift of the speech community, i.e., respectively, the speakers die out or shift to another language.

a. The former comes about when they or their habitat are destroyed as a result of invasion, exploitation, genocide or natural disaster. It may have struck perhaps 100,000 languages in the world history. The making and rise of European nation-states and connected colonization and imperial policy brought about the displacement and wiping out of small weak groups by larger and stronger peoples. Together with the suffering and oppression were numerous cultures and languages completely erased.

b. The latter case, as viewed, is more complex and open to a debate on the various reasons why a speech community shifts to another language. It is a fact that nation-state policy in Europe led to language homogenization and shift as national standards were made and enforced on the various speech communities, e.g. in France, Spain, the UK and Italy. The controversy regards the nature and scope of individual choice. We might simply agree with Susan Wright (2004) that oppression, migration, poverty and famine will come to play a key role in the shift and that speakers themselves, being the ultimate arbiters of language development, decide if their language will live, revive, or dwindle away and die (230). A whole set of reasons, as seen, may induce a speaker to shift from language A to language B, e.g. marriage, economic necessity or advantage, educational opportunities, career advancement. Speakers do not live in a manipulated vacuum and cannot be looked upon as sheer pawns in globalization or dupes of nationalism. If they do not see substantial grounds for using a heritage language or dialect, especially when not connected with their identity and sense of cultural belonging, they may shift to the more useful majority-group medium (ibid.).

Statistics show how difficult it is for a speech community to preserve its language and cultural heritage in the vast majority of cases. Over the decades, in particular, speakers have been pressurized by the processes of nation building and globalization. Even comparatively large and consolidated groups, such as Provençals in southern France and Galicians in north-west Spain, with a renowned Romance history and literary tradition, have been considered minorities as a centuries-old result of nation-state centralism, hardly ever tolerant of regional diversity and claims to devolution. Thus, lacking the political clout for gaining autonomy or independence, the speakers eventually resorted to language shift or became bilingual.

If the two examples have survived and are laboriously revitalized by a new European awareness of minority-language rights, many other languages were simply replaced by national standards and died out. The latter process of globalization especially concerns spoken languages with no written form and a small number of speakers. Languages such as Kaló, Nynorsk, Sami, Breton, Mirandese, Avar, the Oroqen dialects of hunter gatherers on the north-west frontier of China, Uchumataqu spoken by subsistence farmers in the Bolivian Altiplano and Arbresh, an Albanian dialect spoken by five communities in Sicily, which somehow survived the centralizing pull of nation-state policies, are all severely threatened with overall attrition by the real-time pressures of globalization. Factors like end of isolation, material, social and demographic mobility, modern state administration, education, novel forms of media and technologies have spread to the remotest areas and quickly altered traditional lifestyles, thus making maintenance of the local language difficult and pressure to shift altogether strong.

Indeed, beyond representing "[...] an index, symbol and marker of identity" shared by the members of a group, community or region, language is a repository of history and provides "[...] a link to the past, a means to reach an archive of knowledge, ideas and beliefs from our heritage" (Baker, 2011: 45). Nettle and Romaine (2000) write that "Every language is a living museum, a monument to every culture it has been vehicle to" (14). Baker (2011: 45) further observes that "The range, richness and wealth of cultures, homelands and histories are lost when a language dies" quoting Batibo (2005) who discusses the potential demise of many of Africa's 2000 languages as a tragic loss of

popular medicine funds of knowledge: "If African languages die, so will centuries of knowledge of the powers of natural medicines: 'some of the traditional medicines used by some of these communities have proved to be effective in treating complex diseases such as cancer, asthma, leprosy and tuberculosis, as well as chronic cases of STD, bilharzia and anaemia' (41)" (Baker, 2011: 45). Baker also reports that Harrison (2007) complains about how a wealth of ideas and knowledge dies when a language ceases to live: "[...] about seasons and the sea, myths and music, origins of the world and of infinity, landscapes and legends, cycles of nature calendars and of time" (Baker, 2011: 45). Oral language demise appears more serious than written loss as "The stored knowledge and understandings in oral languages (without literacies) may die with the death of that language. Written text may store accumulated meanings after language death, although translations will often lose a degree of stored insight and nuance" (ibid.). Beyond any doubt, both oral and written languages contain multiple and multifaceted visions of the past, present and future and contribute to the sum of present human knowledge. Then "When a language dies, its vision of the world dies with it", as one missing piece of the world's mosaic of visions. But language also transmits "[...] expressions of social relationships, individual friendships as well as community knowledge, a wealth of organizing experiences, rules about social relationships plus ideas about art, craft, science, poetry, song, life, death and language itself" (45-46). And this very diversity of "[...] thinking and being, acting and doing" (46), and thus linguistic diversity, lies at the heart of biodiversity and environmental preservation. We may underwrite Baker's impassioned defence of language multiplicity: "Different languages contain different understandings of people as individuals and communities, different values and ways of expressing the purpose of life, different visions of past humanity, present priorities and our future existence" (ibid.). Being language still the main vehicle for education, culture and identity, its loss inevitably involves the loss of "[...] a considerable amount of the culture, identity and knowledge that has been passed down from generation to generation through and within that language. Knowledge about local land management, lake and sea technology, plant cultivation and animal husbandry may die with language death" (ibid.). Baker perceptively concludes that "Each language contains a view of the universe, a particular understanding of the world. It there are

approximately 6000 living languages, then there are at least 6000 overlapping ways to describe the world. That variety provides a rich mosaic" (ibid.).

The point takes us back to the pervasive role of English as the world's glocal language. Once again, however, we may bring into question, with Sue Wright (2004), the definitive insights of the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory and ensuing Critical Linguistics: "There is sometimes a lack of recognition that it may be a considered and conscious decision to accept language shift as the price to pay for a desired move from one's original group to the wider world. Depending on the individual situation, shift can be associated with transcendence rather than tragic loss" (230). The scholar opportunely calls for more research interest in "[...] understanding aspirations and transcendence [...]" and investigation of relevant pull factors (ibid.).

Building on the insights from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, it has been observed that the actions a language group can take in an endangered language situation are diverse. Such actions will concern the threatened categories of the language survival continuum and be successful when geared to the specific nature of the language and contingent circumstances of its position. What is of critical importance is the interrelationship between the minority group and the mainstream state-nation or nation-state, with multiple solutions:

1. Political inclusiveness in the form of asymmetrical or "holding together" federalism and acceptance of dual/multiple and complementary identities. It has averted conflict and featured the language policy of Belgium, Spain, Canada and India, in spite of recurring difficulties.

2. In the event of the majority's repressive centralization, assimilation or civic nationalism, it will much depend on the minority's political response and consistent clout. This may lead to ongoing strife, secession or overall repression and eventual loss of political rights, especially in undemocratic nation-state regimes. It is exemplified by Chechenia, an autonomous and largely Muslim republic in southwestern Russia, in the northern Caucasus Mountains bordering on Georgia. It declared independence from the USSR in 1991, but Russian troops invaded and launched a relentless military campaign. The ultimate result, is

likely to be differentiation and separate development. Bourhis (2001) concludes that language minorities are thus "[...] marginalised, or, in the worst cases, held in enclaves (apartheid, reserves), expelled (ethnic cleansing) or even physically eliminated (genocide)" (Wright, 2004: 242).

3. On different circumstances, action may lead to nothing. If we do not look at language as a biotype or try to preserve it "[...] as if it were an artefact in a museum, frozen in its present state for all time" (231), but as a medium advantageously used by its speakers, we can accept that language adapts, changes or shifts as speakers are in contact with others, accommodate to new situations and consciously or subconsciously alter their group and individual identity.

4. Another option presented by Susan Wright is to turn to scholarship. It refers to category 5, i.e. nearly extinct or dead languages, and once more implies the reified image of a language as a scientific system or bio-diversity sample worth safeguarding and dissecting. It has concerned extensive ethno-linguistic researches into the systemic features of dead languages and the potential contribution to the search for language universals.

5. When maintenance and revitalization are viable, the possible measures are diversified, but, in order to be effective, they need to take account of the real position and needs of the speaking community. A number of language development strategies have been planned out and tailored to a variety of socio-cultural realities, with various outcomes. They include:

a) Producing a written, public-shared standard form of the language (corpus planning). It has been successful, for example, in Wales; complicated, but in a fair way to succeed, in Galicia. It looks especially thorny in small language groups such as Arbresh-speaking Albanians in Sicily.

b) Raising the standard to institutional medium (status planning) through funding official translation of government and administrative documents, encouraging literary and scientific production, having media use the language and requiring business and commerce to offer their services in it. All such strategies have, by and large, characterized the policy of nation-states over the centuries.

c) Carrying out effective acquisition planning by educating speakers to use the standard in both written and spoken form as a medium of education. A number of languages, such as the varieties of German spoken in Switzerland and South Tyrol, have been preserved durably healthy as spoken varieties in bilingualism/multilingualism and diglossia scenarios. In fact, the two communities use *Hochdeutsch*, i.e. the German standard, as their common written instrument across the widespread German-speaking area.

Beyond the American languages, recent literature has discussed other cases of endangered language shift and revitalization in various regions of the world. Past experience shows, once again, that the socio-cultural action of revitalization needs to be top-down but also bottom-up. Promoting a minority language will need the approval of the state, change in state law and extensive financial support from general taxation. As it happened to the regional communities' claims in former Yugoslavia, "Little can happen here if the governing elite or the dominant group is opposed to extended use of the minority language or subscribes to the civic ideology of the 'neutral' state" (232). On the other hand, researchers also emphasize the decisive contribution of bottom-up support, i.e. the informal daily use in the family and intergenerational transmission. As the opposite examples of Wales and Ireland attest, no set of measures of official language promotion will make up for the backing of families. To counter that "ideology of contempt", sometimes transferred to its speakers (Grillo, 1989), and successfully reverse language loss and shift to the dominant medium, Nettle and Romaine (2000) vocalize that "[...] conferring power and thus prestige on a minority language group is one of the surest ways of reversing language decline" (Wright, 2004: 233). In the light of all this, we might conclude that success or failure will result from the consistent and combined empowering action of majority/minority group relations but also from individual speakers' participating response.

In the end, getting to grips with these conceptual and methodological issues can only be advantageous to work in language shift and revitalization (Hornberger, 2010: 420). As yet unresolved is the overriding question of the field posed by the American linguist: "How do we predict which languages will shift, which will be maintained, and which successfully revitalized?" It is reasonable to assume, with the scholar, that the question is

perhaps ultimately unanswerable in view of the complexity and unpredictability of human existence, but that pursuing an answer is by all means worth doing (ibid.).

5.2 Linguistic diversity, biodiversity and the glocal menace of linguacultural submersion

The destinies of linguistic diversity and biodiversity have been especially interdependent over the past decades. Brush (2001: 517), cited by Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) observes that "Just as the 'information age' has commenced, two of the world's great stores of information, the diversity of biological organisms and of human languages, are imperiled" (7). Indeed, "The disappearance of a language is like the disappearance of life-giving water sources: in a generation, a lake or river can be reduced to a series of water holes, then puddles, after which it may dry up completely. But is this process necessarily irreversible?" (The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. Context and Process. In Moseley, 2012: 7).

Today, as already observed, most of the world's languages are endangered, seriously endangered or dying and we may deplore the fact that many linguists have not been cognizant of this threat until fairly recently. The spread of glocal English to virtually all parts of the world brought with it brand new challenges to research in this area, most notably the effects of the across-the-board shift in the functions and domains of autochthonous languages, especially in Europe, as well as the controversial role of English as a second/foreign language and as preferred *lingua franca* among non-native speakers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. One more question concerns the forms and functions in the structural system of an endangered language. For example, from the perspective of cognitive semantics, metaphors are viewed as playing an important role in the ecosystem of endangered languages: they appear to be not universal but rather shaped by the sociocultural worldviews of native speakers.

The contemporary global processes of sociocultural, economic and environmental disruption have represented a menace to the world's fast-declining linguistic diversity.

Consistently, globalization has also entailed discussion of attitudinal and ethnic identity factors as necessary for conflict resolution. When languages and linguistic varieties are endangered, language policies often take the form, as viewed, of specific ideologies and attitudes that underlie language planning strategies and language management. We could wonder whether such policies are the right way to maintain and promote an endangered minority language, or whether they can sometimes be counterproductive. A decade-long debate, then, has been on whether we should insist on promoting and implementing mother tongue education or further encourage the use of an ex-colonial and official language, such as English, in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Many a critical voice has maintained that real-world holistic forms of bilingualism and multilingualism and creative transglossia (García, 2009a, 2009b, 2013) should be encouraged worldwide as a viable and equitable framework for language ecology.

5.3 Terminology and power

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2001: 1-19) remind us that the term "language" is extremely imprecise. In the critical linguists' view, the definition "[…] about the relative languageness or otherwise of various idioms […] (1, 2.1)" is strictly connected to power relations. They point out the protean, porous borders of the concept, which "[…] are often in the perceptions of the observer rather than in the characteristics of the observed […]". *Ethnologue* (2019), the most comprehensive global source list for (mostly oral) languages, records, as mentioned, 7,111 tongues, but more than 40,000 names or labels for various languages. Even if we knew what a language is, estimates of the number of speakers for most of them, including the largest ones, would be very rough, with differences of tens of millions (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.1).

Languages are best known and transmitted to the next generation by native speakers/users or mother tongue speakers/users, but this term is controversial too. In fact, the two critical linguists note that the distinction between "native" or "mother tongue" speakers and those who have learned some language later as a part of their language repertoire is highly questionable (ibid.). A convincing definition of "language" and "native

speaker" would make it possible to measure the relative linguistic diversity of geographical units, for example countries, through the number of languages spoken natively in each country. The champion of this category would certainly be Papua New Guinea with over 850 languages. But this way of assessing linguistic megadiversity has also been open to debate, depending on the measures used (ibid.). "Cultural diversity" is even more tricky, however culture and cultural traits are defined. We could narrow the concept of biocultural diversity down to biolinguistic diversity, which is narrower since language is included in culture. Identifying language groups with cultural groups is also very risky, since the two are often non-convergent: several cultural groups use the same language, or one cultural group uses two or three languages. Finally, the construct of "ethnicity" is also controversial, and when we define ethnocultural groups on the basis of languages, the measures become even more variable (ibid.).

As concerns the ecology of autochthonous communities, a subtle yet significant distinction can be made between two terms: "indigenous", i.e. "[…] native to a place, with length of stay unspecified […]" and "autochthonous", i.e. "[…] with its more aboriginal, from-the-soil connotations […]" (Edwards, 2004-2006: 456). It brings into question the import of indigenity and length of residence: if Australian aboriginals are autochthonous, are New Zealand Maoris indigenous? What about Sri Lankan Tamils? "Some came to the island a thousand years ago, others from the mid-nineteenth century. Are some indigenous and some not; are some more indigenous than others?" (ibid.). The distinction is especially fuzzy when applied to Europe: are the Welsh and Bretons indigenous or autochthonous minorities? The theoretical difficulty of establishing indigenity leads Edwards (2004/2006) to two conclusions:

a. The prestige/power-related dichotomies between oppressor/oppressed, victor/vanquished, moral/immoral show a black-and-white vision of history that denies a more complicated reality.

b. All minorities, whatever their provenance, may exhibit certain common features (ibid.).

A typology of minority language situations might thus link indigenous with immigrant minorities, however defined. Edwards stresses that the only unifying feature across contexts, and something to bear in mind, is that "[…] minority languages and identities – however defined – are by definition always at least at a *potential* risk" (456-457).

We may conclude, with the linguist, that, as power and status are more salient than "[…] numbers, concentrations, and geographical placement – minority-group stability cannot simply be assured through official recognition" (457). Ultimate success will hang on a variety of determining interacting factors. The case of Romansch in Switzerland is a case in point: it is official but not on the same footing as German, French or Italian. French in Québec is an official and greatly-supported language; still, it is only spoken by six million in a North American anglophone community 40 times greater. Irish is the official language in Ireland, yet greatly endangered in the face of English predominance. Even the success cases of South Tyrolese and Catalan in Italy and Spain, respectively, show that the possession of regional autonomy status has been the prime cause of their success, necessary, perhaps, but not sufficient. These cases and the overall debate attest to the Orwellian fact that "[…] some minorities are more minor than others" (ibid.).

All these concepts, i.e. "language", "native", "mother tongue", "culture", "ethnicity", "indigenous" and "autochthonous", are relational, social constructs, not inherent givens. They are hybrid, dynamic and mobile, not static. Several of them may be tailored to people who can be, at the same time, multilingual and multicultural, multiethnic or "bicountrial". In reality, they adjust themselves to people's multiple identities and are variously focused according to the situational context (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.1).

In Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's opinion, then, we are not born with identity genes: all identities are constructed. They refer to "[…] phenotypically visible genotypical features like skin colour […]" (ibid.), which would not be innate, but, rather, interpreted as social constructions. Now the question they pose is whether, in view of these caveats and challenges, many of those groups who demand linguistic human rights and want to know what their mother tongues are and which ethnic/ethnolinguistic/ethnocultural group they belong to, seeing their language as a "cultural core value", should still claim these concepts (Smolicz, 1979).

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 2.1) note "[…] a very high degree of convergence between ethnicity, culture and mother tongue […]", despite the "[…] liberal political scientists or post-post-modern sociolinguists […]" wanting "[…] to denounce this and 'disinvent' the concepts." They claim that those few examples of non-convergence and loss of language (like the Irish and the Jews), where culture and identity are still living, are often shown as evidence of the fact that there would be little or no relationship between language and culture. Some critics believe that if a concept, such as "mother tongue", "language", "ethnicity" or "culture", is socially "constructed" rather than "innate", or "inherited" or "primordial", it is invalid or less sound (ibid.).

5.4 Linguistic diversity and biocultural diversity. A critical domain for ecolinguistics

The two linguists report some still-relevant data about linguistic diversity at the turn of the century, stressing the fact that it is difficult to identify and quantify languages. In 2001 there were between 6,500 and 10,000 spoken (oral) languages and as many sign languages in the world. Europe and the Middle East together added up to only 4% of the world's oral languages. Of the 225 in Europe, 94 were "endangered". The Americas (North, South and Central) together accounted for about 1,000 of the world's oral languages, 15%. The rest, 81% of the world's oral languages, were in Africa, Asia (around 30% each) and just under 20% were in the Pacific. One important fact has been language concentration. Thus, in the first years of the new millennium, nine countries in the world had more than 200 languages each, more than half of the world's languages, a total of 3,490. Another 13 countries had more than 100 languages each. These top 22 countries, just over 10% of the world's countries, probably contained 75% (over 5,000) of the world's oral languages. A very small number of hypercentric oral languages in the world, in terms of number of mother-tongue speakers (more than 100 million speakers), i.e. (Mandarin) Chinese, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian, Japanese and German, only represented 0.10-0.15% of the world's oral languages, but were spoken by about half of the world's oral population (ibid.). One step below, there were around 60

languages with more than 10 million speakers, accounting for over 4 billion people. Less than 300 languages were spoken by communities of 1 million speakers and above.

Summing up, most languages were spoken by fairly few people: over half of the world's oral and most of the sign languages were spoken by communities of less than 10,000 speakers. Half of these, about a quarter of the world's languages, by communities of 1,000 speakers or less; around 10% of the world's languages by less than 100 speakers each. As a result, the average number of speakers of oral languages amounted to some 5-6,000 people. The two critical linguists conclude that languages are today dying much faster than ever before in human history, so linguistic diversity is disappearing (ibid.).

Just as the number of languages accounts for linguistic diversity, the number of species accounts for biodiversity. But we have inadequate knowledge of these numbers, much less than about the number of languages (2.2). Figures of between 5-15 million separate species were "considered reasonable" in Harmon's (2001: 63) account, with a "working figure" of about 12.5 million. However, the range of possible variance was considerable: figures as low as 2 million and as high as 50 million (Maffi, 2001: note 1) or even 100 million (Solé, Ferrer-Cancho, Montoya & Valverde, 2003: 26) have been mentioned. The highest figures stemmed from the assumption that "[…] most of the world's species (maybe up to 90%, Mishler, 2001: 71) have not yet been "discovered", i.e. named and described, by (mostly Western) scientists […]" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.2). Extinction is so fast that many species disappear before having been studied at all. A simple global measure of ecological diversity, analogous to linguistic megadiversity, is the list of "megadiversity countries", Russell and Cristina Mittermeier's (1997) concept, i.e. "countries likely to contain the highest percentage of the global species richness" (Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon, 2003).

Researchers have also developed concepts covering larger units with a high concentration of species, such as "ecoregions" and "biodiversity hotspots". The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) defines an ecoregion as "A relatively large unit of land or water containing a geographically distinct assemblage of species, natural communities, and environmental conditions" (Oviedo & Maffi, 2000: 1). The definition may appear rather fuzzy but is grounded on the key concept that, for conservation work, "[…] species and their living conditions have to be seen not as isolated but as relational, just as mother tongue and ethnicity are not characteristics of individuals or groups, but are indexical of

relations including power relations, between them and other people" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.2).

The two linguists point out that WWF has identified nearly 900 ecoregions, 238 of which have been termed "Global 200 Ecoregions" because they are considered "to be of the utmost importance for biological diversity" (Oviedo & Maffi, 2000: 1). Most of the ecoregions are in the tropical areas, just as languages are. Eric Smith's account (Smith, 2001: 107), based on the 12th edition of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes B., Grimes J. & Pittman), placed 55.6% (3,630) of the world's endemic languages in the tropical forest regions.

Another important global category created by Norman Myers is that of biodiversity hotspots: "Relatively small regions with especially high concentrations of endemic species.", as defined by Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi and Harmon (2003: 55).

According to Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1992) "In the last five hundred years about half the known languages of the world have disappeared" (7). We may still optimistically assume that around the year 2100 at least 50% of today's 7,111 spoken languages (*Ethnologue* 2019) may be extinct or very seriously endangered, with only elderly speakers and no children learning them (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.3). This estimation, first made by Michael Krauss (1992), has also been used by UNESCO (2003c).

On the other hand, pessimistic, yet realistic, estimates forecast that as many as 90-95% of today's spoken languages may be extinct or very seriously endangered in less than a hundred years' time. This was Krauss' 2004 estimate (Krauss, Maffi & Yamamoto, 2004: 23-27). UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages used this more pessimistic view in their 2003 report, "Language Vitality and Endangerment" (2003a).

Ultimately, at the time of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's writing, i.e. about twenty years ago, there seemed to be only 300 to 600 unthreatened oral languages transmitted from parents to children, probably including most of those languages spoken by more than one million speakers, and a few others (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.3). Most of those endangered languages would be indigenous languages, except a small number of numerically strong tongues (e.g. Quechua, Aymara, Bodo) and/or those having official status (e.g. Maori and some Saami languages) (ibid.)

Apparently, the still more downbeat forecasts suggested by the two linguists are more than realistic today: only those 40-50 languages will remain in which people can talk

to their household appliances and smartphones within the next few years, i.e. those languages into which Microsoft software, Nokia and, today, Samsung mobile phone menus are being translated (Rannut, 2003: 19-30). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson also refer to a 2005 printer with instructions in 32 languages, including fairly small ones like Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian, and those languages into which Harry Potter films are being dubbed (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 2.3). Likewise, globalization has ushered in an ever-cheaper availability of robotic appliances that will probably further language attrition and homogenization.

5.5 Encoding traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) in indigenous and local languages and the threat of disappearance

In order to discuss indigenous knowledge and highlight its disappearance, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 3.3) take into account that the least biodiversity-wise degraded areas are those inhabited by indigenous peoples only. In view of the fact that the degradation is mainly produced by humans, we may conclude that those indigenous cultures not colonized by others have actively contributed to the maintenance of biodiversity. The knowledge they have when interacting with nature in non-degrading ways has been called "traditional ecological knowledge" (TEK), otherwise defined as "in-depth knowledge of plant and animal species, their mutual relationships, and local ecosystems held by indigenous or traditional communities, developed and handed down through generations" (Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi, & Harmon, 2003. Glossary: 56.).

Since the classifications of animals and plants develop over a long time, indigenous peoples have not necessarily been good guardians of their environments. It also takes a long time, about 300 years, "[…] for a match between a language and the biological environment of its speakers to come about", i.e. a vocabulary describing the environment to be created by a speaking community (Mühlhäusler, 2003: 37). In fact, when people move to a new place, their old language is unsuited to the function of talking about the new environment (46) because of the "[…] considerable initial mismatch between linguistic categories and natural boundaries" (59). Lack of knowledge often induces newcomers to spoil the new environment before they start to understand, and thus classify and name it. This has happened throughout human history regardless of whether there lived other

people with a "perfect" understanding of the biodiversity around them (like in Australia) or not (as in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where the first Maoris arrived a thousand years ago). Ignorance of the environment and resulting lack of lexicalization has caused people to "[…] under-utilize or over-exploit their environment" (ibid).

Saliently, the Western view of nature as a passive "ecomachine", especially in urban contexts, for humans to use and exploit as they please, might stem from environmental illiteracy, i.e. inability to name animals, plants and features of the landscape, as mentioned by Mühlhäusler (2003: 41). Such technologically-oriented "growthism ideology" (132) has dramatically affected the suburban contexts of many countries like Italy. Not only is the vocabulary of language culture-relevant but also grammars are "fossilized experience […] a repository of past experience, [...] the outcome of a very long process of adaptation to specific environmental conditions [...]" (120). Mühlhäusler illustrates how various *Weltanschauungen*, or world views, are mirrored in the grammatical structures of various languages. These may lose their past functionality and fail to meet present-day requirements (100). Hence, for example, our European languages may tend to privilege nominalization and construct issues like polluting as commodities to be bought and sold, as perceived in the Kyoto negotiations, and dramatically hide agency—things just happen—as illustrated in several articles in the Ecolinguistic Reader edited by Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001).

Further evidence of causality would result from demonstrating that, when a language disappears, the knowledge of how to maintain biodiversity and the practice of doing it are likely to disappear too (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.3). As Luisa Maffi discussed in her doctoral dissertation (1994), weak forms of bilingual education and exclusive use of Spanish have been shown to make Mexican indigenous youth bilingual but cause them to lose traditional ecological knowledge of medical plants and their use, since the medium-of-instruction language that has submerged and replaced indigenous tongues does not have the vocabulary for conveying the nuances or the discourses needed (Nabhan, 2001: 145-156. In Carlson, 2001: 489-502).

Over the last decades the pernicious outcomes of consumer society, notably junk food habits and medicine overuse, has revived interest in the ecological knowledge, e.g. organic food, slow food and folk medicine, and relevant lexicon encoded in the indigenous languages, probably at least a millennium later than the indigenous people had enregistered

those notions. Yet in many cases, as observed by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 3.3), such knowledge may have disappeared when the scientific attempt to retrieve it is made. In other words, a rediscovery of the knowledge may come too late.

A very interesting point is the criticism of those who champion indigenous and minority languages being accused of wanting to preserve them in a sort of "museal" conditions (3.4). In detail, Westerners would prevent indigenous peoples from becoming modern, i.e. assimilating into larger, mostly Western, languages and cultures, at the cost of their own. These researchers' idea of "traditional" seems to portray indigenous cultures as "backward", "static", "non-scientific", rejecting economic and social mobility and opportunities altogether (ibid.). Other scholars, such as Oviedo and Maffi (2000: 6), contend that traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is more complete and accurate than Western scientific knowledge of local environments (6-7). Few people know, for example, that Linnéan categories were based on ancient Saami categorization of nature (Gutierrez-Vazquez, 1989: 77). Nor does "traditional" mean static: the term, as the Four Directions Council in Canada (1996) describes, refers to the way knowledge is acquired and used, i.e. the social process of learning and sharing knowledge, which is unique to each indigenous culture. This knowledge is actually quite new, yet "[...] it has a social meaning, and legal character, entirely unlike the knowledge indigenous people acquire from settlers and industrialized societies" (Posey, 1999: 4).

Now the crux of the matter is how to continue this transmission process once indigenous children are forced to use a second language for school and abandon their heritage language and encoded cultural practices. We could subscribe to articles IIb and IIe of the UN 1948 Genocide Convention and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a) viewing this as linguistic and cultural genocide.

The 2002 report "Science, Traditional knowledge and Sustainable Development" by the International Council for Science (ICSU) states that traditional ecological knowledge is seen as containing a great deal of knowledge unknown to and extremely important to scientists, who are worried about the diminishing transmission of it (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.4). This stance vocalizes the salience of linguistic and cultural human rights in education, although the scientists' worries are not couched in human rights terms. The report emphasizes that universal education programmes "[...]

provide important tools for human development, but they may also compromise the transmission of indigenous language and knowledge" (ICSU 24).

Indeed, traditional local knowledge, mediated by indigenous languages over generations, conveys a vision of reality *de facto* disproved by our western scientific perception: "[...] In short, when indigenous children are taught in science class that the natural world is ordered as scientists believe it functions, then the validity and authority of their parents' and grandparents' knowledge is denied" (ibid.). There ensues a devious undermining of individual/societal identity: "While their parents may possess an extensive and sophisticated understanding of the local environment, classroom instruction implicitly informs that science is the ultimate authority for interpreting "reality" and by extension local indigenous knowledge is second rate and obsolete" (ibid.). The ultimate result, as it happened to Australian Aboriginals, may be "[…] the erosion of cultural diversity, a loss of social cohesion and the alienation and disorientation of youth". In order to prevent this, "Actions are urgently needed to enhance the intergenerational transmission of local and indigenous knowledge. […] Traditional knowledge conservation therefore must pass through the pathways of conserving language (as language is an essential tool for culturally-appropriate encoding of knowledge)" (ibid.).

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001) stress the fact that, if local languages disappear without indigenous knowledge being transferred to other, bigger languages, the knowledge is lost. And they observe that the knowledge has not been transferred and the languages are disappearing (3.4). Such concern about language extinction and resulting loss of TEK is also voiced by Michael Warren (2001):

> Of major concern is the rapid loss of the knowledge of many communities as universal formal education is enforced with a curriculum that usually ignores the contributions of local communities to global knowledge. The loss of knowledge is linked indelibly to language extinction since language is the major mechanism for preserving and transmitting a community's knowledge from one generation to another (Warren, 2001: 448).

The international working conference, "Endangered Languages, Endangered Knowledge, Endangered Environments" called by Luisa Maffi in Berkeley, California, in1996, (see Maffi, 2000: 175-190), voiced the same fear of cultural/linguistic erosion

pointing up "[…] the need to address the foreseeable consequences of massive disruption of such long-standing interactions […]" meaning human/environment co-evolution (Maffi, 1996). Language loss, in particular, may cause "[…] from loss of biosystematic lexicon to loss of traditional stories […]" at considerable risk to life maintenance on the planet (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.4). The two critical linguists argue that structuralist linguistics has been concerned with the forms of language rather than its social functions, while sociolinguistics and the sociology of language have mainly dealt with contexts of use; they all have failed to see the core of the question, i.e. the critical issue of language and power as investigated by social theory, which should underlie, as attested by G. Williams (1992), such concepts as diglossia and language planning.

A different perspective, therefore, would help clarify the causes of linguistic hierarchies and the implications for language ecology, as, for example, identifying the agency of phenomena like language spread, attrition and death, which are not "natural" processes, analogous to biological processes. The result should be a consistent search for the agents who "[…] have often willed and caused linguicide and continue to do so" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.4).

Critical linguists build upon the critical social theories of the Frankfurt School, especially Jürgen Habermas (1981), and the French cultural theorists, notably Pierre Bourdieu (1982, 1991, 2001. In Wright, 2004: 11) to elucidate how dominant groups carry out linguistic hegemony over the dominated "[…] in public discourse, the media and public education to the point where their learning, involving subtractive language shift […] [i.e. loss of heritage language] is accepted as natural, normal and incontestable" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.4). Linguistic imperialism, thus, would reflect homogenous "[…] monolingual ideologies, a particular model of society and particular interests, namely those of dominant groups" (ibid.).

Various research has demonstrated that daily language use indexes hierarchical relationships between language groups, i.e. "[…] a pattern of stigmatisation of dominated languages (barbarian, patois,...), glorification of the dominant language (the language of reason, logic, progress, etc.) and a rationalisation of the relationship between the language and their speakers […]"—with the social divide between a "high" language and a "low" language—"[…] always to the benefit of the dominant one and making it seem as if they are "helping" the dominated ones" (ibid.). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson point out how

"Knowledges encoded in and transmitted through these languages are hierarchised through similar processes" today by "aid" organizations and many NGOs acting as "[…] yesterday's missionaries, with similar consequences" (ibid.).

A similar outlook, reminiscent of the colonial period, seems to "[…] underpin much World Bank and IMF education policy […]" with "[…] notoriously anti-social, poverty-inducing structural adjustment policies", such as the draconian measures enforced on debt-battered Greek economy during the recent slump. Accordingly, as revealed in a study of the World Bank's investment in education, beyond a high-flown "[…] rhetoric of support for local languages […] the policies serve to consolidate the imperial languages in Africa" (Mazrui, 1997: 35-48). The underlying mindset for such linguicist policies is "[…] the belief that only European languages are suited to the task of developing African economies and minds, the falsity of which many African scholars have shown" (Ansre, Bamgbose, Kashoki, Mateene, Ngũgĩ, see references in Phillipson 1992. In Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.4).

5.6 Counteracting eco-threats and promoting the survival of biodiversity

A decisive milestone in the development of a new world ecology awareness was the Convention on Biological Diversity signed by 150 states at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the most important international treaty on ecology dedicated to promoting sustainable development. It affirms a more comprehensive idea of biological diversity: not just "[…] plants, animals and microorganisms and their ecosystems […]" but also people, their environment, their traditional knowledge and their languages (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4). In its Article 8 (j) about traditional knowledge, each of the states promises the following:

> (j) Subject to its national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4).

The Convention points to the interpenetration of language and traditional ecological knowledge referring to the "[…] knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities […]" around the world (ibid.). Traditional knowledge results "[…] from experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment, […] transmitted orally from generation to generation" (ibid.). The Convention also emphasizes the collective ownership of such knowledge, which "[...] takes the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language, and agricultural practices, including the development of plant species and animal breeds" (ibid.).

Several international organizations, already mentioned, act to promote linguistic diversity. Some collect and/or analyse the basic data, e.g. Ethnologue, or UNESCO, (Martí *et al*., 2005), the International Clearing House for Endangered Languages in Tokyo, and all UNESCO's endangered languages-related projects. The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages actively operates against the minoritization of languages in European Union countries. Terralingua works to preserve the world's linguistic diversity and investigates links between biological and cultural diversity; its web-site has lists of and links to organizations working with both endangered languages, including various "salvage operations", and with languages rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4). Linguists who have dealt with the issues of ecolinguistics, starting with Trim (1959) and Haugen (1972), have become conscious of the threat and have tried to counteract it through analysis and action. Struggling against linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), many strategies have been developed by speakers of threatened languages conducive to revitalization and retrieval of earlier minoritized languages (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4).

What ultimately stands out from the work of organizations such as Terralingua and projects, e.g. UNEP or 2010 Biodiversity Indicators Partnership, is the multidisciplinary nature of ecolinguistics**.** This is especially advocated by Terralingua in a summarizing statement reported by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 4). It spotlights the"[…] fundamental linkage between language and traditional knowledge related to biodiversity" and the "[…] irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical and ecological knowledge" through loss of local or indigenous languages that mediate "[…] complex classification

systems for the natural world, reflecting a deep understanding of local flora, fauna, ecological relations and ecosystem dynamics" (ibid.). When the intergenerational transmission of a heritage language is lacking or weak, and young people "[…] instead learn and use another majority or dominant language, the special knowledge incorporated in their ancestral language is often not transferred to the dominant language that replaces it" (ibid.). As observed, the dominant language does not often have the vocabulary for this special knowledge simply because the original worldview, with its traditional abilities, needs and beliefs, has gone lost, i.e. "[…] the very situations in which this kind of knowledge and its relevance for survival are learned do not occur in the dominant culture" (ibid.).

5.7 Some critical estimates and conclusions

As attested by the findings reported by Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (2001), linguistic diversity is disappearing much faster than biodiversity. As for the latter, the divide is, again, between conservative (i.e. optimistic) and pessimistic evaluations (2.3).

Now, summing up, the three main reasons for the disappearance of biodiversity are as follows:

1. The poverty and economic and political powerlessness of people living in the world's most diverse ecosystems.

2. Habitat destruction through logging, deforestation, extensive agriculture, use of pesticides and fertilizers, desertification, overfishing, etc. (Diamond, 2005)

3. The disappearance of ethno-cultural knowledge about how to preserve biodiversity and use nature sustainably alongside the disappearance of languages.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2001: 3.1) note a very high overlap between the linguistic and biological diversity of megadiversity countries. In particular, both languages and biological species become thicker the closer to the equator one moves, and arctic areas have fewer species and languages. The first scholar who pinpointed such a correlation was conservationist David Harmon (1995: 1-33). In order to assess the correlational relationship between biodiversity and linguistic diversity, the two critical

linguists use detailed types of correlation, with certain species or species groups as indicators, as Harmon did, and combine this with the global measures of biodiversity. Taking into account, on one hand, the top 25 countries in the world with the largest number of endemic languages, i.e. languages peculiar to a particular country, which account for 83-84% of all world languages, and, on the other hand, a number of indicators of biodiversity, such as endemic higher vertebrates or flowering plants, they conclude that 16 out of the 25 countries are on both languages or vertebrate lists. The coincidence accounts for 64% and does not appear accidental, as Harmon observes (6). A similar result comes from the comparison of languages and flowering plants: a region often has either many of both or few of both. This also applies to other types of comparison, e.g. languages and butterflies, or languages and birds.

Many such detached correlations are still more clearly shown in David Harmon and Jonathan Loh's "A Global Index of Biocultural Diversity" (2004). Accordingly, of the 6,867 ethnolinguistic groups in the world, some 67% were found in the Global 200 Ecoregions. The conclusion in the Executive Summary of Oviedo and Maffi (2000: 1-2) points out the existence of very significant correlations between Global 200 ecoregions as reservoirs of high biodiversity and areas of concentration of human diversity. Now, since "[…] there is evidence from many parts of the world that healthy, non-degraded ecosystems – such as dense, little disturbed tropical rainforests in places like the Amazon, Borneo or Papua New Guinea – are often inhabited only by indigenous and traditional peoples […]" (Oviedo & Maffi, 2000: 2), it is indispensable for these peoples to be involved in ecoregional conservation work. We can infer, with Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 3.1), that "[…] where we others have settled, meaning often in temperate climates, we have been a disaster to the world's biodiversity". We could even surmise that, where we westerners haven't been noxious, i.e., in the areas which are still relatively less degraded, it was, as Jarred Diamond shows, because we have not been able to manage the climate (Diamond, 1991, 1998). As a matter of fact, more than to biodiversity-poor areas, such as the Arctic, this will refer to the biodiversity-rich tropics (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.1).

In conclusion, according to the two critical linguists, there is growing evidence that the relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity on the one hand, and biodiversity on the other, might be not only correlational but also causal (3.2). Ethnobiologists, human

ecologists and others have put forward "theories of human-environment co-evolution", to the effect that biodiverse ecosystems "[…] and humans through their languages and cultures have influenced and possibly enhanced each other" (Maffi, 1996; Maffi, Skutnabb-Kangas & Andrianarivo, 1999; Maffi, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon, 2003). So far, the findings seem to deny that either type of diversity may be seen directly as an independent variable in relation to the other. Instead, linguistic and cultural diversity seem to have acted as mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity, and vice versa, across all human history. For a causal relationship to be proved, several types of knowledge would be needed; of these, some exist, others are only partially available, others have not been investigated yet (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.2). What stands out even more concerns the kind of scientific paradigms used for ascertaining the criteria and the whole nature of the evidence. And, as the two authors vocalize, turning existing evidence into rapid action will hinge on other non-scientific interests like "[…] short-term corporate profit or the Precautionary Principle […]" (ibid.).

Indeed, human imprint on nature is as old as human history and all landscapes are cultural landscapes influenced by human action: the concept of *Terra nullius* (= empty land) has been finally invalidated. What varies is how different peoples impact on their environments according to their cultural patterns (ibid.). One adduced example is how cultural attitudes to the meat of cows, pigs, dogs or rats as human food have determined the occurrence, spread and life conditions of the animals. An even clearer effect on language is to be found in the different conceptions of edible plants in Australia: while more than 40,000 were known to and used by the Aboriginal inhabitants of South Australia, very few of them have found their way to the plates of the European invaders (ibid.). As attested by Mühlhäusler (2003: 59), the Europeans have not taken notice of these plants as items of food or have seen them as "weeds" (Crosby, 1994) not worth entering Western vocabularies (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.2).

Such a difference in the outlook on the natural world and consistent lexicalization has probably always differentiated rural from urban culture and the dialect/standard relationship in Europe. On the other hand, people's detailed knowledge and use of local nature, on which they have depended for their sustenance, have acted on their perceptions, cultures, cosmologies and languages. In very cold climate, as in the Arctic areas, for example, where animal protein is more common and available than plant protein, religions

supporting vegetarianism are unlikely to develop, and haven't, indeed, developed (ibid.). Most indigenous peoples have always been aware of this relationship and mutual influence of diversities. Evidence of such causality, or rather, interrelationship, can be found in the UNEP's (United Nations Environmental Programme) mega-volume "Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity. A Complementary Contribution to the Global Biodiversity Assessment" (Posey, 1999), and various articles in Maffi (2001).

In short, native languages have enregistered the conservation traditions that further the sustainable use of land and natural resources. These traditions have been called by Hazel Henderson 'the cultural DNA' that encourages "[…] sustainable economies in healthy ecosystems on this, the only planet we have" (Gell-Mann, 1994: 292 in Nations, 2001: 470. In Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 3.2).

This chapter has tried to bring to the fore the need for a real-world multidisciplinary commitment of ecolinguistic research in this day and age of globalized political, socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic homogenization. Some focal insights and conclusions, which call for more empirical investigation, can be drawn from an analysis of linguacultural diversity and the glocal threat to the life of autochthonous and lesser-used languages:

1. The foremost task of preserving indigenous languages as the human imprint on nature, indispensable and irrecoverable source of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) encoded and passed down over the generations, with a new positive notion of "tradition" alien to the prejudice of material and cultural immobility.

2. The homogenizing menace of glocal financial lobbies and transnational media corporations and the interrelated destinies of linguistic diversity and biodiversity in the face of linguacultural submersion, with the imminent widespread threat of endangerment, anomie and erasure. In his review of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a), Colin Baker (2001) highlights the essential part of biocultural diversity in long-term planetary survival:

> Ecological diversity is essential for long-term planetary survival. Diversity contains the potential for adaptation. Uniformity can endanger a species by providing inflexibility and unadaptability. As languages and cultures die, the testimony of human intellectual achievement is lessened. In the

language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximises chances of human success and adaptability (Baker, 2001: 281).

3. The hybrid, identity-related and contextual import of terminology and the key factors of power, status and prestige in the disputed definitions of such terms as "language", "native speaker", "mother tongue speaker", "cultural diversity" and "ethnicity".

4. The ecolinguistic struggle for an equitable trade-off in the "identity-communication continuum" (Kirkpatrick, 2006c) and the crucial issue of having a local and global voice in the survival and empowerment of linguistic minorities.

5. "Europe of the Regions" or English linguicism? Countering the EU's *de facto* monolingual and monocultural homogenization for a new, humane and even-handed language ecology.

6. Bilingualism, multilingualism and transglossia as a new relational and multidisciplinary ecolinguistic balance, both individual and societal.

7. A factual and thought-out commitment of applied linguistics: to campaign for linguacultural human rights against impending erosion and genocide. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 4) call researchers' attention to the unequal power relations and danger of irreparable attrition as a result of linguicist genocide, which requires major changes in educational language policy and strategies to counteract hierachization and linguistic submersion. Ecolinguists, then, "[…] envisage a balanced ecology of languages as a linguascape where interaction between users of languages does not allow one or a few to spread at the cost of others and where diversity […]", and the implied ability to adapt to different kinds of environment, "[…] is maintained for the long-term survival of humankind (as Baker, 2001 suggests)" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4). For this vital purpose, indigenous cultures and languages "[…] need to have better conditions: they

need to be transferred from one generation to the next, in families and through schools. Researchers need to understand and challenge the unequal power relationships implicated in the destruction of language ecologies" (ibid.).

We may ultimately subscribe to the critical linguists' concerned focus on the possible destruction of language ecologies and disappearance of the majority of today's languages and, considering that "Today's efforts are completely insufficient" (ibid.), advocate the necessity for urgent and consistent measures. Skutnabb-Kangas's conclusions at the interdisciplinary seminar "At the limits of language", organised by the Department of Biology and Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and Cosmocaixa in March 2004, are memorable: "Biocultural diversity is thus essential for long-term planetary survival because it enhances creativity and adaptability and thus stability. Today we are killing biocultural diversity faster than ever before in human history" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004: 16).

Such urgent measures for a new language ecology appear especially imperative when it comes to the critical issue of migrant languages and the political and power-related question of their position, both societal and individual, in a dramatically fast-changing European scenery, which is the object of the following chapter.

PART 3

EMPOWERING THE DISEMPOWERED

CHAPTER 6

MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE GLOCAL AGE. FROM A MULTIETHNIC SCENARIO TO A CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY. THE ECOLINGUISTIC CHALLENGE OF MULTILINGUALISM AND ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA*

6.1 Grounds for migrating. A commonplace historical reality

Why do people migrate? Why do they decide to leave their homeland, dear ones, language(s), cultural roots and reassuring routines, often risking their lives on parlous journeys or facing up to marginalization in a new unfamiliar environment?

An obvious answer could trace migrants' diverse motivational factors to a common urge to improve, somehow or other, their life conditions, whether homeless refugees or affluent top executives. A closer scrutiny, nonetheless, may conclude that migration is a dynamic and unpredictable phenomenon that best embodies the mobility and mutability of the early days of the new millennium, but that has always marked human history, being, in itself, neither beneficial nor harmful. The barbarian invasions of Europe in the fifth century AD, for example, did not simply add up to havoc and destructive brutality; they set off, instead, a series of demographic, economic, linguistic and cultural changes that underlay the sweeping originality of the Middle Ages across the continent. Thus, a thorough assessment of migration and its upshot needs to take account of a multifaceted historical

and sociocultural context.

These days we mainly associate migration with the smuggling and unspeakable anguish and death of migrants—refugees, internally displaced people (IDP) and economic migrants—, especially children and women, across the Mexican border with the USA, the Sahara and the Mediterranean, or in dreadful Libyan detention camps. Nevertheless, we also need to take stock of legal migrants' multifarious and multicultural contribution to the welfare of our aging European society as well as of a new category of highly-skilled young people searching for (more rewarding) employment in other EU countries or overseas. Notably, as observed, the first two decades of the millennium have been marked by a dramatic flow of people from Africa and Asia into Europe that has irreversibly impacted upon traditional monolingual and monocultural nation-state host communities. The turnabout has been critical and calls for innovative and situated measures of language policy and planning along the lines of cross-cultural and intercultural inclusion, which does not seem so far to dovetail with the EU statutory framework and constraints altogether. As this far-reaching process is in the making, the jury is out on its possible hotly-debated outcomes.

6.2 A neo-colonial scenario for migration

In *Immigration Crisis: The Collapse of the Post-Colonial State Part 3*, Hatem Bazian (2015), an Islamic thinker, accounted for the worldwide phenomenon of migration as the upshot of the global North's wily re-establishment of colonial policies of monetary exploitation—replacing traditional expensive forms of military control—leading to the global South's dispossession and helpless mass impoverishment through the agency of African and Asian elites:

The bankers and colonial motherland policy makers came up with even more insidious plans to shake the pockets of the post-colonial South by introducing what is known as Debt for Equity Swap framework. Debt for Equity Swap amounted to one of the most sophisticated and civilizedinternational thievery produced, directed and acted on the world stage by faceless and nameless suits and ties sitting in offices and country clubs in the global North.

It should be called death for equity swap for it squeezed the last drops of hope and life out of populations by robbing them of their property during daylight hours on national TV and for all to watch. Each country that owed money and was indebted to the banks because of loans taken and signed for by presidents, ministers and elites in the global South was forced to surrender its assets. The debt for equity swap deals were worked out and planned by governments and banks in the North whereby states in the South had to give up their gold mines, rain forests, natural resources, water and telephone companies, and vast agricultural lands to pay back for the bad and 'un-performing' loans (Bazian, 2015).

Bazian's position is certainly a matter for debate, but it is difficult to deny the agency of transnational corporations and organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO in implementing re-colonization of African and Asian ex-colonial polities. The almost inevitable consequence of this, together with massive weapon selling and political and material disruption of Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, has been the unrestrained running influx of migrants into the EU member states:

The debt for equity swap was the death nail if any was needed to completely re-colonize the global South, but in this case, the focus was on tangible and fixed assets without having to deal with anything else. In the earlier period, the colonial troops had to be on the ground, military equipment, running prisons, administration etc. but the more new revolutionary and improved colonial project in the post-colonial structure removed any costs for control and domination and shifted it to the local managers who are paid a contractual fee to oppress and sell their country and soul to corporations and banks in the global North and to the ex-colonial motherlands. Post-colonial states and the global financial structure made it possible for the global South to actually subsidize its own dispossession.

As ownership of the assets is moved to the global North then all internal economic activities became even more regulated by the needs and demands of multinational corporations running the global market (ibid.).

6.3 Migration: 21st-century development on the move

Moving on to the realities of the new migrant minorities, our twenty-first century world could be described as in a state of ongoing multicultural flux. The 20th-century technological breakthrough and state-of-the-art innovations "[...] have revolutionized human and information transfer creating radically new opportunities for cross-cultural human communication in both real and virtual time" (Lotherington, 2004-2006: 695). Physical mobility, by means of fast, efficient and cheap air travel, has changed immigration patterns. Even traditional monocultural and monolingual nations like Italy have thus been turned into increasingly complex multiethnic and multicultural societies. Supranational political and trading blocs have formed, dissolved and reformed, mediated by *lingua francas* of wider intercultural communication. Mobility has challenged concepts of citizenship, nationality and cultural identity bringing about social encounters no one would have imagined a mere half a century ago.

In her perceptive article, "Migration: development on the move", Alex Glennie (2010) reports on a major research project conducted by the Institute for Public Policy Research and the Global Development Network between 2006 and 2010 on the impact of migration on households with absent and returned migrants from across the world. Through an in-depth literature review, interviews with key stakeholders from seven countries—Colombia, Fiji, Georgia, Ghana, Jamaica, Macedonia and Vietnam—and a new nationally-representative household survey, "[…] around 10,000 households were asked about their day-to-day experiences of migration and its material impact on their lives, building a more detailed picture of migration in developing countries than ever compiled before" (Glennie, 2010). Eight years after Glennie's article, the relationship between

migration and development is still a controversial area of focus and her "big questions" about migration and its effect on development remain unanswered. In detail, we still wonder how many migrants there are actually in the world, considering the variety of reasons for individuals to move to another country. More importantly, "Despite a sense that the migration of skilled workers can create a 'brain drain' effect in the communities they leave behind, there is insufficient evidence about this phenomenon. And most critically, few studies have been truly holistic and attempted to determine whether on balance, migration is helpful or harmful to development in poor countries" (ibid.). Glennie refers to the Development on the Move project and its "[…] interesting—and often counterintuitive—findings […]" (ibid.). Apart from the economic booster of migrants' remittances, "[…] often seen as the most important benefit for developing countries […]" (ibid.), investigation may focus on the mixed social impacts on households: "Monika Trajanoska, a young migrant from Macedonia, describes her experience of studying abroad as having 'opened a lot of doors, such as by allowing me to continue my studies with a scholarship at a postgraduate level'" (ibid.). The point appears especially interesting when we compare the polar outcomes of brain drain migration across developing countries and EU societies today. On the one hand, the investigation showed that "in some countries such as Jamaica, and possibly in Ghana and Macedonia, migration may be leading to an overall drop in the numbers of skilled professionals to a degree that cannot be compensated for by the more beneficial effects of immigration, return and remittances"(ibid.). On the other, data from such other countries as Vietnam, Georgia and Colombia suggest that migration has boosted the number of skilled people and that, although causality is difficult to determine, "[…] migration can act as an incentive for individuals to acquire educational qualifications or skills that they otherwise would not have had, when they observe family members and friends benefiting financially and socially from having moved abroad" (ibid). Glennie also notes that when migrants return to their countries of origin, they do not generally alter man-woman relationship patterns: "In some countries, men who have migrated and returned actually appear to be less likely to engage in tasks traditionally thought of as being 'female'" (ibid.). She concludes that the changes brought about by migration tend to be incremental rather than transformational, and that the phenomenon cannot substitute for "national development strategies" (ibid.).

The political import of migration has been a burning issue for at least a decade, but we may finally agree with Glennie that "[…] policies that recognise and even facilitate people's migration ambitions are likely to be more successful than those that inhibit and frustrate them. For instance, policies that open legal routes for migration, make it easier for migrants to invest and buy property in their country of origin while away" (ibid.).

In the end, stemming a phenomenon that has always marked human history, i.e. the movement of hands and brains, often calamitously experienced by migrants, appears illogical and it is reasonable to assume with Glennie that "Good migration policy interventions should be based on a sound understanding of migrants' motivations and real-life experiences, and should 'go with the flow' of migration as an unstoppable fact of life in the 21st century".

6.4   A fast-growing multicultural scenario in the European Union. The discourse on immigrant minorities and integration

Extra and Gorter (2007) note two major characteristics in the EU public discourse on immigrant minority (IM) groups: "[...] IM groups are often referred to as *foreigners (étrangers, Ausländer*) and as being in need of *integration*. First of all, it is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of *non-national* residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial, non-regional, non-indigenous, or non-European* languages [...]" (6). Lately, the unruly and massive arrival of war-torn refugees and helpless migrants has come to downplay a late 20th-century call for integration and stir up overt and covert expressions of exclusion in the discourse of right-wing chauvinist defenders of national identity. The two linguists account for the latter "conceptual exclusion" as the result of "[...] a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality" (ibid) based on a historical opposition between *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli*. The conceptual controversy, and relevant measures of LLPP, has especially roused political debate in Italy over the last years. Extra and Gorter give an illustrative overview of the two contrasting discourses:

2.3 The European discourse on immigrant minorities and integration[18]

[...] This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood), in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius soli* (law of the soil), in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonized countries abroad, they legitimized their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius soli* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub)continents, no consultation took place with the native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aboriginals, and Zulus, respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for an equal status as citizens (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 6).

Integration, too, has been vaguely invoked in the discourse on majority vs minority relationships, indicating, as noted by the two linguists, "[...] a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. The extremes of the spectrum [that generally hide popular political positions] range from assimilation to multiculturalism" (7). The divide, as otherwise observed, is between the individual migrant's *de facto* fractional acceptance of cultural submersion for the assumed sake of national homogeneity and a holistic pledge for multicultural diversity—seen as an asset, not a burden—mutually engaging migrant's and host society's pluralist responsibility:

The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between IM groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of *newcomers*, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral

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[18] Authors' emphasis.

tasks for all inhabitants in changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on IM groups for integration in terms of assimilation and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment (ibid.).

What about the import of integration in the discourse at the level of transnational cooperation and legislation? The "conceptual exclusion" appears explicitly affirmed in the statements of European politicians who advocate "[...] a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of 'national' norms and values", but who look at linguistic diversity, in the end, "[...] mainly in terms of the official state languages of the EU" viewed as "[...] core values of cultural identity"(7). In actual fact, and especially these days, multiculturalism is a mere hypothesis as "[...] in the same public discourse, IM languages and cultures are commonly conceived as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while official state languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration" (ibid.).

6.5 The key dimension of intercultural dialogue to Europe's future

The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, "Living Together As Equals in Dignity", launched by the Council of Europe Ministers of Foreign Affairs at their 118th Ministerial Session, Strasbourg, 7th May 2008, opens, in "Dialogue—A Key to Europe's Future", with a number of crucial questions concerning the import of cultural diversity and the opposition between segregated coexistence and inclusive integration:

Dialogue–A Key to Europe's Future[19]

> Managing Europe's increasing cultural diversity – rooted in the history of our continent and enhanced by globalisation – in a democratic manner has become a priority in recent years. How shall we respond to diversity? What is our vision of the society of the future? Is it a society of segregated communities, marked at best by the coexistence of majorities and minorities with differentiated rights and responsibilities, loosely bound together by mutual ignorance and stereotypes? Or is it a vibrant and open society without discrimination, benefiting us all, marked by the inclusion of all residents in full respect of their human rights? The Council of Europe believes that respect for, and promotion of, cultural diversity on the basis of the values on which the Organisation is built are essential conditions for the development of societies based on solidarity (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 3).

In the light of current migration flows and resulting nation-state wall building policies by a number of EU member states, however, that explicit plan to safeguard and develop human rights, "[...] democracy and the rule of law and to promote mutual understanding", the awareness that "[...] the intercultural approach offers a forward-looking model for managing cultural diversity", the idea of "[...] individual human dignity (embracing our common humanity and common destiny)" and that "If there is a European identity to be realised, it will be based on shared fundamental values, respect for common heritage and cultural diversity as well as respect for the equal dignity of every individual" (ibid.) have come to be earnestly questioned in their actual feasibility, at least in the short term. The White Paper, at any rate, reaffirms the priority of intercultural dialogue with its many benefits for the very existence of the European Union: "It allows us to prevent ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural divides. It enables us to move forward together, to deal with our different identities constructively and democratically on the basis of shared universal values" (ibid.). It spells out, too, the preconditions for implementing intercultural dialogue as a uniting force for the European society. To this effect, in order to promote intercultural dialogue and take it to the international level, "[...] the democratic governance

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[19] Authors' emphasis.

of cultural diversity should be adapted in many aspects; democratic citizenship and participation should be strengthened; intercultural competences should be taught and learned; spaces for intercultural dialogue should be created and widened [...]"(ibid.). Thus, the White Paper aims "[...] to provide a conceptual framework and a guide for policymakers and practitioners" (4), but also realizes an inherent constraint that has recently come to the fore as intercultural dialogue cannot be prescribed by law. Conversely, "It must retain its character as an open invitation to implement the underlying principles set out in this document, to apply flexibly the various recommendations presented here, and to contribute to the ongoing debate about the future organisation of society" (ibid.).

The kind of society advanced, then, thriving on equitable and responsible cooperation between its member states, is a desirable target, but, eleven years after its formulation, still looks like work in progress: "The Council of Europe is deeply convinced that it is our common responsibility to achieve a society where we can live together as equals in dignity" (ibid.). In the face of such critical realities as the unrestrained influx of dispossessed migrants from Africa and Asia, the ageing, precarious employment, impoverishment and low birth rate of most Europeans and the increasing phenomenon of young people's "brain drain", we may wonder what this common responsibility for implementing equal-handed *strength in diversity* should consists in and whether the EU Lisbon framework is still fit for this dramatic demographic and sociocultural turnabout.

In the "Preface to the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue", The Right Honourable Terry Davis, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, adds important elements to the debate on intercultural dialogue and its crucial implications. He highlights that intercultural dialogue is a present-day necessity founded on the universal values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law and that "In an increasingly diverse and insecure world, we need to talk across ethnic, religious, linguistic and national dividing lines to secure social cohesion and prevent conflicts"(5). Though acknowledging that intercultural dialogue is a provisional scheme and "[...] a new step on the road towards a new social and cultural model adapted to a fast-changing Europe and equally fast-changing world", he points out that "[...] its conclusions and recommendations need to be implemented and monitored in dialogue with all those concerned (ibid.).

In this fast-changing Europe, where divisive nationalism is a constant threat, the risks of non-dialogue have been perceptible and need thorough and conscientious appreciation. Indeed, as it often appears these days, being somehow reminiscent of post-First World War Europe, "[...] Not to engage in dialogue makes it easy to develop a stereotypical perception of the other, build up a climate of mutual suspicion, tension and anxiety, use minorities as scapegoats, and generally foster intolerance and discrimination" (16). Ultimately, the breakdown of dialogue between neighbours, "[...] within and between societies can provide, in certain cases, a climate conducive to the emergence, and the exploitation by some, of extremism and indeed terrorism (ibid.). The White Paper emphasizes the risks of self-isolating "security" in a context of global multiethnic and multicultural transformation, since "Shutting the door on a diverse environment can offer only an illusory security" and "A retreat into the apparently reassuring comforts of an exclusive community may lead to a stifling conformism" (ibid.). Thus, self-contained lack of dialogue"[...] deprives everyone of the benefit of new cultural openings, necessary for personal and social development in a globalised world" (ibid.). What such segregated and mutually exclusive communities provide, then, is "[...] a climate that is often hostile to individual autonomy and the unimpeded exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (ibid.). Finally, "[...] the lessons of Europe's cultural and political heritage" (ibid.), i.e. the bloodshed of two world wars, but also the frequent barbaric acts of terror and the plight of the new migrants, reassert the primary urgent need for intercultural comprehension. The White Paper emphasizes that "European history has been peaceful and productive whenever a real determination prevailed to speak to our neighbour and to co-operate across dividing lines", whereas "It has all too often led to human catastrophe whenever there was a lack of openness towards the other" since "Only dialogue allows people to live in unity in diversity" (ibid.).

The Council of Europe's report gives a conclusive and encompassing definition of the nature of intercultural dialogue "[...] as a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect" (17). It spells out a number of preconditions and attitudes, "[...] fostered by a democratic

culture", for such dialogue to be successful, i.e. "[...] the freedom and ability to express oneself, as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others [...] open-mindedness, willingness to engage in dialogue and allow others to express their point, a capacity to resolve conflicts by peaceful means and a recognition of the well-founded arguments of others" (ibid.) and points up the multifaceted individual and societal benefits:

3.1 The notion of intercultural dialogue[20]

[...]

Intercultural dialogue contributes to political, social, cultural and economic integration and the cohesion of culturally diverse societies. It fosters equality, human dignity and a sense of common purpose. It aims to develop a deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices, to increase co-operation and participation (or the freedom to make choices), to allow personal growth and transformation, and to promote tolerance and respect for the other (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 17).

Dialogue appears especially beneficial to the current building of a new cross-cultural and intercultural order in the EU being "[...] an essential feature of inclusive societies, which leave no one marginalised or defined as outsiders. It is a powerful instrument of mediation and reconciliation: through critical and constructive engagement across cultural fault-lines, it addresses real concerns about social fragmentation and insecurity while fostering integration and social cohesion" (ibid.). Finally, intercultural dialogue "[...] contributes to strengthening democratic stability and to the fight against prejudice and stereotypes in public life and political discourse, and to facilitating coalition-building across diverse cultural and religious communities, and can thereby help to prevent or de-escalate conflicts – including in situations of post conflict and "frozen conflicts"" (ibid.).

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[20] Authors' emphasis.

Moving from good intentions to real-world practices, however, it may be relevant to remark that the guiding principles of the White Paper—"Freedom of choice, freedom of expression, equality, tolerance and mutual respect for human dignity [...]" seem to clash with the visible and invisible policies of Western neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa, as exposed by thinkers such as Bazian (2015), to the advantage of transnational companies, and the nation-state minded position of many EU member states on the global aftermath of migration. And yet intercultural dialogue can be an enlightening path through cultural barriers as well as political and social intolerance to a European society that has rapidly become multiethnic and multicultural.

The White Paper's ultimate point is good food for thought. It reminds us that "There is no question of easy solutions" and that dialogue "[...] is not a cure for all evils and an answer to all questions, and one has to recognise that its scope can be limited" (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 17), since "[...] dialogue with those who refuse dialogue is impossible, although this does not relieve open and democratic societies of their obligation to constantly offer opportunities for dialogue" (ibid.). On the other hand, if people are willing to engage in dialogue "[...] but do not – or do not fully – share "our" values may be the starting point of a longer process of interaction, at the end of which an agreement on the significance and practical implementation of the values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law may very well be reached" (ibid.).

Along these lines, working for intercultural tolerance and integration in a multicultural environment implies the rethink of a number of constructs cutting across the individual and society in a new heterogeneous and multilayered process of identity-building. In particular, the White Paper underlines the open-ended, multifaceted and impermanent nature of identity, a notion often referred to in this thesis. Accordingly, it is important to remember that the indidual "[...] is not as such a homogeneous social actor" and that "Our identity, by definition, is not what makes us the same as others but what makes us unique" (18). Indeed, "Identity is a complex and contextually sensitive combination of elements" (ibid) in polar opposition to the monolithic fixity of the 20th century nation-state notion. If "Freedom to choose one's own culture is fundamental" and "[...] a central aspect of human rights", "Simultaneously or at various stages in their lives,

everyone may adopt different cultural affiliations" (ibid.). The White Paper, in other terms, postulates the postmodernist construct of multiple lifelong sociocultural allegiances and affiliations informing individual and societal identity making. To this effect, while "[...] every individual, to a certain exten, is a product of his or her heritage and social background, in contemporary modern democracies everyone can enrich his or her own identity by integrating different cultural affiliations" (ibid.). The underlying idea and expectation is to further a cross-cultural and intercultural society maximizing multicultural diversity, multiple affiliation and mutual understanding:

1.2 Identity-building in a multicultural environment[21]

[...]

No one should be confined against their will within a particular group, community, thought-system or world view, but should be free to renounce past choices and make new ones – as long as they are consistent with the universal values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Mutual openness and sharing are twin aspects of multiple cultural affiliation. Both are rules of coexistence applying to individuals and groups, who are free to practise their cultures, subject only to respect for others (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 18).

Building an intercultural dimension, then, counters the nation-state identity policies of individual/societal homogeneity still advocated by many politicians. Intercultural dialogue is thus instrumental in managing multiple cultural affiliations in a multicultural environment being "[...] a mechanism to constantly achieve a new identity balance, responding to new openings and experiences and adding new layers to identity without relinquishing one's roots" (ibid.). Ultimately, "Intercultural dialogue helps us to avoid the pitfalls of identity policies and to remain open to the challenges of modern societies" (ibid.).

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[21] Authors' emphasis.

Further ahead, the White Paper deals with demolishing the barriers that prevent intercultural dialogue. Behind the sheer difficulty of communicating in several languages, more substantive economic and political reasons—notably devious and covert ways of neo-colonial exploitation— have opposed the privileged Western inner circles to the marginalized African and Asian populations constrained to leave their homes and occupations and endure intolerable suffering in endless journeys, all too often with no return, towards the European coasts, when not being taken captive in inhumane Libyan refugee camps. The Paper singles out those barriers related to power and politics: "[...] discrimination, poverty and exploitation – experiences which often bear particularly heavily on persons belonging to disadvantaged and marginalised groups – are structural barriers to dialogue" (21). One recurring human event is the political profit from the new migrants' plight on the part of strident populist groups, which the White Paper points up: "In many European societies one also finds groups and political organisations preaching hatred of "the other", "the foreigner" or certain religious identities. Racism, xenophobia, intolerance and all other forms of discrimination refuse the very idea of dialogue and represent a standing affront to it" (ibid.).

6.6 The role of religious tolerance in cross-cultural dialogue. Thinking out policies of interreligious and intrareligious interculturalism

The White Paper singles out the relevance of EU intercultural policies towards the peaceful cohabitation of religious creeds, i.e. Christianity, Judaism and Islam, but also other beliefs resulting from escalating immigration into the continent: "Part of Europe's rich cultural heritage is a range of religious, as well as secular, conceptions of the purpose of life. Christianity, Judaism and Islam, with their inner range of interpretations, have deeply influenced our continent. Yet conflicts where faith has provided a communal marker have been a feature of Europe's old and recent past" (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 22). In point of fact, religious diversity implies different and often conflicting worldviews that define "[…] the identity of believers and their conception of life, as it is also for atheists, agnostics, sceptics and the unconcerned" (ibid.). Article 9 of

the European Convention on Human Rights protects freedom of thought, conscience and religion as one of the foundations of democratic society but also stipulates that "[…] the manifestations of expression of this freedom "[…], such as the issue of religious symbols, particularly in education, "[…] can be restricted under defined conditions" (ibid.). Accordingly, the Court of Human Rights has given to states "[…] a large – though not unlimited – "margin of appreciation" (i.e. discretion) in this arena" (ibid.).

Looking at religious diversity as "Europe's rich cultural heritage", instead of a burden, underpins the shared concerns of religious communities—"[…] human rights, democratic citizenship, the promotion of values, peace, dialogue, education and solidarity"—but also overall interreligious and intercultural dialogue between the communities themselves "[…] to contribute to an increased understanding between different cultures" (ibid.). The report emphasizes the crucial role of religious communities in maintaining and enhancing dialogue with public authorities. For this purpose, since 2000 the Council of Europe has assembled representatives of religious communities with the aim of associating them with the human rights agenda of the Council. The EU's understanding of the public import of religious practice is unequivocal: "Religious practice is part of contemporary human life, and it therefore cannot and should not be outside the sphere of interest of public authorities, although the state must preserve its role as the neutral and impartial organiser of the exercise of various religions, faiths and beliefs" (ibid.). The issue has much deeper and complex implications than building a new mosque or synagogue in Madrid or Rome. It involves the sharing of "[…] universal values and principles" (23) and key areas such as health and education by the most diverse communities who live in the EU. Consistently, The San Marino Declaration (23rd and 24th April 2007) on the religious dimension of intercultural dialogue affirmed that "[…] religions could elevate and enhance dialogue" and "[…] identified the context as a shared ambition to protect individual human dignity by the promotion of human rights, including equality between women and men, to strengthen social cohesion and to foster mutual understanding and respect (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 23). The Declaration proclaims the Council of Europe's complete neutrality "[…] towards the various religions whilst defending the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the rights and duties of *all* citizens, and the

respective autonomy of state and religions" (ibid.). Moreover, the document promotes public debate on intercultural dialogue and respect for non-believers' world views, as the religious and civil-society representatives called for "[…] appropriate fora to consider the impact of religious practice on other areas of public policies, such as health and education, without discrimination and with due respect for the rights of non-believers" (ibid.). Apparently imbued with tolerance, the Document states that "Those holding non-religious world views have an equal right to contribute, alongside religious representatives, to debates on the moral foundations of society and to be engaged in forums for intercultural dialogue" (ibid.).

The other relevant aspect of religious dialogue the White Paper deals with is intrareligious dialogue. A typical example is given by the century-old divide between the Sunni and the Shiites inside the Islamic creed. It appears today particularly instrumental in constructing cohesive and open-minded forms of interculturalism through mutual tolerance. The San Marino Declaration affirms that, though not directly within its remit, the Council of Europe has frequently recognised interreligious dialogue as a part of intercultural dialogue and encouraged religious communities to engage actively in promoting human rights, democracy and the rule of law in a multicultural Europe (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 23-24). Along the same lines, interreligious dialogue can contribute to a stronger consensus within society regarding the solutions to social problems. Moreover, "[…] the Council of Europe sees the need for a dialogue within religious communities and philosophical convictions (intrareligious and intra-convictional dialogue), not least in order to allow public authorities to communicate with authorised representatives of religions and beliefs seeking recognition under national law (24).

6.7 How to promote intercultural dialogue?

One focal aspect in the promotion of intercultural dialogue is how to secure a *de facto* equality of life chances for newcomers. As stated in the White Paper, "Those who

most need their rights to be protected are often least well equipped to claim them. Legal protection of rights has to be accompanied by determined social policy measures to ensure that everyone in practice has access to their rights" (27). As suggested, the provision of positive action towards the material and sociocultural integration of legal migrants has been set back by the refugees' massive inflow over the last decade. In Italy, in particular, the phenomenon has stirred up xenophobic and even racist sentiments among a number of individuals and politicians. The mismanagement of immigration, all too often left to smugglers and organized crime, has thus turned, especially in the housing policy of large cities, into a sort of struggle between poor people. The White Paper clearly identifies the criteria for inclusive policies via positive action. The crucial gulf to bridge is between formal equality of opportunity and effective enjoyment of rights. Thus, in order to carry out an effective policy of non-discrimination, "[…] states are also encouraged to take positive-action measures to redress the inequalities, stemming from discrimination, experienced by members of disadvantaged groups" both in the public sphere and in cultural and religious matters. The Paper stresses the fact that "[…] formal equality is not always sufficient and promoting effective equality could, in some cases, necessitate adoption of specific measures […]" since "In certain circumstances, the absence of differential treatment to correct an inequality may, without reasonable and objective justification, amount to discrimination". Yet—and this is exactly the Italian case—, practical measures to accommodate for diversity "[…] should not infringe the rights of others or result in disproportionate organisational difficulties or excessive costs" (4.1.3 "From equality of opportunity to equal enjoyment of rights". In The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 27-28).

In reality, positive action for redressing the inequalities and the ravaging aftermath of neo-colonialism, as portrayed by Bazian (2015), accommodating cultural and religious diversity, has been a serious challenge and has aroused widespread controversy in the EU. It is a fact that, especially in these times of recession, differential treatment and non-discriminating practices may be perceived as a new form of discrimination by the disempowered and impoverished, especially suburban, host communities. An effective response to segregation and discrimination, then, calls for systematic, equitable and holistic

policies of non-discrimination and a new EU-wide approach to the glocal challenge of migration in a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious world altogether. Two critical tools for implementing cross-cultural dialogue and working out an intercultural inclusive society concern the contended issues of citizenship and education.

6.7.1 Granting intercultural citizenship in a generative society

As already mentioned, the bone of contention has regarded the very granting of citizenship to legal migrants. The political divide between *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) and *jus soli*, (right of the soil), epitomized by the Italian political debate, highlights two divergent views of migrants' position in society and the implied difference between a *multicultural* and an *intercultural* dimension. The issue has, indeed, multifaceted and far-reaching implications for the EU framework and the position of allochthonous minorities vis-à-vis the host society. The White Paper defines citizenship as "[…] a right and indeed a responsibility to participate in the cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs[22] of the community together with others (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 28). Accordingly, "This is key to intercultural dialogue, because it invites us to think of others not in a stereotypical way – as "the other" – but as fellow citizens and equals" (ibid.). The Paper highlights that "Facilitating access to citizenship is an educational as much as a regulatory and legal task" and that "Citizenship enhances civic participation and so contributes to the added value newcomers bring, which in turn cements social cohesion" (ibid.). In this light, "Active participation by all residents in the life of the local community contributes to its prosperity, and enhances integration. A right for foreigners legally resident in the municipality or region to participate in local and regional elections is a vehicle to promote participation" (ibid.):

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[22] See Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities (1995), Article 15.

4.2 Democratic citizenship and participation[23]

[…]

The European Convention on Nationality (1997) commits signatory states to provide for the naturalisation of persons lawfully and habitually resident on their territory, with a maximum ten-year threshold before a nationality application can be made. This need not require the abrogation of the nationality of the country of origin. The right of foreign children to acquire the nationality of the country where they were born and reside may further encourage integration (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 28).

It is reasonable to assume that fully-fledged integration posits a fully-fledged naturalization of newcomers and enforcement of *jus soli*, but the issue remains hotly disputed, e.g. in Italy today. In this regard, a ten-year threshold before a nationality application can be made may appear unreal and excessive in a fast-changing migration-driven EU community.

6.7.2 Learning and teaching intercultural competences

The White Paper gives prominence to the concerted efforts of families, educators and educational communities to build intercultural dialogue. It states that "The competences necessary for intercultural dialogue are not automatically acquired […] and need to be learned, practised and maintained throughout life". Accordingly, the acquisition of intercultural competences brings a diversity of actors into play:

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[23] Authors' emphasis.

4.3 Learning and teaching intercultural competences[24]

[…]

> Public authorities, education professionals, civil-society organisations, religious communities, the media and all other providers of education – working in all institutional contexts and at all levels – can play a crucial role here in the pursuit of the aims and core values upheld by the Council of Europe and in furthering intercultural dialogue. Inter-institutional co-operation is crucial, in particular with the EU, Unesco, Alecso and other partners working in this field (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 29).

Mainstreamed monolingualism/culturalism or even-handed plurilithic acquisition of both the host community's and the migrants' language(s) can be a dividing barrier or a unifying bridge for interculturality. A fully intercultural outlook, then, "[…] recognises the value of the languages used by members of minority communities, but sees it as essential that minority members acquire the language which predominates in the state, so that they can act as full citizens" (4.3.1 Key competence areas: democratic citizenship, language, history). The Paper reminds us of the explicit objective of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, i.e. to protect lesser-spoken languages"[…] from eventual extinction as they contribute to the cultural wealth of Europe […]" being their use an inalienable right. At the same time, the intercultural approach highlights the value of multilingualism and the fact that the protection of such languages should not be to the detriment of official languages. We might add that, instead of patronizing and perfunctory extension of benefits, deliverance from marginalization and building effective interculturality should be a dual phenomenon equally involving the migrant and the host communities. The ensuing advantages, which our global communities are hardly ever aware of, are many and significant: "Language learning helps learners to avoid stereotyping individuals, to develop curiosity and openness to otherness and to discover other cultures. Language learning helps them to see that interaction with individuals with different social identities and cultures is an enriching experience" (ibid.).

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[24] Authors' emphasis.

The report gives an overarching definition of the import of education in a multicultural EU. It explains that, beyond preparing young people for the labour market through personal development and a broad knowledge base,

> […] schools are also important fora for the preparation of young people for life as active citizens. They are responsible for guiding and supporting young people in acquiring the tools and developing attitudes necessary for life in society in all its aspects or with strategies for acquiring them, and enable them to understand and acquire the values that underpin democratic life, introducing respect for human rights as the foundations for managing diversity and stimulating openness to other cultures (The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, 2008: 30).

The chief stakeholders in the process of intercultural dialogue are educators and the family environment. The former "[…] play an essential role in fostering intercultural dialogue and in preparing future generations for dialogue". The paper lays emphasis on something that might appear more ideal than real these days, but is, nonetheless, crucial to successful education, i.e. role models: "Through their commitment and by practising with their pupils and students what they teach, educators serve as important role models". For this purpose, teachers need to be taught educational strategies and working models for the new, manifold and urgent challenges of a multilinguacultural world:

> […] to manage the new situations arising from diversity, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, sexism and marginalisation and to resolve conflicts peacefully, as well as to foster a global approach to institutional life on the basis of democracy and human rights and create a community of students, taking account of individual unspoken assumptions, school atmosphere and informal aspects of education (32).

Teachers' action would be bound to failure without the fundamental contribution of parents and the wider family environment towards "[…] preparing young people for living in a culturally diverse society". They also need be role models, with the specific objective of changing mentalities and perceptions, thanks to appropriate education

programmes addressing the issue of cultural diversity" (ibid.). We may, again, assume that reality, especially that of many a European suburban area, is still far from the EU Council's expectations and that a monoglossic and monocultural mindset still thwarts young people's life chances.

6.8 Linguistic integration of adult migrants

In line with Extra and Gorter's account (2007), an increasing number of countries now require adult migrants to demonstrate proficiency in the language of the host country before granting entry, residence or work permits or citizenship. Language training is often available although the conditions vary. The level of proficiency required is usually based on the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) and a language test may be obligatory. The approach to testing varies and there is a considerable difference in the levels of proficiency required—ranging from A1 to B1 or even B2 (oral) of the CEFR. The Language Policy Unit, in partnership with appropriate Council of Europe sectors and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs)[25] with participatory status, is developing policy guidelines and tools for language education and certification where this is required. The aim is to support all directly concerned in developing a needs-based approach and in following best professional practice so as to ensure transparency, quality and fairness, in particular concerning high-stake language requirements for citizenship, work or long-term residency purposes.

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[25] An international non-governmental organization (INGO) is a type of non-governmental organization (NGO) that is international in scope and has outposts around the world to deal with specific issues in many countries.

6.9 Bridging cultural divides. Teaching English as a *lingua franca* to migrants and refugees

In "They don't speak English": language, migration and cohesion", Vaughan Jones (21st June 2010) highlights the sociocultural difficulty of learning English experienced by migrants to the UK and urgency of "[...] **Transforming the mechanisms and means to enable an acquisition** [...]"[26] of the new medium since "[...] **Language is the life blood of everyone and should not be relegated to the sidelines**"[27] (Vaughan Jones, 2010). There he reminds us that "Our "mother" tongue is given to us, unsurprisingly by our mothers and is part of the process of bonding and developing that is essential for our learning, it is integral to our being and always will be. Even when we speak another language with some degree of fluency, our mother tongue remains an anchor" (ibid.). The additive intent of bilingual intercultural education is effectively clarified further ahead: "A mother tongue defines a belonging to a family, a community. To move to another country is very rarely a rejection of the birthright culture. To migrate is to go on an adventure in which there will be new learning and a new language. But to learn something new is not to lose what you already know. It is to add to it" (ibid.). Vaughan Jones' scenario, London and its thriving economy—at least up to recent Brexit—is apparently connected to the multilingual and multicultural reality of 300 spoken languages, although the journalist writes that "[...] language is generally located in the problem folder" (ibid.).

As a matter of fact, there seems to be no alternative to social cohesion via intercultural communication since "Suspicion, alienation and anomie caused by our lack of speech will undermine any goodwill which may exist toward the stranger and make the stranger feel an outsider" (ibid.). Therefore, cross-cultural integration has to reject any form of rhetoric or "[...] populist banter" (ibid.) and look to the accrued diversities of our global migrant societies as a potential enrichment: "Only a positive approach to language acquisition and preservation will work. Diversity of faith, culture and speech are essential components of mutual respect. To tread upon another's language is to tread upon their very being" (ibid.). Diversity of condition, thus, will require diversified measures of educational

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[26] Author's emphasis.
[27] Author's emphasis.

provision: "Different migrants will need different levels of English. Elderly parents of established migrants have very different needs from a PhD student at a stellar university" (ibid.).

Vaughan Jones comes up with a number of very practical and strategic questions with a dense moral significance that query the type of society we intend to build: monolingual and monochrome, or multilingual and technicolour: "Is it right to provide interpreters for public services and if so when? Is it right to require applicants for citizenship to speak English and if so to what level? What English do we need to teach, formal or conversational, practical or poetic? Above all, in these straightened times, does an investment in language drain resources or add value?" (ibid.). An effective ecolinguistic response "[...] should never foster dependency, but enable every individual and each distinctive community to be self-reliant and empowered to participate as fully as they are able and desire" (ibid.). This implies, once more, a collective and organized effort to further cross-cultural communication for the purpose of "[...] removing barriers rather than creating new ones" and thus work out "[...] ongoing practical and accessible support for the most vulnerable [...]" through the "[...] provision of resources for self-directed learning" (ibid.). The journalist focuses on two cardinal strategies for the active incorporation of migrants into the host community. One is to take diversified sociolinguistic and pedagogic measures including protection of allochthonous languages, translation, ESOL and ELF instruction, vocational training, further and higher education courses, in-house training provision and new technologies geared to the complex social and work-related realities of migrants so as "[...] to enable people to communicate with neighbours and to progress into and within the labour market" (ibid.). To put it with Vaughan Jones,

> Policy in a range of areas should assist the improvement of language skills. Vocational training, further and higher education courses (for whatever subject), in-house training provision all need a language component. It should assist the underemployed and those who are held back in their careers. This is not purely a migration issue but one of overall effectiveness at work, whether English is the mother or an acquired tongue.

> In a time of stringency, we should be prepared to experiment with flexible and dynamic forms of delivery. There is the possibility of harnessing new technologies, enabling greater self-help and self-directed learning. We should also be prepared to analyse more carefully where and how English is used, when accuracy is important, when clarity really matters and when fumbling along is neither a problem nor a danger to anyone (ibid.).

The other is to carry out a new empowering notion of **active citizenship**.[28] This issue has especially stirred the political debate for decades, all too often "[...] relegated to the sidelines" or handled as "[...] a weapon for populist banter" (ibid.). Accordingly, active citizenship, especially in our time of unrestrained inflows from African and Asian disrupted polities, entails migrants' individual commitment to cross-cultural integration, beyond the alienating ceremonies of top-down bureaucracy:

> Newcomers must exercise the responsibilities and duties which arise from the stamp which the government has placed in their passports. When the individual accepts the UK as their home state then they should demonstrate their commitment not only to the laws of the UK, but also to its lingua franca verified through a test. This is not wrong in principle, but politicians should not imply that the test is needed because migrants are not playing their part (ibid.).

In the end, the current political controversy over turning down or accepting and integrating migrants cannot downplay the fact that "Communication is the sine qua non of a cohesive society, and belonging comes from neighbourliness and active participation" (ibid.). There comes again the practical suitability of using English as a *lingua franca* and a *κοινή* for migrants' active citizenship and humane, open-minded and organized forms of reception on the part of the host communities. Hence, also in view of the mutable economic and social outcomes of worldwide globalization and surging populist banter, language ecologists may subscribe to the conviction that language is highly instrumental

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[28] Emphasis added.

in building empowered and integrated multi-lingual communities and that, "when managed respectfully, multi-lingual communities offer enrichment rather than alienation", while rejecting crude brutalism and the simplistic raising of short-sighted ideological barriers:

> There is nothing wrong in promoting English as the lingua franca as widely and to as high a level as possible. Equally it needs to be said that, when managed respectfully, multi-lingual communities offer enrichment rather than alienation. Investment in interpreting is a means to protect the vulnerable, and therefore a totally decent and sensible thing to do. Transforming the mechanisms and means to enable an acquisition of English is urgently required. We need to value our new citizens and potential new citizens as people rather than commodities and as people in relationships rather than automatons who have ticked the boxes for the strange interrogation known as the Citizenship Test.
>
> Above all, we need humility in the face of the construction of language which is the product of human ingenuity and experience for generations upon generations and which is still brimming with vitality today. We must protect the endangered language and love the languages which enable communication across cultural divides. To employ brutalism and crude, simplistic understandings to the issues of language, migration and cohesion is not only counter-productive, it undermines the cultural soul of the whole community (ibid.).

In "English language teaching for migrants and refugees", David Mallows (8th May 2013), a language teacher and teacher educator at the Institute of Education, University of London, presents a collection of academic essays by experts on English language teaching for migrants and refugees, *Innovations in English language teaching for migrants and refugees* (2012). Highlighting the crucial importance of teaching English to newcomers to Britain, he takes into consideration the diversity of reasons for migrating and the variety of background education and learning necessities for the two basic targets of adults and children:

> Migrants and refugees come from very different geographical areas, and have left their home countries for very different reasons. They may have come to the UK to join a spouse, to seek job

opportunities or to flee violence and persecution. They will have had very different experiences of education: some will have had no formal schooling, and others will have studied to a high level and hold relevant academic and professional qualifications. Some will join settled communities, while others will be living in isolation (Mallows, 2013).

Mallows' analysis and conclusions can be easily applied to the educational use of English as a *lingua franca* as a cross-cultural and intercultural bridge in the EU today. Thus, if learning the dominant language opens adults' "[…] doors to social acceptance, economic security and cultural understanding", English learning is, for children, "[…] the key to social and academic success at school" (ibid.). He also refers to the variegated multilingualism of London—more than 300 languages spoken and more than half the children in inner London schools now thought to speak a language other than English at home—(ibid.), suggestive of the ethno-cultural melting pot in EU primary and secondary schools today.

The different needs and expectations of adults and children imply, then, a strategic distinction between the two categories in the wide area of English Language Teaching (ELT): English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), corresponding to English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in countries where English is not the home language of the majority of the adult population, and children-directed English as an Additional Language (EAL), which Mallows describes as "[…] more heavily context-dependent, […] more implicated in the social and economic realities of the host country […] primarily public sector-funded, and […] thus integrated with and influenced by other related education services and wider government agendas" (ibid.).

Ultimately, in line with representative research findings, Mallows lays emphasis on the opportunity for British society to look at linguistic diversity as a "[…] valuable economic and social resource" (ibid.), instead of a social burden, to harness migrant children's languages and cultural heritage and thus increase their confidence, knowledge and understanding: "Supporting children in developing their language, and particularly literacy skills in their home languages, plays a key role in their success at school—and for adult learners it is equally important" (ibid.).

6.10 English as a *lingua franca* in a migrant European Union context after Brexit. Building an intercultural bridge

In her contribution to Holmes and Dervin's recent collection, "Lingua Francas in a World of Migrations" (2016), Karen Risager analyses the implications of using *lingua franca* communication as a cultural and intercultural bridge in a world of migrations. Focusing on English as a *lingua franca*, she observes that it fully embodies, today, the transnational and transcultural dimension of language via mobility and migration across most world countries. Positing that "[…] all language teaching must transcend the traditional national paradigm of one nation, one language, one culture" (48)—outdated and unreal heritage of a colonial and post-colonial past—, she sets the example of Danish as a *lingua franca* to stress that linguistic flows and transnational mobility, such as tourism, occupation, educational purposes, regular and irregular migration, require a different perspective, both in communication and in the teaching and learning of language (33-35). She states that multilingual and multicultural fluidity across national borders and continents embraces "[…] all age groups, all social groups and most professions, and it also concerns a large number of languages (47).

Visibly, today not only big cities and commercial hubs, but also the provinces of most countries have immigrants and residents from many different parts of the world, with a melting pot of languages and cultural heritage. *Lingua franca* studies, and particularly ELF studies, should look into such multifarious forms of communication resulting from migration. One indisputable fact is that "Lingua franca communication is not culturally neutral; on the contrary, all languages carry linguaculture (culture in language) and all human beings develop their own linguacultural profiles" (ibid.). Thus, *lingua franca* communication is linguaculturally quite diverse. Risager distinguishes between lingua culture and discourse, which flows from language to language, across topics, texts and media, via translation and other forms of transformation (42-44). Consistently, conscientious language teaching aiming at training students to take part in *lingua franca* communication should overcome the national dogma of institutions and discourses of "one language, one nation, one culture" that seem to surface again these days. Risager maintains that "Other more transnationally oriented goals are becoming more important, for example,

global citizenship and critical awareness of cultural and linguistic complexity" (47-48), which are also relevant to other languages. Other overarching goals in the cultural and intercultural learning and teaching of ELF stand out from Risager's discussion and seem to qualify our multilingual and multicultural EU scenarios: multilingual and multicultural awareness, critical intercultural citizenship and education of the world citizen. Presumably, the nature and scope of such objectives, concerning the use and teaching/learning of *lingua franca*, could work as an effective long-term counter to the current waves of nation-state minded wall building.

A case in point of the versatile potentiality of ELF is its applicability to the Greek context as outlined by Fay, Sifakis and Lytra (2016) in another chapter of the quoted collection: "Interculturalities of English as a Lingua Franca: International Communication and Multicultural Awareness in the Greek Context". The authors first emphasize the necessity to focus on the relevance of cultural and intercultural aspects in the use and teaching/learning of ELF rather than the much-debated linguistic aspects, i.e. phonology, lexis, lexico-grammar and pragmatics, of the global medium (Fay, Sifakis & Lytra, 2016: 50). They call attention to the fact that the intercultural focus already underlay the discussion of English's function in international scientific debate during the late 1950s, citing Hoyle's report on English use at an international conference on astronomy in *The Observer* in 1958. There the astronomer voiced the thorny distinction between native scientists' use—with a "far-wider range of vocabulary, syntax, and idiom, and […] free access to a wealth of allusion, of quotations and sayings that a native speaker would resort to without thinking (cited by Close, 1981: 7)"—and the functional international use of non-British and non-American English speakers (Fay, Sifakis & Lytra, 2016: 50-51). The divide, with important pedagogic implications, is reminiscent of Kirkpatrick's threefold distinction between communication, identity and culture in the use of language, and the communication/identity continuum of the language functions, which are seen as complementary. Indeed, in view of ELF interaction by diverse multicultural interactants in transnational settings and participation in transnational networks, the use of the language as a *lingua franca* can be placed right in the middle of Kirkpatrick's continuum, that which maximizes intelligibility by standard or educated varieties, but also indexes an ever-

provisional and situational variety of cultural and intercultural identities (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 10-13). The variety of terminology dealt with by Fay *et al.* (2016) and other scholars—English as an International Language, English as a Global Language, English as a *lingua franca*, English for Intercultural Communication and World Englishes—highlights the international and intercultural salience and implications of using and teaching ELF in our mobile and multi-layered multicultural society. This is epitomized by the fast-changing sociocultural scenario of Greece. The authors write that "From the 1970s onwards, Greece has seen the arrival of repatriated Greeks from Europe, the US, Canada and Australia as well as immigrants from different countries of origin" (59). This social turnabout, which has changed a migrant-sending country into a migrant-receiving one, parallels that of Italy over the last decades of the past century and onwards. The arrival of migrants and refugees, in particular, brings dramatically to the fore the weaknesses of many state-members' educational systems and the need for a cross-cultural and intercultural dimension of language education in the EU.

In the late 1990s the Greek Ministry of Education introduced intercultural education (*διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση*) and intercultural schools (*διαπολιτισμικά σχολεία*) to face up to the new challenges and provide a new intercultural curriculum for "[…] young people with special educational, social and cultural needs"(Law 2413/17-6-96. Article 34). The purpose was to further *πολυπολιτισμικότητα*, i.e. multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue and the development of intercultural competence among "[…] all pupils and teachers, regardless of their cultural backgrounds and identities […]"(Androussou, 1996). This new intercultural discourse took stock of the social and cultural diversity of Greek society "[…] in terms of pupils' and teachers' language, gender, religion, culture and socio-economic backgrounds […]" (Fay *et al.*, 2016: 60) but clashed with the mainstream monolingual and monocultural "[…] ideology of Greek education which emphasises Greek language learning to the detriment of minority and immigrant languages and cultures" (Gogonas, 2010; Lytra, 2007. In Fay *et al.*, 2016: 60). The three authors stigmatize the real-world outcomes of Greek intercultural schools that "[…] remain by and large a marginal phenomenon in Greek education […]" since they are "[…] confined almost exclusively to specific pupil populations that are perceived as chronically underachieving: children of Roma heritage, of repatriated Greeks and of other immigrant groups" (ibid.). The result appears outstandingly common to many present-day European educational contexts:

"Many majority-Greek parents shy away from enrolling their children in schools with a high percentage of 'foreign' pupils" (ibid.). As in other European countries, the upshot is educational and sociocultural marginalization in a dramatic conflict between rhetoric and the real classroom: "This not only leads to further ghettoisation and marginalisation of these pupils in state education, it also exemplifies the dissonance between intercultural education rhetoric and actual educational practice" (ibid.). Neither did, in the late 1990s, the discourse of multiculturalism in Greek society effectively succeed in destabilizing "[…] the dominant discourse of cultural homogeneity by endorsing cultural diversity within the nation-state […]" through alternative definitions of "Greekness" (Angelopoulos, 2000). The impending danger, in fact, has been "[…] to slip into exoticisation and folkorisation of the 'Other' and his/her cultural practices […]" (ibid.) or, as put by Colin Baker (2011), a kind of shallow and factitious "'**ethnic approach**',[29] focusing on history, traditions, customs and cultural artefacts in a way that may portray them as '**quaint**', '**archaic**' or '**strange**'",[30] in other terms, "[…] spectacles for gawking tourists rather than as part of real life, contemporary living cultures" (414). The intercultural dimension of ELF and post-TEFL English language education is thus set against the "boutique multiculturalism" (Fish, 1997: 378-379, reported in Yiakoumaki, 2007: 146) of current Greek discourses of interculturalism but, more conspicuously, it reminds us of the apparent lack of a coherent and credible EU-wide educational policy in the EU's controversial political status quo.

6.11 The European Union's language support framework for the education and integration of children and adolescents from a migrant background

Various extracts from conventions, recommendations, resolutions and reports on the education and integration of children and adolescents from a migrant background were compiled and published by the Language Policy Unit of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg,

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[29] Author's emphases.
[30] Emphasis added.

in 2013. They all affirm the rights of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance being entitled, "[…] on the same basis and under the same conditions as national workers, to general education and vocation training and retraining […]" as well as to "[…] access to higher education according to the general regulations governing admission to respective institutions in the receiving State" ("European Convention on the Legal status of Migrant Workers", 24th November 1977. Article 14.1: 6). Dealing with the effective exercise of these rights, Article 19 of the European Social Charter revised, ECT 163, 3rd May 1996, states that the governments of the member States of the Council of Europe signatory to the Charter undertake

> 11. to promote and facilitate the teaching of the national language of the receiving state or, if there are several, one of these languages, to migrant workers and members of their families;
>
> 12. to promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker (Article 19 of the European Social Charter revised, ECT 163, 3rd May 1996).

As regards the key issue of the training of teachers for intercultural understanding in a context of migration, in Recommendation No. R (84) 18, the Committee of Ministers gives an accurate account of the educational background of European schools with its growing migrant population:

> The Committee of Ministers,
>
> […]
>
> 6. Considering that flourishing relations in all fields require a fuller understanding of the cultures and ways of life of other peoples as well as, in the event of their common cultural heritage;
>
> 7. Considering that the presence in schools in Europe of millions of children from foreign cultural communities constitutes a source of enrichment and a major medium- and long-term asset, provided that education policies are geared to fostering open-mindedness and an understanding of cultural differences;
>
> 8. Considering the essential role of teachers in helping such pupils to integrate into school and society, as well as in developing mutual understanding;

10. Considering that, in order to fulfil this task, the training given to teachers should equip them to adopt an intercultural approach and be based on an awareness of the enrichment constituted by intercultural understanding and of the value and originality of each culture;

12. Considering, too, that teachers issuing from migrant populations are particularly suited to creating with their pupils an educational process which takes account of the interaction of the features of their cultures of origin and of their host *milieu* [EU Council's Recommendation No. R (84) 18].

Consistently, the Council of Europe recommends that the governments of member States:

1. make the intercultural dimension and the understanding between different communities a feature of initial and in-service teacher training, and in particular:

1.1 train teachers in such a way that they:

- become aware of the various forms of cultural expression present in their own national cultures, and in migrant communities;

- recognise that ethnocentric attitudes and stereotyping can damage individuals, and therefore, make an attempt to counteract their influence;

- realise that they too should become agents of a process of cultural exchange and develop and use strategies for approaching, understanding and giving due consideration to other cultures as well as educating their pupils to give due consideration to them;

[…]

2. encourage the development and use of appropriate materials to support the intercultural approach in the training of teachers and in school in order to give a "truer" image of the different cultures of their pupils;

[…]

4. where appropriate, encourage the holding of national and international seminars and courses on the intercultural approach to education for teachers, teacher trainers, administrators and other persons involved in teacher-training, including welfare and labour officers who have close professional relations with migrant families (ibid.).

Appendix to Recommendation No. R (98) 6 concerning Modern Languages urges that bilingual education policies be adopted in bilingual or multilingual areas to "develop learners' respect for other ways of life and equip them for an intercultural world, in particular through direct links and exchanges and through personal experience" (1.2), ensuring that "[…] there is parity of esteem between all the languages and cultures involved so that children in each community may have the opportunity to develop oracy and literacy in the language of their own community as well as to learn to understand and appreciate the language and culture of the other" (22.2). All this also entails promoting the specification of objectives and assessment for the "[…] recognition of plurilingual competences which take into account the considerable diversity of needs, paying particular attention to the definition of objectives for partial competences and the assessment of their attainment" (29).

In Recommendation 786 (1976) on the education and cultural development of migrants, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe reasserts the intercultural contribution of migrants' cultures, though with some qualifications concerning the successful implementation of intercultural policies:

The Assembly:

[…]

2. Convinced that a variety of cultures can be a source of mutual enrichment for the societies concerned, but fearing that the educational and cultural difficulties encountered by migrants may aggravate the social problems;

3. Believing that migrants contribute to the unification of Europe, but that improved information is needed in order to dissipate misunderstanding and prejudice, both in the host countries and in the emigration countries;

[…]

12. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers:
a. invite member governments to implement with greater vigour the texts adopted in the Council of Europe concerning migrants, especially Resolution (70) 35, on school education for the children of migrant workers;
[…] (EU Council's Recommendation 786).

A more precise definition, to this effect, is found in Recommendation 1093 (1989) on the education of migrants' children:

the Assembly

[…]

9. Affirming that intercultural education is the only way of making use of the valuable asset represented by the presence of young migrants in schools;

10. Pointing out that the aim of intercultural education is to prepare all children, indigenous and migrant, to life in the pluricultural society;

12. Considering that the success of an intercultural policy depends to a large extent on a teacher training policy centred on the intercultural approach;

13. Underlining the need to create in each country the preconditions for all social groups to participate actively in the social, economic, cultural and collective life of the society;

[…]

16. Recommends that the Committee of Ministers:

[…]

b. strengthen the research programmes and educational innovations that aim at the implementation of intercultural education for all children, in all sectors of the educational system;

c. promote, within the context of intercultural education, activities including modern techniques in the field of teacher training;

d. encourage educational exchanges at all levels of education and the setting up of a relationship between schools and migrant families;

[…] (EU Council's Recommendation 1093).

Finally, Resolution 129 (19th-21st October 1982) on the education of migrant workers' children makes further recommendations on improving migrant parents' motivation and effecting a more concrete inclusion of migrant children and adolescents. Hence the Conference asks the relevant authorities in the member States

[…]

16. to ensure that children of primary school age are put into mixed classes as early as possible and do not remain for long in classes composed of foreign pupils with the same mother tongue;

17. to recognise the mother tongue of foreign children as a first foreign language or at any rate as an optional subject within secondary education;

18. to ensure that teaching aids in the mother tongue of migrant children are geared towards the actual situation of the migrant families;

19. to make provision for supplementary language classes within the framework of vocational training, particularly with a view to facilitating the access of late-comers to society in the host country;

[…]

Calls on national governments:

23. to decentralise educational policy with regard to migrants as far as possible, with national or regional regulation laying down only the broad outlines of the allocation of resources and the detailed working out of policy taking place at local level in the light of the specific local situation (EU Council's Resolution 129).

"Language Support for Youth with a Migrant Background", published on *Sirius* by H. Siarova and M.A. Essomba in November 2014, gives a concise overview of language support policies available to immigrant students in Europe, identifying implementation gaps, focusing on key points and good practice examples and envisaging "[…] the possibility of multiple solutions to the linguistic needs of immigrant students" (1).

The brief highlights the importance of immigrant students' proficiency in their main host-country language of instruction and that such proficiency, crucial to their academic performance, may serve as a proxy for their level of integration. In fact, as it still often happens in many European schools, lacking comprehension "[…] may leave them feeling stressed, anxious or bored […]" or even "[…] lead to behavioural problems and failure at school" (ibid.). In order to prevent this, schools should provide sufficient support for these students to learn and master the language of instruction and it is important "[…] that

teachers should be given adequate training to best address students' linguistic needs (ibid.). At the same time the brief lays stress on policies that encourage the continued use of immigrants' mother tongue to "[…] help students learn the host country language and potentially enrich the education system by introducing linguistic and learning diversity" (2). In reality, most current language programmes are only aimed at enabling students to manage the host-country language. Ignoring or marginalizing heritage language and culture backgrounds may thus lead to their attrition and loss. The immediate response to this is, as suggested, to implement forms of additional bilingualism, especially dual language and immersion courses, but as the authors observe, bilingual education is not often available and "It is a challenge to prepare suitable programmes and train an adequate number of qualified teachers to meet the needs of what, in many countries, is a tremendously diverse student body […]" (ibid.). We could pick out, with Siarova and Essomba, five determining factors in effective language support given by schools, as put in practice by stakeholders in Europe:

1. Doing a painstaking initial assessment of immigrant children's language skills upon their entrance into the education system.

2. Setting up language induction programmes or, more adequately, a tailored support in a mainstream classroom to provide students with "[…] a smooth transition into the regular classroom […]". The latter instrument, however, appears "[…] more costly than separating all immigrant students into one class and providing them with intensive language instruction for one or two years, or until they are proficient enough to join mainstream students" (3).

3. Ensuring continuous language support, when one or two years of intensive language training is not enough for a migrant child to cope with and successfully manage the host-country academic language, acquire adequate knowledge in other subjects and thus be fully integrated.

4. Imparting appropriate training to all teachers, both subject and language teachers, in their daily intercultural work with immigrant children. Along these lines, it is essential to coordinate instruction in academic subjects and specialized host-language teaching and so avoid delays in academic learning as a result of low language proficiency.

5. Encouraging and supporting migrant children in learning their heritage language through a number of measures, e.g. "[…] separate language classes, optional language courses, and extracurricular activities organized by schools, embassies, or communities" (ibid.).

The brief focuses on the various existing gaps in the implementation of good practices too. The authors hold that, in spite of findings and policy suggestions, "[…] there is no blueprint for what ideal language support might look like" (4). As uncovered in the SIRIUS reports from 2012 and 2013—particularly a SIRIUS thematic workshop on language support—, such "[…] support for learning the national language(s) is available in all countries, but instruction quality varies and is often insufficient" (ibid.). On the other hand, mother-tongue instruction turned out to be "[…] lacking in many cases, often because of financial restrictions or simply because the benefits were not understood" (ibid.). What lacks is, therefore, a comprehensive approach to the achievement of good practices well beyond compensatory measures, by correcting other policy factors and enhancing coordination and cooperation across stakeholders (5).

Siarova and Essomba sum up the current situation of language provision in Europe in the following points:[31]

1. Research and practice confirm that one or two years of targeted, introductory language classes as offered in most countries are not enough. Using appropriate initial assessment tests would enable to gear host-language instruction towards children's diversified needs.
2. Most countries recognize the importance of training instructors to teach the host language as a second language but do not always provide such training in a structured and effective manner. Often, the training is optional and occupies teachers' free time, which reduces teachers' willing participation.
3. Supporting use of immigrants' mother tongue is sporadic and not funded by the state across Europe.
4. There is a general lack of governmental as well as professional and knowledge support for schools to organize immigrant children's education effectively (4-5).

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[31] Based on MPG, *Analysis of EU integration indicators*; PPMI, *The study on educational support to newly arrived migrant children*; Köhler, *Comparative report.*

In particular, participants in the 2013 SIRIUS thematic workshop noted additional weaknesses in language support practices as reported in box 4:

a. Lack of good monitoring and evaluation policies.

b. Need to professionalize all stakeholders' activities, especially through seminars for immigrant and native parents and policy makers on the importance of diversity and effective language support.

c. Lack of developed training strategy for enhancing teachers' inter-comprehension, attitudes and perceptions.

d. Low degree of parental and community involvement into language education (3).

Therefore, the main point of the document is to emphasize the need to situate and customize intercultural educational policies in view of the specific needs of immigrant students in each context, since "Good practice in one country may not necessarily work well in a different country context and system" (5). An example of this call for adaptability is the undertaking of short-term measures such as the distribution of migrant pupils evenly across schools as such dispersal policies may not work effectively "[…] in countries with a free school choice system, in which parents are free to withdraw their children from 'undesirable schools'" (ibid.).

Practice examples from EU member states are extremely diverse. In many of them, immigrant children are simply dispersed and mainstreamed in native-speaker classes. In Italy, for example, this takes place in the main, even when the migrant attendance exceeds the number of native children in the primary school classrooms of several northern areas.

Citing a number of good practices across the EU, the brief mentions migrant students' mother-tongue tuition in separate or schedule-integrated classes with mother-tongue instructors in Austria, the strategic support, in German schools, of parents' and mentoring organizations as cultural brokers between students and teachers to "[…] help young immigrant pupils overcome cultural challenges and develop their personal skills in and outside school", parents' participation in classroom instruction in Catalonia, and the use of methodology for teaching French based on the structures and syntax of the student's heritage language in France (4). The standards of language support and implied state-and local funding are much higher in Denmark and Sweden, where immigration appears to be

felt more as constructive evolution in history and demography than as havoc. Danish education has a complex system of continuous language support for immigrant pupils all through their school career, from early-childhood assessment to various forms of language stimulation and supplementary instruction in Danish as a second language, with qualified teachers, in primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 2011, *Folkeskole* in Danish). A similar example of good practice is set by Sweden, where students with a mother tongue other than Swedish have the right to receive instruction in that language. The brief chart details that the subject of mother-tongue studies (*modersmålsundervisning*) has its own separate syllabus and "[…] covers the literature, history, and culture of students' country of origin". What is especially noteworthy in these global times of cuts in education expenditure is the fact that schools in Sweden are obliged to organize mother-tongue instruction "[…] if at least five eligible students apply and if a suitable teacher can be located with sufficient skills in both Swedish and the other language" (Siarova & Essomba, 2014: 4).

Considering the extreme diversity and mutability of the educational scenario in Europe, we could finally agree with the Policy Recommendations (Box 6) about the following:

1. Policies for effective language support as well as the approaches to be developed are multiple and that implementation goals have to be flexibly adapted to the peculiarities and needs of each context.

2. Accordingly, continuous language support and mother-tongue instruction need to be made feasible for each country and geared to the specific political and economic context.

3. There should be greater emphasis on the crucial role of parents and community in seeking "[…] to quickly include the children of immigrants in mainstream classrooms and activities, and integrate them into society" (5).

4. The whole learning community—policymakers, teachers, pupils and parents, but also school staff and communities— need to be better professionalized along the lines of lifelong inclusive intercultural education.

In conclusion, stressing that "Cooperation in setting educational policy for the provision of language support is critical to immigrant students' success" (6), member states

should learn from one another, especially from the effective policy implementation of bilingualism and multilingualism, to gear practices to specific local challenges. Thus, building solid intercultural foundations throughout the EU would also mean "[…] to share and network across borders […]", well beyond a nation-state centred outlook, seeing that "[…] the growing diversity of the European Union provides tremendous opportunity for intercultural learning that promises to support all students' academic success—and prepare them for a globalised world" (6).

6.12 Migrant children and adolescents' plurilingual and intercultural education. A cultural asset to the European Union

In a concept paper published in November 2010, "The linguistic and educational integration of children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds", the Council of Europe reports on Recommendation CM/Rec (2008) 4 of the Committee of Ministers being

> […] specifically concerned with the social, employment and other disadvantages that accrue to migrant children and adolescents who do not develop adequate proficiency in a/the language of the host society. It invites the governments of member states to

> *… introduce into their policy and practice measures to improve the integration of newly-arrived children of migrants into the educational system, provide children of migrants with adequate language skills at a preschool level, prepare children of migrants and of immigrant background approaching school-leaving age for a successful transition from school to the labour market, and overcome the difficulties faced by these children living in segregated areas and disadvantaged areas* (EU Council's Concept Paper, 2010: 6).[32]

A few years earlier, the project "Languages in Education/Languages for Education" (LE), launched by The Council of Europe Language Policy Division (Warsaw, May 2005) had been aimed at furthering

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[32] Authors' italics.

[…] social cohesion and intercultural dialogue by promoting plurilingual and intercultural education, which is based on the recognition that all languages and cultures present in the school have an active role to play in providing a quality education for all learners. Particularly concerned to foster the development of effective skills and competences in the language(s) of schooling, it is thus committed to addressing the needs of those for whom the language of schooling poses problems or is not the language they use at home (EU Council's Concept Paper 2010: 8).

An important distinction made by the Council of Europe is between

[…] *plurilingual individuals*,[33] who are capable of communicating in two or more languages, at whatever level of proficiency, and *multilingual regions or societies*,[34] where two or more language varieties are in use" (ibid.). This distinction is important because plurilingual individuals may live in overwhelmingly monolingual societies, and multilingual societies may be made up of mostly monolingual individuals (ibid.).

Referring to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (22nd February 2001), the Council sets out that "[…] language education should aim to provide learners with plurilingual and intercultural competence, understood as "[…] the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures*"* (168). The concept of plurilingualism and its multiple implications for the cross-cultural and intercultural identity of the European citizen are further expounded in the Council of Europe's guide to the development of language education policies:

The ability to use different languages, whatever degree of competence they have in each of them, is common to all speakers. And it is the responsibility of education systems to make all Europeans

[33] Authors' italics.
[34] Authors' italics.

aware of the nature of this ability, which is developed to a greater or lesser extent according to individuals and contexts, to highlight its value, and to develop it in early years of schooling and throughout life. Plurilingualism forms the basis of communication in Europe, but above all, of positive acceptance, a prerequisite for maintaining linguistic diversity. The experience of plurilingualism also provides all European citizens with one of the most immediate opportunities in which to actually experience Europe in all its diversity. Policies which are not limited to managing language diversity but which adopt plurilingualism as a goal may also provide a more concrete basis for democratic citizenship in Europe: it is not so much mastery of a particular language or languages which characterises European citizens (and the citizens of many other political and cultural entities) as a plurilingual, pluricultural competence which ensures communication, and above all, results in respect for each language (EU Council, 2007: 10).

6.13 Providing education as a basic human right to forcibly displaced people

A key paper, "No more excuses: Provide education to all forcibly displaced people", jointly released by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the Global Education Monitoring Report in May 2016, in advance of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, presents salient data and overarching conclusions on the large-scale challenges and shortcomings in the provision of educational opportunities for internally displaced (IDP), asylum-seeking and refugee children and youth. It calls for countries and their humanitarian and development partners to urgently adopt flexible and far-sighted policies for including these categories "[…] in national education plans and collect better data to monitor their situation" (No more excuses: Provide education to all forcibly displaced people. Policy Paper 26, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], May 2016: 1). Apparently, the swarming influx of migrants into the EU via the southern member states and the employment and financial straits over the past decade have foregrounded the demographic impact of migration on the host communities and understated, or utterly obscured, the critical fallout of conflict on the present and future of these children and adolescents, as vocalized by Malala Yousafzai:

Malala Yousafzai, Student, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and Co-Founder of the Malala Fund

No child should have to pay the cost of war, to be kept away from the classroom because of conflict. Yet whole generations of refugee children from countries like Syria, Afghanistan, Palestine and South Sudan have had to leave their homes and schools. But they do not leave their dreams of a better future for themselves and their countries, a future only possible through education.

It is unacceptable that just half of refugee children have access to primary education and one quarter have access to secondary education. It is unacceptable that girls are nearly always the first to miss out. Education is every child's basic human right.

Dreams should not end because of conflict. Futures should not be put on hold because of war. There is no tomorrow for countries affected by conflict unless their children learn today, and not just the basics, but an education that gives them the tools and skills they need to fly.

World leaders have promised to provide every child with a full 12 years of education by 2030. Young people displaced by war are not the exception. Humanity should know no borders. There are solutions, as this paper shows, but the world must come together and make good on its promises. We know what we have to do (No more excuses: Provide education to all forcibly displaced people: 1).

The policy paper reveals that "Almost 60 million people were in forced displacement in 2015, the highest number since 1945 (UNHCR, 2015a). These include internally displaced people (IDP), asylum seekers and refugees, a small percentage of whom are resettled" (UNHCR, May 2016: 2) and that "[…] refugee children are five times more likely to be out of school than non-refugees" (3). Considering that the complex educational needs are being neglected and the future of entire generations is at risk, as only 50% of children are in primary school and only 25% of adolescents are in secondary school among refugees, (ibid.) the authors single out three key educational objectives:

[…] Access to quality education should be provided to all internally displaced and refugee children and youth from the onset of an emergency and into long-term displacement.

Countries and their humanitarian and development partners must urgently ensure that internally displaced, asylum seeking and refugee children and youth are included in national education plans, and collect better data to monitor their situation.

Financial resources need to be carefully channelled to ensure good quality education for forcibly displaced people. As well as widening access to formal education through inclusion of refugees in national education systems, these resources should be used to enable accelerated and flexible forms of education, provide trained teachers, and ensure that appropriate curricula and teaching languages are used (2).

Even more importantly, the paper details the multiple individual and societal benefits of education and the perils from a lack of it to displaced children and youth:

[…] by simply being in school, they are better protected from trafficking, illegal adoption, child marriage, sexual exploitation and forced labour — both immediately after displacement and long term. Education also builds knowledge and skills for self-reliance and resilience. It can also contribute to peace and security and mitigate factors that led to conflict and displacement in the first place (ibid.).

The report illustrates the wide diversity of groups, geo-political contexts and situated necessities. It touches, significantly, on the loss of opportunities for schooling and ensuing marginalization of refugee and internally displaced girls: "Refugee girls are less likely to finish primary education, transition into and complete secondary education. Displacement weakens children's protective environments and families can resort to coping mechanisms that disadvantage girls, including child labour and child marriage" (7). While child labour—as I myself remember—was a tolerated practice in southern Italy up to the 1980s, "In Pakistan, child marriage and teenage pregnancy are often cited as major barriers to the continuation of education for Afghan refugee girls, particularly to secondary level. Many girls are taken out of school to be married, as early as grade six. Dropout rates for refugee girls are as high as 90%" (UNHCR, 2015h. In UNHCR, May 2016: 7). A dramatic example was the worldwide-reverberating kidnapping of Nigerian girls by Boko Haram in the

north-east of Nigeria. As a result, "Girls and women, 70% of the world's internally displaced population, tend to be out of school at higher rates and have lower literacy rates than boys and men of comparable ages" (IDMC, 2014b. In UNHCR, May 2016: 7). The Council of Europe's "Action Plan on Protecting Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe" (2017-2019) published in May 2017, has pledged, in this connection, to ensure a gender sensitive approach in all its proposed and prospective undertakings: "Girls are particularly vulnerable to the risk of abuse, exploitation and harmful practices and attention will be paid to ensure that they benefit in practice from the protection provided by relevant human rights standards" (20).

Regarding the viability of policies to provide quality education to IDPs and refugees, decision makers and education providers need to meet, as mentioned, a very diverse set of challenges for these heterogeneous groups. The UNHCR paper calls for "[…] time and strong partnerships between governments and humanitarian and development agencies" (UNHCR, May 2016: 8), but also affirms that the ultimate responsibility and decision-making belongs to states. In order to streamline flexible and customized measures, governments and their partners should follow, then, four main policy directions:

1. Enshrine forcibly displaced people's rights to education in national laws and policy.
2. Strengthen and expand the national education system in order to absorb displaced children and youth.
3. Enable accelerated and flexible education options, including non-formal forms of tuition that have pathways into the formal education system, to meet diverse needs.
4. Ensure an adequate supply of trained and motivated teachers (ibid.).

The education provision for refugees, and consistent employment opportunities, already problematic in the primary and secondary levels, dramatically drops to less than 1 % of refugee youth being able to access universities (UNHCR, 2015b): "Interrupted education, learning gaps, language, confusing application procedures, lack of accreditation of local programmes, distance from education opportunities, and costs are among the challenges that need to be overcome" (UNHCR, May 2016: 10). As in any other learning

context, an adequate supply of trained and motivated teachers has to be ensured. In reality, the conditions of IDPs and refugees' teachers are critical:

> […] all too often their teachers are poorly paid and inexperienced, and work in demanding conditions with little opportunity for professional development. Governments and their partner agencies need to ensure not only that sufficient funds are available to pay teachers appropriately but also that teachers are able to advance in their careers (11).

The pivotal role of teachers—both educational and psychological— as "agents of child protection" comes to the fore in the report: "By creating a sense of normality and stability, teachers can provide a protective barrier from violence and conflict for traumatised children and youth. However, programmes are needed to prepare teachers for this role" (ibid.).

By painting a global picture of the education needs of IDPs and refugees, the document authors conclude that the needs of these vulnerable groups are complex and pose many challenges, which are often neglected, but, striking a note of hope, they also affirm that "[…] many solutions exist, and that many countries and their development partners are cooperating to pursue those solutions with determination and ingenuity" (ibid.).

The cited 2017 Council of Europe Action Plan reminds us "[…] of the precarious situation refugee and migrant children find themselves in; as well as the human rights violations they are confronted with" and that "[…] All Council of Europe member States are affected by the refugee/migration flows, either directly or indirectly, as countries of origin, transit, destination or resettlement" (5). Thus, beyond formal status distinctions, there is good reason to underwrite the basic principle that

[…] in the context of migration, children should be treated first and foremost as children. It concerns all children in migration who arrive/have arrived in the territory of any Council of Europe member State, including asylum-seeking, refugee and migrant children (ibid.).

[...]

At the same time, there are Council of Europe norms that guarantee rights to all migrant children without discrimination based on their nationality or migration status. The Action Plan takes all the above considerations on board, its guiding principle being, of course, "the best interest of the child" (6).

In close cooperation with the European Union, the United Nations, competent agencies of these organisations, as well as relevant Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other key stakeholders, the Action Plan is aimed to implement "[…] concrete actions for the benefit of refugee and migrant children, according to their rights and adapted to their specific situations" (6). Especially focused on the plight and urgent needs of unaccompanied children, the Plan sets out three fundamental objectives:

1) ensuring access to rights and child-friendly procedures;

2) providing effective protection;

3) enhancing the integration of children who would remain in Europe (ibid.).

The document proposes, in particular, immediate (2017) and further (2018-2019) action to provide operative protection for refugee and migrant children in accordance with human rights and the situated needs and status of each child:

The measures to be taken in this connection include ensuring appropriate accommodation in line with established standards (in particular for unaccompanied and separated children), prompt responses to disappearances, restoring family links, making every effort to avoid resorting to

deprivation of liberty on the sole ground of a child's migration status and protection from trafficking, sexual abuse and other forms of violence (12).

It goes without saying that these measures are ineffectual if the social inclusion of these vulnerable categories is not promoted through education and training opportunities. The plan emphasizes the carrying out of additional measures to enhance the integration of children who remain in Europe:

> Welcoming and inclusive societies should help refugee and migrant children grow up in a nurturing environment and provide them with support for their transition into adulthood. Participatory work with such children is vital to supporting their development and combating radicalisation. Integration through sport and promotion of diversity in media will help to build an inclusive society (17).

Thus, taking into account complementarity and co-operation with the European Union and the expertise of other key partners, the Action Plan proposes a variety of tools for a flexible and fully-fledged inclusion of these children in the host society. Dealing with issues that have not yet received sufficient attention by the Organisation's strategic partners, this action may incorporate, in the period 2017-2019, new strategies and actions, including practices involving the active participation of young refugees and migrants and "[…] Exchanges of good practices between community media and mainstream media to be facilitated […]" (18). Ultimately, in the face of these children's deprivation and lack of educational opportunities, the Council of Europe intends to follow up the 19th September 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and the process leading up to the adoption of two global compacts, "[…] one on refugees and one for safe, orderly and regular migration […]" (6), in 2018, which it describes as "[…] a great opportunity for improving the collective handling of migration issues worldwide" (ibid.). By the same token, "[…] the Council of Europe can provide constructive and pragmatic input […] in

order to reach concrete and operational commitments and an appropriate follow-up mechanism" (ibid.).

6.14 Working out inclusive bi/multilingualism in the European Union for the linguistic and educational integration of migrant children and adolescents

The position of migrants, the preservation of their linguacultures and their acquisition of competences in the language(s) of the host country are, as viewed, a focus for political debate and policy initiatives in a growing number of Council of Europe member states, as demonstrated by the surveys carried out to date by the Council of Europe. The integration and education of children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds are, in particular, among the most urgent challenges facing many member states from the viewpoint of social cohesion and inclusion. As stressed in the Council of Europe's "White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue. Living Together as Equals in Dignity" (7th May 2008), integration is viewed as "[…] a two-sided process and as the capacity of people to live together with full respect for the dignity of each individual, the common good, pluralism and diversity, non-violence and solidarity, as well as their ability to participate in social, cultural, economic and political life" (11). The project conducted by the Language Policy Unit on "Languages in education / Languages for education" considers these challenges to be cross-disciplinary. In order to meet them effectively, all the curricula and the varieties of linguistic and communicative competences that learners are expected to acquire in these curricula must be taken into account. Extra and Gorter (2007) underline the variety of status of immigrant languages at school across European nation-states, federal states like Germany and particular federal states within nation-states (as in Germany), whether official state languages in other European countries or not (18). Eleven years after the research work was written these languages are not yet part of mainstream education. In Great Britain, as mentioned by the two linguists, immigrant languages are not included in the national curriculum and are viewed as complimentary

education at out-of-school hours (Martin *et al.*, 2004). Extra and Gorter (2007) present the comparative findings of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP), a multiple case study on the teaching of immigrant languages carried out in six major multicultural cities across different EU nation-states, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, where Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life (Extra & Yağmur: 2004). They use the concept "community language teaching" (CLT) when referring to this type of education, rather than the concepts "mother tongue teaching" or "home language instruction", because the term encompasses "[…] a broad spectrum of potential target groups" (Extra and Gorter , 2007: 18). In their historical account,

> CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. This objective was also clearly expressed in *Directive 77/486* of the European Community, on 25 July 1977. The Directive focused on the education of the children of 'migrant workers' with the aim 'principally to facilitate their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin'. As is clear from this formulation, the Directive excluded all IM children originating from non-EU countries, although these children formed and form the large part of IM children in European primary schools
>
> [...].
>
> In the 1970s, the above argumentation for CLT was increasingly abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial signs of families remigrating to their source countries; instead, a process of family reunion and minorization came about in the target countries (ibid.).

The shift from the assumed "remigration" to actual family reunion and minorization led to a different concept of CLT:

> CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and the school environment, and to encourage school achievement in 'regular' subjects. Because such an approach tended to underestimate the importance of other dimensions, a number of countries began to emphasize the intrinsic importance of CLT from cultural, legal, or economic perspectives:
>
> ▪ from a cultural perspective, CLT can contribute to maintaining and advancing a pluriform society;

▪ from a legal perspective, CLT can meet the internationally recognized right to language development and language maintenance, in correspondence with the fact that many IM groups consider their own language as a core value of their cultural identity;

▪ from an economic perspective, CLT can lead to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented (ibid.).

Extra and Gorter (2007) report a diversified variety of crossnational data in their comparative study of nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education with two basic conclusions:

1. The higher status of CLT in secondary schools than in primary schools:

> The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the official state language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is highly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin 1994). *Within* secondary education, however, CLT must compete with 'foreign' languages that have a higher status or a longer tradition.
>
> CLT may be part of a largely centralized or decentralized educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level, and even to individual schools. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved governmental responsibilities chiefly to its federal states, with all their mutual differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 19-20).

2. A more general realization that "[…] comparative crossnational references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member-states are rare, or they focus on particular language groups" and that, in view of a […] demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies, […] more comparative applied linguistic research would be highly desirable (20).

From the report and other quoted surveys, it may be inferred that the European framework is still constrained by the idea that language policy—as all other forms of

education—is the exclusive domain of each EU nation-state, while "[…] Proposals for an overarching EU language policy were laboriously achieved and are non-committal in character" (Coulmas 1991. In Extra & Gorter, 2007: 20). Apart from the recognition of the multifarious status of official EU languages, Extra and Gorter emphasize researchers' keen interest in the various issues of bilingual education over the last two decades (Baker, 2001) and a more recent concern with local and global perspectives that go beyond bilingualism for Regional Minority (RM) groups and focus on multilingualism and multilingual education (20). This new outlook, founded on Barcelona 2002 directives on language policy (two foreign languages plus one's mother tongue), has promoted the learning and teaching of English as a third language, and set out, in this way, the acquisition of trilingualism from an early age on (Cenoz & Genesee 1998, Cenoz & Jessner 2000, Beetsma 2002, Ytsma & Hoffmann 2003). Extra and Gorter (2007) remark that "[…] the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favour of teaching IM languages" (20). They also observe the need to update the 1977 guideline of the Council of European Communities on education for 'migrant' children (Directive 77/486, dated 25 July 1977), to put it in a new and increasingly multicultural context and extend it to pupils originating from non-EU countries (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 20). Indeed, the situation of sociocultural and educational disparity portrayed is still affecting immigrant minority children in most EU member states:

> Allocating special rights to one group of minorities and denying the same rights to other groups is hard to relate to the principle of equal human rights for everyone. Besides, most of the so-called 'migrants' in EU countries have taken up the citizenship of the countries in which they live, and in many cases they belong to second or third generation groups. Against this background, there is a growing need for overarching human rights for every individual, irrespective of his/her ethnic, cultural, religious, or language background (ibid.).

Remembering what Grin (1995) voiced twenty-four years ago, it is reasonable to assume that Europe is still in great need of educational policies that take stock of minorities' language rights and the new realities of multilingualism. According to Extra

and Gorter (2007), "Processes of internationalization and globalization have brought European nation-states to the world, but they have also brought the world to European nation-states. This bipolar pattern of change has led to both convergence and divergence of multilingualism across Europe" (20). There stands out the role of English as a *lingua franca* "[…] for international communication across the borders of European nation-states at the cost of all other state languages of Europe, including French" (ibid.). The two scholars were right in anticipating that, in spite of critical linguists' objections against the hegemony of English (Phillipson 2003), this process of convergence would "[…] be enhanced by the extension of the EU in an eastward direction" and that "Within the borders of European nation-states, however, there is an increasing divergence of home languages due to large-scale processes of global migration and intergenerational minorization" (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 20). Against such a backdrop of rapid demographic change, monolingualism, traditionally predominant in primary school education, has been superseded by two simultaneous forces at play: "[…] *bottom-up* from IM parents or organizations, but also *top-down* from supra-national institutions which emphasize the increasing need for European citizens with a transnational and multicultural affinity and identity", for which multilingual competencies are considered prerequisites (ibid.).

As a matter of fact, twenty years' policy documents published by the European Commission and the Council of Europe have affirmed language diversity as an undisputed key element of the multicultural identity of Europe, "[…] a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for a united European space in which all citizens are equal (not the same) and enjoy equal rights" (Council of Europe 2000. In Extra & Gorter, 2007: 20-21). Since the milestone publication of the so-called White Book for trilingualism in 1995, "The maintenance of language diversity and the promotion of language learning and multilingualism […]" have been seen "[…] as essential elements for the improvement of communication and for the reduction of intercultural misunderstanding […]" (21), a substantive policy goal for all European citizens. Consistently, apart from their 'mother tongue', each citizen is required to learn at least two 'community languages'. The linguists single out some significant weaknesses in the legislative terminology:

[…] the concept of 'mother tongue' referred to the official languages of particular nation-states and ignored the fact that mother tongue and official state language do not coincide for many inhabitants of Europe. At the same time, the concept of 'community languages' referred to the official languages of two other EU member-states. In later European Commission documents, reference was made to one foreign language with high international prestige (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called 'neighbouring language'. The latter concept related always to neighbouring countries, never to next-door neighbours. Also UNESCO adopted the term 'multilingual education' in 1999 (General Conference Resolution 12) for reference to the use of at least three languages, i.e., the mother tongue, a regional or national language, and an international language in education (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 21).

Extra and Gorter (ibid.) remind us of the European Commission's meeting as a follow-up to the European Year of Languages: "[…] the heads of state and government of all EU member-states gathered in March 2002 in Barcelona and called upon the European Commission to take further action to promote multilingualism across Europe, in particular by the learning and teaching of at least two foreign languages from a very young age (Nikolov & Curtain, 2000)". The final Action Plan 2004-2006, published by the European Commission in 2003, was meant to

"[…] lead to an inclusive approach in which IM languages are no longer denied access to Europe's celebration of language diversity. In particular, the plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, the plea for an early start to such learning experiences, and the plea for offering a wide range of languages to choose from, open the door to such an inclusive approach. Although this may sound paradoxical, such an approach can also be advanced by accepting the role of English as *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 21).

Against this background, multilingualism was thus to be promoted at the primary school level according to the following principles reported by the two scholars:

1 In the primary school curriculum, three languages are introduced for all children:

▪ the official standard language of the particular nation-state (or in some cases a region) as a major school subject and the major language of communication for the teaching of other school subjects;

▪ English as *lingua franca* for international communication;

▪ an additional third language chosen from a variable and varied set of priority languages at the national, regional, and/or local level of the multicultural society.

2 The teaching of all these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.

3 Regular primary school reports contain information on the children's proficiency in each of these languages.

4 National working programmes are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes.

5 Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialized language schools (ibid.).

The Action Plan's twofold purpose was thus to match "[…] *bottom-up* and *top-down* pleas in Europe for multilingualism […]", its rationale profiting from "[…] large-scale and enduring experiences with the learning and teaching of English (as L1 or L2) and one *Language Other Than English* (LOTE) for all children in Victoria State, Australia" (see Extra & Yağmur 2004: 99-105. In Extra & Gorter, 2007: 21). As regards the proper time for introducing these languages in the curriculum and the contentious issue of whether and when they should be subject and/or medium of instruction, this was to be defined "[…] according to particular national, regional, or local demands" (ibid.). The Action Plan, pursuant to "[…] an overarching conceptual framework […]", was to specify priority languages "[…] in terms of both RM and IM languages[35] for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes" (21-22). One more salient realization, reported by Extra and Gorter (2007) concerns "[…] the increasing internationalization of pupil populations in European schools […]" (22). Accordingly, the new language policy introduced for all school children was meant to put aside "[…] the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and home language instruction for IM pupils" (ibid.). Language schools, in particular, are viewed by the two

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[35] Regional minority (RM) and immigrant minority (IM) languages.

scholars as possible "[…] expert centres where a variety of languages are taught, if the demand for them is low and/or spread over many schools" (ibid.), in keeping with real-world experiences abroad, notably, the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne, Australia.

Such principles and experience could then inspire educational provision for secondary school, where the teaching of more than one language is an established practice. Finetuning and adopting a new intercultural language policy, then, would mean to acknowledge "[…] multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for society at large" (ibid.). Extra and Gorter (2007) maintain that "The EU, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO could function as leading transnational agencies in promoting such concepts" (ibid.). They recall that The UNESCO *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (last update 2002) was in line with these criteria, "[…] in particular in its plea to encourage linguistic diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of several languages from the youngest age" (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 22). They also mention a "[…] feasibility study concerning the creation of a European Agency for linguistic diversity and language learning [...]" carried out by Yellow Window (2005) and offered to the European Commission". If accepted, the report would "[…] open the door for an inclusive approach towards languages respecting the diversity of all the languages used in the EU, whether 'official' state languages, regional or immigrant languages, other lesser-used languages or sign languages" (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 22). The crucial objective was, therefore, to "[...] raise awareness about the broad spectrum of languages in the EU, and encourage the learning of languages in general" (ibid.). In order to implement policy-making and thus shape the future of a multilingual and intercultural EU, the Agency "[…] would focus on providing 'status' information, serving as an input for policy makers and thus complementing the work done by the Council of Europe" (ibid.). What remains to be identified for the empirical analysis of applied linguists and sociolinguists is "[…] how the discussed actors will contribute in shaping the future of multilingual Europe" (ibid.).

6.15 Immigrant minority languages and identity. Monolingual submersion and bi/multilingualism in immigrant children's education

As observed by Extra and Gorter (2007), the two major domains in which language transmission occurs are the domestic domain and the public domain:

At home, language transmission occurs between parents and children, at school this occurs between teachers and pupils. Viewed from the perspectives of majority language *versus* minority language speakers, language transmission becomes a very different issue. In the case of majority language speakers, transmission at home and at school are commonly taken for granted: at home, parents speak this language usually with their children, and at school, this language is usually the only or major subject and medium of instruction. In the case of minority language speakers, there is usually a mismatch between the language of the home and that of the school. Whether parents in such a context continue to transmit their language to their children is strongly dependent on the degree to which these parents, or the minority group, conceive of this language as a core value of cultural identity (1).

Dealing with the delicate issue of immigrant children's education, van Lier (2004) describes a situation that has become dramatic:

In recent decades the issue of immigrant children's education has become a much-debated and fought-over issue. One case is Northern Europe, which imported an enormous amount of cheap labor from Southern European and Northern African countries in the booming 1960s. When these workers (euphemistically called 'guest workers') brought their families over, large numbers of children entered into the school systems. The schools were not prepared to deal with such large numbers of non-native speaking students, and a variety of attempts have been made over the intervening decades to deal with the issue (174).

Van Lier (2004) also accounts for the pedagogic and sociocultural effect of English-only education on dialect-speaking children. As "[…] language in the classroom is defined

in accordance with the way language is defined in society" (180), there ensue the erosion and submersion of dialect and relevant consequences in the relationship between the child's classroom and his/her family environment:

> One of the consequences is the continued received opinion of the inferiority of the dialect, and by association, its speakers. Another is that the person who wishes to succeed academically and professionally must put aside the dialect and embrace the standard (bidialectalism not being a well-understood or well-accepted phenomenon in most countries). For the children, there is now an early and persistent message, heard loudly outside the classroom and reinforced inside it, even though perhaps in kinder, gentler ways, that there is something wrong with the dialect. Immediately the child is faced with a clash of loyalties: loyalty to the goal of education, and loyalty to those she loves at home and in the neighborhood. The consequences of this clash are not at all well understood (ibid.).

Quoting May's (2001: 145) traditional three-generation language shift in the USA, i.e.

1) initial language contact leading to minority status of the historically associated language;
2) bilingualism where the original language is retained but the new language is also required;
3) recessive use of the old language, limited largely to intraethnic communication;
4) increasingly unstable bilingualism, eventually leading to monolingualism in the new language (van Lier, 2004: 177)

the Dutch scholar reports on a worrying and much faster process in the loss of dialect or heritage language as a result of monolingual assimilation:

> […] in more recent times it appears that for many immigrants in many countries, due to pressures from mainstream society and educational practices, the shift occurs in one generation, with the parents often remaining basically monolingual in the native language, and the children in effect becoming monolingual in the target language by the time they are in high school. This leads to a situation in which communication within the family breaks down and no stable cultural patterns can be established or maintained […] (ibid.).

Colin Baker (2011) foregrounds the "[…] problems of **social and emotional adjustment**[36] for mainstreamed language minority children that have connections with later drop-out rates from high school" (213). Their interpersonal, extended and conceptual self, according to Neisser's (1988: 35) scheme, i.e. their whole identity, is at risk of fragmentation and anomie: "It is not just the child's home language that is deprecated. The identity of the child, the parents, grandparents, the home, community, religion and culture appear to be deprecated, discredited and disparaged. It is not only the students' language that is denied. It also denies or denounces what they hold most sacred: self esteem, identity, relationships, roots, religion and sometimes race" (Baker, 2011: 213). In his influential book*, Suicide: A Study in Sociology,* Durkheim (1897) explains that anomie is a nurtured condition that arises more generally from a mismatch between personal or group standards and wider social standards, or from the lack of a social ethic, which produces moral deregulation and an absence of legitimate aspirations. When a majority language exerts an overpowering effect on a minority language and culture, the result is a subtractive bilingual situation. It happens to many Spanish-speaking heritage children attending all-English schools in the USA. Mc Kay's quotation from a student in a submersion classroom is telling:

> School was a nightmare. I dreaded going to school and facing my classmates and teacher. Every activity the class engaged in meant another exhibition of my incompetence. Each activity was another incidence for my peers to laugh and ridicule me with and for my teacher to stare hopelessly disappointed at me. My self-image was a serious inferiority complex. I became frustrated at not being able to do anything right. I felt like giving up the entire mess (McKay, 1988: 341).

Twelve years after Extra and Gorter's study (2007), the relevant literature on the status and use of immigrant minority languages across Europe as a result of the process of immigration and minorization appears still insufficient. In particular, there is a significant descriptive gap in terms of period and area or residence, and no thorough account beyond a typological distinction of status between immigrant minority (IM) languages as EU or non-

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[36] Author's emphasis.

EU languages, or as languages of former colonies (14). Presenting the outcomes of the cited *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP), the two linguists employed a large cross-national sample consisting of more than 160,000 pupils from public and catholic primary school, aged 6-12, and secondary school, aged 12-17 (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 14-15):

> The local language surveys have delivered a wealth of hidden evidence on the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home across European cities and nation-states. Apart from Madrid, latecomer amongst our focal cities in respect of immigration, the proportion of primary school children in whose homes other languages were used next to or instead of the mainstream language ranged per city between one third and more than a half. The total number of traced other languages ranged per city between 50 and 90; the common pattern was that few languages were often referred to by the children and that many languages were referred to only a few times (16).

The ensuing panorama is a highly multilingual home context where several languages, mainly heritage language and mainstream language, are uneventfully and effortlessly tapped by immigrant children according to the specific sociocultural and communicative situation:

> The findings show that making use of more than one language is a way of life for an increasing number of children across Europe. Mainstream and non-mainstream languages should not be conceived of in terms of competition. Rather, the data show that these languages are used as alternatives, dependent on such factors as type of context or interlocutor. The data make also clear that the use of other languages at home does not occur at the cost of competence in the mainstream language. Many children who addressed their parents in another language reported to be dominant in the mainstream language.
>
> Amongst the major 20 languages in the participating cities, 10 languages are of European origin and 10 are not (ibid.).

The survey also casts light on the common assumptions about language diversity in Europe and the *de facto* predominance of English as a *lingua franca*:

These findings show that the traditional concept of language diversity in Europe should be reconsidered and extended. The outcomes of the local language surveys also demonstrate the high status of English amongst primary school children across Europe. Its intrusion in the children's homes is apparent from the position of English in the top-5 of non-national languages referred to by the children in all participating cities. This outcome cannot be explained as an effect of migration and minorization only. The children's reference to English also derives from the status of English as the international language of power and prestige. English has become the dominant *lingua franca* for cross-national communication across Europe. Moreover, children have access to English through a variety of media, and English is commonly taught in particular grades at primary schools. In addition, children in all participating cities expressed a desire to learn a variety of languages that are not taught at school (ibid.).

Once more, the findings confirm the widely-documented sociocultural and work-related benefits of multilingualism:

The outcomes of the local language surveys also show that children who took part in instruction in particular languages at school reported higher levels of literacy in these languages than children who did not take part in such instruction. Both the reported reading proficiency and the reported writing proficiency profited strongly from language instruction. The differences between participants and non-participants in language instruction were significant for both forms of literacy skills and for all the 20 language groups. In this domain in particular, the added value of language instruction for language maintenance and development is clear (17).

6.16 The chief role of context. Four crucial instruments for empowerment

A set of sociocultural parameters including community and school liaison, power and status differential needs to be accounted for and assessed in minority student education.

Power relationships, in particular, are a focus for understanding the position and interventions needed for language minority students. Power relationships vary considerably along a continuum from coercion to collaboration: "Where dominant-subordinate role

expectations and relationships are found, culturally diverse students will typically be denied their identity and home language" (Cummins, 1997. In Baker, 2011: 405). The opposite approach, i.e. collaboration, enables and empowers the student, fostering self-expression and intercultural identity, "[…] allocating power to the powerless" (see Cummins, 2000b. In Baker, 2011: 405). Along these lines, J. Cummins outlined the *developmental interdependence hypothesis* postulating that "[…] to the extent that instruction through a minority language is effective in developing academic proficiency in the minority language, transfer of this proficiency to the majority language will occur given adequate exposure and motivation to learn the language" (Cummins, 1986: 20). Baker (406-408) describes four different characteristics of schooling that, according to Cummins (1986, 2000b) lead to the empowerment or disablement of minority language students:

6.16.1 Incorporating minority students' home language and culture into the school curriculum

Findings have attested that excluding, minimizing, or quickly reducing the home language and culture make children academically disabled. Conversely, incorporating, supporting and giving status to the minority language has accrued pedagogic value and can increase the chances of empowerment. Apart from the debate on the potentially positive or negative cognitive effects, heritage language curricular integration is likely to impact on personality (e.g. self-esteem), attitudes and social and emotional health. Two basic questions may cast light on why heritage-language encompassing bilingual education is successful:

a. Is it so because it furthers cognitive and academic proficiency as the interdependence hypothesis suggests?

    b. Is it the result of students' cultural identity being secured and reinforced, thus augmenting self-confidence and self-esteem?

    c. or both? (Baker, 2011: 406).

The focal divergence is, in Cummins' analysis (1986), the *additive* versus the *subtractive* dimension in mainstream attitude towards minority students' language and culture: "Educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to their students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture" (25).

A clear example of discrimination against immigrant and refugee students and inequality of opportunity in terms of bilingual education is illustrated by Kanno (2008). The scholar shows "[…] the unequal access to bilingualism in Japanese education […]" (Baker, 2011: 406): on the one hand, upper-middle-class Japanese students receiving bilingual instruction in Japanese and English to boost their employment opportunities in the mother country as well as on the global market, but also to enhance their social networks and educational accomplishment; on the other, immigrant and refugee students required to learn Japanese and acquire basic academic skills, or BICS, for "[…] a modest but stable life without public assistance" (Kanno, 2008: 3). Bilingualism is viewed as a luxury these students cannot afford so assimilation is a must for these allochthonous students who either accept monolingual submersion or must leave the host country: "Either they can grow up to be monolingual Japanese speakers and become members of Japanese society, *or* they can maintain their L1 and eventually return to their own country – but not both" (178).

6.16.2 Encouraging parents and minority communities to participate in their children's education

The instrumental role of parents in their children's education is decisive. If parents have an active part in choosing their children's schooling, the empowerment of minority

communities and children is likely to follow. On the contrary, when parents have no say in children's career, inferiority and failure may ensue. One of the instruments for empowerment is parent-teacher partnership by means of reading schemes: parents listen to their children reading on a systematic basis, thus becoming agents of increased literacy. One notable example of effectual community participation cited by Cummins (1996) is set by the Pajaro Valley Family Literary Project in a rural area surrounding Watsonville, California: "Spanish-speaking parents met once a month to discuss chosen books, write and discuss poems written by their children and themselves" (Ada, 1988b. In Baker, 2011: 406). The accrued benefits regarded children and parents' "[…] pride in themselves, their growing literacy, their homes and heritage. Confidence in themselves and in the power of their own self-expression increased" (406-407). More than this, the advantage was global, as the "[…] community's language, culture, and personal experiences were validated, celebrated and empowered" (407). Of course, teachers' attitude is all-important along that cline from collaborative to exclusionary. Teachers who collaborate will "[…] encourage parents of minority languages to participate in their children's academic progress through home activities or the involvement of parents in the classroom. Teachers at the exclusionary end maintain tight boundaries between themselves and parents" (Cummins, 2000b. In Baker, 2011: 407). Along these lines, some teachers may deem collaboration with parents "[…] irrelevant, unnecessary, unprofessional, even detrimental to children's progress" (ibid.).

6.16.3 The ultimate objective of education. Promoting the inner desire for children to become active seekers of knowledge and not just passive receptacles

So what kind of learning? Cummins suggests two opposing alternatives: one is "[…] passive, dependent and requiring external pulls and pushes"; the other is "[…] active, independent, internally motivated […]" (ibid.):

1. The **transmission**[37] model of teaching, which Aída Walki would otherwise term "recitation script", (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), i.e. Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF), or expert-novice context, (Walki, 2006. In García & Baker, 2007: 206) rests on the idea of "[…] children as buckets into which knowledge is willingly or unwillingly poured and teacher-controlled 'legitimate facts' are placed in the 'bank' by students" (Cummins, 2000b. In Baker, 2011: 407). The "banking" model, with its implicit curriculum, is indicative of the powerlessness of language minority students and the established difference in power between those in control and those controlled (ibid.).

2. The **transformative**[38] model is the logical alternative to the former and requires reciprocal interaction. It is clearly connected to experiential teaching and scaffolded interaction. It involves: "[…] genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities, guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher, and the encouragement of student/student talk in a collaborative learning context […]" (ibid.), including interaction with less capable peers, or *docendo discimus*, as illustrated by Walki (2006, In García & Baker, 2007: 208). This model develops meaningful language use by students instead of correction of surface forms. Rather than factual recall following the rigid pattern of Initiation-Response-Feedback, this model promotes the development of higher-level cognitive skills. Thus, language is "[…] consciously integrated with all curricular content rather than taught as isolated subjects, and tasks are presented to students in ways that generate intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation" (Cummins, 1986: 28. In Baker, 2011: 407).

The two models, therefore, stem from divergent perspectives and aim at divergent outcomes: the transmission model brings on the disablement of minority language students, whereas the transformative model yields the empowerment of students who gain more

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[37] Emphasis added.
[38] Emphasis added.

control over their own learning and can accordingly enhance self-esteem, cooperation and motivation (ibid.).

6.16.4 From locating problems in the individual pupil to holistic assessment of minority language students

"Blaiming the victim" or seeking to find the root of problems in the social and educational system or curriculum wherever possible? It is the ever-present crux of psychological and educational tests.

Traditionally, learning problems have been located in the individual student (e.g. low IQ, low motivation, backwardness in reading) (ibid.). Educational psychologists and teachers may test a child and, in case of poor academic attainment, look for a problem. Such a testing ideology and procedure tend to overlook the real origin of the problem in the social, economic and/or educational system: "The subtractive nature of transitional bilingual education, the transmission model used in the curriculum, the exclusionary orientation of the teacher towards parents and the community and the relative economic deprivation of minority children could each or jointly be the real origin of a minority language child's problem" (ibid.).

Cummins puts forward a polar kind of assessment: **Advocacy rather than Legitimization oriented** (Cummins, 2000b. In Baker, 2011: 407).[39] Advocacy is effected when the assessor, or diagnostician, advocates for the child by critically looking into the learner's social and educational context. This may include observations on "[…] the power and status relationships between the dominant and dominated groups, at national, community, school and classroom level" (Forhan & Scheraga, 2000. In Baker, 2011: 408). Thus, empowerment becomes a key concept in improving the situations of many language minorities. It entails "[…] the process of acquiring power, or the process of transition from lack of control to the acquisition of control over one's life and immediate environment" (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991: 138). Empowerment, in other words, means the radical

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[39] Author's emphasis.

shift for minority language students from coercive relations of power in a superior/inferior paradigm to collaborative relationships through power sharing and power creating, "[…] where the identities of minorities are affirmed and voiced" (Baker, 2011: 408). Experiential immersion teaching, dual language classrooms and scaffolding instruction seem to dovetail with Cummins' ideal of collaborative creation of power and identity making: "Students whose schooling experiences reflect collaborative relations of power develop the ability, confidence and motivation to succeed academically" (Cummins, 1996: 15). Instead of being assigned a recitation script along the predictable lines of "Initiation-Response-Feedback" (IRF), students "[…] participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a secure sense of identity and the knowledge that their voices will be heard and respected in the classroom" (ibid.). Such a synergetic individual and group-related process of identity making and power sharing reminds us of Vygotsky's (1978) focus on social interaction preceding the development of knowledge and ability, and relevant "Zone of Proximal Development". Colin Baker emphasizes the fact that empowerment does not only result from education but also from a number of basic accompanying factors: "[…] legal, social, cultural and particularly economic and political events" (Baker, 2011: 408), which will necessarily sustain and facilitate the integrated educational process of empowerment. Empowerment should also include those language groups that receive minimal support and advocacy, such as Black English (Ebonics), Creole and Deaf people (ibid.).

6.17 Developing and implementing holistic curricula for intercultural plurilingual education

In September 2010 the Council of Europe published a milestone document, "Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education", based on the Language Policy Forum held in Strasbourg in February 2007, "[…] intended **to facilitate improved implementation of the values and principles of plurilingual and intercultural education in the teaching of all languages**[40] – foreign, regional or minority, classical, and languages of schooling" (Beacco *et al.*, 2010: 8). In the

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[40] Authors' emphasis.

Executive summary, the seven authors of the Language Policy Division set out the purposes of plurilingual and intercultural education, which take stock of and aim to meet the needs of pupils from migration and underprivileged socio-economic backgrounds:

> Plurilingual and intercultural education realises the universal right to quality education, covering: acquisition of competences, knowledge, dispositions and attitudes, diversity of learning experiences, and construction of individual and collective cultural identities. Its aim is to make teaching more effective, and increase the contribution it makes, both to school success for the most vulnerable learners, and to social cohesion (ibid.).

A holistic approach, then, appears especially critical to effective language education in this age of globalized migration and multicultural heterogeneity. The authors emphasize the value of plurilingual and intercultural competence as

> […] the ability to use a plural repertoire of linguistic and cultural resources to meet communication needs or interact with people from other backgrounds and contexts, and enrich that repertoire while doing so. Plurilingual competence refers to the repertoire of resources which individual learners acquire in all the languages they know or have learned, and which also relate to the cultures associated with those languages (languages of schooling, regional/minority and migration languages, modern foreign or classical languages). Intercultural competence, for its part, makes it easier to understand otherness, to make cognitive and affective connections between past and new experiences of otherness, mediate between members of two (or more) social groups and their cultures, and question the assumptions of one's own cultural group and environment (9).

A thorough discourse on plurilingual and intercultural curricula—the underlying principles behind the design and possible implementation of situated, experiential and inclusive curricula and testing measures—is not the objective of this chapter. What matters here is to point out the crucial need for the learning communities to transform existing curricula substantially, from kindergarten to university, and tune them to the multifarious sociocultural scenarios of present-day society "[…] **but without abandoning the aims of**

the previous curriculum",[41] as stressed by the Council of Europe (9). First of all, as underscored in the Council of Europe's work, it is important to distinguish between the various categories of migrants, notably, pupils from migration and pupils from underprivileged socioeconomic backgrounds:

> There is, in fact, a broad area where the two groups intersect, even though they must be distinguished, and are not covered by any one "prototypical case"; they are entitled, like others, to the learning experiences referred to above, and their syllabus must not be reduced, depriving them of skills, knowledge, and perspectives on the world from which other pupils benefit. Children from underprivileged backgrounds have needs which make it essential to expose them to all forms of expression, emphasise the relationship between variations and norms, and focus on diversity of language systems and of the rules which govern their social uses (12).

The variegated multiethnic and multicultural population attending Italian schools, for example, would require an in-depth investigation into and assessment of their socioeconomic position in the host community, linguacultural peculiarities and needs, and study-and-career expectations in order that migrant children may avoid sociocultural and linguistic (self)-segregation and the mainstream community may capitalize, instead, on their contributions to the making of learning towards an open intercultural society:

> Children with migrant backgrounds are not, for their part, a homogeneous group; indeed, they exemplify the increasing heterogeneity of school populations. Nonetheless, it should be noted that: their home languages are a resource which schools can turn to good account in educating all pupils, and not simply a barrier to success for children who speak them; the life and career plans of children in this category cannot be prejudged; and schools must also ensure that the price of integrating them within the host country's school system and community is not sudden, total severance from their first environment (ibid.).

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[41] Authors' emphasis.

The Council of Europe's document reminds us that "Isolating certain groups of school attenders, and suggesting that their education rights differ from, or are greater than, those of other groups, is inevitably problematical" (71) and that "So-called positive discrimination is not always well-regarded or accepted" (ibid.). At the same time, "[…] schools have a duty to allow for certain inequalities or special circumstances – environment, origin, living conditions or other handicaps – which make it harder for some pupils to complete their schooling successfully" (ibid.).

Although extreme heterogeneity seems to characterize both underprivileged and migrant pupils and needs, as remarked, a painstaking and conscientious analysis of linguacultural idiosyncrasies and necessities, "There is a wide area where the two coincide, since most families who migrate for economic reasons live in underprivileged environments" (ibid.). In particular, the document singles out a possible common discrepancy based on language-mediated knowledge acquisition, which reminds of van Lier (2004: 180):

> […] their ambivalent relationship with knowledge acquired at school, which they may perceive as alien and remote from the knowledge they acquire in their nearer environment - and may experience as driving a wedge between them and their family, community and culture. This may lead them to reject it psychologically, which is one reason for failure at school. This is why curricula and teaching methods must both take account of their "primary" knowledge (Beacco *et al.*, 2010: see footnote 55: 70-71).

The Council of Europe document focuses on the multiple elements of migrant children's diversity:

1. Their different geographical and cultural origins and the distinguishing features of their home countries' schooling cultures. This may especially concern pupils from traditional Muslim backgrounds and prescribed, or expected, socio-cultural gender roles.

2. Their diversified status in the host country: "[…] migrant families from EU countries are

not in the same position as, for example, illegal immigrants from Central Africa who have not been "regularised", or children whose parents were immigrants, but themselves have the nationality of the host country, or dual nationality" (72). The illogical and controversial persistence of *ius sanguinis* still bars, for instance, migrants' children born in Italy from becoming Italian citizens until they come of age.

3. The languages or language varieties they use at home, their status in the heritage countries and their proximity to the host country's standard(s).

4. The immigrant families' relationships with school, the "[…] modes and degrees of community and family literacy […]" based on the cultural origins and religious practices, which also bears on "[…] the desire to preserve and transmit their language and cultural practices […]" (ibid.).

 5. The educational background and regular, or irregular, attendance, of newly-arrived migrant children in their home country.

 6. The families' pre-arranged or prospective length of stay in the host country, often connected with the children's further schooling.

 7. The geographical, socio-cultural and linguistic situation of immigrant communities, e.g. if they live in a relatively homogeneous or heterogeneous enclave, or cohabit with native communities. A negative example, in this regard, is set by several Italian cities, where enclave segregation and/or disorganized cohabitation have aroused xenophobia and intolerance, often fuelled by politicians.

 8. The local situation of schools in a specific sociocultural scenario. The coexistence of languages and cultures, diverse in number and type, should make learning communities "[…] ideal places for inter-language contacts and intercultural relations" (73). Yet, as in the case of Messina and other Italian cities, coexistence does not necessarily lead to the host community's understanding of and concern for the cultural and linguistic heritage of migrant students.

9. The diverse availability of exogenous networking, i.e. use of modern technologies,

email, text messaging, audio-visual media, that allows families and communities, if they so wish, to keep in touch with their home language(s) and culture(s).

The document authors finally call attention to a current trend: "[…] increasing heterogeneity and mobility of school communities - which most school systems in Europe are having to accommodate (dealing with mobility, and preparing pupils for various forms of it)" (ibid.). There ensue two alternative and often conflicting pedagogic paths:

> **mainstreaming education**[42] "[…] which equips them to succeed at school and prepares them to become autonomous, responsible and active members of a given community; a full command of the official majority language - both in its school norms and genres, and in its varieties and social usages - is obviously crucial for this purpose" (ibid.).

> **intercultural plurilingual education**[43] "[…] which prepares them to be mobile, operate across frontiers and move to other cultural and language environments, and which also respects, and helps to preserve, the outside elements which mobility brings into the school" (ibid.).

The latter way is, beyond reasonable doubt, more consistent with the multifaceted mobility of the glocal village and is portrayed as "[…] transversal in principle, and variously applied in practice, […] neither restricted to specific learner groups nor rigid in its methods", (ibid.) and so profiting by, instead of submerging, the multiple context-dependent identities of the new intercultural brokers. It is worth remarking, with the document, the two risks that curricula for vulnerable groups are likely to take:

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[42] Emphasis added.
[43] Emphasis added.

3.5.3. Specific measures[44]

[…]

– isolation, compartmentalisation, special streams or separate classes, although these solutions are frequently adopted, for various reasons (habitat, purpose of schooling, etc.);

– reduced syllabuses which, by sticking to the supposed "basics", permanently deprive these pupils of competences, knowledge and windows on the world available to others (ibid.).

The various measures adopted for eschewing segregation and syllabus reduction include a number of "crucial initiatives"— "[…] staff, equipment, extra hours, more support and personal attention for pupils, additional qualifications and training for teachers, networking of schools and pooling of innovations" (73-74)— that need to "[…] be matched flexibly to contexts, often extend to the surrounding community, be linked with urban or local policy, and avoid singling out schools in any way which might stigmatise them or their pupils" (74). The Council of Europe sets out the guiding principles for producing effective intercultural curricula. Accordingly, it is essential for migrants' children and young people from underprivileged backgrounds

a) that the various competences, discourse genres, communication formats and linguistic norms required for specific subjects, at specific stages in the course and in specific contexts, be clearly and precisely indicated;

b) that cross-linking factors between these subjects, in accordance with the various categories referred to in a) be emphasised, to ensure that this "functional" aspect of education produces economies of scale, and does not lead, cumulatively, to waste, extra costs or repeated penalisation;

c) that teachers and pupils be aware of the language dimensions of any subject studied - not just with a view to speaking and writing correctly, and managing communication in the class, but also to successful knowledge-building and competence-acquisition;

d) that schools ensure that the means of learning, developing and asserting oneself as a social agent,

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[44] Authors' emphasis.

inter alia, by extending and refining one's language repertoire and competences, are available to all learner groups;

e) that young people from migrant backgrounds be given the opportunity to learn (introduction, maintenance, development) their so-called language of origin; this is one aspect of a right which covers a number of things in practice: maintenance of family ties, contacts with the country of origin, assets for a future occupation; in the case of children for whom this language is their first one, there are also psycho-linguistic arguments relating to interdependence of the level of development of the first language and acquisition of a second one (ibid.).

As concerns the final point, i.e. preservation of home languages in schools, the document recommends a number of sensible measures, "[…] formal lessons within or outside school hours, special classes, partly bilingual teaching […]" (ibid.), but finally reasserts the minimum transversal criteria of intercultural education, which many schools are still far from complying with. Hence

- these languages must not simply be ignored by schools;

- they are something schools can use to good effect in educating all pupils, and not a barrier to success for children who speak them;

- these children's plans for their own future lives and personal development cannot be prejudged, and schools - although their first duty is to accept them fully and help them to adjust to school and community   life in the host country - must also ensure that the price of achieving this is not sudden, total severance from their first environment (ibid.).

The Council lays emphasis on the EU-wide need to realize the multiplicity of linguacultural and educational experience of children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds, "[…] whether they are new arrivals or settled and resident […]" (EU Council Concept Paper, 2010: 11) for the development of policies conducive to linguistic and educational inclusion. This multiplicity is mirrored by the melting pot of European societies themselves, in their "[…] diversity of languages and types of communication, communities and social groups, religious and educational cultures, and identities" (ibid.).

The 2010 concept paper illustrates a sociocultural panorama that has deeply spread even across countries of century-old emigration. The upshot cannot add up to side-by-side tolerance and calls, as mentioned, for new policies of intercultural integration:

> These different types of plurality do not simply exist side by side. They impinge on one another in complex and often conflictual ways. They are neither transient nor circumstantial, but deeply entrenched in most European countries precisely because of migration movements, the existence of regional and ethnic minorities and – whatever its democratic virtues and beneficial effects – the advent of mass education and scientific and technological progress (Coste, Cavalli, Crisan & van den Ven, 2007: 8).

Thus, the old nation-state assumption of societal homogeneity is refuted by the *de facto* realization of a multiethnic and multicultural school population with a complex multilingual repertoire, as witnessed by the case study of a German school in Gogolin's (2002) report:

> In this school, nearly 50% of the children have a monolingual background and a German passport; they come from families with long ancestral lines in Germany. The other half represents more than 15 nationalities with about 20 different home languages. Some of the children speak more than two languages, for instance because their parents have different language backgrounds (8).

Comparatively, the German system of education may provide a working model for EU-wide interculturalism:

> For all the children in this school, plurilingualism forms an integral and important part of their daily experience. The German language plays the role of lingua franca for everybody in the school and is undoubtedly the language which is most frequently used. Nevertheless, it is anything but the only

language present. Alongside German, it has become commonplace for the children to use several other languages actively: some children count in Turkish during games, others give greetings or thanks in Italian, others know Portuguese tongue-twisters or Polish "selecting rhymes", and one swears fluently in many languages. The diversity of languages and cultural experiences is an important aspect of their daily life for all children in that school, no matter whether they themselves are mono- or plurilingual. Independent of whether or not the school pays attention to it, diversity of languages and cultural backgrounds is a common element in the socialisation of all its children. This applies not only to our case-study school or other more exceptional schools, but for all societies which include immigrants and other minorities, and that means in fact, for all European societies (8-9).

The concept paper also focuses on the numerous ways how these children and adolescents use their heritage language outside school. Basically, at one end of the continuum, an immigrant family may live in linguistic and cultural isolation from the other members of the original speech community. Hence the home language will be confined to the private sphere and children will acquire this language from their parents only. At the other end, the immigrant family interacts with the members of other families from the same country "[…] as part of a cohesive linguistic, cultural, economic and religious community" (EU Council's Concept Paper, 2010: 12):

Local shops may reinforce the culture of origin by supplying traditional food and clothes, and the language and culture of origin may be preserved, even reinforced, by cultural and/or religious organisations, which may help the children of the community to acquire literacy in their home language but also support their literacy development in the language of schooling. Satellite television, the internet, other mass media and affordable air travel may further strengthen linguistic and cultural links with the country of origin (ibid.).

Indeed, daily experience tells us about uneventful forms of bilingualism or trilingualism as immigrant children hardly ever "[…] reject the language of the school or

have a negative attitude to education and integration" (ibid.). Substantive findings attest that language shifting and/or mixing is simply and mostly effectually applied to the sociocultural situation that may occur. In some contexts of material and cultural deprivation, e.g. the Romany enclaves in suburban areas in Italy, however, children's "[…] efforts to learn may be impeded by cultural barriers, or the barriers that are created by the experience of social, religious or racial prejudice" (13).

As concerns migrant children and adolescents' parents, the Council of Europe draws attention to their "[…] linguistic repertoires and cultural capital […] and the extent to which they use the language of the host community in their daily lives - in dealing with officialdom, in the workplace, in shops and other public places, etc." (ibid.). Presumably, more than attending a language course to assist their children's integration, parents' attitude towards the host language and culture will impinge on their children's ultimate empowerment and socialization into the receiving culture. The paper distinguishes between two different cases:

a. Children who were born in the host country. In this case it is important to ask how much and what kind of exposure they had to the language of schooling before starting school. Here, too, the parents' background attitude towards the host community is crucial.

b. Children/adolescents who were not born in the host country. The paper links their schooling outcomes to a number of factors as in the following questions:

Did they attend school in their country of origin? If so, was the curriculum similar to or significantly different from the curriculum in the host country? Did they develop any proficiency in their new language of schooling in their country of origin? Was it, for example, included in their school curriculum as a foreign language? Was their educational experience disrupted, perhaps by civil unrest, and if it was, has the disruption affected their attitude to schooling? Again, the possible permutations are infinite (ibid.).

A critical variant is, in any case, the use of the home language in the family and community, which is a basic human right and has, according to all scientific evidence, as viewed, a decisive role in the child's evolution, including second-language acquisition. The concept paper zooms in on a number of strategic factors to take account of when developing policies, in accord with Council of Europe values, for the linguistic and educational integration of children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds:

> • the extent to which their home language is used by those with whom they share their daily life, inside and outside the family;
>
> • their desire (conscious or unconscious) to (i) identify more or less strongly with the host society, and (ii) maintain or abandon the connection with their language and culture of origin;
>
> • the degree and types of mastery of their home language that they developed in their country of origin, especially as regards forms of written discourse;
>
> • the extent to which they have access to social and cultural activities mediated through their home language;
>
> whether or not their home language is part of the host country's education system, as a medium of bilingual education, a school subject, or an optional extra;
>
> • whether or not their home language and its associated culture are promoted and taught by establishments legally attached to the country of origin or by cultural associations;
>
> • whether or not they have easy access to their home language and its associated culture via satellite television and the internet;
>
> • the extent to which they are inclined to reinvent their plurilingual identity at different stages of their lives (ibid.).

With reference to holistic assessment, Colin Baker's (2011) point is once more enlightening:

An **ecological approach to assessment**[45] assumes that a student is part of a complex social system, and that their behaviour cannot be understood except within its context. Thus assessment has to sample students' communication in a variety of contexts and environments, including outside the classroom. This also means collecting information about the expectations of family, friends and teachers for a child's communication. This is exemplified in the RIOT assessment procedure that **R**eviews all available information, **I**nterviews teachers, friends and family, **O**bserves a student in multiple contexts and **T**ests school and home languages (Martin, 2009. In Baker, 2011: 357).[46]

Along these lines, the Council of Europe stresses the fact that successful integrative policies have to be designed and implemented in view of "[…] the larger political, social and cultural framework" (EU Council's Concept Paper, 2010: 14). In other terms, without regard to such elements as identified in the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008), e.g. human rights, democracy, the rule of law, gender equality, intercultural dialogue and the religious dimension, specific educational measures may be effective in their immediate context, but "[…] their impact is likely to be short-lived […]" (EU Council's Concept Paper*,* 2010: 14). Finally, the concept paper offers an encompassing description of the demographic, sociocultural and pedagogic variables to consider when implementing bilingual programmes aimed at turning heritage language and culture to good account, in agreement with research findings:

Traditionally, the extent to which migrants' home languages play a role in their education has depended on three factors: the concentration of speakers of particular languages in particular schools, the availability of qualified teachers who are proficient speakers of those languages, and the general readiness of the educational system to accommodate initiatives designed to exploit and further develop migrant pupils' home language skills. In some countries immigrant communities are concentrated in particular areas and have a major impact on the ethnic, social and linguistic

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[45] Author's emphasis.
[46] Author's emphasis.

composition of school populations. In such circumstances it is in principle possible to design and implement bilingual programmes, delivering part of the curriculum in the home language and part in a/the language of the host country. The effective delivery of such programmes is likely to depend on recruiting and training teachers from the migrant communities in question. An alternative approach involves using teaching assistants from migrant communities in order to exploit pupils' home language skills in group work that is embedded in classes conducted in the main language of schooling. Arrangements of this kind cannot be put in place when immigrant communities are dispersed or schools are educating children/adolescents from a large number of different language backgrounds (16-17).

The determining role of heritage language teachers as intercultural assessors and brokers (Baker, 2011: 351; 420) is highlighted in note 39:

There are other reasons for recruiting teachers from immigrant backgrounds. Because they are "familiar with the experiences, culture and language of immigrant students [they] can serve as role models and enhance the self-confidence and motivation of immigrant students". They can also play an important role in school–home liaison (EU Council's Concept Paper, 2010: 17).

Immigrant pupils' dispersal and lack of migrant language teachers, which used to represent insurmountable obstacles to the preservation and functional use of heritage language, are made up for today by the versatile employment of multimodal resources. In so far as Cummins' interdependence hypothesis (1986) completely supersedes the subtractive/fractional notion of bilingual education, customized forms of "functional plurilingual learning" in dual-language, immersion and content-and-language-integrated classrooms can be suited, as in the current Belgian project, to the different needs of

immigrant pupils, provided that the host community establishment comes to realize the overall added value of plurilingual and intercultural education:

> But in these circumstances schools need to find ways of responding to multilingualism that go far beyond putting a few posters on the classroom wall. Increasingly, the internet is used to provide information, teaching and learning materials, and supports of various kinds and to facilitate networking. The importance of the internet as an educational resource will grow as educational systems become more intent on developing learners' multi-modal literacies, which will achieve full effectiveness only when they embrace learners' plurilingual repertoires. It is also possible, and in keeping with the principles of plurilingual and intercultural education, to encourage migrant pupils and students to use their home language when performing collaborative tasks, even when the teacher does not know that language. A Belgian project is currently training primary teachers to support "functional plurilingual learning" that makes use of pupils' plurilingual repertoires in this way. Interim findings show significant changes in teachers' attitudes; interestingly, their observations imply that they are beginning to think about their pupils' development in ways that coincide with the interdependence hypothesis. […] Finally, it is worth noting that the rapidly expanding provision of content-and-language-integrated learning programmes (in which curriculum content is taught through a language other than the principal language of schooling) offers possibilities of linguistic enrichment from which children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds should be encouraged to benefit (ibid.).

6.18 PhDs and researchers' migration. Italy's "brain drain"

So far, the issue of migration has been associated with the comparatively unskilled layers of society, e.g. Mexican migrants in the USA, Philippine domestic helpers and Chinese shop assistants in the EU, or the economically deprived refugees and internally

displaced people (IDPs). A different but equally-worth investigating type of migration has impoverished Italian society over the last decades.

Italy has a historical recurrence of external and internal economic emigration, from the mid-1800s unification up to the 1950s, as a result of post-war slump and widespread unemployment. This fact did not always entail impoverishment, considering migrants' remittances and enhanced work availability in the country. Conversely, the Italian phenomenon of "brain drain", i.e. one-way emigration of highly educated Italians—roughly a half-million young people aged 18 to 39 over the last 20 years (Paola Subacchi, "How can Italy reverse its brain drain?" *World Economic Forum*, 1st Apr 2016)—has sapped vital human and cultural resources, its possible reversal having absorbed economists, social scientists and politicians.

A number of longstanding sociocultural peculiarities explain why "The total number of Italians who emigrated in 2015 was 107,529—a 6.2 percent increase from the previous year, with 36.7 percent of those (39,410) aged between 18 and 34" (Catherine Edwards, "Brain drain: More Italians than ever are moving abroad", *The Local Italy,* 6th October 2016) and why most of these young migrants are graduates, postgraduates and highly-skilled professionals, generally unemployed or underemployed, "Discouraged by their country's bleak employment prospects and disillusioned with a government that hasn't improved their situation […]" (Lucrezia Sanes & Carlo Ladd, "Italian Brain Drain", *Brown Political Review*, 16th March, 2016). One astonishing feature is the provenance of these young multitude: not the south with its century-old sluggish economy and low employment rate, but the wealthy north:

> But latest migration figures show a sharp rise in moves from northern Italy, with Lombardy and Veneto the regions with the most emigrants. Sicily fell from second to third position, followed by Lazio, Piedmont and Emilia Romagna.
>
> This shift may seem surprising, as Lombardy is one of the wealthiest regions, consistently reporting a high GDP per capita, high rate of growth and low unemployment.
>
> However, increased employment opportunities and higher quality of life are becoming more popular reasons for moving abroad, according to Fondazione Migrantes, suggesting that even in the

wealthier regions, qualified Italians feel they could get a better deal by moving to a new country (Edwards, 6th October 2016).

In actual fact, the historical heritage of Roman nepotism has entailed, in Italy, the obnoxious persistence of "[…] a social framework in which access to jobs depends on family ties, political affiliations and *raccomandazioni* (string-pulling recommendations)", as observed by *The Economist* ("Italy's brain drain. No Italian jobs. Why Italian graduates cannot wait to emigrate", 6th Jan 2011). Sanes and Ladd vocalize that "Compared with its European neighbors, Italy has a distinct lack of meritocracy; connections and family money are both still crucial […]. This leaves the education and careers of young Italians up to a corrupt and nepotistic system, leading many to feel that their skills and qualifications are not duly recognized" (Sanes & Ladd, 16th March, 2016). It is reasonable to trace, with the two journalists, this form of across-the-board corruption to a well-intentioned job-security legislation that largely favours Italy's older generations, with the result that they "[…] are able to maintain the same jobs well into their sixties, while young people scramble for a limited number of short-term contracts" (ibid.).

Predominant gerontocracy may be also traced to an underlying sentiment, or, rather, a common mindset: a total lack of accountability that young people meet with in their education since the early schooldays. As Beppe Severgnini, one of Italy's leading journalists, jokingly observed in an interview with *Brown Political Review*, "It's not even possible to translate this word into Italian," (ibid.). He highlights that "[…] faculty in Italian universities can treat their jobs and obligations with minimal care and face few consequences" and that "Italian students lacking family connections must become independent and resourceful" (ibid.). Then he builds up a vivid picture of what actually happens by comparing Italian academia and US academia:

"In a perverse manner, in those universities it becomes a sort of natural selection," he said. "I've taught in the US, where, whether you're a better student or a weaker student, there's a wave that brings everyone out". But once these talented students make it through the system, many of them leave — particularly those who have already made the jump from the South to the North, where the

quality of higher education tends to be higher. "I call it the 'triple jump,'" Severgnini said. "So they go from Palermo to Rome to Berlin. Or Bari to Torino to Boston. Bang; bang; bang" (ibid.).

Three longstanding factors— slow and corrupt bureaucracy, one of the lowest birth rates in the world (1.4 births per woman) and the comparatively small size of Italian firms— led Italy to face a huge slump in productivity and growth since joining the Eurozone and became intolerable after the 2008 financial crisis, "[…] when youth unemployment in the country hit a historic peak of 44.2 percent" and "[…] in many southern regions, the figure came closer to 75 percent" (ibid.). Thus, while many of Italy's developed-world counterparts are involved in "brain exchanges", e.g. British computer scientists disappearing to Silicon Valley or Spanish medical researchers finding work in Britain, Italy meets with a serious loss of young skilled workers, technical know-how and academics, something which, according to *the Economist*, is more typical of a developing economy (6th Jan 2011). The ongoing loss was dramatically exposed by a chart in the newspaper:
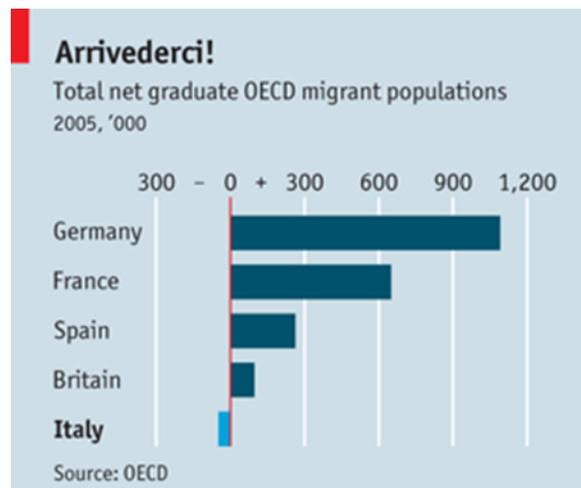
Figure 1. Italy's brain drain. No Italian jobs. Why Italian graduates cannot wait to emigrate (Alessandro Wandael, *The Economist*, Rome, 6th January 2011).

Sanes and Ladd, both children of Italian émigrés, wrote last year that "Over 150,000 Italians have relocated to London in the past eight years. But what's particularly noteworthy is that almost two-thirds of those new arrivals are under the age of 35" (Sanes & Ladd, 16th March 2016). And what is even more worrying is that "[…] the number of educated Italians leaving the country exceeds the number of educated foreigners entering it" (*The Economist*, 6th Jan 2011).

How to stem, then, this outflow of tens of thousands of young Italians who profit from cheap European airfares and take their talents elsewhere? Seeing that these people are not being replaced at a normal rate, the obvious answer would be accepting migrants and putting up with the fact that "Italy is the second largest migrant receiving country in the EU" (Sanes & Ladd, 16th March 2016). Accordingly, "Through better training programs, the nation could help migrants become productive members of society and concurrently bolster its workforce". But many voices would doubt, with Severgnini, the viability of this solution within the Italian political arena: "The prominence of the xenophobic but popular Italian conservative party, Lega Nord, suggests that such skepticism may be justified" (ibid.). In fact, the *World Economic Forum*'s conclusions about how to reverse Italy's "brain drain" are to be qualified: "To some extent, this trend is being offset by immigration, with three newcomers (officially) arriving for every Italian who leaves. For Italy's demographic balance, this influx of foreigners – just over five million people, 8.3% of the population – is a positive development" (Subacchi, 1st Apr 2016).

The point is that legal migrants to Italy will not replace the outflow of the most skilled and best qualified who**,** though often ending up in precarious, unsatisfactory or utterly exploited jobs, believe that "[…] the chances of building a career in their chosen field abroad are significantly higher than in Italy" (ibid.). It is little wonder, then, that both Italian and foreign skilled professionals began to leave the country and those who remain tended to be the least skilled. The result has been one-way mobility and ultimate increasing impoverishment:

> But the limited supply of higher-skill jobs in Italy, compared to other advanced EU countries, also affects migrant flows. With 30% of foreign workers believing that they are overqualified for the job

they perform, Italy is losing its appeal, especially to skilled professionals. As a result, since 2007, the number of immigrants arriving each year has fallen by half, while the number of emigrants has tripled.

Those who remain in Italy – Italian or foreign – tend to be the least skilled. Some 41% of Italy's population has only a basic education, a considerably higher share than in most other European countries (with the exceptions of Portugal, Malta, and Spain). Moreover, 17% of Italy's population leaves education prematurely, and only 22% of young people receive tertiary education (ibid.).

Presumably, then, an effective reversal of Italian "brain drain" should involve the implementation of consistent and far-reaching measures in the two interconnected policy fields of education and migration:

1. Looking at the Italian school system today from an insider perspective, Paola Subacchi's buoyant conclusions may sound unreal:

> The good news is that Italy, along with its EU partners, has already committed to improving these education outcomes. The European Commission's Europe 2020 growth strategy – aimed at creating "a smart, sustainable, and inclusive economy" – demands that countries reduce by 2020 the share of early school leavers to below 10% and ensure that at least 40% of people aged 30-34 have completed some form of higher education (ibid.).

In reality, the old-style Italian education system of the 1950s and 1960s, ideologically mainstreamed, with its top-down fixed curricula and rote learning, had, nonetheless, succeeded in furthering social mobility across the board. Later reforms producing, *inter alia*, headmasters' and parents' unwarranted intrusion into class routines and assessment of pupils, and based on a consistently misunderstood idea of democracy, have gradually undermined the economic, social and cultural status of teachers—former role models for the whole society— and, in the absence of effective family-promoting policies, have turned schooling into a kind of underpaid, unqualified and hyper-protective social care. The damage to students in terms of average accountability and educational attainments has been severe.

2. At the same time, a cardinal point and relevant EU commitment, as viewed, is that migration should not be conceived of as a hamper but as a resource to be skilfully and effectively managed by Italy and the other member states pursuant to the EU-acknowledged human rights and welfare of the migrant and host communities. Such a new perspective and inclusive conduct might then encompass both economic migrants and refugees and demand a new intercultural outlook on and conscientious and open-minded realization of the common challenges in the global village calling for viable and holistic policies across political, cultural and religious borders.

6.19 Some conclusive reflections on migration and bi/multilingualism. Turning a multiethnic melting pot into a cross-cultural and intercultural society

As viewed, the cultural debate over the many linguistic and educational aspects of migration and the implied policies of assimilation and pluralism has been lively and needs to place the phenomenon in its historical context. The discussion looks crucial to understanding allochthonous language minorities and has foregrounded, among other things, political and religious conflicts—e.g. in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Chechnya, Libya, Iraq and Syria—and such factors as the planned and organized incorporation versus unplanned inflow of migrants into the host society and oft-manipulated backlash from the latter. On an individual level, the arguments and controversy are relevant to a set of personal attitudes along a continuum between integration—e.g. endeavour to learn the new language and sociopragmatic conventions, individual effort to achieve success, less dependence on welfare—and anomie and sociocultural alienation. We could draw, then, some conclusions on the sociolinguistic realities of migration:

1. Society as well as language are no pure immutable realities. People have always moved across borders and shifted languages to form or join new speech communities, or, rather, a varying set of communities of practice for the communicative needs of the situational context. Building fences or walls between different linguacultures is illogical and

disproved by the history of mankind and the diachronic study of languages. A holistic language ecology should remove barriers, both material and linguistic, and aim, instead, as propounded by Glennie (2010), for "[…] a sound understanding of migrants' motivations and real-life experiences". Beyond any political allegiance, this should entail considering that migrating is mostly a traumatic experience and that migrants can be a unique cultural and material resource for the host community.

2. The treatment of migrant minorities—refugees, internally displaced people (IDP) and economic migrants— in the EU cannot be looked upon as an accidental or temporary problem to be met and solved by any single member state. Dublin III Regulation (No. 604/2013) establishing "[…] the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person" (L 180/31) appears inadequate. The EU Parliament and Council need to realize the global and transnational dimension of migration and devise an equitable distribution of migrants and shared inclusive policies on education and employment across the member states. In particular, as affirmed in the Council of Europe Action Plan on Protecting Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe (2017-2019), refugee and migrant "[…] children should be treated first and foremost as children" and need all the forms of protection provided by relevant human rights standards (UNHCR, "No more excuses: Provide education to all forcibly displaced people", May 2016: 5). Education, especially for girls, "[…] not just the basics, but an education that gives them the tools and skills they need to fly" (1), as vocalized by Malala Yousafzai, is the best way to protect these vulnerable groups from trafficking, illegal adoption, child marriage, sexual exploitation and forced labour as knowledge and skills will produce self-reliance and resilience while combating prejudice and furthering a fully-fledged integration with the host community (EU Council Action Plan, 2017-2019: 20). Looking at the many hardships these children come to suffer, a humane EU and every conscientious person should work hard so that, as vocalized by the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, "Dreams should not end because of conflict. Futures should not be put on hold because of war" since "There is no tomorrow for countries affected by conflict unless their children learn today […]", (Malala Yousafzai, UNHCR, May 2016: 1).

3. A different, comparatively minor but still dramatic, phenomenon, connected to the larger movement dealt with, refers to the brain migration of many highly-qualified, graduate and postgraduate young people from a number of EU member states. They flee from unemployment, exploited underemployment and endemic nepotism in search of better-suited or more rewarding job opportunities in other European countries and overseas. The specific case of Italy is a salient example of short-sighted policies affecting education, migration and economy. It is reasonable, as noted, to query Paola Subacchi's recent optimistic conclusions on *World Economic Forum* (1st Apr 2016) about Italy's commitment to improving education outcomes and thus complying with the European Commission's Europe 2020 growth strategy to create "a smart, sustainable, and inclusive economy". The demanded reduction in the share of school leavers to below 10% and 40 % increase in the number of young graduates and postgraduates requires a major and courageous reform of the educational system and the job market that posits supplanting a deep-rooted mindset by a more equitable and realistic idea of lifelong learning and work. This stands especially out from the outcomes of undergraduate language instruction in terms of average acquisition of English skills in a glocal English-mediated world and entails a positive redefinition of roles and duties towards a new holistic and democratic society.

4. Allochthonous communities are no more peculiar to big cities and commercial hubs like London. They cut across regional, national and continental borders and call for new and far-sighted policies on language education. Risager's (2016) and Fay *et al.*'s (2016) studies make us aware of the transnational and transcultural mosaic of global Europe as a result of migration and mobility. Looking at this world from a 20th-century "one nation, one language, one culture" standpoint is outdated and unreal. Work and brain mobility, in particular, postulate that the very concept of mainstream language and culture be replaced with comprehensive and customized forms of bi/multilingualism and interculturalism.

5. The assimilation-versus-pluralism debate applied to migrants attests, on the one hand, that immigrants into the USA, Australia, Canada, Germany and the UK were expected to

be happy with getting away from political oppression or economic disadvantage, and thus keen to gain equality of opportunity and personal freedom. They were believed to be pleased to renounce their past heritage culture and embrace a new national identity. On the other hand, heritage culture and identity—at least in the first generation—have persisted and prevented complete assimilation among immigrants. More realistically, many of them, who wish to assimilate, end up being marginalized in segregated neighbourhoods and schools. Some may wish to be classified as US or EU citizens but are treated by the mainstream society as different, separate and foreigners. More often than not, their living conditions, as in the case of Romany communities, create the social stigma and barriers to full assimilation. Consequently, they may fail to integrate with the mainstream group or embrace some form of pluralism for survival and self-enhancement and drop simply out of society, often leaving family and sometimes enlisting into the Isis army as foreign fighters.

6. The EU and transnational cooperation's public discourse on migrants — *foreigners, étrangers, Ausländer, non-national residents* in need of *integration*, and on their languages as *non-territorial, non-regional, non-indigenous, or non-European*—, has been expressive of an obdurate nation-state outlook setting precise linguacultural boundaries to European communities that have *de facto* become multicultural and multireligious in this age of global economy. A typical example of this deep-seated perspective is the political dispute between *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* over the granting of nationality and citizenship in a number of EU member states. As observed by Extra and Gorter (2007), the "conceptual exclusion" and relevant *jus sanguinis* were not propounded by the American Indians, Canadian Inuit, Australian Aboriginals or South African Zulus who underwent the European conquest and colonization. Xenophobia, unemployment, exploitation, blind political interest and a corrupt and disorganized treatment of migration of all kinds have barred, for example, under-age migrant children born and grown in Italy from a natural political right being given to Italian migrants' great-grandchildren living on other continents. The EU should urgently see to the issue and enforce an even-handed EU-wide legislation to this effect.

7. A key concept that should inspire holistic educational policies and concern both migrants and host communities is that of **active and generative citizenship**.[47] As observed, in the Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, "Living Together As Equals in Dignity" (7th May 2008), integration is a two-sided process that posits "[…] the capacity of people to live together with full respect for the dignity of each individual, the common good, pluralism and diversity, non-violence and solidarity, as well as their ability to participate in social, cultural, economic and political life" (11). The Council of Europe's surveys and various cross-cultural findings, such as the cited outcomes of the Multilingual Cities Project (MCP), show the weaknesses of the EU policies on migrants' integration via educational provision, mirrored by those of many member states. A broader and realistic view of the problem might discard the notion of remigration and *Gastarbeiter* altogether as most migrants will not return to their original countries and aim, instead, to reunite their families and minorize in the host country. Consistently, a new cross-cultural and intercultural perspective should guide both the Union's and the individual member states' diversified courses of action. The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue was launched by the Council of Europe in 2008, i.e. right at the beginning of the latest EU-wide slump and before the massive inflow of refugees. It certainly provides a conceptual framework and a guide for policymakers and practitioners by illustrating the reasons for avoiding segregated coexistence and furthering cultural diversity and effective integration with European society. Still, the safeguarding of human rights, rule of law and democracy, and the promotion of mutual understanding and intercultural approach to diversity have not engendered coherent and consistent policies of holistic inclusion of migrants' linguacultural resources. The point boils down to how to change noble ideals and good intentions into shared and operative realities across the political and economic medley of the Union. Presumably, the many barriers to intercultural dialogue which the White Paper ascribes to "power and politics"—and resulting "[…] discrimination, poverty and exploitation […] on persons belonging to disadvantaged and marginalised groups […]" —(21) have found a bracing echo in the mediatic hatred of "the other" and "the foreigner". Facts, not just intentions, should be the right answer to discrimination, xenophobia and ideological manipulation.

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[47] Emphasis added.

8. Religion is, beyond doubt, a good proxy for assessing EU intercultural policies. Political and cultural self-confinement to an allegedly mainstream creed would be misleading blindness in today's multicultural and multireligious village. Language education has a prominent part in approaching and appreciating other "conceptions of the purpose of life" (22), maximizing commonalities and clarifying differences with respect for the others, believers and non-believers. It does not simply add to building (new) mosques or synagogues close to churches: anomie and terror stem from material marginalization, unemployment or exploited underemployment, but also from disparity of educational and religious opportunities. A tolerant and inclusive European society, therefore, needs to promote intercultural dialogue through the teaching and learning of heritage languages, cultures and creeds and so break down the barriers of prejudice and hostility which divide communities.

9. The Council of Europe's reaffirmed pledge to provide effectual instruments for the education and integration of children and adolescents from a migrant background as compiled and published by the Language Policy Unit in 2013 has not produced relevant and credible measures of additional bilingualism in the primary and secondary schools of the member states to date. In particular, the 2014 *Sirius* brief indicates that the prevailing purpose of current language programmes is to enable students to manage the host-country language while heritage language and culture are ignored or marginalized. It also demonstrates that two years' heritage language instruction is not sufficient and that the availability of customized programmes and interculturally-trained teachers should better meet the needs of what Siarova and Essomba (2014: 2) call "a tremendously diverse student body". What also emerges is a persistent want of networking and sharing of good practices among the diverse educational realities of Europe, which should presumably learn from the Danish, Swedish and German examples.

10. The critical linguists' bias against the linguacultural dominance of English is no more applicable to the cross-cultural pliability of this medium as a *lingua franca* today. If language, on the one hand, is never culturally neutral, on the other, as noted by Risager

(2016), "all languages carry linguaculture (culture in language) and all individuals develop their own linguacultural profiles". The refugees and other migrants as well as the host communities bear witness to the valuable resource of global ELF, provisional and inaccurate as it may be, but instrumental in working out such concepts as global intercultural citizenship, multicultural awareness and education of the world citizen. To this effect, the Greek "ethnic approach" or Italian lip-service paying multiculturalism deny the intercultural dimension and are still expressive of that dramatic conflict between rhetoric and the real classroom—and ensuing marginalisation of migrant pupils in state education—that Angelopoulos (2000) observed in the dominant discourse of cultural homogeneity.

11. The predominance of all-English networks, however, has negatively shaped intercultural relations. In the US educational context, in particular, English appears the language of power, prestige, modern technology, fashion and entertainment, whereas Spanish is often perceived as an old-fashioned, outdated and backward language of the past. This may well endanger children's acquisition of their native language and hasten language shift to the majority language. Therefore, heritage language or dialect loss may not only engender identity splitting and intergenerational conflict but also underlie the learning delay and job-related marginalization of many immigrant children and teenagers. Van Lier's (2004) conclusion on education, in this regard, is easily applicable to a recurring and ever-present set of nation-state educational contexts: "Education in most of its institutional incarnations is built on an ethos of homogeneity and conformity rather than one of diversity and transformation. Examining current practices and attempting to change them always has a subversive aura, and is seen as an attempt to challenge the very essence of the social order"(177). The alternative, cyclically countered by the political establishment in the USA and elsewhere, is a holistic—more than additional— view of bilingualism: not the fractional idea of two complete or incomplete monolinguals in one person, but that of a multi-competent bilingual/multilingual developing multiple identities and fostering mutual understanding and cross-cultural awareness. This holistic view entails, as it were, a bi/multilingual's new progressive role as a cross-cultural broker and bridge between the mainstream culture and the heritage or dialectal culture. Such a perspective, however, is not popular in the USA, where English is still perceived as "the

common glue" that unites the nation, attesting to Bourdieu's notion of "[…] reproduction in educational and other institutions, i.e. the tendency of such institutions to create the need for their own perpetuation" (Bourdieu, 1977. In van Lier, 2004: 177).

From the holistic perspective, a bilingual has a unique linguistic profile, i.e. a set of multicompetences in a variety of domains. This allows for his/her choice of one or the other language according to the different interlocutors, purposes and situational contexts. It may also entail language shifting or mixing as a form of integrated communicative competence. For these reasons, traditional quantitative standard-based assessments are not geared to measure that complex form of multicompetences. A holistic view will more appropriately assess bilinguals' language competence. A modified version of Bachman's model (1990) accommodating the intercultural dimension should prove especially useful as this model considers the two aspects of language competence and performance. It encompasses organizational competence —grammar and textual accuracy— and pragmatic competence — illocutionary ability and sociolinguistic competence, such as register, dialect and figures of speech. The result is the notion of strategic competence, which entails the users' ability to plan, execute and assess their performance. This overarching concept looks instrumental in making innovative, creative forms of testing —communicative performance testing— by exploiting the various resources of the scaffolded lesson, especially from a new cross-cultural and intercultural perspective.

12. The various seminal research-work on multilingualism, and emerging insights from neurosciences, have looked into this phenomenon as a booster of innovation through creativity and a key driver for social and economic success in today's knowledge society and glocal market. Far from being an expensive inconvenient reality, multilingualism is a lever for economic growth and social cohesion coming to help people realize and expand their creative potential, since thinking, learning, problem solving and communicating, all of which are transversal knowledge-steeped skills used in our daily lives, show signs of enhancement through multilingualism. In 2009 Ján Figeľ, European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Multilingualism, epitomized present and future challenges: "The major future challenges in the educational field are how to reform our

learning systems to prepare our young people for jobs that do not exist yet, using technologies that have not been invented yet, in order to solve problems that haven't been identified yet".

The allochthonous language minority debate might conclusively induce us to believe that the foremost reason for individual learning of a second or third —mainstream or minority— language is cross-cultural awareness, especially in today's lifelong-learning society. It means to get to know and interact with different cultural conventions, creeds, customs and rituals mediated by a target language to break down societal and individual stereotypes and thus enhance intercultural sensitivity. This looks especially important in the current making of a European citizenship on our continent and is logically linked to the multifarious educational and vocational opportunities established by the EU through the Socrates initiative, Lifelong Learning 2007-2013 and Europe 2020 over the last two decades. Attaining a multilingual and multicultural competence, therefore, i.e. being able to "read situations" through contextual sensitivity, develop interactional multi-skills and draw on one's sociopragmatic set of verbal and non-verbal repertoires —from *Lingua Franca* up to *Lingua Receptiva*— has more and more been paving the way for individual and societal achievement in the EU. All this especially applies to the daily conduct of many European children of immigrant descent who effortlessly and uneventfully turn to account their bilingual or multilingual verbal and digital repertoires, as viewed in Extra and Gorter's study (2007). The findings —but also our daily experience when shopping, e.g., in Chinese or Sri-Lankan stores— attest to a 21st century notion of language diversity that gets over compartmentalized competition between mainstream and non-mainstream languages. Children simply employ them as alternatives dependent on situational factors as type of context or interlocutor, and the use of heritage language at home does not occur at the cost of competence in the mainstream language. The same data also show the status of English as the international language of power and prestige being used through a variety of media as a foreign language or dominant *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe, both in migrant and non-migrant contexts. Finally, the findings testify to the children's "[…] desire to learn a variety of languages that are not taught at school" (Extra & Gorter, 2007: 16), a desire that is not yet appropriately satisfied in many primary and secondary European contexts, especially as regards non-European languages.

The migrant language debate is part and parcel of the larger arena of linguacultural minorities that also encompasses the equally interesting and critical position of sign languages, which is the object of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE POSITION OF SIGN LANGUAGES

7.1 The wide neglected world of sign language minorities

Sign languages can be grouped into three sections:

▪ **Deaf sign languages**,[48] which are the preferred languages of Deaf communities around the world; these include village sign languages, shared with the hearing community, and Deaf-community sign languages.

 ▪ **Auxiliary sign languages**,[49] which are not native languages but sign systems of varying complexity, used alongside oral languages. Simple gestures are not included, as they do not constitute language.

 ▪ **Signed modes of spoken languages**,[50] also known as manually coded languages, which are bridges between signed and spoken languages (List of sign languages. Wikipedia 2019).

Signing generally refers to Deaf people communities who have developed the languages, although it is also used by people who can hear but cannot physically speak. Yolnu people on Galiwin'ku refer to the sign language they use as "action" or *djama gondbu* (work with hands) (Adone, 2014). "This can include simultaneously employing hand gestures, movement, orientation of the fingers, arms or body, and facial expressions to convey a speaker's ideas" (Languages of the week special: Sign languages!, *Reddit*, 6th July, 2018).

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[48] Authors' emphasis.
[49] Authors' emphasis.
[50] Authors' emphasis.

Sign languages are then natural human languages that have arisen wherever Deaf people have come together in sufficient numbers to form a linguistic community. However, sign languages are not the prerogative of sign communities. Newport and Supalla (1999) conclude that "Thus, although it is probably fair to say that the auditory-vocal (spoken) medium is biologically dominant for language in humans (in the sense that all groups for whom spoken language is viable seem to choose this medium), the visual-gestural (sign) medium is a robust, and therefore biologically normal, alternative"(1). Sign language may be also used for manual communication in noisy or secret situations, such as hunting, or even be just a cryptic medium of communication like the signs used by playing children.

To date, little comparative information about sign languages has been available, "[…] despite their special scientific importance, the widespread public interest and the policy implications" (ECHO: European Cultural Heritage Online. Case study 4: sign languages). In reality, although they are of great potential interest to linguistic typology and pertinent research has made much progress in the past decades, most sign languages in the world remain hardly described or entirely undocumented and have so far not figured in any cross-linguistic typological survey, chiefly due to the unavailability of data. The bulk of linguistic work was done only on a few sign languages in industrialized countries, in the United States, in particular, while barely anything is known about most sign languages in Asia, Africa, South America and Central America.

The only comprehensive classification of sign languages going beyond a simple listing of languages dates back to 1991 (Wittmann, 1991: 215-288). The classification was based on the 69 sign languages from the 1988 edition of *Ethnologue* that were known at the time of the 1989 conference on sign languages in Montreal and 11 more languages the author added after the conference.[51] In their 2001 study, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001: 5) remark that empirical knowledge of Sign languages is scanty and there is no idea of how many Sign languages there are since the *Ethnologue* estimation of 114 is a veritable underestimation. The World Federation of the Deaf has assessed the number of Deaf

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[51] Wittmann's classification went into Ethnologue's database where it is still cited. The subsequent edition of Ethnologue in 1992 went up to 81 sign languages and ultimately adopting Wittmann's distinction between primary and alternate sign languages (going back ultimately to Stokoe 1974) and, more vaguely, some other of his traits. The 2008 version of the 15th edition of Ethnologue is now up to 124 sign languages (Sign Language, Reference 12. Wikibooks 2019).

people in the world at approximately 70 million (World Federation of the Deaf, 2019) and the 22nd edition of *Ethnologue* (2019) has listed 143 living sign languages. In fact, hundreds of sign languages, perhaps three hundred, are in use around the world as vital instruments for expressing local Deaf cultures.

In linguistic terms, sign languages are fully-fledged languages, as rich and complex as any spoken language, despite the common misconception that they are not "real languages". They do, however, constitute a separate linguistic type of their own by virtue of the fact that information is transmitted in a visual-gestural rather than a vocal-auditory modality. As reported by the Council of Europe in April 2005, "Whereas spoken languages use units of sounds to form words, sign languages use visual-gestural units of form, composed of four basic hand forms: hand shape (e.g. open or closed), hand location (e.g. on the middle of the forehead or in front of the chest), hand movement (e.g. upward or downward), and hand orientation (e.g. palm facing up or out)" (The status of sign languages in Europe: 9). A persistent error of research was to overlook sign language as humble pantomime, or imitation, of the surrounding spoken language. In fact, through movement and gesture, "Sign languages perform a similar range of functions to spoken languages: communicate, convey social relationships, express cultural identity, provide a source of delight through artistic forms of expression" (ibid.). On a more sociolinguistic level, they "[...] exhibit the same types of variation: variations according to region, social or ethnic group, social situation, age, and gender. Like spoken languages, sign languages do evolve" (10).

From the 1960s onwards, sign language researchers have demonstrated that sign languages are fully complex human languages with an intricate grammatical organization of their own and are in every way to be considered on a par with spoken languages (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Boyes Braem, 1990; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Professional linguists have studied many sign languages and found that they exhibit the fundamental properties that exist in all languages (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006). Since the 1970s pragmatic studies have disclosed and clarified the salience of often-unconscious gestural and body language as well as paralinguistic elements in conventional languages. Still, there are also some significant differences between spoken and signed languages as these, as mentioned, show the same linguistic properties and use the same language faculty

as the former, but use space for grammar in a way that spoken languages do not (Stokoe, Casterline & Croneberg, 1965; Stokoe, 1960). Today linguists study sign languages as true languages, part of the field of linguistics. However, the category "Sign languages" was not added to the *Linguistic Bibliography / Bibliographie Linguistique* until the 1988 volume, when it appeared with 39 entries (*Linguistic Bibliography for the Year 1988*: 970-972).

Sign languages, like spoken languages, organize elementary, meaningless units (phonemes, formerly called *cheremes*, in the case of sign languages) into meaningful semantic units. Like in spoken languages, these meaningless units are represented as combinations of features, although crude distinctions are often also made in terms of handshape (or handform), orientation, location (or place of articulation), movement, and non-manual expression. Common linguistic features of many sign languages are the occurrence of classifiers, a high degree of inflection and a topic-comment syntax. More than spoken languages, sign languages can convey meaning by simultaneous means, e.g. by the use of space, two manual articulators, and the signer's face and body. Though there is still much discussion on the topic of iconicity in sign languages, classifiers are generally perceived to be highly iconic, as these complex constructions "[...] function as predicates that may express any or all of the following: motion, position, stative-descriptive, or handling information" (Emmorey, 2002). It needs to be noted that the term classifier is not used by everyone working on these constructions. Across the field of sign language linguistics, the same constructions are also referred with other terms.

In short, as mentioned, sign languages are not mime: signs are conventional, often arbitrary, and do not necessarily have a visual relationship to their referent, much as most spoken language is not onomatopoeic. While iconicity is more systematic and widespread in sign languages than in spoken ones, the difference is not categorical (Johnston, 1989). The visual modality allows the human preference for close connections between form and meaning, present but often suppressed in spoken languages, to be more fully expressed (Taub, 2001). This does not mean that a sign language is a visual rendition of a spoken language. As observed, sign languages have complex grammars of their own, and can be used to discuss any topic, from the simple and concrete to the lofty and abstract.

According to a common misconception, all sign languages are the same worldwide and sign language is international. Sign languages, instead, are very diverse, just like all other natural languages. Apart from the pidgin International Sign, each country generally has its own native sign language, and some have more than one, though sign languages may share similarities to each other, whether in the same country or another one.

In an interview with David Peach, a missionary to Deaf communities and host of the Missionary Talks podcast, the interpreter, who was fluent in multiple sign languages, remembered coming back from a conference in Las Vegas, where there were 23 thousand deaf people from around the world. There he noted, much to his surprise, the following:

[...] it was interesting to see the different sign languages being spoken, and yet, the deaf people were able to communicate with one another. It may not have been a very deep conversation, but the ability to communicate was there. Some of that would be very limited communication. For example, I met a man from Thailand and we talked—we communicated—but as far as sharing family history and that kind of information, that didn't happen, and I'm a hearing person, but a deaf person is even more adept at being able to pick up another sign language or at least get the rudiments of it to be able to communicate (Is Sign Language Universal?).

Another popular misconstruction, as noted, is that sign languages are somehow dependent on spoken languages, to the effect of being spoken language expressed in signs, or that they were invented by hearing people (Perlmutter, 2013). Hearing teachers in deaf schools, such as Charles-Michel de l'Épée, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet or Tommaso Silvestri, are often incorrectly referred to as "inventors" of sign language. The fact of the matter is that sign languages, like all other natural languages, are developed by the people who use them, in this case, Deaf people, who may have little or no knowledge of any spoken language, and they generally do not have any linguistic relation to the spoken languages of the lands in which they arise. On balance, the correlation between sign and spoken languages is complex and varies depending on the country more than the spoken language. For example, the US, Canada, UK, Australia and New Zealand all have English as their dominant language, but American Sign Language (ASL), used in the US and most parts of Canada, is derived from French Sign Language, whereas the other three countries

sign dialects of British, Australian and New Zealand Sign Language (Languages of the World. British Sign Language, *Ethnologue* 2019). Similarly, the sign languages of Spain and Mexico are very different (Parkhurst & Parkhurst, 2006), despite the fact that Spanish is the national language in each country, while the sign language used in Bolivia is based on ASL rather than any sign language used in a Spanish-speaking country (Holbrook, 2009).

Variations also arise within a "national" sign language, which do not necessarily correspond to dialect differences in the national spoken language. Rather, they can usually be correlated to the geographical location of residential schools for the deaf (Lucas, Bayley & Valli, 2001). Kendon (1988) proposed a distinction between (1) primary—or natural—sign languages and (2) alternate—devised or derivative—sign languages:

Primary sign languages (1) are those sign languages acquired by Deaf people as their mother tongue, as is the case with Auslan, the national sign language of Australia. Research on sign languages has focused on primary sign languages, but there are other significant types of sign languages (Zeshan & de Vos, 2012). In contrast to primary sign languages, alternate sign languages (2) have been developed by hearing people already competent in their spoken languages, who use them as a secondary means of communication under certain circumstances, such as during the mourning period. Newport and Supalla (1999) refer to these devised or derivative sign systems languages as

> […] those that have been intentionally invented by some particular individuals (e.g., educators of deaf children), typically not the primary users of the language, and whose structures are often based directly on a spoken language. These devised systems are typically named by the spoken language on which they are based. One example is a set of sign systems devised by educators of the deaf in the 1970s to represent spoken English, known as Manually Coded English (similar but slightly different variants of MCE are called Signing Exact English, Seeing Essential English, and Linguistics of Visual English). Because these devised systems are invented by committees, rather than arising spontaneously among users, they do not offer the opportunity to observe the unfettered natural tendencies of humans to develop gestural languages (Newport & Supalla, 1999).

However, in the case of Yolnu Sign Language, an alternate sign language is also the primary language of the few Deaf members of the community, the numerous smaller homelands of north-east Arnhem Land, including Elcho Island and Milingimbi, and in Yirrkala (Adone, 2014). Newport and Supalla (1999) observe that these devised systems are basically artificial media, alien to the natural principles of living languages and inevitably confined to the classroom, like much of school English, or Esperanto, in the Expanding Circle countries. Consistently, acquisition and popularity have had mixed fortunes, the researchers' prominent interest being in comparative analysis of natural sign languages. On the whole, research has mainly focused on the linguistic features and acquisition processing of American Sign Language compared with those of spoken world languages. There is a close relationship between the development of sign languages and that of spoken languages:

> As a sign language develops, it sometimes borrows elements from spoken languages, just as all languages borrow from other languages that they are in contact with. Sign languages vary in how and how much they borrow from spoken languages. In many sign languages, a manual alphabet (fingerspelling) may be used in signed communication to borrow a word from a spoken language, by spelling out the letters. This is most commonly used for proper names of people and places; it is also used in some languages for concepts for which no sign is available at that moment, particularly if the people involved are to some extent bilingual in the spoken language. Fingerspelling can sometimes be a source of new signs, such as initialized signs, in which the handshape represents the first letter of a spoken word with the same meaning (Sign language. Relationships with spoken languages. Wikipedia 2019).

Concerning the use of sign languages in hearing communities, it has been remarked as follows:

> Many Australian Aboriginal sign languages arose in a context of extensive speech taboos, such as during mourning and initiation rites. They are or were especially highly developed among the Warlpiri, Warumungu, Dieri, Kaytetye, Arrernte, and Warlmanpa, and are based on their respective spoken languages.

A pidgin sign language arose among tribes of American Indians in the Great Plains region of North America [...] It was used by hearing people to communicate among tribes with different spoken languages, as well as by deaf people. There are especially users today among the Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. Unlike Australian Aboriginal sign languages, it shares the spatial grammar of deaf sign languages. In the 1500s, a Spanish expeditionary, Cabeza de Vaca, observed natives in the western part of modern-day Florida using sign language, and in the mid-16th century Coronado mentioned that communication with the Tonkawa using signs was possible without a translator. Whether or not these gesture systems reached the stage at which they could properly be called languages is still up for debate. There are estimates indicating that as many as 2% of Native Americans are seriously or completely deaf, a rate more than twice the national average (Use of Sign Languages in Hearing Communities. Wikipedia 2019).

In the 2018 World Atlas of Language Structures On line (Relationships between sign languages), Ulrike Zeshan highlights two types of relationships between sign languages: genealogical relationships and language contact. In the World Atlas of Language Structures, Martin Haspelmath *et al.* (2005) bring out the interrelationship of signed and spoken forms of bilingualism:

Since sign languages in any country constitute a linguistic minority, practically all sign language users are bilingual to some extent in the sign language and the surrounding spoken language or languages. Another link between the signed and the spoken language is constituted by the hearing children of deaf parents, who grow up using both sign and speech and are often fully bilingual in both languages. Deaf people's spoken language competence and hearing people's sign language competence, where the sign language is acquired as a second language, vary considerably and are often rather poor, especially in countries with few educational and technical resources. Nevertheless, the constant contact with the spoken language always opens up the possibility of spoken language influence on the sign language and borrowing of linguistic material from the spoken language. The mechanisms, extent and history of this kind of language contact are, however, far from being well understood for most sign languages in the world (Haspelmath *et al.*, 2005: 559).

Language contact and creolization being thus common in the development of sign languages, clear family classifications are difficult and it is often unclear whether lexical similarity is due to borrowing or a common parent language, or whether there was one or

several parent languages, such as several village languages merging into a Deaf-community language (Sign Language. Classification. Wikipedia 2019).

Ultimately, the various findings confirm that sign languages are independent of spoken languages and follow their own paths of development. For example, British Sign Language (BSL) and American Sign Language (ASL) are quite different and mutually unintelligible, even though the hearing people of Britain and America share the same spoken language. The grammars of sign languages do not usually resemble those of spoken languages used in the same geographical area; in fact, in terms of syntax, ASL shares more with spoken Japanese than it does with English (Nakamura, 1995).

There is, then, a complex relationship between sign and spoken languages:

[...] countries which use a single spoken language throughout may have two or more sign languages, or an area that contains more than one spoken language might use only one sign language. South Africa, which has 11 official spoken languages and a similar number of other widely used spoken languages, is a good example of this. It has only one sign language with two variants due to its history of having two major educational institutions for the deaf which have served different geographic areas of the country (Sign language. Relationships with spoken languages. Wikipedia 2019).

International Sign, formerly known as Gestuno, is used mainly at international Deaf events such as the Deaflympics and meetings of the World Federation of the Deaf. Recent studies claim that International Sign is a kind of pidgin but conclude that it is more complex than a typical pidgin and, indeed, is more like a full sign language (Supalla &Webb. In Emmorey & Reilly, 1995: 347; McKee & Napier, 2002). On occasion, where the prevalence of Deaf people is high enough, a Deaf sign language has been taken up by an entire local community thus originating what is sometimes called a "village sign language" (Zeshan & de Vos, 2012) or "shared signing community" (Kisch, 2008). This especially happens in small, tightly integrated communities with a closed gene pool. Famous examples of this include Martha's Vineyard Sign Language in the USA, Al-Sayyid Bedouin Sign Language in Israel, Kata Kolok in a village in Bali, Yucatec Maya sign language in Mexico and Adamorobe Sign Language in Ghana. In such communities, Deaf people are generally well integrated in the general community and not socially

disadvantaged, so much so that it is difficult to speak of a separate "Deaf" community (Woll & Ladd, 2003).

In "Indigenous sign languages of Arnhem Land", Marie Carla D. Adone (2014) presents some preliminary findings of a pilot study conducted in some communities of Arnhem Land, Australia, on the use of Indigenous sign languages. Early linguistic and anthropological investigations, although brief in their accounts, refer to the use of signing across Arnhem Land, thus indicating the existence of different signing systems. Tribes with mutually unintelligible languages use sign language to communicate with each other and the anecdotes of older people confirm this use. This is almost always the case, especially when people have to ask permission to pass the land of another clan or tribe. Signing is commonly used by people travelling in canoes through the marine estates of other clans or tribes. They usually sign their intentions when passing the people on shore to exchange information on route. Sign languages are used in public and private domains, but their use across domains and contexts varies considerably from community to community. The report gives a brief description of the domains and contexts in which these sign languages are used and addresses some of the issues of language endangerment in these communities (ibid.). It looks at five communities: Elcho Island, Milingimbi, Gunbalanya, Minjilang and the Tiwi Islands. The three key findings are then as follows:

a. Signing is an integral part of Aboriginal culture.

b. The Aboriginal people in these communities, and most probably in many other parts of Australia, are bimodal bilinguals (i.e. they grow up with several spoken and sign languages).

c. The Indigenous sign languages can be regarded as "traditional languages" in decline, as discussed by Marmion, Obata and Troy (2014) for spoken languages (Adone, 2014).

A close look at the communities involved shows that they are located in remote areas of Arnhem Land. Information from various language groups was gathered for the purposes of the study. Three typical characteristics of these remote communities are highlighted:

1. A small number of deaf people. According to the numbers provided by the health clinics in these communities, there are between 10-15 Deaf people of different age groups, with a

large number of hearing impaired people. Given the high mobility of Aboriginal people in the dry season, these numbers can vary accordingly.

2. Shared cultural knowledge. Another characteristic is the shared cultural knowledge due to the small population size of these communities. Everybody knows everybody and everyone is related to each other through the elaborate kinship system. If anything happens, everybody knows about it, and if someone has just arrived, everybody knows.

3. Bimodal bi/multilingualism within the hearing population. In contrast to many Western countries, sign language use is not confined to the Deaf community and the children of Deaf adults. The hearing population uses sign language in many contexts although people speak other languages. Concerning the specific use, most, if not all, of them use sign language as a mode of communication in the following contexts:

* private:
-- hunting
-- fishing
-- long-distance communication when people are out of hearing range
-- communication with deaf people
-- in daily activities when discretion and vagueness are required (e.g. gossip, secret communication between people)
-- intergenerational cultural transmission, i.e. teaching children about country (e.g. beach, bush, sites of ancestral significance)

* public:
-- when silence is culturally requested in the presence of sacred objects, or in sacred locations as a sign of respect;
-- in ceremonies (dance and songs) and rituals;
-- to refer to the deceased;
-- at official meetings (ibid.).

In the Yolnu communities, the omnipresence of gestures and sign language is obvious (Adone & Maypilama, 2012; Cooke & Adone, 1994). Based on conversations with Indigenous people from the Tiwi Islands, it seems that the older generation, especially older ladies, use sign language on a daily basis to communicate. The younger generation

(under 20 years of age) does not as much. So far, no gender differences in the use of sign language have been observed (Adone, 2014).

In Minjilang, the middle and older generations confirmed the use of sign languages in some daily contexts, such as fishing, hunting, etc., and Gunbalanya has a similar situation. A factor that makes the situation difficult to assess is the use of signs and gestures together with spoken languages, which is linguistically rare and worth investigating (ibid.).

Adone (2014) conclusively observes that most linguistic work so far has focused on the documentation and description of spoken languages and that a close look at the sign languages in Arnhem Land shows that these languages are critically/severely endangered. As children on homelands are much more likely to actively learn and use sign language than those in larger communities, the situation is worsening. It looks as if some of these languages will vanish in the next decade or so, which is a deplorable situation, especially in view of the fact that this region is linguistically very diverse (ibid.).

Documenting the use of sign language in Arnhem Land has been an important task, since the use of signs and sign language has been part of Aboriginal culture for a long time, but to date, as stressed by the scholar, there has been no systematic study on the use of Indigenous sign languages in Arnhem Land. Her report, although brief in nature, gives a snapshot of the situation of some Indigenous sign languages found in east and west Arnhem Land. It is a first attempt to provide an overview and needs to be followed up (ibid.). From the observations, the small data collection and the information provided by the use of Indigenous sign languages in the five communities investigated, the following picture is thus inferred:

* sign language is still commonly used in most communities; however, in some communities the signs are disappearing and are replaced by spoken languages.
* if measures to document, safeguard and revive these languages are not taken now, most of these languages will disappear by the next decade.
* many users of the sign languages under investigation are not confident about their languages (ibid.).

In spite of the complexity of the situation, we gather that there are some general indications about the fragility of these Indigenous sign languages and that the degree of endangerment varies from one community to another. It seems that most of these languages are not actively being transmitted to the next generation and the domains of use are becoming limited. Therefore, as is the case with endangered languages in general, these sign languages are bound to disappear if measures are not taken to keep them alive or strong (ibid.). The report singles out a few points as urgent recommendations:

* full language documentation and linguistic work on the grammar of these languages is needed

* dissemination workshops to raise awareness of the existence of this language should target the general public, educators, politicians, teachers and policymakers

* Indigenous hearing people of different language groups who are proficient in English should be recruited and trained as interpreters (ibid.).

7.2 Deaf culture and deaf identity. An eco-centric holistic world view

Deaf culture is the set of social beliefs, behaviours, art, literary traditions, history, values, and shared institutions of communities that are influenced by deafness and which use sign languages as the main means of communication. When used as a cultural label especially within the culture, the word *deaf* is often written with a capital *D* and referred to as "big D Deaf" in speech and sign. When used as a label for the audiological condition, it is written with a lower case *d* (Padden & Humphries, 2005: 1; Berke, 9th February 2010). Deaf communities are very widespread in the world, with a rich variety of cultures within them. Sometimes they do not even interact with the culture of the hearing population because of the communication difficulties caused by the impediments for hard-of-hearing people to perceive aurally-conveyed information:

Members of the Deaf community tend to view deafness as a difference in human experience rather than a disability or disease (Ladd, 2003: 502; Lane, Pillard & Hedberg, 2011: 269). Many members take pride in their Deaf identity (Donaldson James & Huang, 13-12-2006).

[...]

The community may include hearing family members of deaf people and sign-language interpreters who identify with Deaf culture. It does not automatically include all people who are deaf or hard of hearing (Padden & Humphries, 1988: 134). As educator and American Sign Language interpreter, Anna Mindess writes: "it is not the extent of hearing loss that defines a member of the deaf community but the individual's own sense of identity and resultant actions" (Mindess, 2006). As with all social groups that a person chooses to belong to, a person is a member of the Deaf community if he/she "identifies him/herself as a member of the Deaf community, and other members accept that person as a part of the community" (Baker & Padden, 1978).

Deaf culture is recognized under Article 30, Paragraph 4 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which states that "Persons with disabilities shall be entitled, on an equal basis with others, to recognition and support of their specific cultural and linguistic identity, including sign languages and deaf culture". Sarah Batterbury (2012: 253-272) argues that sign languages should be recognized and supported not merely as an accommodation for the disabled, but as the communication medium of language communities. In their paper, "Sign Language Peoples as indigenous minorities: implications for research and policy", Sarah Batterbury, Paddy Ladd and Mike Gulliver (2007: 2,899-2,915) draw strong parallels between Sign Language Peoples (SLPs) and First Nation peoples arguing

[...] **that SLPs (communities defining themselves by shared membership in physical and metaphysical aspects of language, culture, epistemology, and ontology) can be considered indigenous groups in need of legal protection in respect of educational, linguistic, and cultural rights accorded to other First Nation indigenous communities** (Batterbury, Ladd & Gulliver, 2007: 2,899).[52]

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[52] Authors' emphasis.

They challenge

> **[...] the assumption that SLPs should be primarily categorised within concepts of disability. The disability label denies the unique spatial culturolinguistic phenomenon of SLP collectivist identity by replicating traditional colonialist perspectives, and actively contributing to their ongoing oppression. Rather, SLPs are defined spatially as a locus for performing, building, and reproducing a collective topography expressed through a common language and a shared culture and history** (ibid.).[53]

It is further explained that "SLPs do not look to majority societies for their identity and affirmation, but locate themselves instead within the spaces of linguistic and cultural SLP 'territories', which draw sustenance from more than 2000 years of SLP history" (2,902). Rebutting the assimilation of SLPs' state to disability, the scholars maintain that "It is much more an issue of collective group well-being (Griggs, 1998), paralleling the discourses of indigenous and autochthonous people groups and their struggles to validate their own spaces in the face of linear, neocolonial imaginings of 'progress'" (Batterbury *et al*., 2007: 2,903). Along these lines, on being asked to explain the differences between "natural and artificial languages", Jean Massieu, a French 18th century deaf teacher, encapsulated the contemporary worldview around the "*sauvages*", or "savages", and the ready association between SLPs and indigenous peoples:

> "Natural language is the language which the deaf and dumb, savages...make use of to communicate to one another their ideas and feelings. It is the language of nature, the natural representation of objects: such as gestures, physiognomy, the expression of the face and the eyes. Artificial language is a language invented by the union of several persons which is called society; a conventional language, a language which is either written or spoken" (de Ladebat, 1815, page 137. In Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,906).

More convincingly, Batterbury *et al*., (2007) look into the meaning of "natural" and its existential necessity as applied to sign language. The narratives of SLPs portray such a communal feeling of "[...] an earth-rooted, natural culture, which could exist and be

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[53] Authors' emphasis.

nurtured only by the coming together, in 'tribal' form, of SLPs" (2,907). The conflicting world views between the colonizing West's "alienated individualism" and First Nation as well as SLPs' holistic, collectivist cultures are thus accounted for:

> As the Native American writer Churchill (1994, page 234) noted, the white man had first to "colonise himself"—in other words, to sever the relationship between the earth and himself before he could colonise others. Some writers trace this severance to the Christian attempts to remove Western pantheistic knowledge through the centuries-long witch burnings, noting the connections between such knowledge and the recently resurgent 'alternative' or 'complementary' medicine (Levack, 1992). Others cite the enclosure of common land and the industrial revolution as marking the severance between the natural and the 'scientific' (eg Branson and Miller, 2002). Similar discourses can be found in Afro-Caribbean writings where colonisation is seen as the triumph of an alienated individualism over holistic, collectivist First Nation cultures (Fanon, 1968; Karenga, 1993; Rodney, 1982). Consequently, although lay people may consider it natural that Deaf children be educated in sign language and by Deaf teachers, and are shocked whenever they find out that this is not the case, they remain in thrall to a discursive system which denigrates the 'natural' whilst promoting scientism—the belief that medicine and technology can somehow 'cure' or 'remove' the deafness, and latterly, with the advent of genetics, remove the Deaf child or person altogether (Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,907).

Batterbury *et al*. (2007) point out that "[...] SLPs share linguistic and cultural parallels with other indigenous groups' (2,909). In fact, while remarking that "Culture is a key aspect of the SLP experience, and their cultures are fundamentally different from Western majority cultures", they stress the "[...] numerous parallels and commonalities (as well as differences) with other indigenous cultures" (ibid.) including a variety of elements:

> [...] the community-centred, collectivist ethos and reciprocity, differences in conception and use of time, context dependency in language, past orientation, and the high priority accorded to sharing information and communication (Mindess, 1999). Other parallels include the maintenance of an oral (that is, unwritten) tradition including features such as folklore (Lane et al., 1996; Padden and Humphries 1988) and storytelling, a strong daily feature of SLP cultural discourse, which embodies and transmits beliefs, narratives, living history, and mythologies (Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,909).

Further ahead:

> Significant ontological parallels between the beliefs of SLPs and indigenous peoples concern notions of ownership and belonging, as the Deaf historian Raymond Lee explains: "Sign languages are far better than Deaf people themselves; they live on after individuals die. When those old people signed, whew! Ghosts danced on their hands!" (Ladd, 2003: 373. In Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,910).

Batterbury *et al.* (2007) highlight Deaf people's power to go beyond the spoken-language visible constraints and thus evoke the realms of an invisible reality through signing: "This belief represents a virtual physical actuality, since one special characteristic of sign languages is their ability to bodily mimic, and thus render visible, other people, both living and dead" (2,910).

A holistic ecological *Weltanschauung* of human beings harmoniously intertwining with nature also posits an opposing directionality:

> [...] the directionality of Lee's statement is crucial. It operates not from the individual outwards (as in 'I speak English/English belongs to me') but from the 'outside' inwards (as in 'I belong to sign language'). It is just this directionality which characterises most known indigenous peoples: instead of saying, as the coloniser does, 'this land belongs to me', indigenous people emphasise that 'I belong to the land'. In this construction, indigenous peoples exist within a holistic frame of reference, where they live in harmony with the specific physical environment that nurtures them, which lives on after they die and that must therefore be preserved (ibid.).

This mindset has been opposed by mainstream oral culture that simply dismisses sign languages and SLPs as "uncivilised" in the name of a Western colonialist perspective and anthropocentric notion of "progress".

An interesting point is the intertwining of Deaf people's geographies with those of the mainstream hearing world, which reveals the visual inability of many hearing interactants in daily communicative settings. Yet literacy and relevant access to information and power are still denied to many SLPs. Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver emphasize the central role of

language in marking SLPs' identity as they "[...] exist as a group apart without the need for constant boundary maintenance, suggesting a centre-based understanding of SLP community, located around the language" (Gulliver, 2003a. In Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,911). This contrasts with "[...] boundary-defined communities like some national minorities whose survival as a distinct group depends on bolstering their difference" (ibid.). Quoting B. Bahan (1994), "It is apparent that the Deaf World was formed out of the need for sameness rather than the need to create an 'us vs. them' dichotomy" (244). This holistic, unifying perspective characterizes both SLPs and First Nation cultures, but the sense of communal sameness, sustained by the visual power of a shared code and culture, seems to overcome any divisive sense of social difference in the former group:

> This spatial-environmental characteristic resonates with other indigenous groups who view land, nature, or language as agents with their own independent existence, able to give birth to cultures and beliefs (and even to rebirth them should they die) (Amery, 2000). This language-centred, spontaneous ethnogenesis suggests an understanding of SLP communities located around natural, visual language and shared cultural linguistic commonality. It is important to understand in respect of hybridity that, within many SLP communities, dimensions of difference such as race, sexuality, gender, and class are not as central to community membership, compared with competence in sign languages and cultural norms (Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,911).

As regards decolonization praxis, Batterbury, *et al*. (2007) highlight "[...] striking sets of parallels between SLPs and indigenous peoples [...]" concerning "[...] the challenges and strategies faced by both in achieving decolonisation, and the relative resources they have available to them following colonisation" (ibid.). Apart from questionable and ever-provisional classification, they observe that "[...] the languages and cultures have been severely damaged, and research indicates that the incidence of 'acquired' (not congenital) mental illness among SLPs is around 50%, double that of the majority society populations" (Hindley & Kitson, 2000. In Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,912). Thus, they point to the common risk of colonialism-borne speechless rootlessness and anomie that has befallen both First Nations and SLPs: "[...] colonisation has severely damaged their abilities to think and reason in their native tongues in a harmonious relationship with their own

traditional culture. Thus, the opportunities to define themselves in holistic terms are profoundly disrupted, and redefining themselves according to the majority language and culture is highly problematic" (ibid.). Hence the three authors vocalize the urgent need for a double reconstruction—internal and external—carried out by a ""[...] substantial professional class [...]", "[...] self-rule [...]" and relevant "[...] control of the education of one's children [...]" (ibid.).

The obvious conclusion of the comparative discussion about the experiences and necessities of SLPs and First Nation peoples is, according to the three scholars, "[...] a case to be made for extending indigenous rights to SLPs, in the two areas where this has most direct impact on SLP lives: education and self-determination" (ibid.). Recognizing these rights for SLPs "[...] could help end the devastating impact of Oralism [...]" and all forms of neo-colonialism (ibid.). The scholars also refer to the negative role of established bodies and charities sharing the common bias of SLPs' audiological and social handicap that hinders their struggle for self-determination. They finally suggest the advantages, in multifarious domains, to majority societies made aware of that holistic world view communally shared by SLPs:

> Finally, such policy changes would be of benefit to majority societies themselves across a range of domains. The 'new' knowledge emerging from the recognition of SLPs as a viable and valuable part of human diversity, in academic, arts and media, and social domains, could also help us to question further our internal and external relationships with 'nature' and thus with the technology which increasingly threatens it. The Green movement was born from knowledge gained during the 1960s concerning the link between indigenous peoples and nature. The time is right, we submit, for attention to be focused nearer home on another group whose relationship with the 'natural' challenges many of our unconscious, hidden assumptions about our very biological existence (Batterbury *et al.,* 2007: 2,913).

7.3 Sign language acquisition. The bilingual bias and parents' position

A comprehensive survey of the specifics and multifaceted necessities of Deaf language communities was carried out by the Council of Europe in December 2008. Verena Krausneker (2008) stresses that acquisition of sign languages is altogether comparable with

oral language acquisition, as documented by the Council of Europe's findings. Hence the reasons for age-adequate heritage language education as the cognitive basis for Cummins' (1980a; 1981a) Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism will apply to Deaf children acquiring a signed language. Newport and Supalla' s (1999) demographic outline of research into American Sign Language (ASL) acquisition and hearing parents' common attitude is also prominent. Their conclusions give intriguing insights into later primary language acquisition and, finally, the effects of modality and the search for universal similarities in sign versus spoken language acquisition:

> All of these findings on ASL suggest that the cognitive abilities supporting language and its acquisition in humans are not restricted or specialized to speech but rather permit the development of signed as well as spoken languages. One might ask, then, whether there are any effects of modality on language structure or acquisition. The answer to this question from the study of this one sign language appears to be no, but a more definitive answer awaits the results of research on a large number of unrelated sign languages. With further research we will be able to determine whether the universal similarities among spoken languages of the world, and also the range of differences and variation among them, are also characteristic of the signed languages of the world (Supalla 1997; Newport 1996. In Newport & Supalla, 1999).

Now parents' attitudes and behaviour will play a decisive role in their Deaf children's cognitive and personal growth:

2.4 Parent counselling and support

Hearing parents of Deaf children often lack any knowledge of sign languages or the Deaf community. They often make decisions based solely on "professional" advice which is grounded in the deficit-oriented, medical perspective [...] The medical counselling that parents receive often does not include information regarding the possibilities of sign languages and how much valuable support the Deaf community could provide. They miss holistic views of Deafness and access to sign language. However, this biased information and perspective is not always the best for the child – because s/he subsequently grows up with a negative self-image. S/he might experience efforts of doctors and parents to change her/him and turn her/him into a hearing person instead of getting

loving acceptance of who s/he is. The child very often lives without full participation in family communication, because the family does not adapt to the child and does not communicate visually via a sign language (that could of course be learned for the child's sake).

No matter whether parents are hearing or Deaf: only they can facilitate and enable the basis and beginning of their Deaf child's sign language acquisition, which is of utmost importance. Therefore the better parents are informed, the greater are the chances that their Deaf child will have his/her true needs be looked after. In many countries parents only receive medical counselling and early intervention focused solely on spoken language (Krausneker, 2008: 21-22).[54]

As in other contexts of impairment, Deaf children are often placed in educational settings that segregate them from their "normal" counterparts and adopt reduced curricula to their cognitive detriment. In view of this, Krausneker propounds age-adequate educational support for Deaf children and their informed parents. Further ahead she highlights the following:

Recommendation 8: Easy access to sign languages for families

Access to a sign language should be made as simple and direct as possible for children born Deaf or hard of hearing. The same should account for their families. Every Deaf/hard of hearing baby (and his or her hearing family) should find an easy, state-supported and supervised path to enable age-adequate sign language acquisition. The costs for and organization of adequate sign language acquisition should be borne by the state, not by the parents or family (32).[55]

This leads to a demand for high-quality aimed, customized sign language education:

Recommendation 9: Customize Deaf education[56]

Deaf education should be customised for the target group and focused on its strengths (visual attention and communication) and not on its 'deficit', the hearing loss. This customisation should take into account the linguistic facts of language acquisition and second language learning. Highest possible quality of sign language use by teachers must be aimed at (32-33).

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[54] Author's emphasis.
[55] Author's emphasis.
[56] Author's emphasis.

7.4 Sign language and bilingualism. Dismissing misconception

In the mentioned post, François Grosjean (2011) gives important insights into the sociolinguistic diversity and functionality of sign languages viewed from the perspective of bilingualism:

> The users of sign language are often bilingual – one language is sign language (e.g. American Sign Language) and the other is the language of the hearing majority (e.g. English), often in its written form. This is termed bimodal bilingualism. Deaf bilinguals share many similarities with hearing bilinguals: they are diverse (some are Deaf, some are hard of hearing, some even are hearing), many do not consider themselves to be bilingual [...], they use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people [...], and they communicate differently depending on whether they are addressing monolinguals or bilinguals (Grosjean, 2011).

He mentions the specific plight of many Deaf children submerged by the mainstream oral culture that looks at deafness as a sheer disability in the face of the opposing conclusions of recent findings. His final remarks reassert the sociolinguistic validity of sign language in Deaf children's bilingual repertoire:

> Depending on the child, the two languages will play different roles: some children will be dominant in sign language, others will be dominant in the oral language, and some will be balanced in their two languages. Just like other bilingual children, they will use their languages in their everyday lives and they will belong, to varying degrees, to two worlds – in this case, the hearing world and the Deaf world (ibid.).

Concerning the pivotal need for sign language users to gain bilingual language competency, Verena Krausneker (2008) gives perceptive insights:

2.3 The need for bilingual language competency

For sign language users there is a daily need for bilingual language competency. The signed language serves to experience and practice barrier-free, unrestricted and pleasant communication. The spoken/written language is necessary to make oneself "heard" in the hearing majority community and "have a voice" there. Literacy is crucial for gaining access to written information and to education. Many Deaf people, however, have minimal to insufficient writing and reading competency and can be classed as functionally illiterate (21).[57]

Further ahead she stresses the importance of bimodal bilingualism to Deaf children:

Recommendation 10: Make bilingualism the goal

Bilingual language competence should be the goal of compulsory schooling for sign language users. Both the national sign language and the national spoken language (reading and writing) need to be taught (33).[58]

As observed, the role of hearing or deaf parents, as in any other educational context, is fundamental to their children's integrated bilingual development. Yet, parents' good will and active participation would be to no advantage without the effectual availability of schools and teachers. Recommendation 11 reaffirms the prerequisite place of bilingual competence and awareness in teachers of the Deaf:

Recommendation 11: Teacher requirements[59]

All people who work with Deaf children, pupils and teenagers should be competent in their respective national sign language and Deaf culture. The level of competence should be specified and examined – a minimum of B2 (CEFR) is suggested. People who are or want to become teachers of the Deaf should develop this language skill (ideally level C1 with the goal of reaching C2 within a certain specified amount of time) as part of their training or advanced education. Furthermore, they should learn about

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[57] Author's emphasis.
[58] Author's emphasis.
[59] Author's emphasis

Deaf identity, culture and history, preferably taught by Deaf adults, in order to develop positive, non-deficit-oriented images of Deafness (ibid.).

By the same token, a new real-world awareness of Deaf people's needs entails an independent training of teachers:

Recommendation 12: Special teacher training[60]

Deaf education is not simply special needs education. Deaf education requires specific knowledge and competence, and, therefore training of teachers should be offered as an independent programme, a special degree course or career (35).

Recommendations 13, 14 and 15 of Krausneker's report refer to sign language content and integrated learning closely resembling that of bilingual hearing education at large:

Recommendation 13: Equal curricula[61]

The content of curricula and the aspirated goals/knowledge in Deaf education should in principle equal the one for hearing pupils. That means that also secondary and further education should be offered in a sign language to sign language users. For Deaf pupils with disabilities appropriate curriculum adjustments should be made (ibid.).

Recommendation 14: Sign language as a language of education[62]

Any school for the Deaf should offer a bilingual programme. The national sign language should be used as the means of instruction for all subjects and should be taught as a language in a subject allocated just to it (ibid.).

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[60] Author's emphasis.
[61] Author's emphasis.
[62] Author's emphasis.

Recommendation 15: Sign language as a subject in school[63]

In schools for the Deaf the grammar and structure of the national sign language should be part of the curriculum and be taught as a separate subject (36).

This innovative policy should extend to higher education via affirmative action:

Recommendation 18: Accessible higher education[64]

In many countries access to higher education is not available to sign language users. This should be changed under the principle of affirmative action. Sign language users should be encouraged to enter universities and sign language interpreting, note-taking assistants, free choice of language during exams, counselling and support should be made available. At the same time awareness-raising and information campaigns should be raised among administration, teaching staff and fellow students (37).

Such multifaceted action can encompass hearing people in an awareness-raising process of inclusiveness:

Recommendation 16: Sign language as a foreign language

In "regular"/mainstream schools the national sign language/s should be offered as a foreign language. In the long run sign language competency among hearing people will contribute to an inclusive society (36).[65]

In this regard, Marschark *et al.* (2002) give relevant operational advice on deaf education. As in any other educational context, and, notably, in the scaffolded lesson, peer-to peer interrelationship plays a decisive role:

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[63] Author's emphasis.
[64] Author's emphasis.
[65] Author's emphasis.

Recommendation 17: Avoid isolation[66]

Deaf children should not be mainstreamed on their own. In cases where circumstances or parents do not allow anything else, it should be secured that the child has access to and regular contact with the local sign language community. It should be secured that s/he has access to children and adults that will enable him/her to develop sign language competence, a positive identity, high self-esteem and group belonging (Krausneker, 2008: 36).

Now we come to the crux of the sign language debate: do Deaf people form a linguistic minority group or are they to be defined by their hearing loss, i.e. their "disability"? We may propound, with several critical voices, that "[...] *disability* does not describe individual, physical abilities or limitations thereof but is a complex phenomenon that should be understood primarily by its social functioning, implications and aspects" (12). Krausneker (2008) adds that

The controversy whether Deaf people are disabled or a linguistic minority exists with regards to sign language users, not only in everyday discourse but especially in official, legal contexts and matters of the state. The relevant international literature on Deafness, Deaf rights and Deaf history clearly identifies fundamentally different perspectives of sign language users that can be detected throughout theory and practice (ibid.).

Hence, she identifies the two opposing views on deafness and sign language users which parallel the assimilation-versus-pluralism ideological discourse on bilingualism.

7.4.1. Deafness as a deficit

The hearing deficit stance posits a mainstream notion of "normality" reminding of what informs assimilationist monolingualism, which denies the validity of societal and personal identity of bi/multilinguals:

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[66] Author's emphasis.

This perspective focuses on the fact that Deaf people do not hear (well). Deficit-oriented approaches focus solely on the hearing deficit and see deafness as a medical abnormality that shall be cured as fast and best as possible. These – often medical – views of deafness usually aim at eliminating deafness and "integrating" Deaf people into the hearing world by using all technical and medical aids available (Krausneker, 2008: 13).

The consequences for Deaf children are altogether similar to those of minority group children being submerged by mainstream monolingualism:

This view is rooted in a medical understanding of the human being that points out deficits and aims at eliminating unwanted "otherness". It is problematic because it creates an enormous pressure on Deaf people to assimilate and to act and live as "hearing as possible" and has caused a great degree of "colonisation" of Deaf communities (Ladd 2003). One effect of this is that those Deaf adults who insist on maintaining their community and who fearlessly cherish their culture are in many countries denounced as ignorant deniers of technical advancement and unworldly by doctors and educators alike (Krausneker, 2008: 13).

This is most likely to lead to overall annihilation of sign language identity and community belonging, bringing on serious developmental problems in Deaf children:

The most problematic effect of the deficit-oriented approach is that it created the claim that there "are no more deaf children" because the "malady" can be repaired by surgery. Those professionals who define deafness solely as "the maximum degree of hearing loss" guide all children and teenagers who have just a little bit of hearing towards the group that is "just hard of hearing". Those educators and doctors subsequently argue that there is "no need" to use a sign language. The mere existence of sign language communities is often ignored and peoples' need or *preference* for a signed language is belittled (14).

7.4.2. Deaf people as a linguistic minority

The polar position rebuts the "normality" postulate by invoking the construct of "difference" and a pluralist, integrative understanding of Deaf people's language-founded

identity:

Another perspective: Deaf people as a linguistic minority[67]

A social/linguistic definition of "deafness" is one of difference rather than deficit. It includes anybody whose hearing ability is such that they cannot acquire spoken language naturally or has difficulties in mastering everyday information and communication via a spoken language. For many of those people it is truly only a visual language that can be acquired and used easily.

Deaf people usually form communities where membership depends on language competence and use. Deaf sign language communities exist in every country of the world and have survived decades of discrimination, of pressure to assimilate linguistically due to ignorance and disrespect towards their language. However, signed languages have remained an integral and irreplaceable part of their community lives. The linguistic/social view of Deafness respects these facts and understands Deaf people in the network of communities rather than as individual non-hearing people.

Most Deaf sign language users have a strong (conscious or unconscious) identity as a linguistic minority, foster Deaf culture and are well organised from regional to an international level (Deaf clubs, national associations of the Deaf, European Union of the Deaf, World Federation of the Deaf) – which distinguishes them from people who are termed "hard of hearing" (15-16).

Paddy Ladd, Mike Gulliver and Sarah Batterbury (2003a) encapsulate Deaf minorities' accrued sense of communal identity and the attempted eradication of Deaf culture by oral mainstream society:

"Deaf communities are best understood as language minorities rather than a group of disabled people. Deaf communities have experienced a savage form of linguistic oppression which has sought to replace their languages but which has also, often, deprived Deaf communities of access and literacy, access to education, to knowledge about shared collective history and culture. Sign languages have endured in spite of this oppression, which has fostered in its turn a strong community spirit and collective identity." (Ladd *et al*., 2003a: 20. In K rausneker, 2008: 16).[68]

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[67] Author's emphasis.
[68] Author's emphasis and italics.

Krausneker (2008) explains this view with "[...] the historical fact that the Deaf have formed a group and have been organised internationally since the early 19th century (and possibly before) and also the fact that group membership was, and is, based on the knowledge and use of a signed language and the related culture" (16). She emphasizes the presence of barriers as "[...] another central aspect relevant for understanding sign language users' situation", (16-17) but also, presumably, a variety of other language minorities, e.g. Hispanic children in anglophone US schools, Canadian francophone pupils, migrants and dialect speakers across many countries today:

> Deaf sign language users are excluded from certain services and information based on their physical disability to hear - just like other groups of people with disabilities. For Deaf people to have access to full information sometimes requires acoustic signals to be transformed into visual signals. That means there is a certain aspect of full access to information that lies outside the realm of language. The term "audism" – discrimination based on the ability to hear – actually includes any kind of exclusion, maltreatment and threat and can be observed in many ways (17).

In fact, as observed by Krausneker (2008), a third, more realistic viewpoint takes in and correlates the disability discourse with the issue of linguistic identity:

> **After long discussions the European Union of the Deaf (EUD) decided that the linguistic view of Deafness can be teamed up with the disability aspect and stated that both apply: Deaf people view themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority. But they encounter barriers put up by society, suffer from lack of access and are therefore also "disabled"** (EUD 1997: 10ff. In Krausneker, 2008: 17).[69]

Far from colliding, therefore, both positions should be operatively integrated:

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[69] Author's emphasis.

Recommendation 4: Take basic linguistic needs into account[70]

> In order to protect and to promote the rights of sign language users the aspect of disability as well as the aspect of linguistic rights should be taken into account. When planning and taking measures, it should be considered that most of the basic needs and concerns of the European sign language communities are linguistic (30-31).

Apparently, the impairment issue, other than the assumed English deficit of Hispanic children in the 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation, cannot be merely dismissed when applied to Deaf sign communities. However, just as the former will not catch up with their English counterparts by simply increasing their English skills in primary school, the latter will not harmonize with the oral mainstream through a sheer cochlear implant:

> **Thus, it can be concluded that Deaf sign language users are a linguistic minority <u>and</u> also a group of people with disabilities. Why is this understanding crucial for policy makers? Many countries which treat Deaf needs merely within the framework of disability ignore the linguistic aspect – maybe because they simply do not "fit in". Within disability frameworks there is often no space, no tool, no terminology and no expertise to deal with a linguistic minority. Reducing Deaf sign language users to a matter of disability does not account for their needs** [...] (17-18).[71]

We might conclude that any credible educational policy needs to take stock of Deaf people's sign-language founded sociocultural identity. The third recommendation at the end of the Council of Europe's report spotlights the prerequisite for reducing assimilatory pressure:

Recommendation 3: Reduce assimilatory pressure[72]

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[70] Author's emphasis.
[71] Author's emphasis.
[72] Author's emphasis.

The hearing world should respect the existence of sign language users, value their diversity and reduce the imposed force to assimilate that is in progress. Deaf sign language users should be granted full citizens' and linguistic human rights without forcing hearing standards onto them. Governments should raise public awareness with regard to the signing minority/minorities in their countries and spread a positive and respectful understanding of sign language users (30).

Such awareness and understanding are aimed at by integrating sign language users' needs in recommendation 5:

Recommendation 5: Integrate sign language users' needs[73]

The needs of sign language communities in Europe should be viewed in the light of difference and not deficit. Their linguistic and cultural needs and characteristics should be respected. Sign language users' issues should be related to relevant organizations and bodies, such as human rights and language committees, minority language organizations and departments, linguistic rights' advisory boards, support teams, and research institutions (31).

7.5 A matter of free access. Putting technology to use

As mentioned above, most aspects of discrimination, exclusion and disadvantages against Deaf sign language users are grounded in language. In fact, as regards the right to information, Verena Krausneker (2008) claims that both spoken media, such as radio and TV, and printed media with subtitles "[...] are rarely fully accessible for many Deaf people" the right to information via national television and sign language interpreters or signed homepages being mostly disregarded or fulfilled on a limited scale (27). There she brings to the fore the paramount role of technology in securing Deaf sign communities' access to all channels of information: "These include all kinds of warnings and alarms (from announcements to fire alarm), emergency services, intercom communication and information, etc. – for most of which exist visual versions and substitutes. Although they are available, they are not made use of in many places […]" (28).

The barrier-breaking action through technical innovations and their consequent use goes on but still looks inadequate. As a matter of fact, removing or drastically reducing barriers can increase Deaf people's chances on the job market and eventually equalize their

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[73] Author's emphasis.

starting positions (38). Krausneker (2008) spotlights the key instrumentality of interpreters and state-funded telephone relay centres in enabling multimedial communication between Deaf and hearing people: "[…] interpreters in telephone relay centres transfer spoken language into text (text messages, fax, TTY, chat, e-mail) or into signed text (video telephone, chat) and back. Only such services enable any hearing person to communicate with Deaf people via telephone" (27). This also inspires the conclusive recommendation to Council of Europe member states on providing more and better interpreters for augmenting Deaf people's participation in society. The instrumental place of universities is laid emphasis on: "Universities should be strongly encouraged to create sign language interpreter training programmes and the existing interpreter organizations should be encouraged to help organise professional sign language interpreting standards" (39). Interpreting is thus instrumental in making barrier-free, diversified information, e.g. daily politics, state developments and news, available to sign language users: "This should be secured by in-vision sign language interpreters and subtitling in television; and/or by creating broadcasting formats/media (on TV or the Internet) made by sign language users in sign language(s)" (37-38).

It goes without saying that this institutional awareness-raising process should be inspired by and run in parallel with bias-breaking holistic sign language research and state-financed programmes in Deaf studies. Conscientious investigation could thus correct the many erroneous opinions about sign languages and promote respect for sign languages as real languages through information and facts. To this effect, the report reminds us that many sign languages are still underinvestigated and that basic knowledge of their structure is lacking. Then, in order to advance research on the national sign languages and start programmes in Deaf studies, universities should receive adequate financial incentives. Krauneker compares such effort and commitment to those in the fields of Black Studies, Women's Studies and Jewish Studies (39).

7.6 The legal conditions of Deaf communities

The Council of Europe's study substantiates that, in the eyes of the law and in the

context of language policy, sign languages (SLs) and sign language peoples (SLPs) are not often considered on equal terms with the oral mainstream. To date, official recognition of sign languages has been limited to Aotearoa/New Zealand, where a sign language has an official status similar to the other official languages, and another dozen nations where sign languages are mentioned in the constitution. The recognition of these languages has become increasingly important on SLPs' political agendas so much so that extending legal recognition is one of the major concerns of the international Deaf community. Symbolic recognition only, however, is no guarantee of an effective improvement of sign language users' life. Basically, behind such campaigns, SLPs' intentions have parallels with those of indigenous peoples and their rights—such as the Maori and Sami—, and with recognition campaigns of other national linguistic minorities—e.g. the Welsh, Gaelic and Catalan people. What distinguishes these campaigns from the sign language recognition campaigns is that policy makers still fail to engage with the reality of SLPs as cultural/linguistic minorities, and mistakenly view them as disability formations. Yet, inspired by spoken minority language legislation, SLPs have initiated policy for sign language legislation aimed at guaranteeing the same protection and legal status as those spoken minority languages have, starting from urging the legal recognition of Sign languages. Verena Krausneker (2008) claims that "All countries should strive for legal recognition of their national sign language/s in their national laws and/or their constitution" including specific recognition of minority language status with relevant benefits: "The goal and effect of these laws should be concrete linguistic rights for Deaf people in all domains of life" (29). She points up policy makers' deficit-oriented discriminatory practices against SLPs. Claiming that "Sign languages are fully fledged, natural languages with the same function and variety as spoken languages" and that "They are used and needed by Deaf communities all over the world", she vocalizes the fact that relying on a different language than the majority and having limited hearing has engendered "[…] **a number of inequalities and discriminations**" (ibid.).[74] A shift in the perspective, then, would take stock of the Deaf viewpoint. Now considering that "Deaf people are *per se* able to live independently and to speak for themselves", their voice and viewpoint should be supported, made available and respected in the majority hearing world. Accordingly, in

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[74] Author's emphasis.

order that measures can accommodate actual needs, "[…] especially policy makers should consult Deaf associations and Deaf researchers/experts" (30). Regarding the Deaf citizen's current affairs, Ladd *et al.* (2003b) vocalize the need for multiple integrative action. This should raise awareness in "[…] *a number of public sector arenas wherever public services require direct interaction with Deaf people*" and posits, in particular, "[…] *an urgent need for sign language training and Deaf awareness for all police in Europe's police forces*" (Ladd *et al.,* 2003b:70. In Krausneker, 2008: 26).[75] Hence the needs analysis highlights the persisting barriers, in spite of some apparent signs of improvement over the last decades. The report focuses again on the necessary language prerequisites to be taken care of and on high-level successful communication for enabling Deaf people's access to medical and other important services. It details that the responsibility for taking such operative measures in behalf of patients, clients and citizens can only be taken by the state and that, in the end, "[…] communication usually and mostly depends on availability and trainings of highly qualified professional sign language interpreters" (28).

Taking even-handed legal measures would also enable Deaf people to obtain fair trials. The author illustrates the actual difficulty of securing fair trials for sign language users. In reality, in fact, they "[…] often endure court hearings and trials in which they can neither understand everything nor adequately express and represent themselves" (27). Such lack of understanding would stem from the occurrence of "[…] faulty interpretations by "interpreters" lacking sign language knowledge" and is also interrelated with "[…] the Deaf persons' embarrassment, pride or lack of linguistic competency (due to the schooling system)" (ibid.).:

7.7 A variegated European Union panorama for Sign language rights

As regards the European Union, each spoken language has a counterpart sign language. The lack of reliable figures makes it hard to know exactly how many people in the EU use

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[75] Author's italics.

a sign language. An estimated 1 person in 1,000 uses a national sign language as their first language, i.e. about 500,000 people EU-wide. Others may use sign language as a second or third language, for example the family and friends of deaf and hearing-impaired people. Broadly speaking, the legal recognition of sign languages differs widely across the states: in some of them, the national sign language is an official state language; in others, sign languages have obtained some form of legal recognition or a protected status in certain areas, such as education; in other countries, finally, these languages have no status at all.

It is generally assumed that the European Parliament was the first actor to address the issue of sign languages at European level. The Assembly unanimously approved a resolution about Deaf Sign Languages on 17th June, 1988 and asked all member states for recognition of their national sign languages as official languages of the Deaf. This resolution called upon the States to abolish any remaining obstacles to the use of sign languages and still remains valid in many areas and on several issues which were raised at that time. Yet, due to the lack of progress being made, as perceived by the Deaf community, pressure increased in the 1990s and led the European Parliament to issue another resolution in 1998, exactly ten years after the first instrument, with more or less the same content as in 1988 (Resolution on sign languages for the deaf. Official Journal C 379, 07/12/1998 P. 0066). With support from the European Commission, and in close cooperation with the Council of Europe and the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg, Germany, organized, on 23rd and 24th June 2000, an international conference on "Evaluating policy measures for minority languages in Europe: Towards effective, cost-effective and democratic implementation". Participants included noted scholars in minority issues, representatives from major international organisations, non-governmental organisations and member countries of the Council of Europe. The conference was an important element in a larger project on the analysis of policies adopted in favour of minority languages, particularly, but not exclusively, in the context of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Two illustrative, and divergent, cases of sign language policy have been Spain and Italy.

7.7.1 Spain[76]

In Spain, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) entered into force on 1st August 2001. However, the legal conditions of sign communities have considerably varied across the country.

The Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, Andalusia, and Valencia had granted the use of sign languages to the Deaf when, on 28th June, 2007, Spanish and Catalan Sign Languages were finally recognized by the Spanish Parliament to be official languages in Spain. This legal development opened the door to reinforced communication in the areas of healthcare, justice and education. Instead, in the other Spanish regions, no sign languages have been recognized so far, and support in terms of sign language interpretation for Deaf persons has been minimal or confined by different budgets. There are, in the country, three sign languages claimed by Deaf organizations: Spanish Sign Language (*Lengua de Signos Española*, LSE), Catalan Sign Language (*Llengua de Signes Catalana*, LSC) and Valencian Sign Language (*Llengua de Signes Valenciana*, LSCV or LSPV), although some linguists consider these to be the same (ibid). In particular:

Catalonia.[77] Although a regional law has guaranteed the presence of Catalan Sign Language since 1994 in all areas under the Catalan Government, such as education and media, the LSC was only recognized officially in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 2006.

Valencia.[78] Until recently, Valencia had poor legal support for the Deaf. The approved 2006 Statute of Autonomy, however, grants to Valencian Deaf their right to use Valencian Sign Language (LSPV or LSCV). In the Statute, there is no mention of which sign language is telling, but Valencian Deaf entities usually refer it as *Llengua de Signes en la Comunitat Valenciana*. Article 13,4: "La Generalitat garantirà l'ús de la llengua de signes

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[76] The status of sign languages in Europe: 70-75.

[77] Emphasis added.
[78] Emphasis added.

pròpia de les persones sordes, que haurà de ser objecte d'ensenyament, protecció I respecte" (Corts Valencianes: Estatut d'Autonomia de la Communitat Valenciana).[79]

Andalusia.[80] The legal situation in Andalusia is similar to the one in Catalonia. A regional law has guaranteed the presence of the Spanish Sign Language (LSE) in all social scopes since 1998 and a recognition of it has been included in the reforming of their Statute of Autonomy. At the moment, Andalusia is the unique Community, with regard to the rest of Spain, where LSE is acknowledged. In any case, in linguistic terms, the LSE used there has a strong dialectal variation**.**

Galicia.[81] Galicia has been working on a bill concerning the recognition of a sign

language.

The Concil of Europe's April 2005 report on the official recognition, status and social and public health of sign languages in 26 EU member states—18 members and 8 observers to the Partial Agreement in the Social and Public Health Field—(The status of sign languages in Europe: 11) singles out five focused projects promoted or carried out by the Ministry of Labour or Social Affairs (Social and Family Affairs and Disabilities Department) to foster the social integration of Deaf persons in Spain:

1. support for sign language;

2. telephone relay centres for deaf people;

3. film and television sub-titles;

4. access to information services via the Internet;

5. Act No. 51/2003 of 2 December 2003 on equal opportunities, non-discrimination (The status of sign

languages in Europe: 70).

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[79] "The Generalitat shall grant the use of the own sign language of deaf persons, which shall have to be purposed in education, protection and respect".
[80] Emphasis added.
[81] Emphasis added.

The report throws light on the new statewide awareness of the sign minority's needs and highlights activities and measures for best meeting their demands. Apparently, the activities planned are not different from those arranged for the preservation and strengthening of First-Nation and lesser-used languages in multicultural polities:

Film and television sub-titles.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs promotes and supports the subtitling of television programmes. Measures taken include national and international one-day events to promote sub-titles and active involvement, through the state-run centre for personal autonomy, CEAPAT, in the preparation of a technical subtitling standard by the Spanish industrial standards authority's Committee No. 153 on technical aids.

Access to information services through the Internet.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is negotiating an agreement with the Ministry of Public Administration, through which it will contribute to a project designed to facilitate access to the Internet in order to provide a better public information service. The first step is to adapt the public portal in order to provide the best possible access conditions.

Act No. 51/2003 of 2 December 2003 on equal opportunities, non-discrimination and universal access for persons with disabilities (LIONDAU).

On 3 December 2003, Act No. 51/2003 of 2 December 2003 on equal opportunities, non-discrimination and universal access for persons with disabilities, as passed by the Spanish Parliament, was published in the Spanish Official Gazette (The status of sign languages in Europe: 74).[82]

Section 12 of the final paragraph on sign language provides as follows:

"Within two years of the entry into force of this Act, the government shall make arrangements in keeping with the development of Spanish Sign Language, with a view to ensuring that it is possible

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[82] Author's italics.

for deaf and hard-of-hearing persons to learn, master and use it and guaranteeing them freedom of choice when it comes to communicating. This regulation shall be progressively applied in the various areas referred to in section 3 of this Act" (ibid.).

The section ends with the relevant conclusions: "To this end, the government has begun work on regulations on Spanish Sign Language, to ensure that deaf people have access to public services, information, education, the legal system and means of communication" (74-75). As regards an operative recognition of sign language (users) in legislation,

In **Spain**,[83] the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs prepared a comprehensive report on the repercussions that the progressive recognition of sign languages could have in its area, undertaking its study in the fields of non-regular training, employment and social services. The document establishes that the main fields of action for the government to progressively implement the recognition of sign languages would be the following:

- Implantation of sign languages in the public administration by means of interpretation services offered progressively for deaf users who demand this form of communication, and by fostering widespread sign language training for the general information service staff;

– Gradual implantation of a policy encouraging bilingualism among the deaf;

As priority steps, the government undertakes to carry out:

– An analysis of the social and labour situation of the deaf in Spain;

– Measures leading to the training of sign language interpreters;

– Training action for sign language interpretation aimed at civil servants of the government's general administration.

The National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (2001-2003) included measures to support the use of sign languages as a communication tool for the deaf, fundamentally in their dealings with public administrations (113-114).

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[83] Author's emphasis.

7.7.2 Italy[84]

Italy signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) on 27th June 2000. Italian Sign Language or LIS (*Lingua dei Segni Italiana*) is the visual language employed by deaf people in Italy. Deep analysis of it began in the 1980s, along the lines of William Stokoe's research on American Sign Language in the 1960s. Until the beginning of the 21st century, most studies of Italian Sign Language dealt with its phonology and vocabulary. According to the European Union for the Deaf, the majority of the 60,000–90,000 Deaf people in Italy use LIS. However, until recently there was no official recognition of Italian Sign Language. Those who opposed LIS recognition said this language is "grammarless," although, by definition, a language cannot be, in fact, grammarless. Several researches on the matter have already shown that Italian Sign Language is a proper language (Brunelli, 2006).

Concerning education legislation for school settings, the Council of Europe's report remarks that proposals to include the teaching of LIS to support teachers had been accepted and that for the first time in Italy, a number of hours in LIS training had to be completed in order to qualify for the qualification awarded by the Ministry for Public Instruction for support teachers (The status of sign languages in Europe: 55). Thus, training to deaf people to become communication assistants has been one of many European projects taking place and communication assistants, deaf and hearing, were now working thoughout Italy to facilitate communication between deaf students, their classmates and teachers through LIS (ibid.). As set down in Law No. 104/92, "Besides possessing certain teaching skills, these professionals must be skilled in communication strategies for use with deaf people and have a certain degree of knowledge of LIS" (ibid.).

The report reveals that LIS/Italian bilingual education for Deaf children has become more and more popular with families and that these demanded that governments and local agencies (municipal or provincial) should provide classroom assistants in their children's

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[84] The status of sign languages in Europe: 54-56.

classrooms. As a result, assistants at nursery and elementary school are often Deaf people and, in accordance with the committee's suggestions, many schools thoughout the country have placed more than one Deaf child in each classroom (ibid.).

Over the last decades, the Italian school system has been reformed. Schools have been given more autonomy in choosing study programmes and this led to the establishment of new LIS as a second language courses for hearing students in a number of places, e.g. Palermo, Guidonia (Rome) and Cossato (Biella) (The status of sign languages in Europe: 55-56). However, in spite of the many new opportunities made available for ENS [Deaf mute people's National Association] and for LIS, the autonomy achieved does not seem to have produced wholly satisfactory outcomes.

As regards university, legislation in force provides for the presence of LIS interpreters and guarantees funding for tutors, although each university may act autonomously. Specialized internal departments where deaf and hearing experts work side by side were established by ENS in 2001. These departments include FALiCs (Training and Updating in LIS and Deaf culture) and SEU (School, Education, University). They work in tandem and collaborate when in contact with external organisations and institutions, such as the two national associations of interpreters, ANIOS and ANIMU (56).

Concerning mass media, "Italian regulations require that government-owned television stations must offer services to people with disabilities […] considered to be a just return for taxes that are paid for television licenses" (ibid.). The ensuing sit-in demonstrations and protest held by ENS "[…] resulted in the provision of two national television live news programmes per day with closed captioning and three pre-recorded new bulletins provided with LIS interpretation". Moreover, the number of closed-captioned programmes increased by 20% due to the close collaboration of Televideo and ENS (ibid.).

On the whole, and from my own experience, it is reasonable to assume that a state-run educational policy targeting Deaf people's sign language in Italy might be much better geared to the situated needs of the community, which are all too often unmet by the diversified outcomes of regional and local legislation.

In conclusion, looking at the issue of sign language defence and promotion fourteen years later, Ms Nina Timmermans' survey still calls into question the various end results in the European Union. As epitomized by Spain and Italy, we may remark the extreme diversity and mixed fortunes of EU policies and claim that, beyond the upbeat directions and working projects being variously carried out, the EU framework should enforce coherent measures for a more active and effective role of Deaf people minorities across the EU member states.

7.8 Technology and the European Union. Turning a deaf ear or accommodating minority needs?

Beyond doubt, the European Union of the Deaf (EUD), based in Brussels, Belgium, plays a key role in the overall empowerment of Deaf people communities. The European Commission has also actively promoted Deaf people's sociocultural inclusion through a number of initiatives. A pilot project on the 18 EU sign languages based on placing fully annotated digitized moving images of three of them (Dutch, British and Swedish) on the Internet was carried out by ECHO (European Cultural Heritage Online):

> This requires significant development of multi-media technologies which allow distributed annotation of a central corpus, together with the development of special search techniques. The technology will have widespread application to all cultural performances recorded as sound and/or moving images. The project captures in microcosm the essence of the ECHO proposal: cultural heritage is nothing without the humanities research which contextualizes and gives it comparative assessment; by marrying information technology to humanities research, we can bring these materials to a wider public while simultaneously boosting Europe as a research area. Simultaneously, the special interests of the Deaf community can be served. Homepage of the case study: http://www.let.ru.nl/sign-lang/echo (Comparison of European Sign Languages**).**

The last decades' technological breakthrough has enormously augmented Deaf people's communicative needs and job-related possibilities. As concerns telecommunications, one of the first demonstrations of the ability for telecommunications to help sign language users communicate with each other occurred when AT&T's videophone (trademarked as the "Picturephone") was introduced to the public at the 1964 New York World's Fair – two deaf users were able to freely communicate with each other between the fair and another city.[85] However, video communication did not become widely available until sufficient bandwidth for the high volume of video data became available in the early 2000s.

Today the Internet allows deaf people to talk via a video link, either with a special-purpose videophone designed for use with sign language or with "off-the-shelf" video services designed for use with broadband and an ordinary computer webcam. The special videophones that are designed for sign language communication may provide better quality than 'off-the-shelf' services and may use data compression methods specifically designed to maximize the intelligibility of sign languages. Some advanced equipment enables a person to remotely control the other person's video camera, in order to zoom in and out or to point the camera better to understand the signing (Sign language Telecommunications, Wikipedia 2019).

7.9 Conclusions

Drawing some conclusions from the ongoing discussion, we may single out the following points for a more specific debate:

1. Sign languages are not humble pantomime, imitation or "[…] simple gestural codes representing the surrounding spoken language" (Newport & Supalla, 1999); they are fully-fledged, rich and complex semantic systems using visual-gestural traits to convey information. Thus, as noted by the two linguists, sign languages have all the structural properties of other human languages but their evolution is independent of the spoken languages that surround them (ibid.) and their variation can usually be correlated to the

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[85] Bell Laboratories RECORD (1969) A collection of several articles on the AT&T Picturephone. Bell Laboratories, pg.134–153 & 160–187, Volume 47, No. 5, May/June 1969.

geographic location of residential schools and educational institutions for the Deaf.

2. Yet, from a psycholiguistic, linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view, sign languages show very similar typological features, variety and complexity to those of spoken languages: brain processing, neurological organization, acquisition, borrowing between sign languages and from spoken languages, use of sign language as a *lingua franca* between signers and/or speakers, various forms of pidginization, creolization and bilingualism. At the same time, sign languages bring to the fore the visual-gestural semantic constituents of communication which have a prominent, and often subconscious, part in our daily social and relational life.

3. On the basis of a fairly detailed knowledge of American Sign language (ASL), which surprisingly shares certain typological similarities with Navajo, recent research has focused on natural sign languages and compared unrelated sign languages to one another in an attempt to determine the universal properties and the range of language variation across sign languages. The findings, then, have been collated to those found in cross-linguistic research on spoken languages (Supalla, 1997). The outcome is promising but warrants further investigation for a thorough understanding of other signed languages and of sign language universals (Newport & Supalla, 1999: 2).

4. The reported pilot study conducted in some communities of Arnhem Land (Adone, 2014) gives enlightening insights into the sociocultural stratification, domains of use and state of endangerment of Indigenous sign languages. What is especially needed is a systematic investigation into the fragility and varying degrees of endangerment of these languages since the intergenerational transmission is taking place only in a few communities and the younger generations do not seem to be acquiring or using sign languages in all the contexts they are used by the older generations. Like most Native and minority or lesser-used spoken languages, then, these languages, and their invaluable funds of knowledge, threaten to disappear in the next decade or so, if appropriate and urgent measures to document, safeguard and revive them are not taken. The Arnhem Land use of natural sign languages is not only worth investigating *per se*. The conclusions, though

constrained by a very small sample, may encapsulate essential anthropological traits of human language.

5. On the one hand, in fact, signing is an integral part of Aboriginal culture. Functional bimodal bilingualism, i.e. the integrated situational use of signed and spoken language according to the context and domain by hearing and/or non-hearing interactants, is reminiscent of what van Lier (2004: 3) calls the eco-centric or geocentric perspective of deep ecology, something that characterizes the pre-Cartesian Aboriginal world view.

On the other, from an encompassing anthropological perspective, visual-gestural and body language, though socially and culturally marginalized by mainstream scholarship until recently, has always been part and parcel of daily oral communication across linguacultural variation and variability, notably, in folklore and dialectal European cultures. 20th century anthropological, sociolinguistic and pragmatist investigation has amply illustrated the iconic, illocutionary and perlocutionary power of signs and gestures.

6. The sign language debate has long focused on a crucial question: do Deaf people form just a group defined by their hearing impairment or a specific linguistic minority, with sociocultural peculiarities? The two divergent views thus parallel the assimilation-versus-pluralism discourse on bilingualism and have analogous effects.

A real-world holistic approach, though acknowledging the individual's integrative necessities in the hearing mainstream and the right to belong to whatever community he/she identifies with, may advantageously probe into the unique features of Deaf culture, starting from the fact that "normality" is a very questionable stereotype employed by the *inner circles* (Ruanni F. Tupas, 2006: 170) for hushing up Deaf-and minority-language individual and collective claims to a long-standing sociocultural identity, with a relevant upshot in terms of educational policies. We might spotlight, along the same lines, sign language as well as Native and Aboriginal peoples' communal feeling of "[...] an earth-rooted, natural culture, which could exist and be nurtured only by the coming together, in 'tribal' form, of SLPs" and which is incompatible with the colonizing West's "scientific" alienated individualism (Batterbury, 2007: 2907). In other terms, as remarked in the Native American writer Churchill's quotation (1994: 234), Sign Language Peoples and Native

Americans reject the white man's self-colonizing severance between himself and the earth, and pertinent discourses denigrating the "natural" while promoting "scientific" civilization and "[…] the belief that medicine and technology can somehow 'cure' or 'remove' the deafness, and latterly, with the advent of genetics, remove the Deaf child or person altogether" (Batterbury *et al.*, 2007: 2907).

In the end, the widespread language-deficit perspective—and recommended resort to a cochlear implant—results in another form of homogenizing monolingualism closely resembling that enforced on language minorities worldwide. Conversely, an eco-centric view of language ecology, building on the multifaceted insights into the conditions and potentialities of bilingualism (e.g. Cummins, 2003), can entail an inclusive understanding and position of sign language and Deaf culture.

7. To date, however, signers' right to be bilingual has not been effectively upheld by mainstream oral culture, which tends to marginalize Deaf children by adopting reduced curricula and segregating them from their "normal" counterparts. A basis for creating a holistic educational setting, then, warrants hearing parents accepting Deaf children's state, their cognitive and cultural specifics and abilities and the vital support of the Deaf community. In fact, most hearing parents "[…] **often make decisions based solely on "professional" advice which is grounded in the deficit-oriented, medical perspective** […]" (Krausneker, 2008: 21).[86] In fact, research does not suggest that the avoidance of sign languages improves speech abilities. Evidence attests, instead, that, "[…] among the profoundly deaf, better speech, lipreading, and reading abilities are shown by native signers (Meadow 1966) and, more generally, that spoken language abilities depend much more on the ability to hear than on the availability (or avoidance) of signing" (Jensema 1975; Quigley & Paul 1986. In Newport & Supalla,1999).

8. Missing, thus, a holistic view of Deafness may engender a negative self-image in the child. Conversely, accepting reality and adapting to the true conditions of Deaf children and their visual-gestural mode of communicating will bolster their full participation and development inside and outside the family. By knowing and using both a sign language and an oral language, as explained by Grosjean (2011), children can meet their many

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[86] Author's emphasis.

needs, i.e., communicate early with their parents, first in sign and then, with time, also in the oral language, develop their cognitive abilities, acquire knowledge and interrelate fully with the surrounding world; in short, acculturate into their two worlds. It has been also observed that the two languages will play different roles in Deaf learners: some of them will be dominant in sign language; others will be dominant in the oral language; and some will be balanced in their two languages. Just like other bilingual children, they will use their languages in their everyday lives and belong, to varying degrees, to two worlds: in this case, the hearing world and the Deaf world (ibid.). Deaf children can thus use sign language early on to communicate while the oral language is being acquired: "In the case of Deaf children, whether they have a cochlear implant or not, sign language can be used early on to communicate while the oral language is being acquired […]" (ibid.). Eventually, sign language "[…] can be used to express emotions, to explain things as well as to communicate about the other language; and linguistic skills acquired in sign such as discourse rules and even general writing skills, acquired through sign writing, can be transferred to the oral language. It has been shown that the better the children's skills are in sign language, the better they will know the oral language" (ibid.). The comparison with heritage language children's situation in the USA is obvious.

9. As observed, "Schools for the Deaf could be central in turning linguistically deprived Deaf children into fully bilingual adults who use two languages (one signed and one written) to a high level and can consequently function in both the Deaf and the hearing world" (Krausneker, 2008: 25). Schools for the Deaf, however, are not generally geared to training Deaf children in effective forms of bimodal bilingualism. Concerning bilingual competence, the scholar adds that "[…] the framework of Linguistic Human Rights perceives it as a crucial prerequisite for full participation in society that members of linguistic minorities have bilingual competencies" (ibid.). In reality, the shortage of Deaf teachers and lecturers in most European schools means that "[…] sign language using pupils have no role models for language and identity" and, as a result, "[…] get no linguistic input on a first language, adult level" (ibid.). With regard to the sensitive issue of identity, Ladd *et al*. (2003b) lay emphasis on implementing awareness-raising policies to put "An end to the current widespread practice of non-Deaf people making decisions about

Deaf people […]" (68). A holistic empowering role of Deaf people, then, postulates a more conscientious training and education on the part of Deaf teachers who "[…] should learn about Deaf identity, culture and history, preferably taught by Deaf adults, in order to develop positive, non-deficit-oriented images of Deafness" (Krausneker, 2008: 33).

10. The new perspective also entails operating against all forms of marginalization and exclusion from services and information on account of Deaf people's physical disability, the need for an organized transformation of acoustic signals into visual signals and a rejection of "audism" altogether, i.e. "[…] discrimination based on the ability to hear […]" including "[…] any kind of exclusion, maltreatment and threat […] observed in many ways" (17). There comes once again the analogy between Deaf children's plight and Hispanic children's mother-tongue, and hence cognitive, deficit as produced by the all-English 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation in the USA. The whole educational establishment, then, should go to great lengths to avoid Deaf children's isolation and enable them to develop "[…] sign language competence, a positive identity, high self-esteem and group belonging" (36).

11. This leads to a logical defence of sign culture against deficit-oriented approaches which try "to colonize" Deaf communities (Ladd, 2003). Krausneker (2008) highlights that "[…] those Deaf adults who insist on maintaining their community and who fearlessly cherish their culture are in many countries denounced as ignorant deniers of technical advancement and unworldly by doctors and educators alike" (13). A language ecology perspective will actively oppose this kind of assimilation—"[…] a savage form of linguistic oppression […]"(Ladd *et al.* 2003a: 20)—together with other forms of monolingual and monocultural homogenization. A consistent eco-linguistic measure, thus, would operatively take stock of the aspect of disability together with that of linguistic rights since Deaf people look to themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority suffering from societal barriers, lack of access and consequent socio-cultural marginalization. It goes without saying that all this involves increased, well-targeted and customized expenditure on educational provision for Deaf children.

12. Closely related to such defence is a multi-level activity of awareness-raising in EU-run, national, regional and local contexts through the availability of sign language classes for hearing people as a key for understanding and appreciating Deaf communities and their expressive mode of communication. This, together with further academic research into signers' linguistic characteristics and sociocultural idiosyncrasies, could signify a new holistic and inclusive dimension of education that dovetails aural/oral with gestural/visual communicative affordances. Ultimately, the implications of sign language investigation for applied linguistics are, as observed, numerous and intriguing. An immediately available research opportunity is the study of the effects of age of exposure on the mastery of a primary language, since many signers have acquired their primary language beyond infancy and, being "[…] born into hearing families with no knowledge of sign language and Deaf culture […]", "[…] usually experience a difficult path full of obstacles and detours before they acquire a sign language" (Krausneker, 2008: 20).

As this short survey has tried to demonstrate, the way to a thorough understanding of Deaf culture through preserving and propagating sign languages in the hearing mainstream, and to a fully-fledged empowerment of Deaf minorities is still long. Removing the simplistic deficit approach, it will require an open-minded appreciation of Deaf people's unique identity for the purpose of gaining a holistic and open-minded vision of their needs and potentialities, eliminating discrimination, devising and streamlining situated measures and maximizing their contribution to a humane, barrier-free European community. Taking a broad view, research might creatively look into Deaf people's earth-and-language rooted, collectivist notions of civilization, progress, nature, community membership, knowledge and identity, which partly resonate with Native and Aboriginal groups, transcending traditional Western dimensions of race, sexuality, gender, class and boundary-defined ownership and cognition, and maybe setting a credible alternative to the Darwinist alienated individualism and globalized world view of contemporary oral cultures.

It is now time to get back and zoom in on the specific paradox of English as a *lingua franca* between submersion and transcendence in the relevant literature and across a variety of sociocultural scenarios in search of a possibly more encompassing though provisional proposition, which is the purpose of the following chapter.

PART 4

THE DUAL FACE OF GLOCAL ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA* IN THE EUROPAN UNION: FROM MONOLINGUAL HOMOGENIZATION TO A NEW MULTILINGUAL ECOLOGY

CHAPTER 8

THE GLOCAL DUALITY OF ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA* IN THE EUROPEAN UNION'S FRAMEWORK, CLASSROOM AND WORKPLACE. HOMOGENIZING SUBMERSION OR UNIFYING TRANSCENDENCE?

8.1 A diachronic snapshot. From native Anglo-American hegemony to English as a *lingua franca* in the glocal village

Over the last five centuries, English as a *lingua franca* has exemplified and surpassed all the typical features of successful contact languages, thus becoming, *de facto*, the present-day global means of world communication. Dealing with language diversity, Rick Noack and Lazaro Gamio (23rd April, 2015) featured the overwhelming spread of English use worldwide:

Number of countries in which this language is spoken

Language	Number of countries
English	101 countries
Arabic	60
French	51
Chinese	33
Spanish	31
Persian	29
German	18
Russian	16
Malaysian	13
Portuguese	12

Sources: Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition   THE WASHINGTON POST
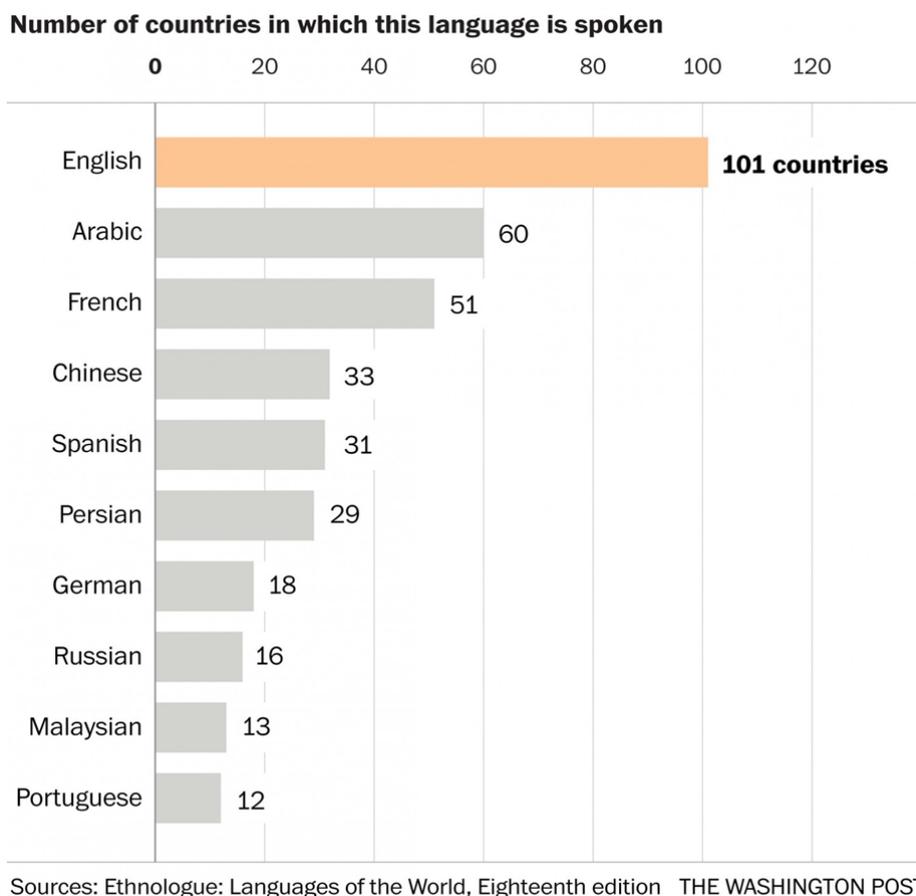
Figure 2. English spread worldwide. *Ethnologue*. Languages of the World. Eighteenth edition (Noack & Gamio, *The Washington Post*, 23rd April, 2015).

Two years later, in December 2017, Internet World Statistics reported the significant primacy of the language in the Internet:

Top Ten Languages in the Internet in Millions of users - December 2017

Language	Millions of Users
English	1052
Chinese	804
Spanish	337
Arabic	219
Portuguese	169
Indonesia	168
French	134
Japan	118
Russia	109
German	92
All the rest	950
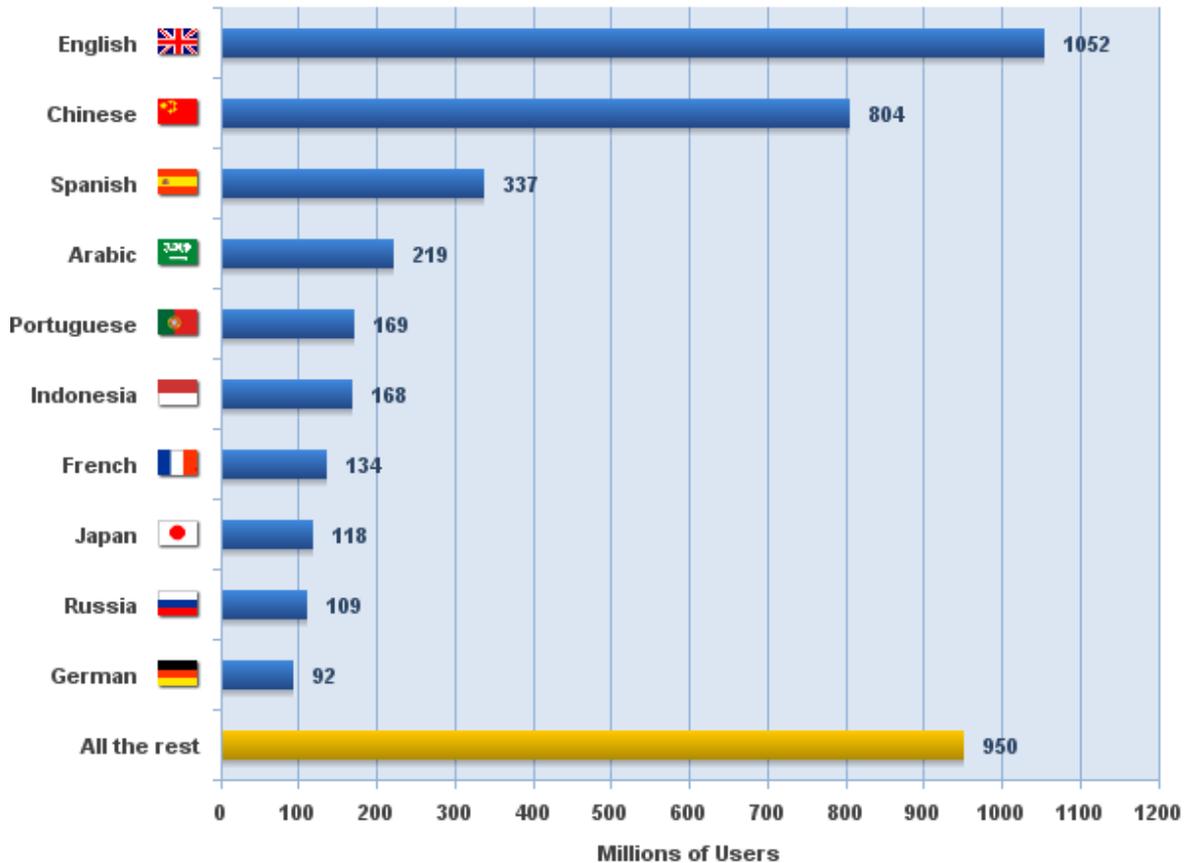
Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm
Estimated total Internet users are 4,156,932,140 in December 31, 2017
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Figure 3. English primacy in the Internet. Top ten languages in the Internet in millions of users. December 2017 (Internet World Statistics).

Looking into the politically crucial role of language in the distribution of power and resources as a tool for inclusion and exclusion, a study of the role of English as a glocal *lingua franca* posits, in my view, a multidisciplinary approach encompassing political and social sciences, economics, law, discourse analysis as well as a historical perspective to set the events and processes that affect language choice and change. Thus, we may wonder what made English, which Richard Mulcaster meant to promote, writing, in 1582, that "Our English tung […] is of small reatch, it stretcheth no further than this lland of ours,

naie not there ouer all" (Mulcaster, 1582: 256), the universal medium of military and political power, trade, cutting-edge technology, science, research, audio-visual communication and cultural goods, daily used well beyond the scope of native usage by billions of people of all walks of life in ever-expanding sectors and domains as a supranational, international and cross-cultural device? What factors made its use so uneventful that, as remarked by Susan Wright, "A Catalan scientist invited to speak on English as the language of science expressed surprise that the question should even arise: I had never thought that the language used in such exchanges (scientific) would be a possible matter for debate" (Alberch, 1996: 257. In Wright, 2004: 152).

A historical overview makes us believe that the reasons for the development of ELF did not differ from those of other successful *lingua francas* over the centuries.

Lingua franca, as an example of language contact, seems to deny the construct of 19th century nation-state standard language based on the ideology of "a single language" "a single culture", "a single history", as illustrated in an influential study by Linz, Stepan and Yadav (2004). Over the last two decades, in particular, the linguistic policies implemented in Europe have attested to a gradual fragmentation of that construct and an ongoing process towards status recognition and corpus and acquisition planning of regional and minority languages, with a variety of situated outcomes.

After a long time, the 17th and 18th centuries, of cultural predominance of French, which had gradually taken over the role of Latin as the *lingua franca* of political and cultural elites in Europe, military and economic power and prestige outside and inside the Continent augmented the mediatic role of English as England was the world superpower up to 1917. Almost a century ago, in 1926, Bertrand Russel accounted for the role of language teaching in colonial society as being instrumental in inculcating a set of values not very different from those of the *civis romanus*:

> The aim was to train men for positions of authority and power, whether at home or in distant parts of the empire […] The product was to be energetic, stoical, physically fit, possessed of certain unalterable beliefs, with high standards of rectitude, and convinced that it had an important mission in the world. To a surprising extent, the results were achieved. Intellect was sacrificed to them, because intellect might produce doubt. Sympathy was sacrificed, because it might interfere with governing 'inferior' races or classes. Kindliness was sacrificed for the sake of toughness; imagination, for the sake of firmness (Russell, 1960: 31).

World War One was a milestone in the process. Up to then ELF would have been similar to other *lingua francas*, notably to French, growing and eventually waning as a consequence of England's decreased political and military clout in the world. Yet, as Susan Wright aptly remarks, the *lingua franca* status of English has "a double provenance" (Wright, 2004: 155) which makes it more similar to Latin than to other languages:

> English, the language of British colonialism, did not fade with empire, because the next power that came to dominance in the Western Capitalist world was also English speaking. The same language used by two different states and relying on two different sets of criteria for its lingua franca status entrenched use in a way that differed from lingua francas associated with a single polity. In this English is akin to Latin, which moved from being the language widely used throughout an extensive empire to being the sacred language of a major religion and the lingua franca of knowledge and secular law in medieval Europe. The double provenance of Latin was one factor in the long duration and wide spread of that language (ibid.).

The European decline of the "one nation, one territory, one language" idea featuring the US monolingual, subtractive policy of 'No Child Left Behind' since 2002 and contemporary French nation-state centralism has been determined by a range of key factors, *inter alia*, the following:

1. Politically, the legacy of the monolingual nation-state produced two destructive world conflicts in the first half and localized bloodshed in the second half of the past century. This undermined nationalist ideology and led formerly hostile nation-states to cede part of their sovereignty to supranational organizations.

2. A key element of EU post-national political theory and administrative practice has been subsidiarity. Born of the desire of national politicians to block power amassing at the supranational level, it soon became a democratic instrument of devolution and democracy. It undermined "The conventional way of seeing the citizen and the state as the sole parties in any political arrangement […]" requiring "[…] decisions to be taken as close to the citizens concerned as possible" (Wright, 2004: 195). Seized upon by groups at sub-state level, subsidiarity was extended to regions and enabled the making of different arrangements for different subsets of citizens.

3. The previous need for a sizeable market and defence, which had small communities give up sovereignty to the nation-state as a necessary sacrifice, has been no longer necessary. Supranational institutions such as NATO and the European Union have guaranteed the military protection and economic growth of regional minorities.

4. The epoch-making breakthrough of information technology, the global village and the knowledge society, which had informed the 1995 EU Commission White Book on Education and Training, being further propounded by the 2003 Action Plan 2004-2006 and reaffirmed by the Europe 2020 strategy, have thoroughly transformed individual and societal perspectives. The worldwide digital market, in particular, has enormously broadened the cross-national and international trade potential of small areas, also enhanced by better transport across the Continent and overseas. At the same time the very extent of globalized economy has obviated the need for nation-state frameworks and entrusted supranational institutions with countering the ever-stronger competition of other countries.

5. The decline of centripetal nation-state has involved new philosophical and political discourse and the making of multilayered legal instruments in the EU. In particular, those two competing visions of society proper to 19th-century thought, as identified by Ernest Gellner in 1998, i.e. atomistic individualism and communitarian transcendence, had both produced cultural and linguistic assimilation. In fact, both a laissez-faire attitude, or benign support of negative rights, and the Jacobin resistance, exemplified by France up to the present day, to any regionalism viewed as anti-revolutionary obscurantism and tribalism, in defence of French-medium universalism, had dismissed the devolutionary expectations of autochthonous minorities.

6. Widespread attention to the human rights and needs of ethnic and linguistic minorities soon engaged the LPP discourse of EU institutions, especially the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and, to a lesser extent, the EU Commission and Parliament. This involvement was certainly hastened by the political upheaval in the early '90s: the breakdown of Communism, the making of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the new central European and Baltic republics and the ensuing conflicts in the Balkans and Caucasus.

8.2 The hypercentric role of glocal English. A *de facto* reality

The range of domains and functions dominated by English is huge: "[…] international communication, science, technology, medicine, computers, research, books, periodicals, transnational business, tourism, trade, shipping, aviation, advertising, diplomacy, international organizations, mass media, entertainment, news agencies, internet, politics, youth culture and sport" (Baker, 2011: 85). By means of the fast language spread, Anglo-American culture, institutions and ways of thinking and communicating have been spread. Ultimately, as discussed, English has displaced some of the functions of other languages, or the languages themselves (ibid.). For this reason, English has become the most popular language in school curricula and continues to increase.

The glocal power of English as the shared medium of economy, finance and politics has boosted its inclusion in school curricula in many countries worldwide. However, Ramanathan (2005) notes a paradoxical resurgence of localism and vernacular language as a subtle resistance to English. Baker (2011: 84) observes that splitting English into three categories, i.e. Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle, as Kachru (1992) and other scholars (Kachru, B.B., Kachru, Y. & Nelson, eds., 2006; McKay, 2010; Dewey & Leung, 2010. In Baker, 2011: 83) have devised, may be more and more difficult and insensitive to a variety of differences. A study of glocal interactions across the globe reveals that variety and variability, more than stability, characterize this language. Shohami (2006) underscores that the medium "[…] is used, shaped and moulded by millions of speakers who create endless types of English, such that English now belongs to everybody and nobody, to no specific nation or language group, but to all those who speak it irrespective of origin, competence or culture" (Baker, 2011: 84).

As viewed, the spread of English following the decline of nation-state monolingualism has been basically interpreted in two divergent ways by scholars:

a. Those who blame the spread for the loss of small minority languages, colonization and linguistic imperialism.

b. Those who view it as a positive unifying characteristic of globalization.

The pith of this work is that the two views do not necessarily conflict with each other and often come to coexist in a kind of fluid hybridity. Baker's (2011: 83) core postulate is that today, beyond any ideological stance, we have to take account of individual speakers, who use different forms of native and international English, and recognize the increasing variety of World Englishes. English is, in fact, the most hypercentric and complex tongue in use; it is highly mutable and "[…] interacts with cultural heritage and popular culture, technology and travel, identity and belonging to imagined communities. It is powerful and pervasive, yet related to inequality of access and assimilation of immigrants, empowering some and disempowering others" (ibid.). The scholar explains that the situation of the language and its relation to bilingualism varies throughout the world according to a large number of factors "[…] including the local political situation, other languages spoken in the country, inter-ethnic relations and cultural attitudes" (ibid.).

Like other prestigious languages, English has massively spread over time in a variety of ways, including political domination, submersion of vernacular languages and cultures, trade, colonization, emigration, education, religion and the mass media. And yet the importance "[…] of each of these factors, and the level of intent in domination or market-led change […]", as Baker (2011: 84) observes, has been controversial among the scholars. What matters, more than numbers, is the prestigious domains and functions of English spread and domination. The prestige of English-speaking countries and the popularity of Anglo-American culture have induced people to associate the language with status, power and wealth, as English "[…] means access to valued forms of knowledge and access to affluent and prestigious social and vocational positions" (85).

The other side of the coin, however, should not be downplayed: in spite of its spread, English is still mainly the prerogative of hegemonic elites. In the Philippines, as Tollefson (1986) observes, English is instrumental in "[…] creating and maintaining social divisions that serve an economy dominated by a small Philippine elite, and foreign economic interests" (186). Thus, Filipinos might look instrumentally motivated to learn English, but, at root, there is a struggle for political power and material wealth. Baker (2011) concludes that "There is nothing politically neutral about majority language

speakers" (88). Social hierarchy also seems to hallmark the US-attempted suppression of variation (e.g. Ebonics and other African-American varieties) and imposition of standard norms derived from school-based written English and not from oral English, with the result that "[…] children must go to school to *learn*[87] their "native" language ... advantaging some students while disadvantaging others" (Wiley, 2005b: 6).

As mentioned, English spread has been associated with the decline and death of many indigenous languages, and, with them, the weakening and submersion of local, indigenous cultures to the advantage of Anglo culture, institutions and ways of thinking and communicating. Intruding into ever-growing domains (e.g. technology, multi-media communication) and taking over some of the internal functions of other languages (e.g. business, mass media), English has *de facto* become the vehicle for politics, commerce, science, tourism and entertainment, ultimately displacing the language or languages themselves in many countries. The intrinsic danger of English spread is that, instead of bilingualism, it may produce a monolingual shift towards the language, especially in schools. Its status as an official or national language (e.g.in Singapore, India or Kenya) may downgrade local vernaculars to substandard media of the socially or politically dominated, languages with much lower status and prestige. As a nativized language, English has become the principal medium of advanced schooling, for instance in Kenya, whereas the use of vernacular, or heritage language, in the classroom will be seen as of lower status and related to the poor or less socially and economically mobile peoples (Baker, 2011: 89). Yet in the huge language panorama of India, 15 languages with constitutionally guaranteed status, English is often used, with Hindi, as a *lingua franca,* especially among highly educated elite groups. Here, as in Singapore, it has been a unifier and common language between different regions (ibid.).

Colin Baker (2011) illustrates the spread of English by two significant graphs adapted from Graddol (1997) in *The Future of English?*, a report commissioned by the British Council in 1997. The former graph shows that ESL speakers will soon overtake native speakers and keep increasing over the next decades, while the number of EFL learners should hold steady over 800 million. The latter documents the remarkable spread

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[87] Author's italics.

of Spanish vis-à-vis English as the overall number of Spanish speakers is estimated to come very close to English users by 2050 (Baker, 2011: 86-87). The online review *Cactus Language Training* has recently reported the Engco (English Company Ltd, UK) model of language forecasting for the 5 top most spoken languages in the world by 2050, with some relevant predictions and open questions:

Languages of the Future: Most Spoken Languages in 2050.

According to the Engco model of language forecasting, by 2050 the top 5 languages in the world will be

1.   Chinese

2.   Spanish

3.   English

4.   Hindi-Urdu

5.   Arabic

Further Predictions on Languages of the Future

There are also forecasts that predict that the USA will be the largest Spanish speaking country by 2050, making Spanish a key language for doing business with the States. In Asia, it is predicted that China and India will hold 50% of the world GDP. This means that those who are under the age of 10 now will be at the height of their careers in 2050, operating on a global platform that will demand their ability to function and negotiate in Asian markets. Are educational institutions and businesses preparing themselves for these future realities? What will the languages of the future mean for your organisation? (*Languages of the future*, 13th September 2017).

Today, then, English has to vie with other *lingua francas* like Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic and Hindi, whose clout and prestige are proportionate to rising economies and employment associations. In Arabic and Islamic countries, the spread of English is restricted to particular modern and separate functions and kept from infiltrating a variety of domains connected to religion and nationalism. In such mainly-theocratic societies, the language has been associated with materialism, atheism, antinationalism, eradication of native cultures, anomie, sexual permissiveness, drug use and lack of respect for elders. It

is often perceived as a divisive language "[…] both in the country, in the community and in families, separating those who speak the native languages and those who prefer to move towards English […]", alienating from traditional culture, heritage values and beliefs and eroding individual and unique identity (Baker, 2011: 89).

Overall, the relentless advances in technology and global information economy and the growing status of other large languages have suggested that the rise of English may have peaked (Graddol, 2006). An English-dominated monocentric world may thus move to a linguistically pluricentric panorama where this language is joined as a world language by three others: Spanish, Arabic and Chinese Mandarin (Putonghua): "In terms of the number of native speakers, Spanish has approximately the same number as English. Arabic is growing, demographically, faster than any other world language, with a strong religious as well as youthful age profile; and as a language it has a growing international standard" (Baker, 2011: 90). We can make, then, with Baker (ibid.) two basic assumptions:

1. glocal *lingua franca* English will take over from Native English as the most used and prestigious variety of the future.
2. bilingualism and multilingualism will be of more economic value than monolingualism.

Bilingualism, in particular, is becoming a commodity on the glocal international market: "[…] individuals who command two languages are attractive to businesses competing in multiple, or multilingual markets" (Block & Cameron, 2002: 7).

8.3 The dual paradox of glocal English and the critical divide between submersion and transcendence

Dealing with the dominant role of English in the global arena, Baker (2011) mentions the basic divide between those who criticize the disadvantages and those who praise the advantages of learning this language. Martin-Rubió (2007) articulates the dual paradox into three distinct positions:

1. English is portrayed by a number of scholars as the unfair instrument of linguistic imperialism, actively perpetuated by people and institutions that will not change the present state of affairs. This category, mainly linguists such as Phillipson (1992; 1998; 2001; 2002; 2006a; 2008; 2012) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977; 1988; 1998; 1999b; 2000a; 2008) try to expose the hidden reasons for the spread of English as a form of linguistic imperialism, "[…] dominance by the US and other English-speaking countries, a means of reproducing structural, cultural, educational and economic inequalities, maintaining capitalist economic advantages and control, and oppressing weak minority languages and their peoples" (Baker, 2011: 87). It focuses on "[…] an unequal division of power and resources (material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988: 13) and a new form of linguistic racism based not on biological features (race) but on the cultural (including ethnic) and linguistic capital of people (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998: 16). Gandhi (1927) called English an intoxicating language that encourages mental slavery to Anglo forms of thinking and culture, preserving the power of ruling elites through internal colonization. Thus, English would enforce "[…] linguistic uniformity that is culturally, intellectually, spiritually and emotionally restricting" to "[…] become a means by which power elites justify exclusion and sustain inequality" (Baker, 2011: 87). Such authors as Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) claim that this dominance, "[…] orchestrated by identifiable agents" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 23), endangers other, smaller languages and the cultural diversity worldwide. It is the traditional view of the Critical Linguistics School (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999: 22): "users of English…influence processes of globalisation and localisation, and…are involved in power structures that frequently reflect linguicism…through both unequal resource allocation and legitimation processes that validate 'big' languages at the expense of 'small' ones" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 23). The result is social discrimination against "[…] the B-team, the dominated, the ordinary people… the have-nots" (ibid.), whom T. Ruanni F. Tupas (2006) defines as *the outer circles*,

[…] whose speakers, because of positions of relative powerlessness, are largely unable to gain access to such standards – and they are the much larger social groups, usually the majority in their respective communities, with much less access to quality education, and with whom the socio-economic, cultural and political impacts of globalization have been severe (Ruanni F. Tupas , 2006: 170).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) singles out nation-states as the agents responsible for the status quo. They would "[…] either kill minority languages (active linguistic genocide) or let them die (passive linguistic genocide) because they fear internal linguistic diversity might lead to their disintegration" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 23). Martin-Rubió (2007) hints at the covert ways of Sweden and the USA as being more effective than the overt linguicism of Turkey, for example. Devious hegemony reminds us of Gramsci's "[…] process in which a ruling class succeeded in persuading the other classes of society to accept its own moral, political and cultural values" (Wright, 2004: 167) as an effectual alternative to "coercion and might" (168). Such ideology, inculcated by the school and public media, would produce a sort of mind colonization of people who "[…] end up abandoning their own languages for short-term benefits" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 23). Skutnabb-Kangas (1998), then, blames Western nation-states for the persistent linguistic and cultural genocide worldwide and criticizes their appearing "[…] to the world as role-models for human rights protection"(15). Phillipson (1998) effectively exposes the UK and USA' s cultural invasion and global homogenization through their English-mediated channels the world over: news agencies, films, fast-food restaurants and MTV videos. The overpowering phenomenon would imply, as mentioned, a process of subtractive language learning to the detriment of local languages. This would also affect smaller European languages, e.g. Dutch and Danish, as English encroaches upon key domains, e.g. academic writing, traditionally occupied by those languages (Phillipson, 2001). Obviously, English native speakers would greatly profit from mastering the right language being in control of the core domains of academy, entertainment and business (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 24).

2. The second position does not deny English-language dominance, but does not identify agency. It simply connects it to the historical world power of the UK and, after the Second World War, of the USA. Martin-Rubió (2007) reports Crystal's view (1997a/2003): "A

language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people – especially their political and military power" (9). Basically, authors such as Crystal (1997a/2003) and De Swaan (2001) take a descriptive, 'neutral' stand on the issue of English hegemony. They see "[…] the process as a more chaotic and natural affair" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 24). They even perceive clues to a defensive position of the language in the US-wide enlargement of the Spanish-speaking community and consequent growth of the English-Only movement. This position rather focuses on the hyper-centrality of English and the cline head of transcendence:

> Languages that are shared by a large number of people become more appealing, and yet more people make an effort to learn them. They become economic goods (linguistic capital). The fact that the British Council is struggling to make English hegemonic, and that the institution makes money thanks to this, as Phillipson (1992) claims, can still be maintained, but there is no evil plan behind the process. The dominance of English is a natural tendency in which individuals willingly take an active part (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 25).

Hoffmann (2000: 7) describes it as a snowball effect "[…] as more people learn the language, this language becomes more prestigious, people associate more benefits to mastering it, and as a consequence more people want to learn it" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 25).

3. The third position thoroughly espouses the reasons for transcendence: no evil scheme is devised for English dominance. Conversely, as counter-claimed by Brutt-Griffler (2002), this dominance is thought to be neither unfair nor dangerous as "[…] English colonisers only trained the elites in the colonies so that they could run some local agencies, but there was never a planned effort to impose English in those territories" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 25). Thus, far from producing cultural submersion, "[…] English can be and has been appropriated by the colonised to fight back" (ibid.). Brutt- Griffler also notes that English is no longer owned by its native speakers since the number of non-native speakers today exceeds that of the original Inner Circle natives (ibid.). Various voices emphasize the

current use of English as an additional language. Fishman *et al.* (1977: 79) state that "Unlike Spanish…the use of English and French is by no means limited to former colonial territories. Both languages are used throughout the world as additional languages" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 25). This position portrays English dominance as "[…] rather a blessing, since it allows a more fluid global communication and it does not necessarily involve the end of linguistic diversity" (26). This category, then, includes those scholars who consider this language "[…] valuable for international and intercultural communication, *de facto* the global language, a relatively neutral vehicle for communication (e.g. in areas of inter-ethnic tensions and battles for the predominance of one ethnic group over another), giving access to high-quality higher education" (Baker, 2011: 85). Developing countries, in particular, would promote the learning and use of international English as the key to accessing and enhancing economic and employment opportunities in trade, business, education and ever-growing domains (ibid.). From this perspective, these linguists focus on the universal utility of the language. Learners would embrace English "[…] not for Anglo-American enculturation, but as an international language that facilitates trade and commerce, and international and multinational communication" (ibid.). Consistently, "[…] the stigma of a colonializing English is being replaced by a positive attitude about the multinational functionality of English amidst globalization" (Hornberger & Vaish, 2008. In Baker, 2011: 86).

According to Martin-Rubió, "All these positions assume that English is the most dominant language in the world, not only because 25% of the world is fluent in it (Crystal, 1997a/2003), but also because it holds the language-system together, and because it is present in all domains" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 26). Colin Baker (2011) notes, nevertheless, "[…] 'long shadows' of inequality and divisiveness, class divides and subordination […]", but admits, with Ramanathan (2005: vii) that English may become "[…] a post-colonial hybrid language, appropriated and nativized 'to fit and reflect local ways of thinking, knowing, behaving, acting and reasoning'" (Baker, 2011: 86). English may therefore mediate different, not necessarily negative or submerging, sociopragmatic norms and cultural behaviours. Switching from Japanese to English, for example, may induce to adhere to Anglo-American norms of behaviour that are less bound to status and power in

relationships (ibid.). The underlying duality of English supremacy may comparatively account for the divergent relationship between this international language and Islam:

a. On the one hand, in fact, the varied politics of the "war against terrorism", employment of Anglophone armies in Islamic countries (e.g. Iraq) and resurgence of fundamentalist Christian missionary work (Pennycook & Makoni, 2005: 137-156) are connected with the Anglo-American struggle for world dominance and economic advantage favouring social elites and privilege in Islamic countries as viewed in the perceptive account of Hatem Bazian (2015). Neo-colonial military aggression against and final tragic dismembering of Iraq, Libya and Syria may have underlain the brutal Islamic fundamentalism of ISIS and its atrocities against human beings and priceless, forever-lost, works of art. On the linguistic and cultural level, neo-colonial linguistic imperialism may have induced all three possible Islamic responses to English as identified by Rahman (2005) and singled out by Baker (2011):

> (1) "[…] acceptance of English and assimilation to Anglophone culture".

> (2) "rejection and resistance based on religion and preferred identity and values".

> (3) "[…] pragmatic utilization so as to share power and knowledge, raise wealth and social status, and 'learn the language of your enemy'" (Karmani & Pennycook, 2005. In Baker, 2011: 88).

Paradoxically, ISIS terrorists have used global English to proselytize for their early medieval code of *sharia* and stream their barbaric acts worldwide.

 b. On the other hand, many other Muslim voices, such as Mohd-Asraf (2005), reject the isolationist position of terror suggesting "[…] that the Qur'an invokes many Muslims proselytizing by the learning of other languages, and the gaining of wisdom from other cultures through their languages", thus recognizing the additive effects of bilingualism and biculturalism (Mohd-Asraf, 2005. In Baker, 2011: 88). Quoting Karmani (2005), Colin Baker (2011) remarks that "[…] Islam is more than a world religion, being a whole way of life, a source of identity, a worldview, a political force, regionally allied to oil rich reserves, and not least concerned with Arabic as a holy, and, for some, a daily language"

(88). Therefore, as long as Islamic identity and culture are preserved and Anglophone culture does not come to dominate, Mohd-Asraf (2005) regards learning English empowering rather than oppressive and conflicting (Baker, 2011: 88).

Stressing these two opposite views, Baker (2011) reminds us of one focal and enlightening assumption: it is not a language that dominates but the people who use it**.** Like Latin, French or German, English is not intrinsically "[…] more suited to oppression, domination, westernization, secularization or imperialism […]" than any other tongue: "It is the speakers of that language who are the oppressors and dominators. Whether English is empowering or divisive, it is those who, for example, impose, teach, learn and use it that make it so" (ibid.). Post-war German, which quickly disappeared from the curricula of Central European schools up to the reunification of the country in 1990, epitomizes the danger of language being made "[…] the symbolic scapegoat for political and economic domination, which are, in fact, the consequences of people and politics" (ibid.).

Finally, Davies (1996) notes that the guilt of former colonizers and an imagined escape to linguistic "nature and innocence" should not bar us from realizing the *de facto* advantages of using English: enhancing "[…] personal status, modernization (e.g. technology, science), global economy and international communication" (Graddol, 1997; 2006; Graddol & Meinhof, 1999. In Baker, 2011: 88). In the ever-smaller glocal village, as vocalized by Dörnyei *et al.* (2006), ELF enables various forms of direct communication (e.g. phone, email, face-to-face chat lines) between people of different languages, cultures and economies.

On balance, Martin-Rubió (2007) is positive about the multiple potentialities of ELF: "English, for instance, can be the solution to fight the different national "killer" languages. For speakers of local and regional varieties in Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, or Occitania, English can be a useful tool to open to the world bypassing Italian and French" (46). Nonetheless, this language could continue to play a mere instrumental role: "For people raised in a banal nationalist discourse who 'love their language, their literature, their Göethe' [...], there is no need to bypass the state language, as it serves as their 'language for identification'" (ibid.).

8.4 A glocal rethink of monocultural constructs

The glocal spread of English has also involved a shifting viewpoint on the key constructs of "native speaker", "standard English", "correctness", and "speech community" over the decades, as featured in the academic journals, *English Today, English World-Wide* and *World Englishes*, spearheaded by Braj. B. Kachru in the late 1980s and all through the 1990s. A groundwork schema is the Indian linguist's distinction between three concentric circles of the spreading use of English:
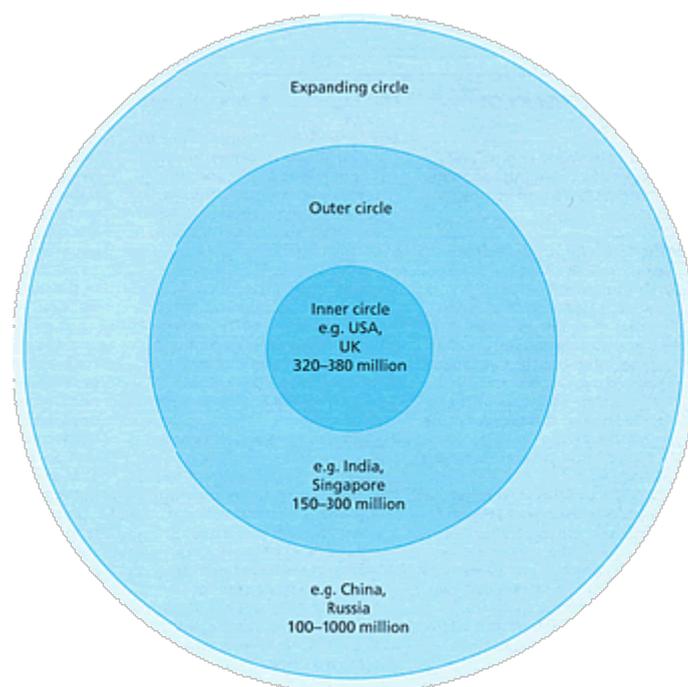
Figure 4. Kachru's (1985) three-concentric-circle model of English users worldwide, updated by Graddol (2006: 110).

1. The Inner Circle, or English as a Native Language (ENL).

2. The Outer Circle, or English as a Second Language (ESL).

3. The Expanding Circle, or English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

Kingsley Bolton (2004-2006) underlines the key role of the Kachruvian approach in the coining and promotion of the term "World Englishes" (WE) as applied to research and teaching. He explains that "In addition to his many books and articles and his editorship of *World Englishes*, Kachru is also responsible for anchoring the annual conferences on world Englishes held by the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE), which provide a forum for research, discussion, and debate" (375).

In the early 1990s, however, not all sociolinguists shared Kachru's enthusiasm for the teaching of world Englishes. Strangely enough, Quirk (1962), the guardian of international standards, started on his academic life arguing for tolerance and heralding 21st-century linguistic concerns:

> English is not the prerogative or "possession" of the English […] Acknowledging this must - as a corollary - involve our questioning the propriety of claiming that the English of one area is more "correct" than the English of another. Certainly, we must realize that there is no single "correct" English, and no single standard of correctness (Quirk, 1962: 17-18. In Bolton, 2004-2006: 370).

Quirk's 1990 celebrated debate with Braj B. Kachru on "liberation linguistics" in the pages of *English Today* and the overall discussion about the appropriateness of English varieties and the standard language, suggest a dramatic diachronic shift in perspective: from the artificial nation-state normativity of a prescriptively fixed and mainly written medium, which worldwide teachers and students are expected to comply with, to the open-ended, in-the-making C-bound perspective of a *languaging*[88] process, where C stands for communication/comprehensibility/culture, as illustrated by Sifakis (2006: 151-168). In fact, strict native-like standardization is no more viable to or endorsed by complex ex-colonial societies like India, with a socio-culturally diversified, intranational use of English, and a world-renowned literary output in the language.

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[88] Italics added.

Martin Rubió's (2007) article, is an insightful and seminal survey of the cultural and political implications of English as a *lingua franca* in Europe and "[…] a proposal for the future language management of the European Institutions" (1) grounded on a sound postmodernist perception of language. In his work, Martin-Rubió aims at capturing "[…] the general attitude, and the hegemonic currents, in relation to what the EU is doing, or not doing, in terms of language policy and management of multilingualism" (15). Data capitalizes on "scholarly literature", EU politicians' positions, views from the media and the opinions of students from two universities through focus-group sessions, and (e) interviews (ibid.). The analysis starts off with Saussure's (1916) key distinction between "*langue*" and "*parole*" "[…] where the first refers to the abstract system internalised by people of a community, and the second to the actual speech acts produced by these people" (2). The theoretical divide ushers in the often-cited opposition between the classical notion of language as a "product", made up of a set of definite rules and structures a L1 or L2 speaker has to interiorize, versus the postmodernist idea of language as a "process", co-constructed by the verbal and non-verbal repertoires of interactants. In actual fact, it is reasonable to assume that the multifarious variety and variability of lects throws into question such constructs as Saussurian "*langue*", "homogeneous speech community" and "native speaker". There comes Chomsky's construct of the "ideal speaker" and the native speaker's supposed prerogative of discerning grammatical from ungrammatical sentences. The following encapsulates Chomsky (1965: 3)'s linguistic postulates:

> "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 3).

In his chapter "The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics" (2004-2006), Alan Davies concludes that the native speaker concept remains ambiguous, necessarily so, since it is "[…] both myth and reality" (Davies, 2003. In Davies, 2004-2006: 447). In fact, notions such as "[…] the repository and guardian of the true language […]" or "[…] standard setter" (ibid.) dovetail with a centripetal, monoglossic and monocultural view of

language proper to the status and corpus policy and planning of a European nation-state. Graddol's chart shows a very different reality:
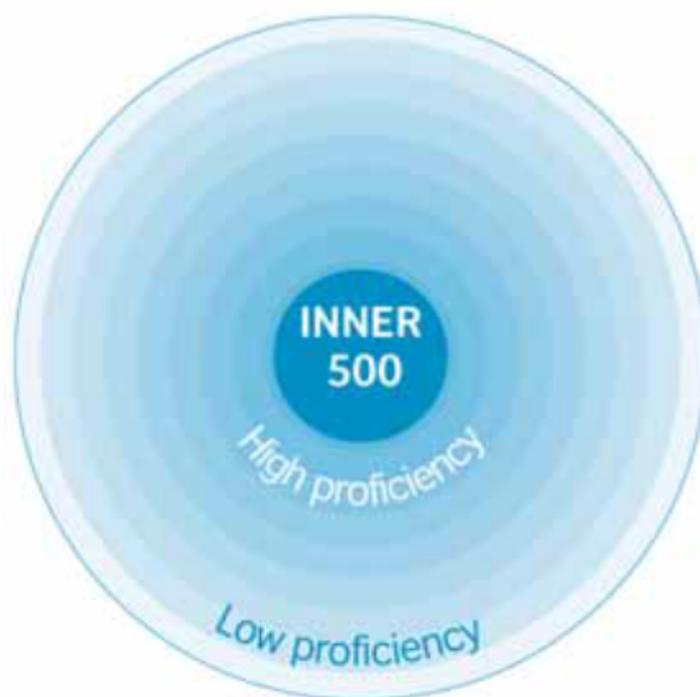
Figure 5. Representing the community of English speakers as including a wide range of proficiencies (Graddol, 2006: 110).

The breakthrough of English spread worldwide, as featured in Graddol's chart (2006), looks paramount and foregrounds the diminished role of Inner-Circle standards and the accrued symbolic power of world Englishes and relevant linguacultures. It is well worth considering that the total of ESL speakers, i.e. non-natives from the Outer Circle, far outnumbers that of native-speakers today. Another chart by the same linguist illustrates the preponderance of non-English to non-English use of the language worldwide:
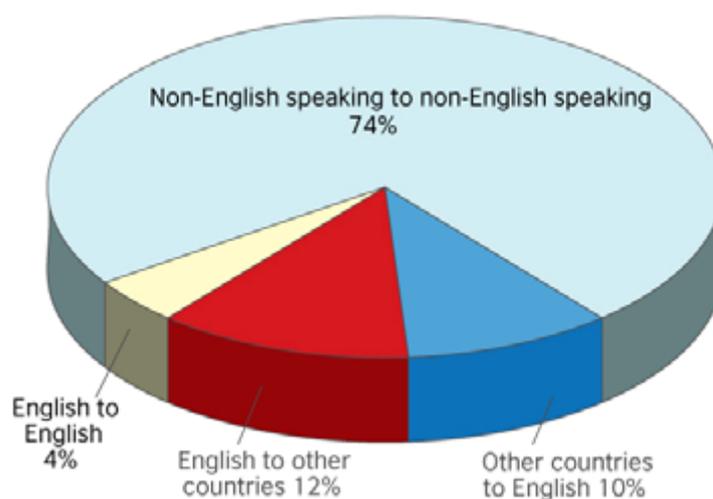
Figure 6. Tourism is growing but the majority of human interactions do not involve an English native speaker (Data derived from World Tourism Organisation. In Graddol, 2006: 29).

Graddol's charts and Crystal's surveys have, in fact, demonstrated that English native speakers have become a minority:

> The number of people learning English in China, for example, is greater than the total number of speakers of English in the USA (Taylor 2002, cited in Jiang 2003, 3). This has led to a shift in the numerical balance of power between native and non-native speaker groups. Also, because the range and variety of contexts in which English is used has increased exponentially, this has reduced the importance of the canonical context of native speakers speaking with non-native speakers, as more and more non-native speakers find reasons to communicate with each other using the language (Rubdy, Saraceni & contributors, 2006: 5).

As documented, the ownership of the medium has changed and new local varieties have emerged and get established in the outer and expanding circles, as reported in Cathleen O' Grady's latest account on *The Guardian*:

The dominance of English as a lingua franca in Europe is startling. It's spoken as a second language by 38% of adults, trailed distantly by French (12%) and German (11%). This dominance is set to grow dramatically, with 94% of secondary students in Europe learning English as a foreign language. The use of English throughout Asia, the Commonwealth, and North America, plus the widespread use of English online and in the media, all encourage English as the ongoing second language of choice (O' Grady, 25th September 2017).

On the other hand, O'Grady refers to the language being "[…] in a tenuous political position […]" and hence in danger of "[…] being removed as an official language in the EU", in spite of Ireland's strong support and many countries having invested heavily in learning English (ibid.). But Brexit has ushered in a new expanding-circle change afoot:

However, Modiano argues that Brexit will give English a surprise boost, by making it the neutral option. Without the UK's 60 million native English speakers, the five million native speakers from Ireland and Malta will make up only 1% of the total EU population. This will leave almost everyone else who speaks English in Europe on an equal footing, all using their second language to communicate. Even after losing the UK's native speakers, the 38% (and growing) who speak English as a second language will make it the most widely-spoken language in Europe […] (ibid.).

Following up linguist Marko Modiano's speculation in O' Grady's report, it is reasonable to assume

[…] that the UK will no longer have a say in how English is used. There will be no chance to exert the kind of influence exhibited by Gardner's document, pulling the continent's use of English towards a British English standard. This will leave European English free to drift towards US or Commonwealth conventions, and to develop features of vocabulary and grammar that are perfectly well-understood by other Europeans speaking English as a second language – for example, entrenching the use of structures like "I am coming from Spain," rather than "I come from Spain" (ibid.).

Thus, Brexit would set in motion and accelerate the development of a new cross-cultural denativized European *lingua franca*:

> Of course, European English will not exist in a vacuum. European speakers will always be communicating cross-culturally, which limits the development of features that would impede understanding when communicating with speakers of other varieties of English. But much as US and British English are different but mutually intelligible, so other varieties can develop their own characteristics without ceasing to be useful. If Modiano is correct, the future of English in Europe might be best secured by Britain relinquishing its grip (ibid.).

China exemplifies the very fast spread of English as a universal language across all school curricula, from primary education to university study, with a recent emphasis on interpersonal communication and undergraduate instruction provision in English or another foreign language (Lo Bianco, 2009). Referring to Lo Bianco (2009), Baker (2011) explains that "The aim of spreading English in China is for internationalization, modernization, world influence, economic benefit, trade, and for 'humanistic' reasons" (86-87). Colin Baker (2011) reports on "[…] currently around 200 million people in China learning English, with demand buoyant" (86). The learning impulse in the Asian country, mainly based on the choice of the US standard, seems massive, as detailed by Lo Bianco (2009):

> This includes the Han majority (90% of the population) who may become bilingual, and many language minorities who may become trilingual. In January 2001, China made English compulsory in primary schools from Grade 3 onwards. A new English language curriculum for senior secondary schools was published in April 2003, with an emphasis on interpersonal communication (Lo Bianco 2009). In 2001, the Chinese Ministry of Education required universities to provide 5% to 10% of undergraduate instruction in English or another foreign language. The aim of spreading English in China is for internationalization, modernization, world influence, economic benefit, trade, and for 'humanistic' reasons (Lo Bianco 2009. In Baker, 2011: 86-87).

Apart from China, the international and intranational use of English in the former colonies took over the role of French as a *lingua franca* in the public and private sectors of huge areas, namely, as remarked by Susan Wright (2004), in many of those countries making up the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Wright, 2004: 133). Instrumental use is very diverse and has to account for a number of factors, notably past and present political allegiance and mainstream educational policy in each country. The former Soviet bloc of Eastern Europe is a case in point as many nations have substituted English for Russian as their school and university language in less than a decade.

Other communities that still look up to exonormative homogenization are marked by linguistic fluidity. In Singapore, for example, the lively usage of an acrolectal standard and basilectal Singlish seem to point to progressive diversification and identity-related awareness and appropriation. The Lion City's "special case" appears so advanced that Tom McArthur claims that it "[…] is no longer an ESL territory. It is in the process of becoming – or may well already have become – an ENL country, created by two distinct processes: top-down from the government and bottom-up from the population at large" ("An Interview with Tom McArthur". In Rubdy, Saraceni & contributors, 2006: 26). Sociolectal diversity, typical of native-speaking communities of practice, also accounts for the promotion of Standard English and "[…] *efforts to keep the English language untouched by local 'corruptions'*"[89] in Singapore by campaigns such as the Speak Good English Movement (ibid.).

On balance, most investigation to date has delved into Outer Circle countries, where nativized varieties vie with native standards for intranational prestige and pedagogical application. The role of English in Expanding Circle realities looks overtly different, although likewise diverse. Italy epitomizes that category of countries where English plays a paradoxical role in real life and in the classroom, by and large confined to the basic rote learning of the artificial school language in few hours' weekly classes. Hence, in spite of pervasive advertisement and lip-service propaganda, actual competenceis restricted to privileged elites who, for the most part, will not attend state schools and prefer, instead, to be educated abroad, or it is just perfunctorily

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[89] Interviewers' italics.

instrumental in passing exams and getting a diploma. In view of this, Italy is the emblematic opposite of Singapore, since both top-down and bottom-up actions are flimsy and still dependent on a monoglossic and monocultural mindset and educational policy. As a result, as shown, brain drain and parochialism have intensively affected the economic and cultural life of the peninsula. At the other end of the cline, the far-reaching, pragmatic employment of English across a variety of primary-to-tertiary level curricula and vocational courses in the Netherlands, Belgium and Scandinavia has long ensured cultural capital, additive bilingualism or multilingualism, and relevant educational and employment promotion.

In her paper "Global Intelligibility and Local Diversity: possibility or Paradox?", Jennifer Jenkins (2006) investigates the theoretical implications of intelligibility in the identity-related appropriation of English by non-native speakers in both Outer and Expanding Circles, with some interesting proposals for a definition of *lingua franca* phonological core features. The scholar focuses on a progressive notion of 'error' on the part of non-native speakers of English. Reporting on a finding-based description of core and non-core features according to intelligibility benchmarks, Jenkins puts forward a new conception of error: no longer based on proximity to native speakers' (NS) norms, but on the degree to which it affects intelligible ELF interaction. Thus, as long as intelligibility is assured, L1-based phonological deviations of Expanding Circle Englishes can be acknowledged and incorporated as localized forms of linguistic creativity. Regarding phonetic conventions, in fact, variety and variability appear to be the hallmarks of glocal Englishes, in contrast with former monolingual and monocultural prescription. What the linguist propounds is a pluricentric, not Anglocentric, view of the good English language model, which should not be, as it has been for centuries, founded *a priori* on native speaker appropriacy. Accordingly, phonological variation in the Expanding Circle is equalled to diachronic variation of Old English and Middle English, i.e. viewed as the linguistic result of creative contact with a varying set of languages across the centuries. Jenkins' insights, then, seem to dovetail with Robert Phillipson's criticism of linguistic imperialism, or linguicism, of global English. The critical linguist's review of Jenkins' book, *The Phonology of English as an International Language* (2000) is upbeat:

It is extremely significant that someone working with a key constituent of a language, namely its phonology, relates this explicitly to ideological debates about the role of English, and makes an explicit effort to theorize the appropriation of various types of endonormative Englishes that represent a counterweight to hegemonic Anglo-American dominated English […] Her book lays some of the foundations for a pedagogy of appropriation (Phillipson, 2002: 21. In Jenkins, 2006: 38).

We may conclude that an encompassing ecolinguistic notion of language should take on board the varieties of World Englishes, especially those, like Indian English, structurally established as an intranational *koiné* (together with Hindi), both as a spoken and a literary means of unified identity. It has been consistently observed that sociocultural appropriation may not include compliance with prescriptive and proscriptive native paradigms and relevant sociocultural conventions that nativized users, such as Indians, Singaporeans and Philippines, perceive, more often than not, as artificial, if not altogether alien to their own.

8.5 English as a *lingua franca* users: a glocal "community of practice" in the European Union

The innatist perspective and the underlying principle of a Universal Grammar, though interesting and still open to the insights of psycholinguistics, do not account for the reality of language as "*parole*". Wright (2007: 205) claims that scholars in this alternative perspective "[…] have held that individuals create language from their own individual experiences and for their personal communication needs and that each set of language practices frames reality for those who use it" (In Martin-Rubió, 2007: 3). In particular, we may doubt, with Martin-Rubió, the existence of a truly homogeneous speech community:

> […] I would like to argue that such a community does not exist […] The individual is born in a village, or city, and brought up within a family. This individual is socialised into certain social practices in the family, the school, and his/her clique. Language plays a prominent role in this socialising process, but every person is socialised in a unique combination of practices (ibid.).

Hence a more real-world concept that defines "[…] the diverse linguistic backgrounds, abilities and cultures of ELF speakers […]" (EC manuscript, 2011: 32), who cannot, therefore, "[…] be studied as members of one community with common lingua-cultural references, as is normally the case in sociolinguistics" (ibid.), is that of "community of practice", as illustrated by the EC manuscript author:

> Defined by Etienne Wenger in 1998, it has gained wide currency in ELF literature because the three features identified by Wenger to characterise a community of practice — mutual engagement, co-negotiated enterprise, shared repertoire of negotiable resources — can all be applied to ELF. In this context, "communities of practice" are groups composed of members who get together for a specific purpose, be it business, study, or other, and build clearly targeted relationships. The joint enterprise, the second criterion for a community of practice, implies some common goal or purpose, implicitly or explicitly stated, which creates "relations of mutual accountability", using Susanne Ehrenreich's words, and a common idea of what is relevant and what is not. Lastly, the shared repertoire is a consequence of the shared goal which brings together the people in question and is needed to negotiate meaning within the community. In this context, the guiding principle to shape the repertoire and evaluate the success of the communicative strategies is appropriateness, i.e. whether they serve the purpose for which they are intended.

> These elements highlight the extreme fluidity of communities of practice which gather around a specific goal, compared with speech communities that are based on common cultural values and linguistic references (EC manuscript, 2011: 32).

8.6 "Looking at the picture as a whole". Multilingualism and English as a *lingua franca* in the European Union's framework, classroom and workplace

A wide variety of books and reviews in on-line dailies, journals and magazines highlights the preponderant position of English in world business, commerce, culture, diplomacy, science and education. It is a phenomenon that especially needs quantitative and qualitative research to probe into its macro-sociological implications for bi/multilingualism towards a viable even-handed and inclusive language ecology in the EU. A survey of the ongoing ideological debate on the hybrid role of ELF in the European Union ushers in its contended application to an increasing variety of political, educational and occupational scenarios along the way that has turned English use, especially in its *lingua franca* dimension, into "[…] a banal and unremarkable skill like literacy" (Grin,

1999), but also, as remarked by Sue Wright (2004), "[…] a medium for the common ground that humanity must develop in so interconnected a world" (178).

A burning issue in the European Union has concerned the choice between a *de facto* acceptance of English as a *lingua franca* and a wider option of multilingualism. The crux of the matter seems to boil down to the basic question posed in Appendix 3 of Martin-Rubió's work (2007) reporting BBC News, (23rd August, 2001, 'Is the English language conquering Europe?'): "**Is English taking over as the dominant language in Europe and the rest of the world? Should we all be speaking in one tongue or do we risk losing the cultural diversity of a multilingual world?**" (79).[90]

Libby Nelson's revealing map illustrates how considerably competence in English varies and how many people can—and can't—have an English conversation in each European Union country:

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[90] Author's emphasis.
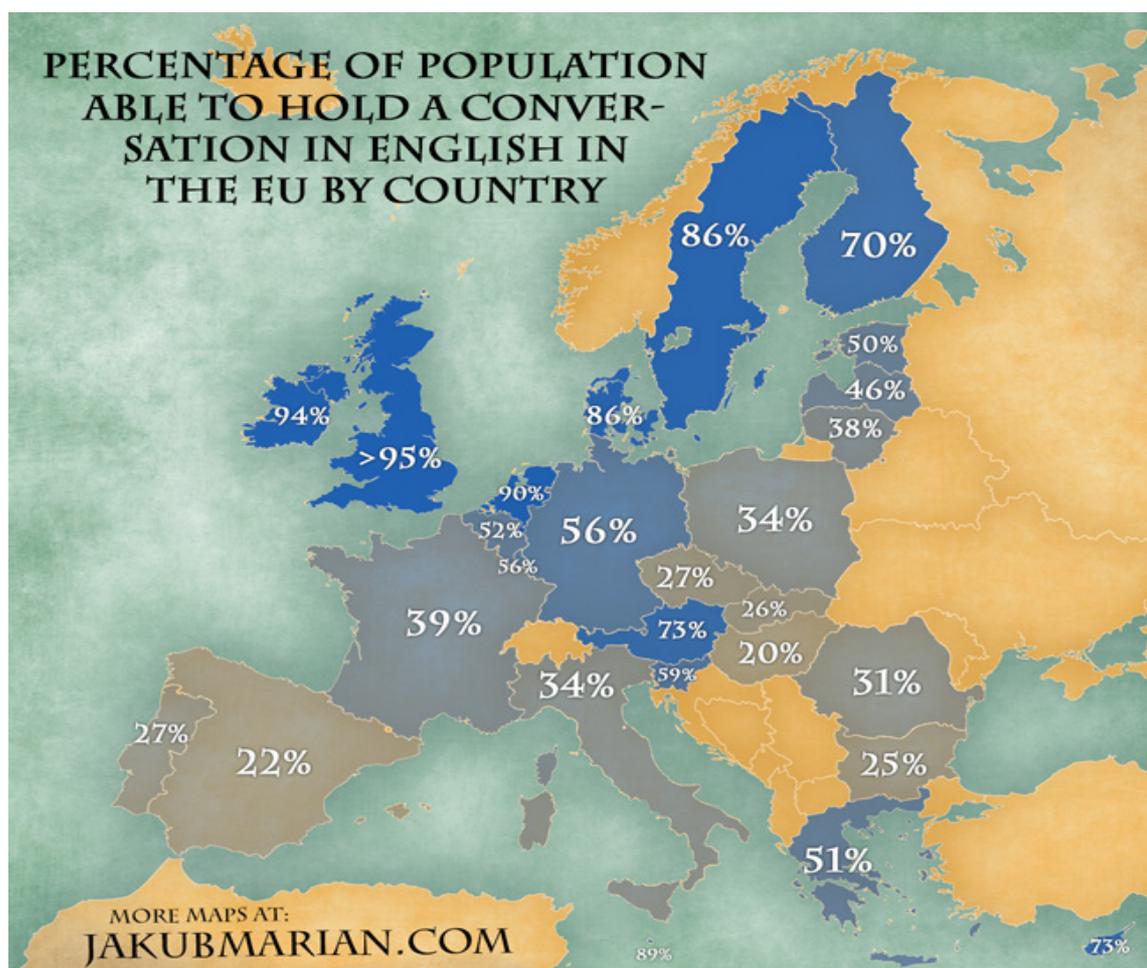
Figure 7. Percentage of population able to hold a conversation in English in the European Union by country. Retrieved from *Vox Media* (3rd March 2015): https://www.vox.com/2015/3/3/8053521/25-maps-that-explain-english

The EU Commission's manuscript *Lingua Franca: Chimera or Reality?* (2011) presents the critical voices of those linguists, variously inspired by Critical Linguistics, who reject the utilitarian view of language as a "neutral" instrument of communication. Thus, scholars such as Grin (2005, 2010) and Ives (2004, 2006) question the effectiveness of English as a vehicular tool for improving communication and spreading democracy (EC manuscript, 2011: 39). Their criticism is sustained by two basic ideas:

a. Each language mediates a unique cultural heritage and set of values and its

disappearance is an irreparable loss for humanity that loses it once and for all.

b. Language and culture are inextricably interwoven since language is an essential part of the culture it mediates. Therefore, adopting "[...] a specific language is not a free choice based exclusively on rational considerations by speakers, but is always a consequence of the political and military power of the peoples speaking it" (ibid.). English is a clear example: "[...] its use was prompted first by the power of Great Britain as a colonial empire and then by the rise of the US as the first economical, political and military world power, but also by its undisputed supremacy in areas such as science, technology, the media and show business" (EC manuscript, 2011: 39-40).

The utilitarian communicative theories and *laissez-faire* approach of De Swaan (2001, 2004) and van Parijs (2005), who "[...] leave linguistic developments to the free play of the market [...]", is thus replaced by thoughtful activism "[...] to keep endangered languages alive and limit the influence of the predominant language. Protecting linguistic diversity means protecting cultural diversity and, in particular, preventing the disappearance of weaker or smaller local cultures" (EC manuscript, 2011: 40). Accordingly, a free transcendent *lingua franca* choice is as illusory as allowing languages to develop and spread freely since "[...] in reality it spreads the Anglo-American culture and its underlying values, granting English native speakers unfair economic and political advantages" (ibid.).

In his study on the language policy of the European Union, commissioned and published by the French *Haut Conseil de l'évaluation de l'école*, François Grin (2005) points to "[...] the enormous benefits Great Britain reaps from language-related services [...]", both in the teaching sector invisible exports and education-related exports, with the result that "[...] every one of the 394 million non-English-speaking citizens of the EU, including those from the poorest new Member States, are subsidising the British economy" (EC manuscript, 2011: 40). Grin claims that the symbolic capital of a *lingua franca* is far more salient than its economic value: "[...] notably the advantage enjoyed by native speakers in negotiations or conflict management [...]" has to be allowed for "[...] when assessing the economic efficiency of English" (ibid.). He maintains that the choice of

English is not a sound and free choice as we are led to believe. When assessing the costs of the various strategies, i.e. multilingualism vs. English only, the latter turns out inequitable. Conversely, "[...] multilingualism may even not be more cost-efficient but it does ensure a more equitable distribution of costs and does not make non-English speaking countries pay for English speaking countries. For this reason it appears to be a fairer option, at least in the short- to medium-term" (ibid.).

Grin opposes English-language hegemony and claims that "[...] if what we are looking for is the development of a democratic political space, using only one language is precisely the most undemocratic and inappropriate solution, because it necessarily erases and suppresses, to a greater or lesser degree, all the other languages" (62). He questions van Parijs' defense of the English choice and his two principles, i.e. "the probability-sensitive learning of languages (that is, people have a motivation to study the languages that they expect to use most) and what can be called the "minimex" dynamics (that is, in order to minimise exclusion from meetings of people who do not speak a certain code, you select the code that most people know, or claim to know)" (ibid.).

Grin asserts that, when we choose to use one code, we select "[...] not necessarily the one that excludes the lowest number of participants [...]" but "[...] usually the one that is associated with power and which is used as a native language by those participants who wield more material or symbolic power" (ibid.). Therefore, for the purpose of cultural diversity and democracy, he advances "[...] a set of accompanying measures, which are an absolutely essential part of language policy" (63) to ensure balanced multilingualism in the EU: "[...] translation, interpretation, inter-comprehension, a bit of Esperanto, a bit of English, or perhaps, in the future, some Chinese" (62). He proposes inner-state coordination of EU multilingual policy as "[...] a shared enterprise rooted in a shared multilingual ethos" promoting that "[...] respect for linguistic diversity [...] brought up in the Lisbon Treaty" (63). Then he calls attention to the specificity of globalization, which would make "[...] any comparison between now and earlier times very difficult, very iffy" (ibid.):

> Let us just think about the development of communication technologies — not so much technical development as the fact that the relative cost of telecommunications as well as of maintaining contact with various parts of the world has declined sharply. Together with globalisation, this creates a situation which is quite unprecedented and makes any comparison with the past doubtful.

> Incidentally, the comparison between English and Latin is of limited relevance because English and Latin are spreading under conditions that are completely different, precisely because of globalisation and the development of information and communication technologies (EC manuscript, 2011: 63-64).

Thus, Grin links the spread of English to "[...] deliberate policies [...]" and "[...] media discourse". He exposes hackneyed clichés going around asserting that "[...] the whole notion that English is "*the* language of business" is largely irrelevant" (64). His proposition is especially pithy and dovetails with Susan Wright's perception: "English is a language often used in business, but precisely because many people use it, it becomes banal, to the point that what really matters to clinch a deal are skills in other languages" (ibid.).

Grin also deals with another issue already touched on and related to the submersion of English: the topical trend of universities in non-English speaking countries towards offering courses in English. Among others, it has concerned, as viewed, a few Italian universities where the compulsory use of English as a medium of education has aroused widespread controversy. The Swiss linguist writes that "This trend carries many negative consequences which are only beginning to be identified" (ibid.). The rationale behind the provision is to attract top foreign students through the teaching in English. This might contribute, however, to prompting brain drain towards English-speaking countries while downgrading non-English speaking continental universities to fall-back options (65):

> What happens is that you do get more recruitment from abroad, but the really top students, including some who really want an education through the medium of English, if it is not their native language, will choose to go to the United States, Britain, or Canada. Therefore, continental European universities will not necessarily recruit the top students they supposedly intend to attract. Rather, they get those who could not secure a place at a university in the US, the UK, or Canada. Continental European universities end up in the role of fall-back options (64-65).

A multilingual option, then, may appear the logical alternative to a dominant English medium: "By contrast, offering degrees taught in French, German, Italian, or Spanish means that you attract the best foreign students, that is, those who are good enough to have learned French, German, Italian or Spanish — often in addition to English" (65). Yet, judging from the international rank of many all-Italian universities, this alternative may be highly questionable.

Overall, Grin sees the exclusive use of English in tertiary education as a contemporary trend, utterly unwarranted, proceeding from "[...] lots of extremely deep clichés, or deeply held views which turn out to be clichés" and "[...] extraordinary stubborn beliefs [...] we must dismantle" (ibid.).

More perceptible is the mathetic danger inherent in the English-only choice. It crops up unexpectedly in bilingual settings like the Swedish academia:

> **We also hear growing concern in the countries where English is widespread as a medium of education that the level in the native language of students and scholars is declining. Apparently, they are no longer able to speak about their subject in their own languages.**[91]

> Well, even in Sweden this issue has come to the fore. I remember an article in a Swedish newspaper, probably around 2004 or 2005, where professors of Stockholm University, teaching in scientific fields where the teaching largely takes place in English, were sounding the alarm, complaining that their students (native speakers of Swedish) studying, say, biology or chemistry at the expense of the Swedish taxpayer, were no longer able to discuss their studies and to formulate their expertise through the medium of their native language (ibid.).

Along the same lines, Grin refers to "[...] the relationship between the vitality of mathematics research in France and the use of French as a language in which it is normal to publish scientific results in mathematics [...]" to emphasize the importance of what he calls "linguistic work", i.e. "[...] using a language to do things" (ibid.). Perlocutionary instrumentality, then, preserves the semantic vitality and creativity of a language, while, "If you no longer use a language to do things, the language and the community (or set of communities) who use this language start performing less well in various endeavours, including scientific research" (ibid.). Hence he voices a substantive endorsement of multilingualism: "This is why I think that it is extremely important to maintain the use of different languages in research and teaching. And this for the common good, because it probably nurtures higher aggregate creativity" (ibid.). Grin is overtly critical of van Parijs' proposal to match up ELF with multilingual policy because they serve different purposes: "His proposals amount to exposing all the domains of social life to the spread of English (like his injunction to ban the dubbing of US films on television channels in non-English-

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[91] EU manuscript interviewer's emphasis.

speaking countries). And the counter-measures he suggests in favour of multilingualism are strikingly weak" (66). His reflections on the Italian language may mirror widespread preoccupation with Italy's language policy and planning being a matter for considerable debate:

> Italian is part of your 'linguistic capital'. It is also part of your 'human capital' (let me use the economic term here). 'Human capital' is an important economic variable. Now if, for whatever reason, Italian stops being used as an important language in research, in literature, banking, commerce, or industry, then the implication is that your linguistic capital (or this component of your human capital) will be worth much less; it will be downgraded and become obsolete (ibid.).

There he detects a serious danger of "[...] a drift towards linguistic uniformity" and

> [...] a grossly unfair situation where something like over 90% of the population of the planet would ultimately be completely or partly robbed of their human capital, giving rise to enormous transfers of symbolic and material influence to something like 6% of the population, who happen to speak a language that enjoys a lot of economic clout and a lot of prestige (ibid.).

Grin (EC manuscript, 2011: 66) refutes the compartmentalization between *demos* and *ethnos* as well as, respectively, between "language for communication" and "language for identification" and propounds, instead, a holistic construct of linguistic repertoire: "I don't think that human experience with respect to language is as compartmentalised as this. I believe that there are distinct languages which we use for different purposes, but I also believe that we draw on a linguistic competence which combines our skills in different languages" (ibid.). Looking at his own language skills as "[...] a continuum of skills that straddles different languages [...]" (ibid.), the Swiss linguist claims that "[...] it is difficult to assign languages to separate little boxes or to associate languages with completely separate functions like *ethnos* and *demos*" (67). And this conclusion brings him back to the issue of language diversity and democracy.

In short, the functional divide would confine local languages to "[...] local purposes, while international communication takes place through the medium of another language" (ibid.). As a result of diglossia, some "[...] functions, or 'domains', to use a sociolinguistic term, would no longer be approached or 'invested' through one's native or

'ethnic' language", with a gradual "[...] downgrading of one's human capital, or that part of one's human capital which is associated with this language" (ibid.). However, Grin (EC manuscript, 2011: 67) acknowledges that multilingualism is on the increase as well and that there are domains like the Internet which used to be dominated by English but are now more and more mediated by other languages. He explains the new phenomenon with migration and "[...] the decline in the relative cost of maintaining contact with your country of origin" (ibid.). As a result, over the last decades the massive use of social networks has enabled long-distance day-to-day communication with one's endogenous or exogenous community (Baker, 2011: 4) and contributed to the maintenance of various forms of multilingualism. Grin is "[...] wary of artificial, superficial diversity [...]" (EC manuscript, 2011: 68); he claims that

> [...] despite all the diversity we have in Europe, and all these opportunities for contact between people with different backgrounds, our actual experience of diversity could turn out to be quite superficial, particularly if it can only be approached through the medium of one hegemonic language. If we are genuinely concerned with diversity, let us adopt policies that favour genuine diversity (ibid.).

Grin (EC manuscript, 2011: 69) highlights the need to invest resources in the maintenance of multilingualism and protect the cultural capital of local languages with a [...] complex combination of measures [...]:

> For example, I would encourage Italian speakers to insist that high-level scientific research must take place in Italian, and that university teaching in Italy mainly takes place in Italian at all levels. I would say the same for Swedish, Finnish or Dutch, because in this way, each partner contributes to aggregate multilingualism. Now in addition to this, of course, we need inter-state coordination, along with accompanying measures to ensure that this is compatible with communication (ibid.).

Finally, Grin (EC manuscript, 2011: 69) is also critical of the EU linguistic policy. He claims that "[...] many of the statements we hear from politicians or in the media are inadequately informed. They often completely ignore language dynamics, and many of the processes [...]" suggested in the interview.

In the end, he agrees with the EU manuscript's interviewer that "[...] **multilingualism is just a façade strategy and, in reality, English is gaining more and more ground**"(ibid.).[92] He perceives a schizophrenic attitude as the EU "[...] keeps talking about multilingualism, but in their dealings with European authorities (for example, in the sphere of scientific research), Europeans are sometimes requested — and they are not really given a choice — to operate through the medium of English" (ibid.). Advocating more internal coherence, he reasserts the reasons for multilingualism versus English uniformity: "Whether in terms of creativity, quality of life, or democracy, there are many reasons why linguistic diversity is preferable to uniformity. It is just that instead of looking at one narrow aspect of the picture, we have to look at the picture as a whole" (70). He remains extremely cautious about the effectiveness of EU multilingual policy; still, he hopes it will avert uniformity and promote diversity:

> So let's avoid big mistakes like the generalisation of a linguistic monoculture in higher education and research, for example. Just preventing this drift would be a good start. Let us not throw the baby out with the bath water; let us monitor the situation in language dynamics very closely. Let us think about various ways to secure the type of linguistic environment that we really want, which for all of the reasons I have outlined is probably one which is *diverse*, not one that is *uniform* (ibid.).

Marina Vollstedt's findings (2002) attest to the power and clout consciously or unconsciously entailed in the choice of a corporate language by a company, as "[…] "corporate culture influences the selection of a company language", and, therefore, "[…] in the management's eyes the language becomes a tool to influence the employees' thoughts and to make them think of their company as an international one" (pp. 93-94)" (EC manuscript, 2011: 34). Vollstedt focuses on the power-related divide between a business company and a community of practice:

> This means that the company is not a community of practice where all the members strive to co-construct meaning together, but, on the contrary, "language in many areas of the business world, consciously or unconsciously, is used as an instrument of power: language policy and language planning are power related and may be invoked to ensure social control" (p. 96. In EC manuscript,

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[92] EU manuscript interviewer's emphasis.

2011: 34).

Thus, being associated with modernity and transnational dimension, English fluency augments the prestige and international standing of a company in the employees' eyes. However, in the absence of that co-negotiation and mutual engagement that usually empower the multinational members of a community of practice, apparent communication problems may hinder non-native/non-native, and especially native/non-native, business exchanges. These problems are ascribed to the proficiency imbalance connected to the corporate language: "[…] impaired information flow, feeling of uncertainty on the part of the staff forced to use a foreign language, loss of information not available in the corporate language" (ibid.).

"Walking through jelly", a paper published in 2009 by a group of Harvard scholars coordinated by Tsedal Beyene, presents the aftermath of sharing English as a corporate language in a multinational company based in Germany. The scholars account for "[…] the stress and frustration of their German informants when interacting with English native speakers, which, in some cases, led them to the decision to withdraw from discussion or even to refuse to attend meetings when non-German speakers were present" (EC manuscript, 2011: 34). The manuscript author infers that imposing standard English may result in "[…] frustration, withdrawal, disruption of joint work and poorer collaboration for all staff" (ibid.). The risk is outstanding and may affect native speakers too: "[…] the interviews with native English speakers working for the company also highlighted deep frustration because they felt excluded from information their German colleagues exchanged in German" (ibid.). Finally, the company members "[…] managed to partly end this negative cycle only by taking voluntary steps to change their perspective and understand the experiences and constraints faced by their colleagues" (ibid.).

Joining the multifaceted debate on English hegemony vs multilingualism, Martin-Rubió (2007: 46) underlines the glocal use of English as a shared medium of tertiary instruction: "A growing number of universities across Europe are offering degrees in the

English language" (ibid.). And yet the uproar which the introduction of English as the only medium of education to a renowned Italian university raised was outstanding. Some scholars—and the century-old *Accademia della Crusca*—bemoaned English linguicism and blamed the university for a disparagement of Italian language and culture. Conversely, others voiced the necessity of internationalizing research and attracting foreign scholars to Italian universities.

Many a substantive reason for transcendence would induce us, as observed, to agree today with the latter position, though disapproving of the inherent danger of reproducing an unfair imbalance between privileged "*inner circles*" and disempowered "*outer circles*" (Ruanni F. Tupas, 2006: 170). In fact, Lifelong Learning 2007-2013 and Europe 2020 have attested that "[...] English has provided a globally shared linguistic code that can be used by a large number of people in different domains to work together in powerful global networks" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 46). As a matter of fact, English has already been an additional language spoken, as attested, by more than half of the EU citizens, and the number is increasing. However, Martin-Rubió's (47) and Libby Nelson's maps show the wide discrepancy in language knowledge across Europe, i.e. "[...] Eastern and Mediterranean countries having figures around 30% and northern European countries figures around 70%" (ibid.), with an apparently logical conclusion, still an object of considerable attention: "This is why an active and explicit promotion of English and recognition as Europe's lingua franca would ensure that in a matter of years all citizens could express themselves in this language. This should not necessarily mean that they would abandon theirs and refuse to learn more" (ibid.).

As viewed, the main fear of those who oppose the systematic use of English as an international language is that "[…] it will displace all other languages and cause a loss of diversity, notably linguistic diversity, which is one of mankind's great assets and a defining feature of European civilisation" (48). Recent findings, however, indicate that this fear is unwarranted. A research carried out among Erasmus students under the LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence) project (4th Issue, August 2009) has documented, among other studies, that learning and speaking English as a *lingua franca* can even be an incentive to learning other languages. The students regard English as an

essential tool, instrumental in accessing communities from which they would be otherwise excluded:

> Through the Erasmus programme, they come into contact with other students speaking different mother tongues, with whom they initially communicate in English. This, however, is only a first step. In order not to feel like strangers in their new countries, these students feel that they have to acquire at least some knowledge of the local language; in addition, the new friendships may encourage them to learn further new languages (EC manuscript, 2011: 48).

A transcendent use of English is also frequently observed among people who go to work or improve education and training abroad, as the results of the Grundtvig Programme, part of the Lifelong Learning 2007-2013, have substantiated:

> Many companies choose English as their corporate language; this enables them to secure the services of international staff, with a wide range of mother tongues and places of origin. These people, who are recruited and go to work abroad precisely because they speak English, need to become reasonably competent in the local language quite rapidly if they want to settle and participate in local life: when you go to a bar or a club with a group of people who all speak the local language, English is pretty useless (ibid.)

A very different condition concerns the overpowering use of English in ESL countries actually submerged by the encroaching role of the language in education and research. The Philippine example is a case in point of mathetic dominance (Halliday 1978: 54-56) and pedagogic dilemma (Ruanni F. Tupas, 2006: 169-185). In principle, however,

> […] English does behave as a *lingua franca*, i.e. a contact language. Like the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean, it does not belong to anybody and is a utilitarian tool used mainly to cover a restricted range of subjects pertaining primarily to public life. It is used to create a shared space, but it also underlines the fact that the speakers do not belong to the same community, and neither party in the exchange makes any real effort to accept the other into their community or to be accepted into the other's community. It is important to stress this specialisation as it is the most evident limitation of any *lingua franca*, preventing it from becoming a viable alternative to any natural language. It therefore provides a sound argument against the 'English only' approach (EC manuscript, 2011: 48).

In *Towards a European lingua franca (English)*, a blog by Craig James Willy published on 22nd November 2010, the author claims: "In European politics, multilingualism has been intractable problem. The needs of translation and interpretation in 22 languages [today 24] are costly (the main reason the European Parliament is more expensive than national ones). The debates and speeches suffer, becoming stilted and bland" (Craig, 2010). What is even worse is the widespread feeling of estrangement since intensive translating contributes to the sense of "foreignness" of the Union, "[…] as its representatives speak to their compatriots in tongues they don't understand" (ibid.). The provision for every state to use its national language even leads such countries as Malta to use Maltese or Ireland Irish, although the vast majority of them are ESL bilinguals. Craig Willy is "[…] genuinely pessimistic about the possibility of multilingual democracy". Citing the example of "[…] Spain, South Africa and India, all successful democracies despite very great linguistic diversity", he argues the case for an "[…] undisputed *lingua franca* […] to dominate "[…] business and politics" (ibid.). This has become all the more a crucial question after Brexit has left Brussels running a union whose real common language is only spoken as a native tongue by the five million native speakers from Ireland and Malta, who make up only 1% of the total EU population, as revealed by Cathleen O' Grady ("After Brexit, EU English will be free to morph into a distinct variety", *The Guardian*, 25th September 2017). A logical supranational solution might let then English strengthen its *de facto* historical role of *lingua franca* in Europe as a deterritorialized and denativized medium for international and intercultural communication.

The 2011 EC manuscript gives an insightful overview of the macrocosm of ELF. The anonymous author traces the historical role of English over the last forty years, well beyond the presupposition of linguistic imperialism:

> Thus English has become a symbol of modernity and speaking it means sharing and being part of a global culture through which local barriers can be overcome. Starting mainly from the 1960s and 1970s, through popular music, English has become in many countries a symbol of freedom and rebellion and in serious crises it still proves a powerful weapon against censorship. As the main language of new communication channels, such as blogs and social networks, it has often allowed the opponents of totalitarian regimes to make their voices heard worldwide in spite of the harsh censorship put in place by such governments to crush and silence them (EC manuscript, 2011: 25).

The manuscript significantly points to a new model of the international language mirroring David Graddol (2006)'s insights in his cited study on the future of English, *English Next*:

> Under the EFL approach, English becomes a global asset belonging to all users, regardless of whether it is their mother tongue. As a consequence, native speakers have lost the right to control the language and should acknowledge that "[…] as ever-increasing numbers of people learn English around the world, it is not just 'more of the same'. There is a new model. English is no longer being learned as a foreign language, in recognition of the hegemonic power of native English speakers" (Graddol, 2006: 19). It belongs to everybody and to nobody at the same time and no longer embodies a single culture, the Western Judaeo-Christian culture (EC manuscript, 2011: 28-29).

A note of overt nationalism seems to mark the commentary of Gwynne Dyer, a London-based independent journalist, whose articles are published in 45 countries. On *The Japan Times*, ("The worldwide triumph of English", 23rd May, 2012), she first surveys the incredible spread of English across the centuries, quoting the prediction of John Adams, second president of the USA in 1780: "[…] "English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the end of this one", destined "[…] in the next and succeeding centuries to be more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age" (ibid.). Then she illustrates the *de facto* transcendence of the global medium in Italy:

> […] last week one of the most respected universities in Italy, the Politecnico di Milano, announced that from 2014 all of its courses would be taught in English. There was a predictable wave of outrage all across the country, but the university's rector, Giovanni Azzoni, simply replied: "We strongly believe our classes should be international classes, and the only way to have international classes is to use the English language. Universities are in a more competitive world. If you want to stay with the other global universities, you have no other choice" (ibid.).

Presumably, the commentary just faces reality and recalls Susan Wright's matter-of-fact conclusions about the spread of English (Wright, 2004: 177-178; 244-251). As observed by the journalist, the university policy aroused controversy; still, it stresses two

interconnected realities:

> a. The shortcomings of the Italian primary and secondary school system in the teaching and learning of English compared to average EU benchmarks;

> b. The urgent need for prospective researchers to gain an appropriate level of academic proficiency in English as a *lingua franca*.

Gwynne Dyer (23rd May, 2012) further depicts a *de facto* reality that does not lessen, at any rate, the reasons for multilingualism:

> The university is not doing this to attract foreign students. It is doing it mainly for its own students who speak Italian as a first language, but must make their living in a global economy where the players come from everywhere — and they all speak English as a lingua franca.

> Many other European universities, especially in Germany, the Low Countries and Scandinavia, have taken the same decision, and the phenomenon is now spreading to Asia. There is a huge shift under way, and it has become extremely rare to meet a scientific researcher or international businessperson who cannot speak fluent English. How else would Peruvians communicate with Chinese? ("The worldwide triumph of English", 23rd May, 2012).

Then she simply voices the pragmatic necessity for a common *lingua franca* being in conflict with the Critical Linguists' arguments:

> Since few people have the time to learn more than one or two foreign languages, we need a single lingua franca that everybody can use with everybody else.

> The choice has fallen on English not because it is more beautiful or more expressive, but just because it is already more widespread than any of the other potential candidates (ibid.).

A buoyant mood animates her observations:

There have been few languages in world history that were spoken by more people as a second language than as a first; English has had that distinction for several decades already. Never before has any language had more people learning it in a given year than it has native speakers; English has probably now broken that record as well.

Most of those learners will never become fully fluent in English, but over the years some hundreds of millions will, including the entire global elite. And the amount of effort that is being invested in learning English is so great that it virtually guarantees that this reality will persist for generations to come (ibid.).

In view of the widespread language endangerment and mathetic implications of English submersion, Gwynne Dyer's conclusions may sound simplistic; yet they underpin the other side of the coin, i.e. the realistic and plausible reasons for transcendence, and thus, again, the inherent ambivalence of English spread:

No other language is threatened by this predominance of English. Italians are not going to stop speaking Italian to one another, even if they have attended the Politecnico di Milano, and no force on Earth could stop the Chinese or the Arabs from speaking their own language among themselves. But they will all speak English to foreigners (ibid.).

Another interesting point of view is that of John Portelli (29th July, 2012), chairman of St Edward's College Board of Governors, Malta. In "English is world's lingua franca", he focuses on English being the *lingua franca* of education and observes that "What started as a gradual process in the sciences has spread to higher education in general. With the internationalisation of higher education, it was only a matter of time before one language emerged as the dominant language of research and instruction" (ibid.). He brings to the fore that "The 4,000 to 5,000 'hard core' scientific publications, which serve as references, are in English" (ibid.) and that "The main language for access to scientific information is English, which has become the dominant, even the sole language, in international scientific symposiums" (ibid.). Stressing the fact that the US, "[…] where much of today's research and development is concentrated as well as being the birthplace

of the internet, initially developed exclusively in English" […], "through which information of any kind is disseminated", he concludes that "Whether they like it or not, researchers are far more likely to have their work published if it is in English" (ibid.). Portelli further illustrates the reasons for transcendence: "The teaching of English as a second language is now universal. The Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands were the first to recognise the dominant role English would play; other European countries followed, including, with the fall of Communism, eastern European countries" (ibid.). Tracing the history of English-language hegemony in Europe, the scholar writes that "The Bologna Process, comprising 46 countries, which established a European Higher Education Area has, mainly by promoting the mobility of students and academic staff, contributed significantly to promoting English as the *lingua franca* of education" (ibid.). Nonetheless, from his account, the mentioned case of the Milan university might set a typical example of privileged inner-circle, mainly private, educational policy not underpinned by public, especially undergraduate, educational criteria and countrywide implementation:

> The prestigious *Politecnico di Milano*, a world leading school of engineering, announced in April 2012 that with effect from 2014 all postgraduate courses and a large number of undergraduate courses will be taught and assessed entirely in English. According to the university's rector: "We strongly believe our classes should be international classes – and the only way to have international classes is to use the English language." He asserts that other Italian universities will follow (ibid.).

Basically, the Maltese chairman exposes a core deficit of the Italian educational system: "In an age of globalisation and internationalisation of higher education, the only way to attract overseas students from the emerging economies of India, China and Asia, and fund ongoing research, is to have courses in English. As the *Politecnico* put it, there is "no other choice"" (ibid.). Portelli reminds us that "At the end of the day, the market place dictates […]", and that English is the *lingua franca* of commerce since "[…] a number of non-English companies adopt English as their company language; transnational companies and companies with international brands do likewise" (ibid.). The point he makes is especially salient these days:

Globalisation has witnessed an increasing number of mergers between companies domicile in different countries, these too, in large measure, have adopted English as the language of communication and as a global marketing tool. English gives them a global perspective, they no longer belong to or are associated with a particular nation or culture, they belong instead to the world; modernity is associated with English (ibid.).

The glocal role of English as a commercial and diplomatic *κοινή διάλεκτος,* or *lingua franca*, is further detailed:

Contracts between companies that do not share a common language are, more often than not, drafted in English. Furthermore, international tenders require applicants to submit their offer in English or to submit an English version.

English is gradually becoming the language of diplomacy, with a new generation of diplomats being trained in British and American universities. Nowhere is this more obvious than in EU institutions and affiliated agencies which, while promoting plurilingualism, has established English as the supranational language of these institutions (ibid.).

Therefore, considering that "The world is a village and English is the *lingua franca* […]",

[…] institutes of higher education have come to recognise this. Italy's most prestigious business school, Bocconi University, has been offering courses in English for over a decade. Their reasoning: "The *lingua franca* of business is English and you need to know it. Our students are very active on the international market and demand an international environment."

The aim is to give students "important tools to do work in a globalised world." A command of English is a prerequisite for employment in a globalised world (ibid.).

He finally asks himself a worrying question on the outcome of linguistic diversity in Europe:

With the exception of Spanish and French in their former colonies, the other European languages are now 'parochial' languages; what is to become of them?

Clearly, they must be preserved for reasons of national identity and preservation of culture. In this regard a pass rate of 56.6 per cent in the Maltese Sec is inadequate for a national language […] (ibid.).

Portelli's "unemotional" conclusion, then, though cognizant of all-English submersion of linguacultural diversity, allows for a matter-of-fact acceptance of transcendent instrumentality in the global village: "[…] is it perhaps time for a radical unemotional rethink, considering the current formula does not appear to be the right one for a globalised world with a dominant language" (ibid.).

Mail Online, in its issue of 27th September, 2013, "English is the lingua franca of Europeans as two thirds speak the language which has squeezed out all its rivals", features Steve Doughty's views on a report published by the EU statistics arm Eurostat: "The findings, taken from the large-scale EU Adult Education Survey conducted in 2011, were published to mark the European Day of Languages, an event 'to promote the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe' and to encourage language learning" (ibid.). Doughty writes that "English has squeezed out every other language in the competition to become the common tongue of Europe […]" being the most popular foreign language in all but five European countries and all of those are small nations that use the language of their larger neighbours (ibid.). Considering that "Two thirds of adults knew English, with one in five of these saying they were proficient, 35 per cent spoke it well, and 45 per cent reckoned they had a fair command of English", the EU report suggests "[…] that the dominance of English is likely to become even greater in the future" (ibid.). In detail, as the report shows, "The importance of English as a foreign language is confirmed among working age adults. In the EU, English was declared to be the best-known language amongst the population aged 25 to 64". Marking the two heads of a continuum, "English was best known in Denmark, where 94 per cent of people speak it, and least in Italy, where 60 per cent know some English but only one in 10 people consider themselves proficient" (ibid.). Significantly,

Not one country can be found where the preferred second language is French, once the language of international diplomacy and still the vehicle by which French governments try to promote their influence abroad.

French remains the European common language only in the offices of European institutions. It is one of the three working languages of the European Commission in Brussels, alongside English and German, and the main language of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, alongside English (ibid.).

In addition, "The predominance of English is also visible in the European Commission, where close to 80% of internal documents are now written in English, a situation which infuriates defenders of multilingualism" (*Eurostat*, 27th September, 2013). The report found that "[…] 94 per cent of secondary school pupils and 83 per cent of primary age pupils across the EU are learning English as their first foreign language, more than four times as many as learn French, German or Spanish. Only in Britain and Ireland is French the top foreign language in schools" (*Mail Online*, 27th September, 2013). Dennis Abbott, spokesperson for the EU's education and multilingualism commissioner Androulla Vassiliou, said that "Globally, English is a very widely spoken language so it's no surprise that so many schools teach it" (*Eurostat*, 27th September 2013). However, as Abbott told EurActiv: "[…] it's not enough to just learn English. There is a real added value in learning other languages too […] In business, for instance, if you want to reach customers in Germany or France, it's much easier if you speak their language" (ibid.). Doughty's conclusions are good food for thought, especially after Brexit:

The findings raise a series of questions about the future of languages in the EU. They will deepen criticism of the way the EU spends an estimated £1 billion a year translating all of its documents into the 23 [today 24] official languages of the bloc.

The popularity of English also opens the prospect of a difficulty if Britain should quit the EU. That would leave Brussels running a union whose real common language would be spoken as a native tongue only by the 4.6 million people of the Irish Republic - fewer than one in 100 of its population.

However, the swing towards English underlines the growing problem of the decline of language teaching in British schools and universities. It suggests the motivation for learning languages among native English speakers weakens when people can speak English wherever in the world they may go.

 (*Mail Online*, 27th September, 2013).

Another telling chart on *The Washington Post* (23rd April, 2015) shows the preponderance of the medium in the world's language classroom. Apparently, whereas English lags behind in the number of native speakers, it is by far the world's most commonly studied language. Overall, more people learn English than French, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, German and Chinese combined (ibid.):

English is by far the most common studied foreign language in the world.

French 82M

Chinese 30M

Spanish 14.5M

English 1.5 billion learners

German 14.5M

Italian 8M

Japanese 3M

Sources: Ulrich Ammon, University of Düsseldorf   THE WASHINGTON POST
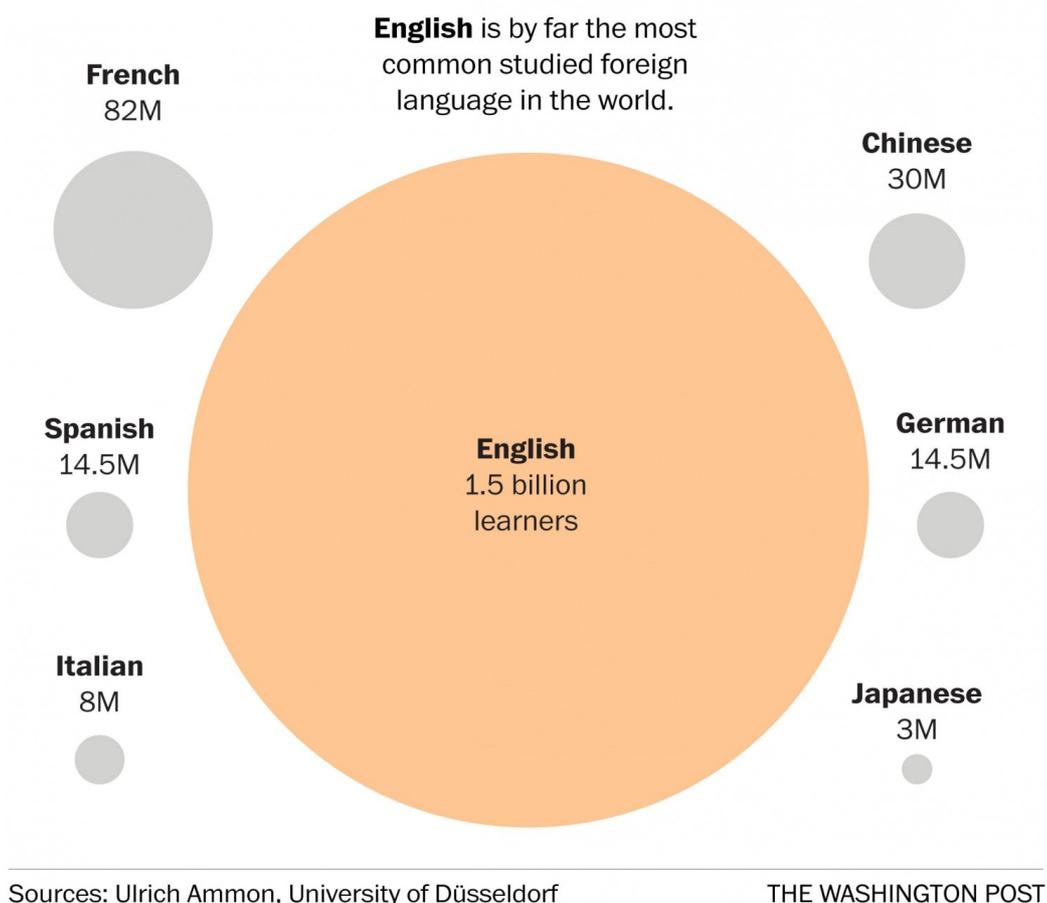
Figure 8. English is by far the most common studied foreign language in the world (Ulrich Ammon, University of Düsseldorf. *The Washington Post*, 23rd April, 2015). Retrieved from: http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/blog/victornomberto/2016/01/04/the-worlds-languages-in-7-maps-and-charts/

This leads to a focal conclusion: "English is no longer being learned as a foreign language, in recognition of the hegemonic power of native English speakers" (Graddol, 2006: 19). It belongs to everybody and to nobody at the same time and no longer embodies a single culture, the Western Judaeo-Christian culture" (EC manuscript, 2011: 29). Hence *a priori* rejection of English as a tool for enforcing cultural homogenization and erasing linguistic diversity, i.e. Phillipson (1992, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003) and other Critical Linguists' postulate (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999; Tollefson 2002), though substantive and historically grounded, adds up to the one-sided simplification of a complex reality, and, as Martin-Rubió (2007) concludes, "This is precisely where things can start to change" (47). In this view, de-nativizing the language by carving out core features and checking Inner-Circle idiomaticity sounds flimsy and unnatural if not underpropped by social change which "[…] feeds from individual actions, from networks that gather pace, and challenge naturalised notions such as 'nation', 'language', or 'people'" (48).

It may be useful to remember that *lingua franca* is a constant in history and has essential features. As noted, though linguistically born of and historically associated with a "native" speech community, *lingua francas*, as pidgins and creoles, are contact languages basically aimed at facilitating contact among people who do not share the same mother tongue. As such, they are "[…] transitory, unstable, but they are always connected to power and prestige, and their status invariably changes when the power relations on which they are based change" (EC manuscript, 2011: 47).

As the history of French attests, *lingua franca* status, then, varies with the power relations that underpin its development. Compared to past *lingua francas*, like Greek, Latin and the medieval language that originated the term, English as a *lingua franca* shows distinctive and unique characteristics that have underlain its unprecedented spread and worldwide penetration. Thus, viewing ELF as a mere instrument of imperialism or as being associated with the culture of the native countries is, as mentioned, to tell just half of the story and eventually miss the point altogether.

We should conclude that glocal English is today a set of phonological, lexical and prospectively structural variants in the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle, a hybrid and fluid tool for intercultural communication that is not to replace the native languages and cultures of its speakers. It has evoked very strong, both positive and negative, reactions

among scholars and decision-makers as well as in the media. At the one extreme, ELF is still regarded as an imperialistic tool mirroring today's balance of power without consistently improving the quality of communication or fostering mutual understanding. At the other extreme, it is seen as the panacea for our communication needs, promoting social justice and equality and overcoming social and political exclusion (ibid.).

Arguing for a more inclusive and balanced position, it could be noted that there is "[…] widespread agreement on the need for a common language to make direct communication possible in our globalised world" (ibid.) and it is crystal clear that translating speeches and drawing up all documents in 24 languages has been an especially untenable and extravagant matter for the EU. The point is clearly expounded in the EC manuscript:

> Direct communication is essential when speakers of different languages come together. Generalised and systematic translation and interpretation cannot always be provided, or would make the exchange too lengthy and cumbersome. Intercomprehension can be useful and effective, but does not work well when the speakers have different non-neighbouring languages. Machine translation and the new technologies in general are admittedly improving rapidly, but they still suffer from serious weaknesses. Even for the future it is hard to imagine that they will be able to meet all our needs for direct communication — especially not oral communication. This leaves us with the need for one common language which can be widely used with reasonable competence (47-48).

Recalling the case of the "[…] Iranian presidential elections in 2009 […]" which "[…] very clearly showed the importance of a vehicular language to break isolation and circulate information" (25), the author voices the factual transcendence of English instrumental hegemony:

> Even those who fight its supremacy recognise it as a powerful medium to make themselves heard. A few years ago during a march in support of Hindi against English organised in India, demonstrators carried banners in English to reach a wider public. Another interesting example is the protest of fundamentalist Muslims after satirical cartoons making fun of Muhammad were published in Denmark: they protested against the Western world, but did so using slogans in English, even though it is the language of "the Great Satan" and is perceived as the very symbol of Western predominance (ibid.).

The manuscript stresses the goal-orientedness and creativity of ELF. If communicative needs may lead to perceive it, on the one hand, as an artificial and dry tool for communication on specific subjects, stripped of any personal contributions, on the other, contrary to expectations, the available data show that ELF can be a supple and creative tool which speakers use to "[…] express their personality, culture and emotions" (31). Cultural pluricentricity of ELF vis-à-vis its assumed homogenization is further accounted for: "This seems to counter one of the main concerns regarding the global reach of English, i.e. that the language imposes a single system of values and a whole *Weltanschauung* globally, weakening and swallowing up other cultures until cultural uniformity is achieved" (ibid.). On the contrary, the manuscript points to creativity in the very appropriation of English idioms which, far from being "stumbling blocks" that hamper communication, are re-created by the ELF speaker:

> Idioms are not entirely absent from ELF exchanges, though. Relevant case studies show that ELF speakers do use idioms, at times even more creatively than native speakers, adapting them to their needs or linguistic resources. Either they revive dead metaphors or slightly diverge from set expressions or transfer idioms from their mother tongue into ELF, explaining where necessary. Thus they create new turns of phrases which may prove more vivid than the original ones and acceptable for their interlocutors, who often absorb and re-use them during the exchange (32).

Two aspects highlighted in the 2011 manuscript are the co-operative attitude and the co-construction of meaning between ELF interactants, i.e. non-natives to non-natives, as opposed to the competitive mood of native vs non-native interaction and possible frustration of all participants. Wenger's construct of community of practice (1998) denotes the ELF speakers' effort to tap their verbal and non-verbal repertoires "[…] to attain a common goal as efficiently and as effectively as possible […]" (33), as attested by a variety of case studies in businesses and academic settings. Findings show that such a knack for accommodation is crucial to communicative success and posits ongoing "[…] collaboration in which all the interlocutors are continuously and actively involved" (Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer, 2008: 32). In particular, in the world of international business, most managers appear to have "[…] successfully developed into skilful and self-confident users of English as a business lingua franca, for whom (in most cases) *what* they say in ELF is by far more relevant than *how* they say something" (Ehrenreich, 2009: 147).

Day-to-day informal non-native/non-native speaker interaction has the features of "[…] co-operation, consensus and unproblematicality […]" (Knapp, 2002: 219) as participants make up their community of practice for smooth and satisfactory communication signalling to each other "[…] that they share common ground, even if it is only for shared incompetence in the language […]" (240-241).

Conversely, native/non-native business transactions attest to a competitive attitude whereby native speakers use language proficiency as "[…] a powerful tool for leverage over less fluent speakers" (EC manuscript, 2011: 33). Studies conducted in international businesses with English as the corporate language demonstrate, in fact, that non-native speakers are likely "[…] to be almost completely silenced by native speakers and even more strikingly by quasi-native speakers" (ibid.). An interesting study conducted by Karlfried Knapp (2002), with students taking part in an international conference simulating the work of a UN General Assembly, showed that "[…] in more formal and competitive situations, the nns' deficiencies in English competence can trigger a shift to a more unco-operative style by the more fluent speakers as a resource to set up boundaries against the outgroup" (240-241).

In the end, as all *lingue franche* in history, English as a *lingua franca* has not been considered to be or be able to become a fully-fledged language. It has been viewed, instead, as "[…] a mere tool for communication, and, as such, limited and unstable" (EC manuscript, 2011: 48). By the same token, it "[…] can easily be abandoned or replaced as soon as it no longer serves its purpose […]" (ibid.). Nicholas Ostler's work, *The Last Lingua Franca. English Until the Return of Babel* (2010), focuses on the inevitable destiny of all *lingue franche* including International English: "The decline of English, when it begins, will not seem of great moment. International English is a lingua franca, and by its nature, a lingua franca is a language of convenience. When it ceases to be convenient — however widespread it has been — it will be dropped, without ceremony, and with little emotion" (Ostler, 2010: xv).

All this may lead to the conclusion that an ecolinguistic use of ELF, or International English, which has lost the mathetic and ideological idiosyncracies of the native language, might drop the historical aspects of submersion and promote diversified and unifying forms of transcendence and additive multilingualism among all its users in the EU and elsewhere.

8.7 The sociolinguistic debate on multilingualism and global power

In "English in the World does not mean English Everywhere: The Case for Multilingualism in the ELT/ESL profession", Joseph and Ramani (2006) investigate the sociolinguistic reasons for multilingualism and the complex role of English as applied to the ELT/ESL profession, capitalizing on their first-hand tertiary education experience.

Starting their analysis from the fact that multilingualism is "[…] the norm rather than the exception" in the world, they criticize those applied linguists and language specialists who have "[…] a monolingual consciousness and a curiously apolitical agenda", mainly concerned with devising "[…] more powerful theories of language acquisition and learning, and the development of English language curricula in tune with these theories" (186). They advance, instead, proposals for developing a political awareness in the ELT/ESL profession of the global role of English in multilingual contexts and "[…] the devastating effect […] on local, indigenous languages" (ibid.). The perspective clearly follows in the footsteps of the Critical Linguistic and Postmodernist schools reacting against the apolitical approaches of the 1980s, with the intention of uncovering "[…] the relationships among language, power and inequality, which are held to be central concepts for understanding language and society" (Tollefson, 2002: 4). Joseph and Ramani's insights shed new light on the dual and hybrid interpenetration of submersion and transcendence in the varied use of ELF. They note, in detail:

a) The "[…] rapid displacement of local languages by English, and lack of support for maintenance and promotion of these languages" (187).

b) The asymmetrical access to the global medium, i.e. "[…] the social exclusion and isolation from mainstream life for many people in the 'developing world' who have inadequate levels of competence in English" (ibid.).

c) A relevant acknowledgment of the right of people to have empowering access to English, "[…] the language of modernity and globalism" (186).

d) The danger of monolingualism in English among the educated middle classes worldwide.

According to the two Indian linguists, the language "[…] plays a gatekeeping function" and "More and more people wanting to enter that gate are prepared to abandon the use of their own languages even in domains where they were exclusively used […]" (187).

Norman Fairclough and Roger Fowler spearheaded the Critical Linguistics approach in the UK "[…] dissecting the way language is employed to produce, maintain and change the social relations of power and to permit the domination of some people by others" (Fairclough, 1989. In Wright, 2004: 167). This course of action reminds us of Jürgen Habermas' (1981) theory of communicative action and Pierre Bourdieu's construct of gate-keeping social closure in language use whereby the educated ruling classes "[…] protect the cultural capital that accrues to them through knowledge and use of the standard language" (Bourdieu, 1982, 1991, 2001). The toll those elites would take on applicants looks heavy: "[…] eroding the linguistic diversity so central to the maintenance of cultural identities" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 187) and leading to language loss and death, keenly described as a form of "linguistic genocide" by A. Pennicook (1994) and D. Crystal (2000). Erosion sneaks into unexpected domains of "[…] social interaction in private and familial settings", as "[…] many young people in the urban centres claim English to be their mother tongue or home language" and thus "[…] are increasinglny alienated from their counterparts from more rural or provincial backgrounds" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 187). What the two scholars have experienced and conclude sounds unassailable:

1. The largely unsuccessful outcome of multilingual campaigns in many developing countries such as South Africa.

2. A widespread awareness that "[…] a knowledge of and competence in English will ensure increased status, job opportunities and social mobility" (ibid.).

To combat submersion, monolingualism and language loss, Joseph and Ramani recommend "[…] an informed and self-critical view of the role of English and its impact on multilingualism" (188). Political engagement is deemed to be the best response to apolitical theorizing of and neutral acquiescence in "[…] the asymmetrical power relations between English and other languages" (ibid.). There comes the active part played by

Critical Linguists in laying bare and striving to correct social evils related to language. Their involved activism has entailed that they have been seen "[…] as responsible not only for understanding how dominant social groups use language for establishing and maintaining social hierarchies, but also for investigating ways to alter those hierarchies" (Tollefson, 2002: 4). Joseph and Ramani (2006) clarify that challenging the hegemony of English and granting people their right to access this "cultural capital" are, as it were, just the two sides of the same coin. The dilemma forces them "[…] to move beyond a simplistic politics of English to a more complex view of hegemony called the 'access paradox' […]" (189). This is strongly reminiscent of Gramsci's notion of elitist hegemony, which the two scholars apply to the ideological implications of language policy:

> As English language specialists, we are obliged to provide access to English for our learners. However, we need also to be aware that in fulfilling this obligation we are empowering English further and increasing its hegemonic power. In addition, in carrying out this obligation we are consciously or unconsciously encouraging our learners to devalue their own languages (ibid.).

The point is crucial, since, as Janks (1995) observes, "[…] if you provide access to the dominant language, you entrench its dominance. If, on the other hand, you deny students' access to the language of power, you entrench their marginalization in a society which continues to accord value and status to that language" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 189). To put it another way, the "[…] paralysis of guilt […]" that sensible and conscientious English language professionals may suffer can only be overcome when realizing the actual role of English in society and providing contextualized forms of multilingualism, "[…] to expand, rather than abandon our role as English language specialists" (ibid.).

Joseph and Ramani also draw attention to the critical distinction between the "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1991) and the real educational role of English. This applies to the Outer Circle but, increasingly, also to the Expanding Circle countries today.

The symbolic power entails the social and cultural values propagated by haunting publicity and weak educational policy that parents and students associate with English. It invokes the overt and covert workings of today's virtual society and "[…] applies not only to English as a subject, but also to it as a language through which learners can access

knowledge" (Desai, 1999: 46). Hence Joseph and Ramani observe that "[…] the craze for English-medium education continues unabated" and "Uninformed parents demand that even primary school education (which in many developing countries is conducted through the local languages) now be carried out in English" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 190), with its well-documented psychological and pedagogical aftermath.

The other face is the real power of English, the asymmetrical access to the power medium: "[…] in many parts of the developing world […]", but also in quite a few areas in the EU, "[…] the education system *fails* to provide real access to the language of power (due to poor schooling, inadequate training of teachers, lack of resources and infrastructure)" (189). Asymmetry is apparent as "Those who do 'succeed' in getting into English medium schools still do not have access to the 'best' teaching in English" (189-190). Accordingly, "The school-leaving results of non-mainstream children the world over show that the major cause for their failure at school has to do with their low proficiency in English" (190). The two applied linguists emphasize the need for a change in the practice of multilingualism: to revive "[…] indigenous languages as vehicles of rational and creative thinking" through new curricula, invoking "[…] their use as a medium of instruction in tertiary education" and "[…] the role of these languages in the cognitive development of our learners" (191). Further ahead, they explain why "straight for English" or "English only" curricula are dominant: English lures people through lack of "[…] excellent bilingual programmes of education […]" mother tongue use being confined to the early years of schooling, whereas the English medium is adopted "[…] throughout schooling and tertiary education" (193). They blame academic voices for tacitly accepting the hegemony of English as "[…] the 'natural' language of higher education" (ibid.). They especially query Widdowson's (1996) "[…] 'domains' view of languages or 'everything in its proper place' […]", whereby "English is to be used in the educational domain and indigenous languages in the hearth and home, thus preserving all the languages" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 194). They write that this view "[…] is a modern reincarnation of the 'neutral' view that legitimizes itself by incorporating multilingualism into it" (ibid.), totally ignoring the asymmetry between English, used as a tertiary academic medium in prestigious domains with a Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) status, and indigenous languages, confined to the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) level (ibid.).

We may eventually conclude that a holistic language ecology framework, as envisaged in the preface of this work, cannot but take advantage of Joseph and Ramani's counter-culture of "professional activism" (Prabhu, 1987): their notion of language practitioners as "agents of change" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 196), socially motivated and morally concerned "[…] with the needs of students in a multilingual world where English is both a desirable learning goal and also paradoxically a destroyer of indigenous languages" (197), their criticizing "The anonymous power of the 'culture' of the hegemony of English, backed by widespread silence from the ELT community, and reinforced by occasional articulated support for it by ELT specialists […]" (194). Against this power, and the expressive metaphor of monolingual "hopping with one leg", they advance the standpoint of "walking with two legs" (ibid.): an "*asymmetrical*", i.e. accommodating and flexible, "[…] relation between policy and its implementation […]" meaning daily conscientious small-scale, local, low-risk practice for the ELT / ESL profession (196). To this effect, "walking with two legs", though maybe "[…] awkward, slow and even painful" (195) at the beginning, can overcome, in the 'developing' as well as in our 'developed' world, that "[…] paralysis of guilt and defeat from knowing what is the right thing to do without knowing *how* to do it" (196).

If we can still agree with Susan Wright's view that top-down language policy is a zero-sum game and that nothing can effectively withstand the hegemonic role of global English today (Wright, 2004: 157-178), we may advocate, on the other hand, Joseph and Ramani's call for "[…] developing a counter-hegemonic consciousness" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 195) by transferring "[…] the best resources from English to indigenous languages" (Joseph & Ramani, 1998). It may need a massive effort but appear, at the same time, the only democratic and holistic response to English-only submersion and viable option for people to reaffirm their linguacultural identities.

In Joseph and Ramani's opinion, then, practice must comprise excellent indigenous language coupled with excellent English language programmes: "[…] in order to increase access for students from historically marginalized groups who are seeking to enter hitherto elitist shares of higher education, and to offer them cognitively stimulating, modern bilingual programmes" (Joseph & Ramani, 2006: 195). Thus, that "[…] *moral* concern with the needs of students […]" (197) in an English-dominated multilingual scenario where this language maintains its dual paradox of "[…] desirable learning goal […]" and

"[…] destroyer of indigenous languages […]", combined with the "[…] *epistemological goal* […]" of scaffolded, creative and proactive practice, may bring out "[…] a changed identity in an English-speaking world" (ibid.). This new identity, "[…] while challenging a monolithic, monolingual view of culture, will also create a new form of globalism […]", pluricentric and culture-friendly, "[…] which values and upholds diversity" (ibid.).

8.8 Shuttling between diverse English-speaking communities worldwide. A cross-cultural vision of language

Suresh Canagarajah (2006) has made a point of shedding fixed exonormative varieties, or ENL, at the same time as Jenkins and Seidlhofer have gone to great lengths to carve out a phonological and a lexico-grammatical core standard, respectively. In Rubdy and Saraceni's "Interview with Suresh Canagarajah" (2006), the Sri Lankan linguist gives an overview of some "burning issues" in the area of English as a World Language today, integrating perceptive theory with hands-on pedagogical practice. Canagarajah "[…] maintains that it is time we orientate to English as a hybrid, multinational language that constitutes diverse norms and systems, represented by the global community of English speakers" (12-13). Canagarajah's approach to what EIL/ELF should be is alternative to several prescriptive attempts at a *lingua franca* core elaboration. His idea of *micropolitics* of postcolonial resistance and inclusive construct of language as a *process* take on board, in particular, the educational needs of learners and teachers of English in postcolonial countries. In the debate on the nature and role of English as an International Language, the basic dilemma is between two options:

a) a monolithic core of features from native and nativized Englishes geared to the communicative needs of its international and intranational users.
b) a pluricentric, flexible medium that appropriates an ever-changing variety of native and nativized Englishes, with pertinent cultural identities.

Canagarajah propounds the latter "[…] ways in which postcolonial speakers of English creatively negotiate the place of English in their lives" (200). His refutation of a top-down, artificial, homogenizing system, and interest "[…] in the poetics and politics of

local varieties of English" (ibid.) are grounded on the assumption that native speakers and Inner-Circle language-mediated conventions have no "[…] monopoly over the language" (202) any more, since, as viewed, "[…] there are literally more multilingual speakers of English from traditionally non-English communities than the Inner Circle communities today […] So who owns the English language? English is not the language of the UK or USA any more" (ibid.). He attributes the dominance of English to the Internet and real-time multimedia communication, "[…] social developments like diaspora communities, and the internationally networked economy […]", but also the ever-changing features of "[…] a hybrid language, mixed with elements from other languages" (ibid.).

The Sri Lankan linguist also hints at the scholarly controversy over the grounds for "[…] *the unprecedented spread of English in the last half a century* […]" as "[…] *a result of deliberate policy on the part of core English-speaking countries to maintain dominance over the periphery, which in many cases comprise the developing countries*"(203).[93] Turning down any reification of language, he subscribes to Phillipson's notion of linguistic imperialism, though allowing that "The relationship between deliberate policy and impersonal socio-economic forces in the linguistic exercise of power is always quite complex" (ibid.). Hence, instead of *a priori* resistance from *without*,[94] Canagarajah explains why he is "[…] more interested in discerning and developing challenges to English from *within*" (202).[95] Thus, if English, on the one hand, "[…] doesn't go unscathed in this process of close contact", its subtler ways in the post-Cold War period and days of late capitalism have produced, as argued by Stuart Hall (1997), "[…] this new strategy of accommodating other languages and communities in its practices, and popularizing discourses like linguistic hybridity and social fluidity […]" (Canagarajah, 2006: 204). However, this phenomenon also has reverse socio-linguistic and political implications: to counter linguicism and cultural submersion by "[…] appropriating the master's tools to bring down his house – or to build one's own!", i.e. "[…] the ways in which colonized people have creatively adopted English for critical expression and authentic representation" (ibid.). He mentions the 19th-century adoption of English discourse practices for proselytizing "[…] new converts and reconvert those whom the missionaries

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[93] Editors' italics.
[94] Italics added.
[95] Interviewee's italics.

had converted to Christianity" (ibid.), and more recent changes in the form of codemixing and new styles of writing:

> Nowadays, local scholars have begun adopting new forms of research writing as they publish their knowledge in mainstream academic journals in English. Here, again, they have to reconstruct the dominant conventions and discourses of academic communication in order to represent local knowledge […]. These are what I consider counter-discourses in English, that challenge the cultural and intellectual hegemony exercised by the English language (ibid.).

In other words, Anglo-American English has spawned a number of African, Asian, and prospectively EU varieties, practices and discourses, the complex and diverse outcome of local stratified contact over the centuries. Canagarajah's outlook on the politics of language education leads, then, to empowering and inclusive addition: not the divide between native and nativized Englishes, but the removal of existing social inequalities—the "[…] *even deeper wedge between the 'haves' and 'have nots'*"[96] suggested by Rubdy and Saraceni (205). The editors maintain that English has acted "[…] *as a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige both within and between nations*" (ibid.),[97] i.e. the prerogative of upper and middle urban classes as much in India as in Europe and many other places in the world. In order to counter English linguicism, Canagarajah proposes to universalize the teaching of English while fostering local languages. He writes that in postcolonial society, even after decolonization, "[…] the local elite haven't shown a readiness to lose control over their vested interests. Ironically, even the discourse of nationalism – promoting the vernacular and denigrating English – only serves to strengthen the power of those who already 'have' English" (ibid.). Now the solution he puts forward is not ideological resistance but "[…] additive bilingualism (or additive multilingualism)" (ibid.). This may concern, once more, Outer Circle as well as Expanding Circle countries: societal and individual impulse to nourish and revive one's funds of knowledge while developing effective bilingual and/or ESL programmes in order to carry out what Fishman

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[96] Interviewers' italics.
[97] Interviewers' italics.

(1996: 7) calls the "democratisation of a formerly elitist resource" (Wright, 2004: 178). Canagarajah suggests shifting the resources and teachers of English from the urban settings, where they are concentrated, to the rural areas, or increase them "[…] in order to serve all the communities in a country without disparities" (Canagarajah, 2006: 205).

As regards the dilemma of choosing between an endonormative or an exonormative standard of English, the linguist's conclusions further confirm his hands-on pedagogic experience. Leaving one-for-all solutions aside, he considers each country's and individual's situated choice and distinguishes between two different linguacultural scenarios:

(a) countries, such as India, with a complex and multifarious history of multilingualism and "[…] a mass movement of anti-colonial struggle that has made the people sensitive against colonial values" (206).

(b) more cosmopolitan realities, e.g. Singapore, "[…] more tightly integrated into the Western market/economy […]", looking up to the "[…] 'native English community' […]" and standard variety as their sociocultural frame of reference (ibid.).

The written use of literature epitomizes the distinction: writers from such countries as Canagarajah's Sri Lanka, "[…] display a stronger commitment to the standard variety in comparison to Indian writers […]" (ibid.) being more inclined to creative experimentation with local varieties of English. This seems to result from the different size of local bilingual readership: the limited size of the former induces local writers to address the Western or global community of readers, whereas Indian writers turn to a well-developed audience and so adopt their local varieties. However, in spite of the comparatively small size, local varieties with a long history of multilingualism such as Singapore—with its internal diglossia between standard and Singlish—might eventually establish their endonormative idiosyncracies and thus index local cultural identity.

A more significant divergence concerns Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries, especially for the purpose of pedagogic practice:

1. transcendent appropriation of English as an additional language, or *lingua franca*, in ESL countries with stratified norms of multilingual usage.

2. instrumental use of the language, mainly confined to learning and job-related contexts, in EFL countries, "[…] (with issues of identity taking secondary importance)" (207).

Canagarajah sees a definite link between different use and resistance to centripetal values and practices: ESL users will resist linguicism more easily than instrumental users, who are liable to internalize centripetal norms. The linguist, however, draws a further distinction between the macro-sociolinguistic context and the micro-sociolinguistic level: "[…] EFL students will also appropriate the language in their own way – according to their preferred values and discourses" (ibid.). This especially foregrounds individual choice and reaffirms the reasons for universal proficiency as local use extends over new domains and is likely to engender local norms of usage. Other voices (and my own experience) might contend, once again, how covert and subtle the penetration of English-mediated models and discourses into European tongues and identities can be.

Canagarajah has explicit reservations about the expediency of a "middle-ground" English as a *lingua franca* between the monolithic native forms and nativized varieties, in which he detects one more peril of linguistic imperialism. In fact, Jenkins' and Prodromou's *lingua franca* common core may signify "[…] another exonormative norm, imposed from outside, and not developed locally within communities of usage. Furthermore, this variety will have its own ethos – it will be 'marked' (perhaps as a more cosmopolitan variety) and will exist parallel to or in opposition to existing local varieties" (208). His proposed solution to the "[…] *fear of loss of intelligibility and eventual fragmentation of the language*" (ibid.),[98] advanced by Rubdy and Saraceni, is insightful and reasserts the basic value of identity in communicative events. Referring to the debated "[…] practice of negotiating discourses (or dialects, registers and codes for that matter)", reminiscent of *Lingua Receptiva*, he believes that, more than to socio-lectal variability, negotiation has to be applied to idio-lectal differences, which already happens in a wide

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[98] Interviewers' italics.

range of multilingual contexts every day. Language acquisition and conversation analysis studies have unfolded how speakers accommodate their speech to their interlocutors' intelligibility needs by skillfully employing strategies of modified input, foreigner talk, "[…] repair, clarification and paralinguistic interpretation (that includes gestures, tone and other cues) to negotiate differences" (209). After all, fragmentation is no real inconvenience, in the Sri Lankan linguist's view, as English is already a *hybrid* multinational language with diverse norms and systems. Far from hampering communication, L1-induced differences can be a resource adroitly invoked by negotiating communicators. The ultimate result can be a creative and encompassing language ecology, as "[…] this hybrid system of World Englishes bridges communities rather than fragments them" (209).

Another overarching ideological focus is Canagarajah's idea of language learning: not a "target language" based on a native variety, such as British or American English, but "[…] a *repertoire* of language competence" (210).[99] Being multilingual or multidialectal, tapping a contextually-appropriate variety of verbal, non-verbal and digital resources, this repertoire looks more and more like an indispensable skill in the glocal village. Young people and students, in particular,

> should be ready to transfer their knowledge and competence in the underlying deep structure of their variety to the other varieties they will confront (including Standard American and British English). They will confront even more diverse varieties in the world of computers, Internet, technology, and pop culture, which are not remote for any community in the context of globalization today (ibid.).

Language learning is also meant to engender a new form of glocal integration: from static motivation for joining a community of practice "[…] (typically the 'native'-speaker community in the Inner Circle) […]" to the individual's ability to shuttle between communities (ibid.). On a linguistic level, communicative multilingual competence also entails "[…] a deeper language awareness […]", or meta-linguistic awareness: shifting from encyclopedic, static mastery of "[…] surface level rules of grammar, syntax,

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[99] Interviewee's italics.

pronunciation and spelling" (ibid.) to clever and flexible handling of language resources, contextually applied to a range of varieties, dialects and situations. Negotiation, thus, can bring out a new sense of correctness. Canagarajah points up that being "[…] sensitive to the contextual variation of language rules and conventions" (211) means to be ready to experiment with language and deploy, e.g., codemixing and codeswitching as well as non-verbal devices, if contextually appropriate. More than that, the scholar reasserts the tenets of the "integrationalist" school (Harris,1980, 1987; Hopper, 1992; Toolan, 1996; Taylor, 1997) as well as Ortega y Gasset and Becker's notion of *languaging*: language is not "context-bound" but "context-transforming". It is representational rather than instrumental, since, by expressing "[…] one's values, identities and interests in language and communication" (Canagarajah, 2006: 211), and adjusting speech to our interlocutor's, "[…] our first language (L1) or culture (C1) can be a resource rather than a problem" (ibid.). Hence the linguist invokes "[…] appropriate pedagogical practices motivated by these assumptions" (ibid.).

Eventually, Canagarajah's cross-cultural notion of "shuttling between communities" brings to the fore the core import of linguistic resistance from *within*.[100] Use of "[…] unconventional grammatical choices or discoursal features […]" can make changes in power relations, as strategic use of deviancy enjoying social uptake "[…] will gradually begin to contest the norm, replacing the previous norms or pluralizing the social environment" (ibid.). And this is exactly what seems to characterize the nativized appropriation of English and its linguacultural conventions in large old multilingual communities like India, where the glocal *lingua franca* has been the link language for intranational and international use.

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[100] Italics added.

8.9 Countering submersion from *within*

Similar to Canagarajah's idea of countering English language submersion from *within*[101] is Shalini Singh's (2012) dealing with cross-cultural communication and English linguacultural hegemony. Singh clarifies as follows:

> English is not an indigenous language in England. It was brought there in about AD 500 by the Anglo-Saxons. The language did not step on foreign lands until from the 16th century, when Britain gradually rose to be the global maritime hegemony, and set 69 colonies around the world in the following centuries, including some current big nations, such as the USA, Australia and India. English spread to wherever the British troops and business companies arrived. English was set as the official language in the British colonies and imparted by missionary schools. By the beginning of the 20th century, English had established as an important language in global communication (392).

Pointing out the basic role of cross-cultural communication, i.e. "[…] to establish and understand how people from different cultures communicate with each other" (392-393) and "[…] produce some guidelines with which people from different cultures can better communicate with each other" (393), the scholar comes to a shrewed and overarching conclusion:

> The study of languages other than one's own can not only serve to help us understand what we as human beings have in common, but also assist us in understanding the diversity which underlies not only our languages, but also our ways of constructing and organizing knowledge, and the many different realities in which we all live and interact (393).

Quoting Byram, Nichols and Stevens (2001), she refers to cross-cultural communicative competence as

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[101] Italics added.

[…] "the ability to interact with 'others', to accept other perspectives, to be conscious of their evaluations of difference" in the context of the European Union. It is taken for granted that if one observes dispassionately, analyzes critically, interprets, and discusses cultural differences, one would be led to mutual understanding and respect, and becomes more tolerant of cultural differences (ibid.).

Singh (2012) notes that five hundred years' language spread have turned the English tongue into an array of "[…] local varieties by adopting and adapting to local languages and cultures in its process of inevitable localization and internalization" (393). The linguist stresses the key role of cross-border communication "[…] by e-mailing, chatting, blogging, web browsing besides speaking and writing" in the spreading process (ibid.). Monoglossic and monocultural discourses and their sense of cultural certainty and identity proper to past nation-state ideology have thus been replaced by hybrid and mobile pluricentrism at the same time as monocultural certainties are shattered: "In these days of global networking, we are thrown into the society of deterritorialized, hybrid, changing and conflicting cultures, where we are expected to become pluricultural individuals" (ibid.).

Building on Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony (1971), Singh (2012) argues that "[…] there is not in any sense a single dominant class, but, rather, a shifting and unstable alliance of different social classes. The earlier notion of a dominant ideology is replaced by the idea of a field of dominant discourses, unstable and temporary" (394). The Indian linguist also spotlights the covert ways of Anglo-American hegemony through culture: "The English countries changed its policy of military strikes to "soft power", culture, which could function quietly and infiltrate […]" (393). Underwriting Gramsci' s construct of hegemony as "[…] the success of the dominant classes in presenting their definition of reality, their view of the world, in such a way that it is accepted by other classes as 'common sense'" (394), she accounts for the social mechanism of supremacy of a social group in the two balanced ways of "domination" and "intellectual and moral leadership", with a combination of force and consent "[…] which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent" (ibid.). The media role is decisive: "From this point of view, the media are seen as the place of competition between competing social forces rather than simply as a channel for the dominant

ideology" (ibid.). They appear crucial to containing and incorporating "[…] all thought and behaviour within the terms and limits they set in accordance with their interests" (ibid.). The media are instrumental in carrying out "[…] the purpose of cultural hegemony with the non-violent activities in people's life style, habit, value, taste and ethic, which are invisible kinds of ideology" (ibid.).

We may infer that such a crafty use of the media by mainstream groups bring on the social, political and cultural marginalization of minority communities and their linguacultures. Surprisingly, however, Singh's criticism leads to a positive conclusion of transcendence, which dovetails with Canagarajah's notion of resistance from *within*:[102] "All these things suggest that the English dominance benefits us greatly. It helps boost our economy, and makes it easier for us to keep steps with the world" (ibid.). Then, taking English dominance as "[…] a tool for our melting into the world […]", the scholar reasserts the micro-sociocultural ways of transcendence: mastering the language—nativized varieties and/or English as a *lingua franca*—will ultimately boost economy, modernize China and "[…] lay a solid foundation for carrying on the "overtaking"" (ibid.). Along the same lines, the instrumental use of English is considered to speed up material and cultural development in each country and, by "[…] appropriating the master's tools to bring down his house or build one's own" (Canagarajah, 2006: 204), "[…] reduce the negative influence of the English cultural hegemony" (Singh , 2012: 394).

A different, but perceptively integrating, view is Yasukata Yano's (2006) concern about the semantic implications of cross-cultural communication and relevant effect on glocal identity making. Yano claims that the global "scale, scope and speed" (1) of pluricultural communication make the internalization of Anglo-American linguacultural peculiarities in discursive behaviour unnecessary and unnatural to "[…] people who do not share the same tradition, values, ideologies but live in different symbolic and cultural universes" (2). The Japanese linguist elucidates his construct of English as an International Language on the basis of a cross-cultural communicative competence that accommodates "[…] diverging beliefs, worldviews, values, attitudes and ideologies" (1) and stresses commonalities for the sake of cross-cultural understanding, but "[…] on an equal footing

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[102] Italics added.

and without losing our own identity, critical judgment, and independent thinking" (ibid.). In other terms, accepting and sharing our interlocutor's ways uncritically "[…] might lead you to the total self-denial and assimilation to other perspectives" (ibid.):

> I have some reservations, however, about including 'to accept other perspectives' in cross-cultural communicative competence. Of course we need to make every effort to understand other perspectives, but is it cross-cultural communication to accept and share his/her perspectives in entirety, which might lead you to the total self-denial and assimilation to other perspectives? It is desirable to harmonize socially by stressing commonalities with people of different cultures in the globalized societies for the sake of symbiosis, but I believe we should do so on an equal footing and without losing our own identity, critical judgment, and independent thinking (ibid.).

We might especially adhere to Yano's well-grounded conviction that "At times we should agree to disagree in that disagreement is the essence of democracy" (ibid.):

> At times we should agree to disagree in that disagreement is the essence of democracy. Having linguist-friends in Israel and Palestine, the United States and Iran, China and Taiwan, I face the reality that how complicated and difficult cross-cultural communication is and accepting other perspectives even though we can understand what 'others' think, feel, say and behave (1-2).

8.10 Conclusions. The multifaceted spread of a postcolonial medium. English as a *lingua franca* and multilingualism towards a holistic ecolinguistic bridge across the European Union

The overall discussion substantiates the fact that second and foreign language spread has made English as a *lingua franca* a fluid set of varieties used more and more between non-native speakers while the clout and primacy of the native language, with its inner-circle Anglo-American conventions, have been fragmented and replaced by the increasing prestige of pluricentric endonormative standards in the Outer and Expanding circles. We might infer a few final points:

1. The 21st century spread of English as a glocal medium across cultures and domains for international as well as intranational use in the most diverse world countries has foregrounded the specifics of this language as a unique *lingua franca* across the centuries. In 1988, Braj B. Kachru observed that "[…] one reason for the spread of English was...its propensity for acquiring new identities, its power of assimilation, its adaptability to decolonization as a language, its manifestation in a range of lects and its provision of a flexible medium for literary and other types of creativity across languages and cultures" (Kachru, 1988: 222). The comparison with the spread of Latin may be once more relevant. From the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AD the tongue of a warring people from Latium submerged but also unified the Mediterranean, becoming the *lingua franca* of European culture well beyond the making of nation-states and their standards in the late Middle Ages. The pervasive cultural domination of Latin, more than other *lingua francas*, such as French, Hindi or Arabic, prefigures the linguistic and sociocultural spread of colonial English. The postcolonial expansion has had distinctive features of fragmentation, those of "[…] a fissiparous language […]" that "[…] will continue to divide and subdivide, and to exhibit a thousand different faces in the centuries ahead […]", as noted by Burchfield (1985: 160; 173).

2. In the end, over three centuries' English longevity cannot be simply explained with US political and cultural predominance nor with the language having reached that "critical mass" of nativized and EFL speakers mentioned by Susan Wright (2004: 155). More and deeper than power and numbers, English has attained the undisputed role of knowledge *lingua franca* since "[…] it has become the purveyor of the discourses of the dominating ideologies of Western democracy and neo-liberal free market Capitalism, the common language of the international scientific community and the main medium of the new audio-visual and info tech networks whether or not these are US dominated" (ibid.). Instrumental expediency features, for example, regional contacts and interests in the East Asian Economic Caucus, (EAEC), which Susan Wright describes as "[…] one example of a group where a utilitarian decision to use English for planning and negotiation has allowed it to further its interests, mostly at the expense of the United States" (Wright, 2004: 169). Just as Latin, the language of Roman dominance and its pertinent world view, became the medium of Christian counterculture and then of critical stances in the philosophy of the

Middle Ages and Renaissance, English-mediated submersion of other languages and the elitist overpowering of cultural diversity can, nonetheless, encompass a multifarious measure of transcendence, both on a macro and micro level of sociocultural analysis. As Susan Wright puts it, "Indeed, English is even the language in which organisations that lobby and protest against the inequalities of the globalised market system and its environmental consequences organise their opposition. To have voice, they accept the medium of English" (Murphy, 2002. In Wright, 2004: 147). The use of English among anti-global protesters in the demonstrations of Seattle 1999 and Genoa 2002 was also evidence of the impossibility of reifying language. The affair of hundreds of Nigerian secondary-school girls kidnapped by Islamist extremists and forced to convert to the early-Middle Ages code of *sharia* further exemplified the empowering nature of a universal language, the girls who used English as a *lingua franca* as the door to criticism and instrumental/integrative transcendence being seen by the kidnappers as flying in the face of century-old Muslim submission. Ironically, the language of Shakespeare and Ghandi, as well as of critical thought in general, has propagated the ideological repression, cold-blooded murders and world-patrimony erasure of Islamist terror. Thus, just as literary and philosophical authors of the most diverse times and mindsets—from Plautus to Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei—vocalized their novel and often revolutionary ideas and values in Latin, English was the language of Ghandi and has voiced the struggle for human, civil and racial rights, women's and gays' liberation movement and environmental-campaign vindication. Quoting Pennicook (1994: 326), Susan Wright wraps up an enlightening conclusion:

> […] while use of English cannot be neutral, since it plays a part in the maintenance of elites, neither does it have any essentialist characteristic (Pennycook, 1994). It can be appropriated and become the property of those who use it. He argues that 'English offers a community of speakers through which oppositional positions can be taken up' (Wright, 2004: 171).

3. The new supranational order of the European Union has bolstered discussion of group identity, alternative to previous individual and communitarian identities, and led to

organized lobbying inside the EU institutions. John Rawls (2001) gives us remarkable insights into a new concept of equality: instead of the traditional "[…] extension of privileges from those at the top of the hierarchy to those lower down, just as long as these latter accept the rules imposed by the former […]" (Wright, 2004: 186) as a way to redress the master/servant, colonist/colonized, patriarch/subservient woman, majority/minority imbalances, he propounds a return to first principles to "[…] conceive equality without recourse to history" (ibid.). Referring to the issue of language rights for minorities, Susan Wright emphasizes that "Going back to first principles will disclose how language use is always the result of past and present power relationships and the prestige that results from them" (187). Looking back to Ernest Gellner's dichotomy (1983) between the idealized *Gemeinschaft*, "[…] the small supportive and homogenous community […]" (Wright, 2004: note 2: 282), and nationalistic *Gesellschaft*, "the chauvinistic nation state" (Gellner, 1983), we may conclude that the making of a supranational European state-nation and its legal instruments have progressively recognized and furthered the group identity of linguistic minorities as a necessary complement to the mediatic predominance of English as a *lingua franca*. Indeed, a renewed sense of belonging to one's own minority community, which adds up to 40 million Europeans, appears to integrate with the ever-more important need to master international English as the actual medium for worldwide communication. Thus, if we may still agree with Susan Wright that language policy is a zero-sum game bound to power/prestige relationships, we may also contend that additional bi/multilingualism, functional diglossia and *lingua franca* could be a credible way out.

4. Here comes the special mathetic identity of English as a glocal *lingua franca* that absorbs and submerges diversity of worldviews and sociocultural conventions, while encroaching on all possible domains of language, and thus constructs our own audio-visual perception of reality. A major element that complicates and strengthens the part played by English in meaning making is connected with the prevalent nation-state language policy of the USA: supporting free market neo-liberalism abroad while bolstering protectionism at home, or, in other terms, flooding the whole world with language-borne cultural products via US-swayed inter-governmental organizations and transnational corporations while restricting the import of cultural products, especially media networks and entertainment

industry, from other language groups, even dubbed or in translation (Wright, 2004: 163-164; note 6: 274).

5. In view of the communication/identity dilemma, the mathetic reality of all-English submersion is conspicuous in the sciences and, prospectively, even the humanities, for both written and oral communication. This risk is also inherent in all forms of diglossia when *lingua franca* is used for public communication and the local language for more private uses or as a marker of identity, "[…] reserved for specific contexts and functions […]" (EC manuscript, 2011: 49). Hence a local language "[…] tends to be downgraded, fails to keep up with new developments and becomes unsuitable in a growing number of fields" (ibid.). The history of endangered languages and dialects gives ample evidence of this phenomenon. English hegemony in the sciences is not absolute, though, and Jacques Lafforgue, quoted by François Grin in the interview attached to the manuscript, for example, "[…] is convinced that the continued use of French in mathematics does not reflect the strength of mathematics in France, but is an ingredient in its success" (ibid.). What worries a good deal of linguists, as viewed, is the following situation:

> […] if one language (in our case it is English, but this danger is inherent in the very concept of a single *lingua franca* acquiring supremacy) spreads massively at the expense of the others, it is not only those languages that risk being downgraded, but also the cultures and values which are expressed through them. After all, language always conveys values, even when it is used as a practical tool and not as a medium for cultural identification — like Global English. The risk of cultural and linguistic uniformity cannot therefore be ruled out and should not be ignored (ibid.).

This risk emblematically matches the imbalance between global English users and the still vast unprivileged *outer circles* across countries and social classes who are debarred from what Susan Wright calls "[…] global networks, structures and flows […]" (Wright, 2004: 170).

6. However, if we consider but eventually query a black-and-white dismissal of globalization as the negative outcome of linguistic imperialism *tout court*, and so the ultimate viewpoint of a representative body of scholarly literature inspired by Gramsci and

the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (Gramsci, 1971), a dual and possibly more comprehensive view of the phenomenon can be propounded.

7. What is certain is the paramount function of "[…] the users of English as a global language who will determine […]" "[…] the characteristics of a World Standard English" as the "[…] result of negotiating interaction with each other" (Tomlinson, 2006: 146). In fact, the overall failure of artificial languages and nation-state inability to enforce anti-global language policy and planning can be reasonably ascribed to the behaviour and decisions of individual users. Arguably, we could subscribe to Brian Tomlinson's insightful conclusion:

> We can facilitate the process by making sure that our curricula, our methodology and our examinations do not impose unnecessary and unrealistic standards of correctness on our international learners, and by providing input and guiding output relevant to their needs and wants. But ultimately it is they and not us who will decide. To think otherwise is to be guilty of neo-colonialist conceit and to ignore all that we know about how languages develop over time (ibid.).

Hence we may underwrite the awareness-making process he suggests:

> "[…] what we need is to encourage awareness that communication between speakers of different varieties of English is typically characterized by mutual understanding and cooperation even when the speakers make 'errors' (Kirkpatrick 2004), and that we should rejoice in this as a positive rather than lament the speakers' failure to achieve native-speaker norms (Tomlinson, 2006: 147).

8. Thus, while realizing that English encroaches onto an ever-growing range of domains of human life, we may conclusively reaffirm its dual role. On the one hand, the forceful impact on nation-state languages and the predominance of visual communication portend a further prospective weakening of those as well as most other *lingua francas* as English comes to convey emotional value and thus index a new supranational form of shared

multimedial identity. On the other, the overwhelming pace of Internet availability up to the remotest and poorest locations and across the most diverse social classes the world over has ensured the democratization of a previously elitist instrument and a likewise rapid increase in the use of many other languages.

9. Whether the result of linguacultural colonization, or just "[…] a public good from which all benefit" (Wright, 2004: 174), and in spite of all efforts to implement successful forms of multilingualism across the EU, the fact remains that "[…] English is achieving a hegemonic critical mass" (156) and the glocal village is steering us all to *de facto* monolingualism. Nonetheless, "The millions of second language speakers and would-be speakers cannot be accounted for by straightforward coercion nor even through direction; the mass results from the incremental effect of individuals deciding that English is of advantage to them, as the prime language of social promotion in a globalising world" (ibid.). On a more commonplace level, mastering English has offered unlimited educational and job-related opportunities to the European youth. Building a multilingual European Community open to diversity, tolerance and mutual understanding has been a core issue and care of the EU Parliament, Commission and Council over the last decades.

10. One more aspect regards the very spread of the English language. Though forcefully penetrating ever-larger domains of the world, this spread, as mentioned, still shuts out considerable social strata whose English-language incompetence is inevitably conducive to IT inability and marginalization. Even the actual standard of English skills in European tertiary education is a matter for debate. In his interview contained in the 2011 EC manuscript, Prof. Wolfgang Mackiewicz significantly asks: "Beware, I mean, you can have three languages within a short period of time, but what are you then able to *do* with these languages?" (75). This is especially relevant when considering that "[…] we are experiencing right now a transitional phase, marked by extreme fluidity, with the demand for efficient communication tools soaring" (50). In the EU's heterogeneous and multiethnic scenario, which would certainly require far better multilingual and multicultural policies, Mark Fettes (2003: 37) noted that "[…] national economies have become far more integrated in the global economy; money and workers have become much more mobile; the pace of technological change has accelerated to an unbelievable extent; and the

explosive growth of communication and information networks is on the verge of annihilating space" (EC manuscript, 2011: 51).

11. In reality, the almost exclusive emphasis on transnational monetary and economic unification, adroitly carried out at the turn of the century, and the ongoing enlargement of the Union may have dazzled into believing that "At long last, Europe is on its way to becoming one big family, without bloodshed, a real transformation […] a continent of humane values […] of liberty, solidarity and above all diversity, meaning respect for others' 'languages, cultures and traditions" (Laeken Declaration, 15th December 2001. In EC Action Plan 2004-2006: 3). Still, the recent slump, credit crunch, massive unemployment in southern-Europe Member States and Ukrainian political breakdown as a consequence of renewed aggressive Russian nationalism have uncovered the urgent pressure to go beyond that "[…] free movement of […] citizens, capital and services" (ibid.). Lately, a more thoughtful concern has been urged by refugees' biblical exodus from the Middle East and Africa and blood-curdling upsurge in planned-out ISIS terror following US and European neo-colonialist intervention in the Middle East.

12. Far from the assimilating clout of national media, it is reasonable to assume that the glocal language has no real cultural centre and does not impinge on the affective, identity-related aspects of one's native tongue. As a matter of fact, important contact languages outlived the political, economic and ideological circumstances that underpinned their spread. Latin is a conspicuous example of a language which stood out as the major language of knowledge for centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire well into the 19th century (Wright, 2004: 155). However, *lingua franca* has a definite lifespan, "[…] spreading as the native speaker group grows in power in some domain and receding as the group is no longer dominant" (117). Susan Wright reports on the two European examples of *lingua franca*, French and English, as languages of extensive empires in the period of European colonization. The descent of the former and corresponding ascent of English, colonial medium of the 19th-century British Empire and US global world language since the 1990s, are ascribed to a lack of "deep psychological hold" of *lingua franca* in comparison with one's mother tongue. Thus, being "[…] bound with utility and not with identity […]", the former would be more rapidly and easily replaced (ibid.).

13. Taking stock of all this might also imply to build a more coherent EU framework with a shared state-nation identity, a common foreign policy and solid intercultural foundations grounded in concrete bi/multilingual cross-cultural measures. This new EU perspective of holistic tolerance may thus postulate the implementation of a sensible and sensitive policy and planning protecting, revitalizing and consolidating our European heritage of minority and lesser-used but also sign and migrant languages and dialects. Promoting bilingual and multilingual practices means, then, to look to diversity as "[…] one of the great assets of Europe, nurtured by all those who move to Europe for various reasons, bringing their cultures and values with them" (EC manuscript, 2011: 49).

Especially in these times of social insecurity, massive migration, insensitive wall building and chauvinist extremism—dramatic and crucial days for the EU framework altogether—there is a pressing need to further genuine integration and "[…] foster the idea that multiple identities, including multiple linguistic identities, can and should coexist harmoniously" (ibid.). Then, laying aside the monolithic principle of "one language, one country, one religion, one people", which informed 19th-century European mindset, multilingualism and individual plurilingualism should play a major role in "[…] today's situation, characterised […] by increasing fluidity and mobility" (49-50) towards the democratic evolution of a supranational United Europe. In a glocal outlook, multilingualism facilitates tolerance and social integration and, in spite of surfacing globalization-driven barriers, it has produced far better results in terms of peace and democratic inclusion in such countries as Germany and Sweden than nation-state monolingualism ever did. On a more individual level, multilingual repertoires and multitasking have proved to develop "[…] a fully-fledged and flexible personality, capable of facing new challenges, adapting to change, and interacting with a wide range of attitudes" (50).

14. Conversely, radical monolingualism among native English speakers looks especially pernicious. The fast and forceful spreading of international English has also entailed that ENL monolinguals are put at a distinct disadvantage on a work market requiring multilingual skills. There are good reasons to agree with the manuscript author that ELF "[…] is proving an effective linguistic tool in certain contexts, but cannot be the one and only pathway to communication and mutual understanding in our complex world. Its limits

and shortcomings should not be overlooked" (49). In the United Kingdom, for example, the notion that English is enough has worryingly diminished interest in language learning:

> In recent decades, partly because of the notion that 'English is enough', interest in language learning has declined abruptly, to the point that foreign languages are no longer compulsory in school curricula. The percentage of pupils opting for foreign languages has dropped dramatically (mainly among the lower classes of society, thus accentuating the social divide). The negative consequences of this policy are starting to be perceived, and hardly a day goes by without alarm bells being rung in the media and experts stressing the importance of language learning and the adverse effects of illiteracy in this field, and calling for effective policies to make pupils and their families aware of the importance of language learning and reverse the present trend (ibid.).

The more English becomes "a banal and unremarkable skill like literacy" (Grin, 1999) and

> the more plurilingualism and bilingualism develop at global level — the more native speakers of English are becoming monolingual. In the end, they will be the real losers in this process because they will be the only ones to lack the skills necessary to act and communicate effectively in a globalised world. This will have negative repercussions both on a personal level and, more generally, for the country as a whole (EC manuscript, 2011: 50).

Indeed, monolingualism and lack of language abilities in such different countries as the UK and Italy impinge on the competitiveness of companies on world markets, "[…] compared to companies from other countries, which are more aware of the importance of language skills and of being able to conduct business in the languages of their customers, and are therefore more willing to invest in this field" (ibid.).

15. English hegemony will probably go unquestioned for the next decades, proficiency in the language being already an unremarkable prerequisite for all walks of life worldwide, but, as the balance of economic and material power shifts to other countries and Internet availability spreads over most world areas, new languages may challenge the hegemony. More than this, we may not need a single language any more in the future. Real-time technological progress, massive migration and work-related mobility will most likely boost bilingualism and multilingualism. The myth of "one country, one people, one language", which inspired European nation-state and still stirs some chauvinist right-winged parties

today, is disproved by the glocal village's transnational mobility, linguistic flows and ever-cheaper availability of digital intercultural communication. As ELF is already the daily choice of surfers worldwide, "Even in traditionally monolingual territory, migration has made bilingualism and multilingualism an everyday reality" (EC manuscript, 2011: 49).

16. It is difficult to foresee what shape the glocal *lingua franca* will have in the next decades. What is beyond doubt is that English is very alive and that its vigour feeds on the multifarious needs and wants of users who keep appropriating, and thus nativizing, this language. Supposedly, extreme variability will induce variation and the rise of global registers publicized and standardized by the Internet, e.g. in the domains of computer science, medicine and technology. Glocal speakers, especially those who use English as a second or foreign language, might eventually shed century-old native norms altogether and, if identity and culture prevail, this might lead to different Englishes. Ultimately, a definitive assessment of the implications of global and local English spread is not yet possible and, building on the awareness of that inherent hybridity, further empirical research can be advantageously applied to a multifarious set of EU employment and educational scenarios.

At this juncture, a short analysis of core concepts defining the intercultural and intracultural potentialities of ELF will help clarify, in the next chapter, the multifaceted and fluid functionality of this medium in the aggregating EU scenario being a contended focus for these days' sociolinguistic debate.

PART 5

THE MULTIFACETED DIMENSION OF ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA*. A GLOCAL MEDIUM BEYOND ORTHODOXIES

CHAPTER 9

BUILDING INTERCULTURAL AND INTRACULTURAL EDUCATION THROUGH ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA*. AN ONGOING DEBATE

9.1 Multilingualism and English as a *lingua franca* in a cross-cultural European Union

Since society at large is made up of individual citizens, mainstream language policy and planning, on a macro level, interacts with individual behaviour. The rise of standards in modern times out of medieval fila, the attrition and death of minority and lesser-used languages and the very use of three prestigious working languages within the EU institutions boil down to a set of social practices, or discourses, by individual speakers. Susan Wright (2004) makes this point and claims that top-down measures may be efficacious, as possibly attested by the Welsh revival, but, in the end, will need to convince individuals of the "linguistic capital", in Bourdieu's sense (1986, 1991), of a certain language in their linguacultural repertoire.

Linguists have variously illustrated the multifarious benefits of multilingual education. Multicultural awareness looks especially crucial to the laborious making of a European citizenship on our continent, which multilingualism, being strategically linked to

the educational and vocational opportunities promoted by the EU over the last decades, has been proved to develop. The role of English is *de facto* predominant, but the learning and effective use of other EU languages has been furthered too. There comes the special part played by bilinguals and multilinguals in the closer contact that the Internet brings people and business into. Heller (1999a) propounds that "[…] to gain advantage in the new global economy, bilinguals will need to adopt a different concept of their identity" (Baker, 2011: 420). In alternative to maintaining one's heritage language and culture, Heller (1999a, 2002) advocates "[…] a new pragmatic identity for language minorities, which allows them to take advantage of their multiple linguistic and cultural resources to participate in a global economy" (Baker, 2011: 420), arguing that "The nature of the New World economy is an **ability to cross boundaries**,[103] and many bilinguals are relatively skilled in such behavior" (ibid.). In other terms, bilinguals and multilinguals should be pragmatically capable of choosing one's language, variety and register across the "identity-communication continuum" put forward by Kirkpatrick (2007: 10-13). Their crucial role is typical of our glocal New World economy: to cross borders, make bridges and "[…] act as **brokers**[104] between different monolingual economic and political zones" (Baker, 2011: 420). The multiple identity of intercultural mediators and parallel monolinguals proposed by Heller (2002), however, appears closely predicated upon preserving one's cultural background. Being aware of one's own heritage culture often means rediscovering and appreciating what Luis C. Moll (1992) calls "funds of knowledge": a multifarious variety of heritage social rituals and conventions, household activities and abilities, traditions, stereotypes, including history, literature, science and technology, farming and environmental issues (272-280). Apart from multifaceted instrumental motivation, then, the foremost reason for individual learning of a second or third language comes to be intercultural awareness, especially in today's global village. It implies getting to know and interact with different cultural conventions, creeds, customs and rituals mediated by a target language to break down societal and individual stereotypes and thus enhance intercultural sensitivity. It also posits a comparative, critical appreciation of cultural variations through networking with one's endogenous and/or exogenous communities on

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[103] Author's emphasis.
[104] Author's emphasis.

an everyday basis. This is closely connected to the revitalization of dialects as sociolinguistic varieties of a language spoken in a specific area or region in a country. More often than not, dialects have been looked down on as exclusively-oral L (low) varieties of a language, in spite of occasional literary output, and consistently submerged by nation-state language policy and planning. The gradual demise of chauvinistic nation-state centralism and the construction of supranational institutions has marked a renewed interest in dialects as markers of regional identity and sources of sociolinguistic research. As discussed, one overarching target would be the extension of EU legal forms of minority protection and empowerment to dialects, together with sign and allochthonous, i.e. migrant, languages.

In "English as a *Lingua Franca* in Intercultural Communication", Judit Dombi (2011) highlights the intercultural necessity of having a *lingua franca* for effective communication in the EU, which comes to be part and parcel of the new multicultural identity of EU citizens today. The linguist observes that "Nowadays the spectrum of communication has broadened, new channels have been opened up, and the interchange of information, thoughts and opinions is more frequent than ever" (183). In fact, a novel sense of mobility—intercultural, educational, vocational—has inspired EU legislation since the coming out of "The White Paper on Education and Training" in 1995, reaffirmed by the 2003 "Action Plan 2004-2006", the Socrates initiative and then Lifelong Learning 2007-2013 and, more recently, by the "Europe 2020" strategy as meaning to achieve "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" (EU Commission, 3rd March 2010). Yasukata Yano (2006) refers to a new sense of "[…] cross-cultural communication between people who do not share the same tradition, values, ideologies but live in different symbolic and cultural universes" (2). In times of "global networking" and "[…] deterritorialized, hybrid, changing and conflicting cultures, where we are expected to become pluricultural individuals" (ibid.), the language policy and planning of the Council of Europe is seen as "[…] a grand experiment based on plurilingualism and pluriculturalism" (ibid.). He recalls the three basic principles set down by the Council's Committee of Ministers as its aim of language policy:

a. that the rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe is a valuable common resource to be protected and developed, and that a major educational effort is needed to convert that diversity from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding.

b. that it is only through a better knowledge of European modern languages that it will be possible to facilitate communication and interaction among Europeans of different mother tongues in order to promote European mobility, mutual understanding and co-operation, and overcome prejudice and discrimination.

c. that member states, when adopting or developing national policies in the field of modern language learning and teaching, may achieve greater convergence at the European level by means of appropriate arrangements for ongoing co-operation and co-ordination of policies (EU Council, 2001: 2. In Yano, 2006: 2).

The aim of the Council is, thus, to improve" […] the quality of communication among Europeans of different language and cultural backgrounds so that freer mobility and more direct contact are accelerated, which in turn will lead to better understanding and closer co-operation" (EU Council, 2001: xi-xii. In Yano, 2006: 2). Mobility has characterized our "[…] integrated, almost 'borderless' Europe [...] to an extent that was unimaginable ten-fifteen years ago" (Dombi, 2011: Abstract). Dombi claims, nevertheless, that, in spite of considerable and concerted effort to implement multilingual policies in the EU, findings have attested that English is the most widely known and desired language to learn, since, as viewed, "[…] 51% of the EU citizens claim ability to hold conversation in English" and "Seventy-seven percent of EU citizens believe that their children should learn English" (185).

9.2 English as a *lingua franca* and intercultural communication. An interdisciplinary research arena

ELF and interculturality are two relatively-recent fields that have aroused the interest of interdisciplinary research over the last decades. A special matter for debate has

been—quoting Holmes and Dervin's introduction to their encompassing collection of critical contributions (2016: 1)—"[…] the links between the use of lingua francas and interculturality in our post-national and 'glocal' (both global and local) worlds […]". The contributors bring into question taken-for-granted notions—"language", "culture", "native speaker", "non-native speaker", "intercultural"—that marked the 20th-century structuralist mindset and have been disputed by the current postmodernist emphasis on a more fluid, situational and individual perception of reality. Saliently, the study of ELF and interculturality refutes Byram's (2008) idea that language, including *lingua franca*, is somehow detached from culture and contexts of interaction (Holmes and Dervin, 2016: 1). This is conspicuous in how English as a *lingua franca* has been variously defined by the book authors "[…] from a wide range of geographical places, and social and educational contexts":

> "[…] a contact language spoken by interactants that do not share a common L1" (Jenkins, 2006. In Jenks, 2016: 97).

> "[…] a communicative situation dominated by people who don't have the language in question as their first or early second language (i.e. they have it as a late second or foreign language)" (Risager, 2016: 37).

> "[…] a new field of research that accounts for an empirically based and theoretically informed understanding of how English is used today in an increasing number of contexts" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 4).

> "[…] a construct that refers to mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire" (Ehrenreich, 2009: 131-134. In Bjørge, 2016: 116)

> "[…] the dynamic and fluid manner in which form, function and context are constructed in intercultural communication […]" (Baker, 2016: 71).

> [a phenomenon that is] highly fluid and hybridised" [drawing] "[…] upon multiple linguistic resources that are both global and local in scope, to construct novel speech forms" (Henry, 2016: 184).

Up-to-date empirical findings, including those contained in Holmes and Dervin's book, have incontrovertibly attested that the very concept of *lingua franca* implies, by itself, a discussion of the cultural and intercultural in this form of communication. Along the same lines, the two editors realize the importance of *lingua francas* other than English, such as Arabic, Chinese Mandarin, Spanish, French and Esperanto, which would deserve much more critical attention.

English as a *lingua franca* has inspired various strands of research (Bowles & Cogo, 2015; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011) that focus on the intercultural and intracultural role of English, with 375 million people speaking it as their first language and 25% of the world's population using it as a second/foreign language (Cristal, 2012). Holmes and Dervin (2016: 2) vocalize the need for a broader and more interdisciplinary understanding of ELF beyond investigation into the intelligibility-related phonological, syntactic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic aspects of its use. Jenkins *et al*. (2011: 296) are the first to get over theoretical concerns and look into interculturality to bring into light "[…] how ELF talk is used for a range of purposes 'including the projection of cultural identity, the promotion of solidarity, the sharing of humor' […]" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 2). Jenkins (2014) also examines the international university use of ELF, while Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) investigate "[…] contemporary urban language practices that accommodate both fixity and fluidity in understanding language use, albeit more in the realm of plurilingualism than lingua franca use" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 2). The point made by Holmes and Dervin is that any intercultural exploration of languages, including *lingua francas*, has to go to considerable lengths to understand "[…] how language – and its problematic associated term 'culture' – are constructed and reconstructed, negotiated and renegotiated through communication in intercultural encounters" as well to show "[…] how the (inter)subjectivities of individuals' multiple realities and identities inevitably influence how and why people engage with one another, and their understandings of those encounters" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 2-3).

In other terms, understanding language in communication means to overcome a hypostatized construct (O'Regan, 2014) of "[…] static, reified, normative and discrete forms of language and interaction to account for individuals' (inter) subjectivities, which in

turn are influenced by history, geography, languages, culture, religion, multiple identities, social class, economics, power, belonging, etc" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 3). Ultimately, the cultural and intercultural study of ELF can produce far-reaching and far-sighted progress in research, as it clarifies "[…] how historical, political, economic and organizational structures can assert and/or require preference for one language, or language form, over others" (ibid.) and why state and private institutions—schools, testing systems, opportunities for study abroad, educational policies—perpetuate an idealized and unauthentic notion of "good" or "correct" English out of a real-world array of non-standard and nativized varieties of the language. Holmes and Dervin report the case of Tawona Sithole's (2014) poem "Good English" to signify how the poet's choices in life and very identity "[…] were pre-ordained, prescribed, and pre-judged according to the linguistic features of his language use; structures of class, race and economics; his place of birth and country in which he was educated (Zimbabwe)" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 3).

Thus, dealing with the multitudinous and multifarious Englishes that people use around the world in their daily encounters, we might refute that "hypostatized" form mentioned by O'Regan (2014) and think of Englishes as *lingua francas* shaped by the intercultural as well as sociocultural, economic and historical aspects of the interactional context (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 3-4). The two linguists stress the fact that intercultural communication studies tend to be simplistic and give an uncritical description of "[…] 'cultural difference', 'tolerance' and 'respect for other(s') (cultures)'" (See Ya-Chen Su, 2014. In Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 4). On the other hand, past research would reveal a lack of interdisciplinary and multilingual discussions, concepts and insights imported from anthropology, cultural studies and sociology, which are critical to work on such problematic notions as "identity", "community" and "culture" (ibid.). This is also illustrated, according to Holmes and Dervin, by "An overemphasis on pragmatic competence (House, 2010; Murray, 2012) in the field of ELF as a marker of interculturality […]" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 4).

A bone of contention in the research on both ELF and the intercultural has been the debate on orthodoxies, epitomized by O'Regan's 2014-published Marxist critique of how ELF is conceptualized. His utter rejection and even crossing out of the term ELF stirred up

the reaction of key figures from the field, who charged him with misinterpreting ELF and not representing "outstanding scholarship" (Baker, Jenkins & Baird, 2015; Widdowson, 2015). Holmes and Dervin (2016) give their own cited definition of ELF, which is questioned by O'Regan's historical reminder that even 500 years ago *lingua franca* communication had similar "[…] culturally - and interculturally - nuanced features" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 4). Dervin (2011: 3) also observes that *lingua francas* "[…] have always existed and have enabled interaction and communication, business negotiation, agreement, debate, love and hate" (Dervin, 2011: 3. In Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 4-5).

Another matter for debate is the very scope of ELF: "[…] who is included and excluded from the label 'ELF' and what constitutes a context of ELF interaction" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 5). The term, originally associated with non-native vs non-native interaction, today also embraces native speakers of English and identifies "[…] any use of English among speakers of different first languages [including English] for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer, 2011: 7). Holmes and Dervin (2016) wonder whether the label "ELF" is still viable, once notions such as "native speakers" and "mother tongues" "[…] have been abandoned because of their Eurocentric and essentialist characteristics which tend to remove individuals' agency […]" (5). In O'Regan's final commentary to the editors' volume, for example, the phrase is substituted with "lingua franca Englishes" (ibid.).

Taking also into account that speaking a language is influenced by a number of identity markers—gender, social class, societal status, regional origin marking out our accent and discourses—which we (wish to) project, but that are also ascribed to us, Holmes and Dervin (2016) also wonder whether all interaction in English is not ELF, who has the right to decide and for whom. Likewise, we may ask who may be legitimately regarded as a "native" or "non-native" speaker among the interlocutors and be influenced, to this effect, by such factors as skin colour and place of origin, for example. The two scholars sum up all these questions in one comprehensive query: "[…] Who is normal? Who is not?" (ibid.). They quote Lemke (2010: 20) regarding normality as "[…] a mystification of normativity, a social lie that succeeds in part by introducing simplistic, low-dimensional category grids for pigeon-holing us, and in part by sanctioning any too public display of

mismatched qualities" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 5-6). Therefore, interculturality entails not only probing into and uncovering how power relations, identity and agency are interrelated, but also working on representations, which is likely to replace the notion of "cultural difference" and "(national?) culture" (6).

9.3 Re-conceptualizing interculturality. Some ground-breaking notions

Effective communication has been a common target in ELT, ELF and intercultural communication research. However, when it comes to ELF, this target presents a number of challenges to current conceptions. The key concept for ELT aiming for successful communication has been communicative competence, i.e. "[…] to develop the appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes in learners to accomplish successful communication" (77). Still, we may wonder what this competence entails; in other terms, what modes of communicator, community and communication are contemplated in this competence. Traditional formulations (Chomsky, 1965; Hymes, 1972), although different in many ways, conceived of "[…] communication between native speakers of a language in a defined community" (Baker, 2016: 77). This underlying understanding has pervasively informed much ELT literature (Canale & Swain, 1980; for critiques see Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011; Widdowson, 2012). However, the hybrid realities of ELF communication have cast doubt on the appropriateness of measuring competence against a fuzzy and altogether imaginary native English speaker (NES) baseline on account of the different types of interaction ELF learners and users generally engage in. ELF communication, in fact, does not necessarily postulate English native speakers; and, when these are present, they need to gear their communicative practices to their bi/multilingual and multicultural interlocutors in the same way as other participants. Likewise, ELF raises doubts about the meaning of community and warrants more accounts of the term in real-world settings as this use of the language makes the concept of a homogeneous community irrelevant. Then, as Baker (2016) emphasizes, the new challenge is "[…] an understanding of communication from a multilingual and multicultural perspective with an accompanying range of knowledge, skills and attitudes related to successful communication in this

sphere" (78). To clarify all this has extensively engaged intercultural communication studies, especially related to intercultural education and language teaching, and, more recently, ELF research as well (Baker, 2011a; Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Jenkins *et al.*, 2011). Accordingly, it appears appropriate to cast light on some especially instrumental constructs in the field.

9.3.1 Enregisterment

Agha (2007) uses the term "enregisterment" to define the ideological work of identifying and delimiting the content and value of particular language forms. He shows how social awareness of these speech forms "[…] is sedimented over time through everyday discursive practices" (Henry, 2016: 185). Consistently, Chinese English, or Chinglish, is a fundamental concept for the social evaluation of English speech in Chinese discursive contexts, such as examinations and job interviews. In these formal contexts, teachers' (and, later, job interviewers') positions are clear: they "[…] praise students by saying their English is very 'standard' and criticize others as speaking 'Chinese English' or 'Chinglish'" (ibid.). Henry (2016), then, vocalizes that when we refer to varieties of English, we do not express categories relevant to language form, but "[…] emergent social categories based on what particular speech patterns mean in the context of the Chinese speech community" (ibid.).

9.3.2 Indexicality

The Chinese use of ELF, as illustrated by Henry (2016), reminds us of Kirkpatrick's "identity-communication" continuum (Kirkpatrick, 2006). In actual fact, intelligibility, to date, has been prevailing in ELF research. Presumably, the basic purpose of ELF is referential exchange of information, successful communication being constrained by phonological, lexical and syntactic forms of variation (Firth, 1996; Jenkins, 2000; Kaur,

2011; Pickering, 2006. In Henry, 2016: 185). More recent research work by Jenkins *et al.* (2011: 296) has shifted the focus from language form description to "[…] an appreciation of the flexible and fluid nature of ELF talk" (Henry, 2016: 185).

In actual fact, ELF users' language variation, besides getting referential meaning successfully across despite communicative barriers, has a range of indexical purposes "[…] including the projection of cultural identity, the promotion of solidarity, the sharing of humor and so on […]" (ibid.). Thus, the two functions, i.e. performing intelligibility and indexing identity/sociocultural belonging, far from being mutually exclusive, are closely interrelated and call for, according to Henry, further investigation (ibid.).

This especially applies to the Chinese scenery examined by the linguist. Significantly, he mentions "[…] the case of professionals employing technical vocabulary in English rather than Chinese […]" as a typical example of indexical use: "[…] how particular choices about register, style, accent and lexical usage signalled to other speakers desirable identities, stances, attitudes and forms of belonging […]" generally associated with interactants' "[…] cultural activities of global scope […]" (186). Another example concerns Chinese English language teachers' habit of giving their students instructions in English and then repeat the utterances in Chinese. Henry realized that teachers would ideally speak only in English, but students' limited comprehension skills, even at advanced levels, made this impossible (ibid.). So what would be the point of using the target language even in the complex discussion of grammatical rules or pragmatic norms, if their students "[…] ignored the English half of the ongoing talk from their teachers […]"? The strategy used resembles that of "letting it pass" for communicative intelligibility (Firth, 1996) referred to ELF users who "[…] frequently ignore words or phrases they do not comprehend […]", expecting to elicit the general meaning as the conversation continues, i.e. getting the gist of communication "[…] while only in possession of partial fragments of the full code" (Henry, 2016: 186). In the Chinese case related by Henry, however, the students did not "let it pass" to work out the meaning later but because they were waiting for the following in their native language (ibid.). What is salient is that "[…] both teachers and students agreed that English was a necessary presence in the foreign language classroom" (ibid.). Henry invoked the creation of an English language environment

because, as an English teacher affirmed, "'[…] Chinese who study or live abroad in the United Kingdom or United States have the language around them every day. In China, we can't have that so we make the classroom an English zone'" (ibid.). Accordingly, the very fact of using English, beyond the need for intelligibility, "[…] sanctions the language classroom as a culturally globalised space" (187) and English fluency as the gateway to instrumental benefits such as foreign degrees, career enhancement and international travel. Therefore, this relationship between speech and social contexts of use can be identified as relations of indexicality. In Silverstein's understanding (2003), "[…] speech contains clusters of linked indexes which, taken together, allow interactants to make sense of the context surrounding their discourse" (Henry, 2016: 187). This includes, at a primary level, the use of discourse markers that index the level of formality in a conversation (e.g., *tu* vs *vous* in French) and, on a higher plane, indexical elements such as accent, code mixing or shifting, dialect choice, "[…] that can reference more complex contextual information" (ibid.). An interesting, though localized, example of indexical use in Messina, Italy, is the widespread habit of rendering the same sentence or phrase from dialect into standard Italian for the expressive purpose of calling attention or emphasizing by shifting to the national H code. In the current Italian sociolinguistic scenario at large, the encroaching use of English words and phrases, often mispronounced, especially in business-related and legal registers, but also in other contexts of daily application, creates and/or (re)affirms an aura of cosmopolitan authenticity which the speaker aims to index. Besnier (2004) highlights, too, the combination of the two communicative functions in the use of ELF with a definite New Zealand accent in Samoan urban markets, i.e. to bridge communicative gaps, but also allow "[…] sellers to competitively position their goods as originating from authentic international sources" (Henry, 2016: 187). Henry (2016) points out the special function of indexicality in the construction of negotiated and hybrid forms of identity as investigated today by applied linguists and ELF researchers. There comes again the kernel of 21st-century postmodernist thought: identity is viewed not as "[…] a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories", but as a mobile "[…] relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction […]" (Buchholz & Hall, 2005: 585-586; also Block, 2007; Gu *et al*., 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004. In Henry, 2016: 187). Thus, the

individual choice of certain speech styles or registers pointing to particular forms of identity enables speakers to assert powerful claims of belonging to exclusive and prestigious groups. Conversely, the use of other forms has the effect of marginalizing groups and individuals "[…] by institutional forces or by authoritative representatives of standardised linguistic norms, e.g. teachers, educators or employers" (ibid.). The whole process has to do with the ideological societal and individual evaluation of language—"[…] valuing some linguistic codes over others […]" (187)—that indexes, i.e. mirrors but also affirms, power differential between speech communities and individual speakers. The phenomenon, which underlies nation-state status planning and the enforcement of national standards, has especially engaged ELF scholars, e.g. Jenkins (2007: 31-59) and Seidlhofer (2011: 42-61. In Henry, 2016: 187-188).

Summing up Henry's argument, ELF research has mainly dealt with the issue of intelligibility as the primary goal of English speakers in situations of intercultural discursive interaction. However, if these assumptions are generally true in the majority of cases, they might still limit, as Henry (2016) explains, our understanding of how English is used as a *lingua franca*. More than intelligibility, in fact, the intracultural use of the language among interactants "[…] who imagine themselves to be linguistically homogeneous and culturally similar" (188) signals to listeners indexical information about the speaker, "[…] specifically membership in a class of globally competent Chinese citizens as signified through English fluency" (ibid.). The linguist points out the importance of the ethnographic approach, which posits the researcher´s long-term active participation in the stakeholders' sociocultural life, when examining the intracultural indexicality of ELF use in China, Thus, researchers "[…] may bring their own analytical frameworks to the process of fieldwork, but ultimately they listen to how their informants interpret the meaning of their own activities and ideas" (ibid.). It is ongoing and emerging co-construction of knowledge in which "[…] the researcher´s own impressions or conclusions are constantly tested and revised with the input of the participants themselves" (189). Understanding indexicality in language use, then, means "[…] to articulate the intentions underlying talk rather than to provide a strictly objective description of linguistic forms" (ibid.). Despite some concerns over objectivity and reproducibility (Hammersley, 2006), the ethnographic perspective, thus, yields "[…] an encompassing vision of culture

and the means of understanding it" (189). This vision also mirrors, as indicated by Henry, a "[…] shift in emphasis from culture as congruent with nations or ethnic groups to culture as a resource for constructing flexible and hybridised forms of identity" (Baker, 2009; Norton, 2000. In Henry, 2016: 189). From the same perspective, Henry makes use of ethnography in his study of localized intracultural ELF usage and its indexical meanings (ibid.). He stresses the relevance of following up "[…] with participants after recording interviews or conversations to gauge their metalinguistic interpretations of the events" (ibid.). The result is rich, authentic and multifaceted data from multiple field-research consultations and interviews, but also from how the speakers evaluated their own participation and the relative stances of the other interactants.

9.3.3 Intercultural communicative competence

Within intercultural communication, one of the most influential approaches in applied linguistics and language pedagogy has been the construct of intercultural communicative competence (ICC) as developed by Byram (1997). It was advanced as an extension of communicative competence "[…] that took greater account of the intercultural dimension to using a foreign language, while retaining many of the original elements of communicative competence" (Byram, 1997: 73. In Baker, 2016: 78). The extension concerns those aspects of knowledge, skills and attitudes that speakers give attention to when interacting with speakers from other cultures: "[…] an awareness of our own and others' cultures, the ability to compare between cultures, an awareness of the relative nature of cultural norms and the ability to mediate between different cultures" (78-79). By the same token, as observed by Byram (1997: 31), the native speaker model appeared unsuited to intercultural interaction and was replaced by an alternative model of the "intercultural speaker" (Baker, 2016: 79). Yet, though acknowledging the multi-voiced polyphony of distinct cultures, this model retained the association between cultures and specific countries, and a crucial binary divide between different socio-pragmatic identities, "[…] as illustrated in the definition of a salient component of ICC: critical cultural awareness, 'an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria

perspectives, practices and products in *one's own* and *other cultures and countries*" (Byram, 1997: 53. In Baker, 2016: 79).[105] Baker (2016) points out that "[…] initial formulations of ICC rooted in nationalist characterizations of culture contained little on the role of language and culture on a more global scale" (79). Byram's conception of ICC has been developed by several scholars such as Guilherme (2002) and Risager (2007). Their approach to culture has been more critical and spotlights "[…] the tensions between multi-voiced, heterogenous accounts of cultures and the more homogenous, national characterisations of cultures often used in foreign language education" (Baker, 2016: 79). Risager (2007), in particular, focuses on the global nature of language and language learning, stating that the intercultural communicative competence of the world citizen transcends the national paradigm with a transnational paradigm (222). The global perspective of such communication has been further discussed by Byram (2008), who details his idea of intercultural citizenship, when language users "[…] relate to other proficient intercultural communicators and less clearly defined national cultural groupings" (Baker, 2016: 79). In Baker's view, however, even such critical heterogeneous understandings of culture do not transcend national cultural boundaries, as they cling to a "[…] dichotomy between 'Our' culture and language and a foreign 'Other' culture and language […]" (Baker, 2011a; Holliday, 2011. In Baker, 2016: 79). Though moving beyond a purely national compartmentalization of cultures, Risager's (2007) transnational paradigm sticks, according to Baker (2016), to "[…] the notion of native speakers as the model […] and languages and cultures as belonging to identifiable target communities, even if they are now a diaspora […]" (79). Risager's understanding of a target-language community, then, would be confined to a nationally-defined language area and should imply, instead, a global-range linguistic network resulting from transnational migration and communication. Hence, her notion of intercultural competence "[…] still involves competences associated with pre-defined communities and native speakers […]", which Baker (2016) considers inappropriate to ELF communication (ibid.).

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[105] Baker's italics.

9.3.4 Symbolic competence

Kramsch (2009, 2011) offers the notion of symbolic competence, which "[…] as with ICC, does not reject communicative competence, but instead seeks to incorporate a more reflexive perspective that addresses the ideological, historic and aesthetic aspects of intercultural communication and language teaching" (Kramsch, 2011: 354. In Baker, 2016: 80). There she builds on her own notion of "third cultures" and the implied distinctions between learners' cultures/languages and other 'target' cultures/languages (ibid.). Accordingly, she redefines the notion "[…] less as a place than as a symbolic process of meaning-making that sees beyond the dualities of national languages (L1-L2) and national cultures (C1-C2)" (Kramsch, 2011: 354. In Baker, 2016: 80). Kramsch (2009) describes, then, symbolic competence as a "[…] dynamic, flexible and locally contingent competence" (200). This competence goes beyond "[…] knowledge of the cultural and communicative practices of particular groups […]" (Baker, 2016: 80) towards a more emergent and reflexive stance to the communication at hand encompassing "[…] multiple, changing and conflicting discourse worlds" (Kramsch, 2011: 356) and "[…] a critical awareness of the symbolic systems being used to construct any representation of culture" (Baker, 2016: 80). Such an approach to intercultural competence seems to dovetail with EFL, which can be also conducive to successful communication in dynamic, flexible and locally contingent ways.

9.3.5 Intercultural awareness

One of the most germinal concerns within ELF studies has been to investigate why, despite the inherent difficulties, ELF communication is generally successful (Firth, 1996). The reason for this is attributed to the communicative strategies used in ELF, which are thought to distinguish ELF communication from other forms of intercultural communication. The difference stands out when comparing the notion of communicative competence—and the implied homogeneous speech community of native speakers—to

ELF strategies for multilingual and multicultural communication (Canagarajah, 2007; Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). Basically, the latter "[…] include pragmatic strategies such as accommodation, code-switching, preempting misunderstanding and letting unimportant misunderstandings pass, linguistic awareness, cultural awareness and the ability to adapt linguistic forms to the communicative needs at hand" (Baker, 2016: 81). One very interesting approach from an ELF perspective is intercultural awareness (ICA) (Baker, 2009, 2011a, 2012a). Like ICC, intercultural awareness capitalizes on the concept of communicative competence but focuses on the intercultural dimension. Such awareness does not make *a priori* assumptions about predefined target communities or cultures used or referred to by interlocutors in their encounters. Instead, the fluid, emergent, complex, dynamic and situated aspects of communication in ELF are highlighted. ICA, like intercultural communicative competence, stresses the "[…] need to mediate between different communicative practices […]" but also "[…] negotiate between more emergent and complex cultural associations 'moving between the local and the global in dynamic ways that often result in novel, emergent practices and forms'" (Baker, 2011a: 205. In Baker, 2016: 81). In Baker's data from Thailand (Extract 1), two interlocutors, one Thai L1 speaker and the other Belgian French L1 speaker, discuss the game of *pétanque* without indexing any definite belonging to a predefined target community. On the contrary, they fluidly move "[…] from national and regional associations (Southern France), to more global contexts (the French Embassy in Bangkok), to other local associations (school students in Thailand)" (Baker, 2016: 76). Likewise, in Extract 2 and 3, the participants, who are discussing their experiences of intercultural communication, attempt to delete the gaps between different perceptions of writing, thus indicating the state of fluid and mixed contingency of ELF communication (82). Yet Baker (2016) reminds us that "[…] these fluid understandings of culture and language […]" do not rule out "[…] more 'traditional' bounded notions of cultures and language, which the participants also make use of" (See Baker, 2009. In Baker, 2016: 82). Overall, however, they are able "[…] to position themselves in spaces that do not conform to national conceptions of culture and language" (ibid.). Thus, participants come to redefine "[…] the symbolic reality of the real world" (Kramsch, 2011: 359). They draw on the symbolic resources of cultures and languages but, in a postmodernist key, "[…] are also able to challenge, reinterpret and redefine them in

ways that suit the communicative situations in which they find themselves" (Baker, 2016: 82). On the whole, the notion of intercultural awareness (ICA) seems to offer a more critical "[…] framework for applying many of the knowledge, skills and attitudes documented in intercultural communicative competence […]" (83) since communicative practices are not only contextualized, but also viewed as temporal and negotiable (ibid.). Baker suggests "[…] a set of resources or repertoires of communicative and cultural practices (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011) rather than specific languages and cultures, that we can draw on and apply in flexible and contextually appropriate ways as outlined in ICA" (Baker, 2016: 83).

Therefore, more than the construct of ICC, intercultural awareness "[…] moves beyond the binary distinctions of Our culture/Their culture and first language/culture vs. target language/culture […]" (Dervin, 2011; Holliday, 2011. In Baker, 2016: 83), although Baker allows for "[…] the role of nationally conceived of cultures and languages or the influence of knowledge of specific cultures and subsequent generalisations in intercultural communication […]" (ibid.).

One prominent caveat is that ICA is not a prescriptive formula for "[…] 'good' or 'efficient' communicative practices in terms of specific language use or knowledge of cultures" (ibid.), nor can it apply to all instances of ELF communication. Baker (2016) rather associates this awareness with "[…] extensive experience of intercultural communication and/or appropriate educational experiences" (see Baker, 2011a. In Baker, 2016: 83). Nonetheless, the notion of ICA casts light on "[…] how the cultural background of participants and cultural contexts can influence communication in complex and multifarious ways, as highlighted in ELF research […]", which results in our understanding of intercultural communication and situated teaching practices (ibid.).

9.4 English as an intercultural language (EIcL) as an inclusive framework

Taking stock of these constructs, inevitably linked to categories of identity, ethnicity, power relationships, gender and nationality, we could look to glocal ELF as an

open-ended, in-the-making, situational and fluid form of English as an intercultural language (EIcL), rather than English as an international language (EIL), refraining from dogmatic, centripetal observance of native-speaker norms, creatively thriving on native and nativized varieties and their pluricentric cultural heritage and pragmatically suited to the real-life needs of international communication and pedagogy. Brian Tomlinson (2006) gives interesting insights in "A Multi-dimensional Approach to Teaching English for the World", where he suggests constructing easily-accessible corpora, describing "[...] a Core EIL common to all the varieties of EIL" (147) and developing experiential pedagogy (Harley, 1991), materials and examinations providing "[...] exposure to a rich and varied sample of Englishes being used for a multiplicity of purposes [...]" (Tomlinson, 2006: 147). This comprehensive outlook, focused on the key role of users and real-life interaction, sounds very similar to Nicos Sifakis' (2006) construct of English as an Intercultural Language (EIcL). In "Teaching EIL—Teaching *International* or *Intercultural* English? What Teachers Should Know", Sifakis writes that "[...] it is perhaps more useful, when considering real life English language communication, to shift the emphasis from its *international* usage to its *intercultura*l use by all speakers, native and non-native" (156). The different outlook is also reminiscent of Canagarajah's (2006) seminal notion of teaching English for "[...] shuttling between diverse English-speaking communities worldwide, and not just for joining one single community (i.e. a native-speaker community in UK or USA) as we did hitherto [...]" ("An Interview with Suresh Canagarajah". In Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006: 201). This expansive vision encompasses verbal and non-verbal repertoires, intercultural communicative competence, symbolic competence, intercultural awareness, transglossia (García, 2013) and translanguaging (Williams, 1994, 1996) following a C-bound perspective, where C stands for communication, comprehensibility and culture:

> according to which each communicative situation appropriates the use of widely different varieties with elements that are not necessarily readily regularized. In this regard, EIL is norm-oriented and refers to a finite set of descriptive or prescriptive varieties of world English (cf. Crystal 2003, Smith and Foreman 1997), whereas EIcL is much more expansive: it transcends the linguistic standardization of such communication and refers to those aspects that are situation-specific and

cannot necessarily be standardized (e.g. Alred *et al*., 2002, Byram, Nichols & Stevens, 2001. In Sifakis, 2006: 156-157).

By "[...] making repairs, asking questions, shortening utterances, changing the tempo of their speech output, etc.", (Byram *et al.*, 2001. In Sifakis, 2006: 157), learners make their discourse comprehensible and communication successful.

A matter for debate, however, is whether the C-bound route should ultimately conflict with normativity, i.e. the N-bound perspective of "[...] regularity, codification and standardization" (152-153). In other terms, successful intercultural interactants' speech acts can be skilfully geared to the actual conditions of communication, their bilingual or multilingual interlocutors' expectations and localized needs for pedagogic practice, yet exposure to other discourses, strategic resort to paralinguistic means, code-switching, code-mixing and even occasional slip or mistake do not necessarily exclude "[...] the usage of some kind of norm" (158). Significantly, as Sifakis highlights, "[...] that norm can change in the process of communicating, as interlocutors become aware of certain linguistic and non-linguistic elements that make their communication 'tick'" (ibid.). As a matter of fact, many European users of English, such as exchange students and general learners, perform all this uneventfully and to good advantage in the "[...] global networks, structures and flows [...]" (Wright, 2004: 170) of everyday real life. It is part and parcel of these days' global thinking and know-how but, in the end, it has always characterized human communication via interlanguage, which interlocutors invoke to co-build meaning and role-relationships in their situational context.

9.5 The intercultural and intracultural affordances of English as a *lingua franca*

According to Seidlhofer (2011), ELF encompasses "[…] any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (7). ELF studies, then, explore the multifarious contexts where the language works as a common, and often the only, medium among non-native

speakers (Henry, 2016: 180). One salient point developed by the Austrian linguist is the active role of second language (L2) users in the development of the language, and the fact that they should be regarded as legitimate users (Seidlhofer, 2011: 9).

In his quoted contribution, Will Baker (2016: 71) states that "[…] ELF studies add to the growing body of postmodernist thinking and research in applied linguistics that can inform intercultural communication research […]". These studies are aimed to bring out the intercultural specifics of ELF, i.e., that cited, "[…] dynamic and fluid manner in which form, function and context are constructed in intercultural communication through English as a lingua franca". One fundamental element that can help ELF studies is intercultural communication research itself "[…] through the extensive body of work exploring the conception of intercultural communicative competence (ICC)", which Baker, as noted, distinguishes from communicative competence. He stresses the importance of conceptualizing ICC and see "[…] language and culture […] as emergent resources in intercultural communication which need to be approached critically" (ibid.).

The notion of intercultural awareness (ICA), to this effect, is seen "[…] as a dynamic framework for intercultural competence" (ibid.). Baker criticizes the essentialist position of earlier approaches (quoting Valdes, 1986) that postulate an indistinguishable overlap between language and culture. Valdes (1986), for example, writes that "[…] language, culture and thought […] the current consensus is that the three aspects are three parts of a whole" (1), and that "[…] a native culture is as much of an interference for second language learners as is native language" (2). This position, which posits an "English" culture with inexorable linguistic forms and communicative practices underlying language teaching approaches and materials, reveals a persistent "one people, one language, one culture" standpoint that belittles the value of intercultural communication through language (Baker, 2016: 72). Thus, as Baker explains, "[…] in much ELT, English is typically associated with the US or UK or other 'traditional' Anglophone countries […]" and "[…] the continued influence of reified models of native English speakers (NES) from these Anglophone 'cultures' […] remains the most common approach to culture in textbooks and teaching materials" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Vettorel, 2010. In Baker, 2016: 72). Such *de facto* essentialist and nationalist demarcations of culture and language and the

consistent minor role of the intercultural dimension in teachers' priorities pose a serious problem to ELT, if we take into account that English as a *lingua franca* is predominantly used for intercultural communication and is not related to predefined national cultures (Baker, 2016: 72).

Baker also distinguishes between "cross-cultural studies" and "intercultural studies" and notes that, in the former,"[…] cultures have been viewed as relatively homogeneous and bounded entities at the national level which could be compared as distinct 'units'" (cf. Hall, 1979; Hofstede, 1991. In Baker, 2016: 73)", while "[…] intercultural approaches which study intercultural interaction […] adopt a more dynamic characterisation of cultures in which the boundaries between one culture and the next are blurred and where national cultures are one of many communities that individuals orientate towards" (Scollon & Scollon, 2001. In Baker, 2016: 73). In this postmodernist vision of fluid and heterogeneous allegiances, individuals may "[…] identify with national cultures […]" but also contest "[…] different interpretations of cultures" (ibid.). This shift in allegiance is linked by R. Scollon, S.W. Scollon, and Jones (2012) to "[…] a 'discourse' approach to culture in which participants in intercultural communication are seen as drawing on a multitude of discourse systems such as gender, profession and generation" (Baker, 2016: 73). Hence they acquire and often shift, as indicated by Kramsch (1993; 1998) "[…] membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting" (Kramsch, 1998: 127). According to this scholar, intercultural communication and its relevant linguacultural practices occupy a "third space" (1993: 233) in between language users' first language and culture (L1/C1) and the target language and culture (L2/C2). In Baker's view, however, such representations "[…] still retain the notion of established 'target' communities with which particular languages are associated" (Baker, 2016: 73). We may then infer that the very idea of intercultural communication through ELF and the overt degree of fluidity that marks it seem to deny allegiance to a specific "target" community and its relevant linguacultural norms.

Another interesting focus is the notion of 'global flows'. As observed, when examining the glocal uses of English and English teaching, Canagarajah (2005) "[…]

views cultures as hybrid, diffuse and deterritorialised with constant movement between different local and global communities" (Baker, 2016: 73). Pennycook (2007: 6) refers to "[…] the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts". He remarks that "[…] caught between fluidity and fixity, then, cultural and linguistic forms are always in a state of flux, always changing, always part of a process of the refashioning of identity" (Pennycook, 2007: 8. In Baker, 2016: 74).

Intercultural communication through ELF is differently looked at by Risager (2007), Canagarajah (2013) and Pennycook (2010). Though advocating a transnational approach, Risager (2007) still believes that native speaking communities provide the most appropriate models of language use, thus stating that "[…] the ultimate aim (the decisive model) for language learning must be a variety (or several) [models] used by native speakers or near native speakers" (197). Pennycook (2010) and Canagarajah (2013), instead, claim that ELF study normativity does not apply to the heterogeneous features of ELF interaction and comes to reify "[…] distinctions between different linguistic and cultural groups such as native, non-native speakers and monolingual, multilingual communication" (Baker, 2016: 74). Baker refutes those researchers' assumption that ELF is, in some way, a culturally neutral means of communication (House, 2014) or, at least, "[…] on a continuum between neutrality and being used to construct identity and cultures (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Meierkord, 2002. In Baker, 2016: 74). He rather propounds that "As with all communication, languages in intercultural communication 'are never just neutral'" (Phipps & Guilherme, 2004: 1. In Baker, 2016: 74) in that they always imply "[…] participants, contexts, histories, purposes and linguistic choices, none of which are neutral" (ibid.).

An intriguing alternative to the intercultural dimension of ELF is its intracultural affordance as recorded by E.S. Henry in "The Local Purposes of a Global Language: English as an Intracultural Communicative Medium in China" (2016). China stands out, in Henry's account, as "[…] a populous, rapidly developing nation with a keen interest in acquiring English fluency, but without a core population speaking it as a first language (L1) […]" and hence especially representative of the ELF phenomenon to be investigated (Henry, 2016: 180). Henry highlights the pervasiveness of the English language in China:

"[…] on television, radio and billboards; in schools and examinations; and at work" (ibid.). Levels of competence are reported to vary significantly, from near-native fluency, "[…] often the product of study abroad […]" to rote school smattering (ibid.). As in other advanced EFL contexts, then, "[…] English has become a common medium of communication in a range of educational, business, retail and entertainment contexts" (Bolton, 2003; Gil & Adamson, 2011; Pan, 2009. In Henry, 2016: 180). Chinese educational policy documents, especially the English curriculum standards published by the Ministry of Education in 2001, recognize the growing importance of the language "[…] in a world of information technology and economic globalization […]" and look upon English teaching and learning as a key educational asset to quality citizens (PRC Ministry of Education, 2001; Adamson, 2004; Cheng, 2011; Hu, 2005; Hu & McKay, 2012. In Henry, 2016: 181). Students receive an EFL education from the third grade of primary school to the end of high school, with a major breakthrough in the methodology of English teaching over the last decades: from twentieth-century teacher-centred *analytic*[106] teaching focused on strict grammatical accuracy and minimizing communicative interaction among students to student-centred, message-oriented and task-based focus in the current *experiential*[107] approach aimed at increasing communicative competence and developing intercultural awareness (Johnstone, 2007: 166-167; Mao & Yue, 2004; Zheng & Davison, 2008). The main objective of this new policy has been "[…] to train a generation of interculturally competent global citizens, fluent in English and capable of successfully engaging (and competing) with foreigners on the world stage" (Kipnis, 2011. In Henry, 2016: 181). In actual fact, apart from large cosmopolitan economic and cultural hubs, i.e. cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, Chinese speakers of English have few opportunities to use the language for communicative interaction with foreigners or natives (ibid.). To date, the educational gap between the wealthy upper middle class, who, thanks to government connections, study and go on business trips outside China, and the bulk of Chinese citizens, who rarely use ELF with English native speakers or other foreigners, has been critical. The divide is, therefore, between the ostensible aims of ELF education in

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[106] Italics added.
[107] Italics added.

China—and the overt focus on successful intercultural communication—and the few real-world chances of using the language in the country (ibid.).

In his chapter, Henry (2016) reports an ethnographic enquiry into the ELF phenomenon in Shenyang, a large metropolitan centre in the north-east of China. He illustrates the dual function of English in the Chinese scenery: an international *lingua franca* that mediates global intercultural aspirations and an intranational and domestic medium with "[…] immediate and localised discursive concerns such as producing cultural capital, negotiating status, establishing authority, signalling identity and a host of other objectives in interactions with other native speakers of Chinese (NSC)" (181-182). It is, then, highly surprising to note that, beyond producing intercultural understanding, English has become "[…] an arena for intracultural imaginings of, for instance, modern or cosmopolitan identities" (182). Dealing with the local purposes of English in China, Henry identifies two broad areas of priority in ELF research:

1. The intercultural versus the intracultural.

2. Intelligibility versus indexicality.

He foregrounds "[…] the uses of L2 English among speakers who share a similar L1", i.e. Chinese, (183) observing that most ELF research has concentrated on intelligibility and "[…] the successful communication of referential knowledge" (183). Pragmatics, however, has made us aware of the multiple aspects and layers of information conveyed to listeners through language choices. The notion of indexicality, as viewed, brings to light how varied forms of referential—demonstratives, pronouns, tenses—and non-referential—accent, stance, style—content connect, or "[…] 'point to' particular forms of speaker identity" (Agha, 2007; Hanks, 2000; Silverstein, 2003. In Henry 2016: 183). Henry does not deny or downplay the research legitimacy of the focus on intercultural intelligibility but acknowledges the constraints of these "[…] assumptions that in some ways limit the scope of current and future research programs" (ibid.).

In reality, ELF study has principally investigated "[…] the potential for intercultural communication among multilingual users operating in diverse global settings" (ibid.). A recent focus has been on the idea that ELF users may also include native speakers of

English (Jenkins *et al.*, 2011: 283). These have been found to avail themselves of many of the same communicative strategies as adopted by conventional *lingua franca* users when interacting with Expanding Circle speakers. Many of such strategies and functions also seem to characterize English usage among L2 English interactants sharing a common L1 (183-184).

Henry recalls Baker (2009) questioning boundary-related terms in applied linguistics such as intercultural versus intracultural, Inner circles versus Outer circles, or native speakers versus non-native speakers. As observed, these oppositions are viewed by postmodernist thinkers as "[…] ill-defined and imprecise, but function as necessary shorthands in the field" (see also Seidlhofer, 2011: 42-61. In Henry, 2016: 184). Henry throws light on the ideological value of these concepts that are salient, and *de facto* indispensable, to speakers. He mentions Holliday's (2011) anthropological conviction that "[…] cultural description is never a neutral practice but rather is bound up in political discourses that negotiate the meanings and boundaries of individual and society, self and other" (Henry, 2016: 184). The very notion of communicative competence, as originally formulated by Chomsky (1965) and Hymes (1972), though different in many ways, was predicated on the idea "[…] of a coherent speech community with shared goals and interests […]" (Henry, 2016: 184). Henry observes that the boundaries and qualifications for membership in such ideal groups "[…] can only be created through the social act of discourse and the work of speakers […]" (Buchholz, 2003: 400-403; Kramsch, 2011. In Henry, 2016: 184). Thus, when we affirm that ELF can be used for intracultural imaginings, we associate the meanings of the words with "[…] ideological notions of 'Chineseness' and associated emotional qualities of national belonging, cultural homogeneity and perceived sameness, rather than upon any objective or essentialist cultural similarities between the interactants" (ibid.). Feeling a shared membership in a culture determines how speakers orient themselves to the conversation and to each other. Ultimately, ELF can also be used by individuals who index, through communicative interaction, cultural similarity rather than difference. Doing this, they significantly choose to use English although another, probably more natural, communicative resource, i.e. their native language, is available (ibid.). Now, dealing with the issue of English "varieties", most ELF researchers have rebutted the traditional compartmentalization of language as a

code made up of distinct varieties that are "[…] essentially fixed, predetermined, [and] tied to a restricted number of geographic centres" (Dewey, 2007: 346; see also Jenkins *et al.*, 2011: 296-297. In Henry, 2016: 184).

We might conclude, with Henry (2016) and the wide-ranging discussion, that ELF epitomizes the 21st-century postmodernist view of language as a highly-fluid and hybridized set of "[…] multiple linguistic resources that are both global ad local in scope, to construct novel speech forms" (184), whereas "standard" forms "[…] have been rightly criticised as ideological constructions based upon structures of institutional power and authority" (184-185). The indexical salience of language use marks the perceived difference between Standard English, "[…], the precise form of which is tied to factors such as national origin, social class and regional accent of the individual evaluating it as such […]" (185), and English in China, labelled "Chinglish". Thus, Chinese English stigmatization, more than predicated on the actual forms of speech, is defined by "[…] the relative social positionings of the interactants" (Henry, 2010. In Henry, 2016: 185). The same linguist describes Chinglish as "[…] a complex and hybrid language pattern which constantly shifts depending upon the perspectives and purposes of speakers and listeners" (ibid.). Henry's empirical work looks into the indexical use of English as a *lingua franca* on an intracultural level. He notes that language use among L1 speakers is, more often than not, unmarked and passes without much comment. In other circumstances, "[…] English becomes the medium through which conversational stances are actively contested and negotiated" (189).

Extract 1,[108] reported by Henry in his chapter, shows that all participants speak Chinese as a first language apart from the researcher and the foreign teacher, a native

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[108] Author's italics. Transcription conventions are as follows (Henry, 2016: 197):

.	full stop
,	pause
¿	rising intonation / question
…	longer pause (over 0.2s)
[ ]	overlapping speech

speaker of American English with a rudimentary ability in Chinese. The setting is a large private language school with small-enrolment classes and intensive teacher-student interactions (190). The event described concerns a complaint made by Naomi, a much-travelled student in her late thirties working for a company that requires English proficiency for promotion, about her English teacher's schedule mistake. She complains to Mei, an English teacher who supervises the Chinese teachers at the school (190-191):

Extract 1

(N - Naomi; S – Unnamed Student; M - Mei)

N: *Ni kan* (Look). ((shows M the class handout)) The lesson here is wrong.

Today is 'checking in' but the lesson here is 'customs.'

M: This, yes... okay, this is just lesson plan.

 The teachers, they use this just make the lesson.

N: But the lesson plan and our class,

they should be...*yizhi* (consistent), [yes?]

S: [Match,] they should match.

M: But... mm, yes, but teachers, they prepare the lesson and then... the

 lesson, that is an extension of the scripts.

N: *Shenme yisi* (What does that mean)?

M: The lesson is an extension of the scripts. [Okay?]

N: [*Buzhidao* (I don't understand).]

( )   translation from Chinese

(( ))   contextual information

—   truncated / interrupted speech

M: *Zhe liang zhang ye shi di gei xuesheng. Zhe liang zhang shi wei laoshi beike. Zhidao ma?* (These two pages are given to the students. These two pages are for the teacher to prepare for class. Understand?)

N: The class today, we have four day class, four day plan. We should--

M: Your teacher— ((gestures towards foreign teacher))

N: *Ta buzhidao. Ta shenme dou buzhidao.* (He doesn't understand. He doesn't understand anything.)

M: ...The problem is not so serious. You should follow the teacher teaches

you. ((to foreign teacher)) Please begin class again.

The two interactants switch from English to Chinese and vice versa under circumstances in which participants would normally use Chinese. Language switch to English, thus, indexes a number of elements:

1. The relevance of the English school setting and the specific claims to conversational authority.

2. Naomi's identity as an English user "[…] because she had used similar conversational strategies to complain to airlines and hotels in foreign countries" (192).

3. Mei's strategic use of vocabulary to demonstrate her superior lexical knowledge and assert a kind of conversational control.

4. The role of context, i.e. "[…] a larger cultural framework that informs their relative statuses, beliefs, and approaches to language learning" (ibid.).

Naomi and Mei are, thus, representative of "[…] two different approaches to linguistic capability in the Chinese foreign language context […]", i.e., respectively, communicative competence and academic success, "[…] measured, in China's competitive educational environment, in examination scores and other quantitative metrics (e.g.

number of words memorised)" (ibid.). In other terms, they embody two opposed strands of English learning history in China, with divergent indexicality. Mei's technical and lexical competence is consistent with the traditional requirements and perspective of the grammar-translation method, which also predominated in many European learning contexts until the 1990s: "[…] close textual reading, memorisation and detailed knowledge of lexical items and grammatical rules" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Hu, 2002; Zheng & Davison, 2008. In Henry, 2016: 193). Conversely, Naomi stands for the post-1990s Chinese focus on conversational interaction and real-world task-based teaching and learning. As put by Henry, in fact, "Educational reforms in the 1990s initiated some pressure to incorporate greater use of communicative language teaching (CLT) in public school EFL classrooms, along with task-based teaching and enhancing the ability to use language in diverse settings" (Hu, 2005. In Henry, 2016: 193).

As suggested, this Chinese dichotomy between communicative language teaching and more traditional formal-accuracy-aimed pedagogy reminds of the distinction between experiential teaching, i.e. implicit, intralingual and semantic processing, and analytic teaching, i.e. explicit, cross-lingual and syntactic processing, in immersion classrooms (Johnstone, 2007: 166-167). Henry realizes that Chinese students are aware of this dichotomy as they distinguish between the "mute English" of state schools, where students only learn to read and write technical texts with close attention to form, and the "oral English" of private foreign-language schools teaching conversational spoken English, often employed by L1 speakers and aimed at "extemporaneous production" (Henry, 2016: 193). The two ideological perspectives are also divergent: the former is "[…] more exacting and more beholden to standardising linguistic ideologies, while oral English is flexible and practical" (ibid.). The divide is also between instrumental and integrative learning and underlines the peculiarity of ELF: "In mute English the goal is to answer examination questions correctly; in oral English the goal, as in ELF, is to be understood" (ibid.). Henry brings to the fore the value of larger cultural contexts in Naomi's and Mei's linguistic choices, i.e. the two speakers' indexical connections to imaginary communities of practice—global and academic, respectively—through an intracultural use of ELF discourse: "Language choices were thus used here indexically to negotiate boundaries and

statuses between the participants" (192). Through his examples of English use in China, Henry focuses on two cores of ELF research that have been largely overlooked:

1. The significance of intracultural usage.

2. The importance of indexicality for clarifying the construction of identity (195).

In his study, the linguist capitalizes upon ethnographic longitudinal research aimed at "[…] producing situated and collaborative knowledge about the meanings of linguistic choices made in context […]" (196). His Shenyang ethnographic data, in particular, attest to "[…] the discursive production of identity in practice" (ibid.). Thus, in line with the mobility and changeability of the postmodernist outlook, Henry refrains from categorizing a sharp divide between a Chinese, or intracultural, and a Western, or intercultural, form of identity as indexed in Chinese speakers' interaction. In fact, the very use of English enables them to shuttle between different communities and identities (Canagarajah, 2006: 210). These express, at times, "[…] membership in a localised group of culturally similar Chinese speakers […]"; at other times, they identify with a Western, cosmopolitan and globally expansive community of practice (Henry, 2016: 196). Henry, therefore, recalls the two mentioned functions of English: that of "oral English", a gateway, connected to its *lingua franca* use, "[…] to broader forms of global social belonging that Chinese citizens may take advantage of by becoming conversationally fluent […]", and that of "mute English", a gatekeeping mechanism requiring non-conversational, analytic competence for the purpose of success in education or employment.

Higgins (2009) sees a paradox in global languages: potentially international in scope, but shaping, at the same time, local forms of social interaction (Henry, 2016: 196). By the same token, Henry reaffirms the fluid and multifaceted nature of culture "[…] not as a fixed set of attributes, but as a larger context that allows interactants to make sense of the significance of these linguistic choices" (ibid.). The scholar ultimately highlights "[…] the power of language's indexical content […]" in the making of interaction at the time of globalization of English as extensively investigated today (Dewey, 2007; Ives, 2010. In Henry, 2016: 196). He argues for a more encompassing research scope: from the only focus on intercultural interactions based on "[…] ideological perceptions of cultural difference and questions of intelligibility to intracultural interactions and questions of

indexicality […]" (ibid.). The objective propounded is to disclose and unpack overt and covert "[…] undercurrents of power, inequality, ideology and, ultimately, the understandings of the speakers using that lingua franca" (ibid.).

All this postulates, as noted by Seidlhofer (2011: 73), a shift in perspective, from "[…] how far forms of language conform to *codified norms*, [to] how they *function* as the exploitation of linguistic resources for making meaning" (In Henry, 2016: 196). Thus, Henry points out the broader sociocultural value of meaning beyond the simple referential function "[…] of communicating information clearly to other English users" as it emerges from the use of ELF. The Chinese intracultural use of English becomes "[…] a performative enactment of particular identities or claims to authority which are salient to the speakers themselves" indexing "The stances language users occupy vis-à-vis each other […]" (196-197). Finally, an enhanced research focus on indexicalisations and shared meanings in intracultural ELF interaction can be usefully applied, in Henry's view, to intercultural communication for a more precise and authentic comprehension of the multifaceted "[…] intentions and understandings of L2 English speakers beyond the local context into more global frames of discursive interaction" (197).

9.6 From intercultural reconceptualization to diverse English as a *lingua franca* communities of practice. Talking a *third culture* into being

In "Talking Cultural Identities into Being in ELF Interactions: An Investigation of International Postgraduate Students in the United Kingdom", Chris Jenks (2016) reports the UK universities as going to great lengths to recruit international students. Apart from the remarkable revenue provided, she holds that it is considered important for the UK academic environment and other higher education institutions to ensure cultural diversity and exchange for their international ranking (93). On the other hand, regarding some areas of study such as applied linguistics, English literature and English language teaching, international students are given ample opportunity to become completely involved in a language and culture held in high esteem in their home country (ibid.). Jenks' point is that,

"[…] cultural diversity and exchange do not simply happen – they are highly complex phenomena that require a great deal of social, institutional and interactional work" (ibid.). He observes that, despite the prevailing interest of humanities and social sciences research in diversity and exchange in universities (Jones, 2010; Kinginger, 2013; Knight, 2004) as well as the internationalization of higher education (Deardorff, de Wit, Heyl & Adams, 2012; Guo & Chase, 2011), applied linguists (cf. Dervin, 2013; Mori, 2003) have not thoroughly investigated the discursive mechanisms that international students adopt for achieving interculturality in university contexts (Jenks, 2016: 94). Jenks defines interculturality "[…] as the discursive process in which interactants treat cultural artifacts – for example the food ingredients that go into Korean dishes – as resources for social actions and practices" (Jenks, 2016: 94). The linguist uses conversational analysis (CA) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) to fill that gap and examine how international students discuss academic and personal issues while co-constructing their identity in the informal and natural setting of a university kitchen. The style used is typically informal and gives important insights into students' daily routines, forms of socialization, "[…] academic achievements, the challenges of being a student, plans for the weekend, and personal problems", but also their more general experiences of studying abroad (ibid.). The findings are especially revealing if we consider that "[…] the bulk of interaction-oriented research done in universities is carried out in formal, educational contexts" (ibid.). Jenks' empirical work illustrates how "[…] national identities are used as resources to manage lingua franca interactions and kitchen-based activities […]" (ibid.). He singles out three main purposes of interactants':

1. Managing talk related to being an international postgraduate student in the UK.

2. Mitigating escalating disagreements.

3. Negotiating participatory roles during kitchen-based activities (ibid.).

The study means to bring out "[…] the complexities involved in constructing identities in a study abroad setting", thus contributing new findings to "[…] a growing

body of research that shows how national identities and culture are used as interactional resources in lingua franca interactions" (ibid.). Jenks starts off by defining nationality as "[…] membership to a geographic region that is granted as a result of some political process and/or acquired in and through shared beliefs and histories" (ibid.). National identity, to this effect, encompasses "[…] a collection of values and traditions that, in various semiotic and discursive ways, are created and reproduced by a region's members" (ibid.). There he underwrites the postmodernist view of national identity as something not fixed that can mean different things to different people and conveys "[…] deep feelings of social and political affiliation and disaffiliation" (94-95). Also, in a more traditional nation-state outlook, we might agree that "[…] for many people, membership to a nation or region is an important part of their identity" (95). Now researchers have demonstrated that national identities, with their body of values, traditions and cultural implications, "[…] are used as interactional resources to perform a number of different social activities" (ibid.). These studies (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Edwards & Potter, 1992) adopt a social-interaction approach to national identities, using, among others, the methodological instruments of conversation analysis (CA) and discursive psychology. Social interaction approaches mainly deal with the methods people apply in interactions and look into how interactants construct discursive sequences for the purpose of understanding each other and their immediate communicative context (Jenks, 2016: 95). As mentioned, Jenks reaffirms that, from a social-interaction perspective, "[…] a person's membership to a nation or region is in a constant state of negotiation, and that interculturality is achieved in, and through, this dialogic process" (e.g. Fukuda, 2006. In Jenks, 2016: 95). A key principle, in a social-interaction outlook, is the notion that "[…] national identities are sequentially embedded in talk-based activities" (Day, 1998; see also Moerman, 1988. In Jenks, 2016: 95). Jenks refers to Nishizaka's (1995) study of conversations between a Japanese talk radio host and callers studying Japanese in Japan to show that non-Japanese nationals' status is not established *a priori*, but interactionally enacted via "[…] topic selection, turn design, repair, and turn taking" (Jenks, 2016: 95). Likewise, Mori (2003) shows how question-answer sequences provide the interactional framework for Japanese and American students to co-construct an understanding of national identities in a US university setting (Jenks, 2016: 95). In such sequences, interactants are given the role of experts of their

country of origin, and stereotypical beliefs emerge from the interactional activity of "[…] ascribing and contesting cultural assumptions that are associated with certain regions" (Brandt & Jenks, 2011. In Jenks, 2016: 95). In Jenks' study, "[…] interactants from different countries use various interactional resources, including lighthearted banter, to co-construct an understanding of cultural food-eating practices" (ibid.).

What is common to, and stands out from, various investigation is the idea that national identities are used as discursive resources in intercultural communication (IC) and English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). The researches highlight how Self and Other are co-constructed through highly complex, collaborative interactional work. The social-interaction approaches employed have confirmed the fluidity of national identities and have focused on contexts and settings confined to "[…] situations where communication takes place between two groups of interactants from different national states (e.g. American and Japanese students; cf. Mori, 2003)" sharing a common language, e.g. English (In Jenks, 2016: 96). Such situations often feature "[…] one 'home' group (e.g. American students studying in a US university) and one 'visitor' group (e.g. Japanese international students studying in a US university)" (ibid.). Under these circumstances, interactants from two nation states index their cultural similarities and differences by applying binary interactional categories, like home and visitor, which are institutionally and interactionally important (Fukuda, 2006). Thus, national identities often crop up in the management of interaction and social activities. One typical case presented is "[…] a disparity or asymmetry in understanding […]" (96), when Japanese international students studying in the US do not possess the same level of knowledge of North American culture as their American counterparts. The kind of interaction that often ensues from such disparity is talk with strangers, or foreigner talk (ibid.). Intercultural communication (IC) research (e.g., Ware & Kramsch, 2005) has uncovered "[…] the complexities involved in constructing identities in intercultural interaction" (Jenks, 2016: 96). However, in many ELF encounters, participants are from three or more nations or regions. Investigation, then, has to analyse how these multinational interactants, with diverse cultural and linguistic repertoires, tap into national identities as "[…] resources to manage talk and talk-based activities" (96-97). Now a matter for debate may concern the very relevance of national identities: are these downplayed when all the speakers are international students? In his

study, Jenks presents three examples that show how national identities are collaboratively constructed in ELF interaction in which students talk them into being.

In the first extract, "The supervisor", Anna, Pete and Philip discuss their experiences of postgraduate studies in the UK. The setting, a hall kitchen, is especially informal and encourages natural, frank and even emotional talk by the interactants (101). The first topic of conversation is about Pete's thorny relationship with his supervisor on account of the mistakes the latter had made and not easily recognized in the student's supervised research project (ibid.). What emerges is the interactants' distinct positions towards UK-accepted norms and etiquette. Pete, in particular, could respond to his supervisor's very angry behavior according to British socio-pragmatic conventions, but he chooses, instead, to transfer his national identity into his host country and academic institution (103). In other terms, the interactants shape the ELF interaction "[…] by comparing and contrasting their experiences and understanding of academic practices […]" (ibid.) and hence define their being international postgraduate students in the UK, "[…] thereby creating a discursive space where cultural meaning and representations are constructed and reconstructed" (Block, 2007; Hall, 1996. In Jenks, 2016: 103). In so doing, they negotiate and compare their similarities and differences—e.g. ideas about supervisor vs supervisee relationships—to assess how these "[…] fit within the host academic institution" (104). Their observations indicate, as mentioned, that national identities are used as interactional resources depending on the context in which interactants communicate (Jenks, 2012). The kitchen space, in particular, comes to be a key pedagogical setting for students to negotiate their multicultural identities and an understanding of what it means to be a student living and studying in the UK (Jenks, 2016: 104). This strategic use of national identities to manage social relations is made apparent in the interaction about food spices the kitchen being the right setting for students' building on their cultural identities.

In the second extract, "Food spices", identities are used to mitigate escalating disagreements, such as the debated effect—benefits or damage—of spices on human health. The turning point of the exchange is when Philip uses Wendy's previous turn, in line 79, to downgrade the discussion from an argument about spices to light-hearted banter

about food-eating practices (105), signalled by Philip's laughter tokens in line 81 (106). At this point, in line 85, Wendy takes the opportunity to make relevant her country of origin, Nigeria, which is used as an interactional resource to prop up the argument mitigation with Philip (106). Pete follows a similar strategy in lines 89 and 91, where he uses his national identity as an interactional resource to participate in the ongoing discussion of food-eating practices (ibid.). Overall, the exchange demonstrates, as stressed by Jenks, that "[…] national identities are not omnipresent social structures that perpetually shape the communicative behaviours of these interactants, but are rather used selectively and strategically" (ibid.). Therefore, "[…] national identities are not simply talked into being" (ibid.). Apparently, in this event, the informal environment of a common kitchen promotes interactants' co-constructing their national identities by mitigating an escalating argument in, and through, talk and interaction (ibid.).

"Food preparation", the third extract, bears witness to how international postgraduate students use their national identities to negotiate participatory roles (ibid.). In the Nigerian food preparation, for example, interactants position themselves and change their role ranking "[…] according to how knowledgeable they are of the ingredients […]", vegetable "mixtures" (line 28) and "tastes" (line 30), that make up the food of that country (ibid.). In so doing, they cross-reference their cooking knowledge and practices, or distance themselves from the discussion, if they do not want or can't contribute to the activity (ibid.). Ultimately, the speakers use their national identities to negotiate and redefine their active or passive participation in the kitchen activities (109-110). Pete positions himself as a knowledgeable and active participant at the beginning, but his initial attempt is dismissed by Shine. His role is, then, rehabilitated as legitimate by Wendy's intervention, and his contribution to and participation in the activity changes and evolves. At the end of the exchange, Pete's and Shine's role rankings are inverted, as Pete "[…] moves from an illegitimate co-interactant to a legitimate contributor", while Shine, "[…] verbally and interactionally active in the beginning of the food preparation activity, disengaged from the discussion when Wendy and Pete made relevant their shared national food-eating practices" (110).

Thus, Jenks' study contributes to the IC and ELF literature by exemplifying how national identities are used by international postgraduate students for specific social-interaction purposes (Gumperz, 1982) and brings to the fore how cultural talk is sequentially organized in kitchen activities (Jenks, 2016: 110). Far from representing barriers or hampers, similarities and differences in cultural practices are tapped as resources by interactants engaged on *lingua franca* interactions (ibid.). In particular, national identities are instrumentally plied by these students to understand and participate in university life in an international setting such as a UK university (ibid.). The kitchen, as mentioned, is the ideal place where students can freely explore and discuss their cultural belonging, and the organization of talk and activities is often shaped by the cultural practices of individuals (ibid.).

A very salient point is that ELF interactions, as suggested, are not culturally neutral (cf. House, 2003). The interactional purposes are not simply transactional, e.g. meant to exchange information. Rather, they have a relevant intercultural potentiality since interactants use their national identities "[…] to co-construct an understanding of each other and carry out interactional practices and actions" (Jenks, 2016: 110). Furthermore, as Jenks observes, "[…] interactants rarely see themselves as 'global' citizens or members of a lingua franca community, though they would occasionally talk about differences in English varieties" (ibid.). National identities, on the contrary, are "[…] more often than not the social category used to engage in intercultural interactions" (ibid.).

Conclusively, Jenks highlights the important contribution of this type of analysis in familiar and informal contexts like kitchens, in contrast to most previous ELF studies that investigate identity construction by interviews and questionnaires. In natural surroundings such as kitchens, important sites of socialization and identity construction for international postgraduate students, "[…] researchers and educators can glean important insights into how students make sense of each other and others in their host academic country and institution" (111). Further investigation of this kind, in Jenks' view, is needed in order to expand the empirical database on ELF interactions and advance the IC and ELF literature (ibid.).

9.7 A community of practice approach to conflict talk in English as a *lingua franca* interaction

In her study of verbal conflict, "Conflict Talk and ELF Communities of Practice", Anne Kari Bjørge (2016: 114) notices that "In the field of ELF research, relatively little attention has been paid to the expression of conflict" (Bjørge, 2009; Bjørge, 2012; Ehrenreich, 2009; Knapp, 2002. In Bjørge, 2016: 114). Now, in view of the multifarious use of ELF in all kinds of contexts, it is interesting to investigate situations where interlocutors challenge each other's opinions using the language (ibid.). The concept of conflict talk (Grimshaw, 1990) pertains to situational discourse used by participants who express divergent views "[…] on one or more issues, without being restricted to a single speech act or turn sequence" (Leung, 2010. In Bjørge, 2016: 114). Expressions of disagreement vary between mitigated and unmitigated forms, but Bjørge inferred from corpus-based findings that the mitigated forms predominate (Bjørge, 2012; Locher, 2004; Stalpers, 1995. In Bjørge, 2016: 114). In her 2012 study, Bjørge remarks that indirect forms are encouraged by textbooks for non-native speakers of English, whereas direct expressions, such as "no" or "you can't", are discouraged for the sake of politeness. However, the latter forms may be preferred for reasons of clarity (Stalpers, 1995) and simplicity, or when used by non-proficient speakers who would otherwise remain silent (Bjørge, 2016: 114). Bjørge links the issue of mitigation to the distinction between low and high context communication, respectively associated with directness versus indirectness in discourse (Gudykunst, 2003; Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Nishida, 1996; Hall, 1976. In Bjørge, 2016: 114). Thus, the use of directness in communication is related to the ideas of "[…] clarity, conciseness and avoidance of ambiguity […]", and conveys "[…] positive connotations of sincerity, honesty and openness" (Bjørge, 2016: 114-115). Conversely, the indirect way may serve to develop "[…] a context for the message […]" and is positively connected to rapport building, politeness and face-saving (115). Hence, a direct communicator may perceive indirect messages "[…] as ambiguous, difficult to understand, a waste of time, and perhaps even lacking in straightforwardness" (ibid.). From an indirect communicator's viewpoint, instead, directness may be indicative of off-putting, brusque

and unsophisticated communication (115). Textbooks on intercultural communication associate this distinction with peculiar national or regional cultures and researchers have analysed the different expectations created by the communicative styles of different nationalities (Beamer & Varner, 2008; Utley, 2004; Victor, 1992. In Bjørge, 2016: 115). For instance, Beamer and Varner (2008: 177) observe that a flat and direct refusal is more difficult for high-context cultures that tend to refrain from vocalizing blunt speaking. In spite of diverse and interesting data, however, Bjørge (2016: 115) questions the link between "[…] Hall's (1976) contexting dichotomy and national stylistic preferences […]" since it is "[…] found to be based on 'little or no empirical validation'" (Cardon, 2008: 424. In Bjørge, 2016: 115). Baker (2009) rather sees "[…] a straightforward language-culture-nation correlation […] as a gross oversimplification" (567), which is proper to a nation-state essentialist mindset.

Negotiating situations between ELF speakers is determined by a number of factors "[…] including previous international experience, individual aspects such as age and gender, notions of politeness, and previous exposure to textbook advice on nation-based cultural preferences" (Bjørge, 2016: 115). On the basis of these contributing factors, interactants are motivated to choose "[…] one or another form at any given moment in an interaction" (Jenkins *et al.*, 2011: 296). Bjørge (2016) stresses the unsuitability of essentialist positions for issues like directness or forms of disagreement (115). Considering the cultural hybridity (Canagarajah, 2006) and transcultural flows (Pennycook, 2007) of ELF discourse, those positions "[…] may miss aspects of the interactional process that may be revealed through a constructionist approach" (Piller, 2011. In Bjørge, 2016: 116). Among the negotiation factors, Bjørge singles out, as mentioned, the influence of textbook advice on the ELF speaker's choice of forms of agreement and disagreement. As far as business transactions are concerned, the scholar notes that English textbooks "[…] generally recommended using a mitigation strategy, presumably in the interests of rapport management" (Bjørge, 2012. In In Bjørge, 2016: 116). Indirectness is viewed, then, as the safest approach and has attracted more attention than direct forms thought to produce a negative impact on rapport management in ELF interaction (ibid.).

The participants in the Norwegian linguist's empirical work are regarded as a community of practice (Bjørge, 2012; Ehrenreich, 2009; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2007; Wenger, 1998. In Bjørge, 2016: 116). The construct takes stock of three basic conditions, according to Bjørge (2016):

1. Mutual engagement. "[…] the participants are all international master's-level business students in the same age bracket, which means that status is not a central issue" (116). The overall number is limited and they can interact and network in class discussions and in breaks, apart from the negotiation scenarios themselves (ibid.).

2. Joint enterprise. Their core study programme trains all of them to work in international business.

3. Shared repertoire. It is the main focus of ELF research according to Ehrenreich (2009: 133): "[…] in this case, the students' communicative competence within the field of economics and business studies" (Bjørge, 2016: 116). The common field of business English, as denoted by the term "BELF", i.e. business English *lingua franca*, selects students' genres and vocabulary issues (Charles, 2008; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles & Kankaanranta, 2005. In Bjørge, 2016: 116). This shared field of competence also entails developing "The ability to handle conflict talk while taking into account rapport management […]" (ibid.). In view of this culturally-sensitive issue, negotiation participants may express different preferences for direct disagreement and conclude that unmitigated conflict may lead to negotiation breakdown. Thus, weighing the pros and cons of a socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic impact on the ongoing negotiation, ELF speakers may decide to avoid using outspoken forms of disagreement (ibid.).

Focusing on unmitigated disagreement, Bjørge (2016: 117) refers to Locher (2004) and Stalpers (1995) to highlight "[…] three categories of features that may be used to mitigate a disagreement act":

a. Delaying features: e.g. using a pause, a discourse marker or a token agreement for delaying disagreement.

b. Supporting features: e.g. providing an explanation for contextualizing disagreement.

c. Modulating features: modulating the disagreement by making it more indirect (Bjørge, 2016: 117).

Stalpers (1995: 280) also mentions disagreement acts that do not exhibit mitigation strategies, although he does not provide any examples. Locher (2004: 143) refers to "[…] 'non-mitigating disagreement strategies'[…]", including unmitigated or straightforward disagreement, "[…] '*but* without mitigation', 'repetition/own: emphasis', 'repetition/previous: criticism', and the inclusion of the boosters 'I think', 'just' and 'of course'" (Bjørge, 2016: 117). While Locher's categories focus on straightforward disagreement and the use of 'but' for unmitigated disagreement, Bjørge's analysis zeroes in on the use of negative markers and the use of 'no' in a corpus-driven approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 84) to reflect the variety in the examined material (Bjørge, 2016: 117). Accordingly, Bjørge's term "unmitigated disagreement acts" subsumes statements that do not contain any of the mitigating features dealt with by Stalpers (1995: 278). On balance, beyond their immediate setting, all expressions are to be interpreted in the wider context of the entire negotiations discourse (Leung, 2010).

One salient distinction is between helpful and unhelpful behaviour. In this regard, Fells (2010: 114) observes that "[…] interrupting, criticising and generally being in a hurry are counterproductive. They tend to close the discussion down" (Bjørge, 2016: 127). In Bjørge's corpus, unmitigated disagreement frequently involves interruptions and overlapping speech. This behavior may be caused by the wish to express a counterargument, but the exchanges demonstrate a very strong competition for the floor that often disrupts sequential turn-taking and prevents speakers from expressing their opinion (ibid.). One more element that marks unmitigated disagreement is unintelligible speech, which is occasioned by the same reason. Eventually, however, negotiations are not closed down on account of negotiators' unhelpful behavior, as related by Fells (2010: 98; 114. In Bjørge, 2016: 127).

Of Bjørge's examined negotiations, only three did not reach an agreement and failed for different reasons (ibid.). In one exchange, the apparent reason was the unexpected attempt to change the premises for the scenario on the part of one of the teams, with the consequent breakdown of the negotiation, since the counterpart did not accept the

new option (ibid.). The exchanges give evidence of various forms of unmitigated disagreement leading to business failure: inability to negotiate on packages, accusations, time pressure to force through an agreement, ultimatums, expressed suspicion of the other side's motives, interruptions. All these acts, as well as the opposite team's continued effort to elucidate "[…] their own argument rather than paying attention to the opposite side's attempt to get the floor" (Bjørge, 2016: 127) may be related to Fells' (2010) 'unhelpful behaviours'.

Basically, Bjørge's study (2016) demonstrates that the participants' very diverse national backgrounds (28 countries) do not justify establishing a link between their national identities and specific forms of unmitigated disagreement (127). The linguist concludes that "These results indicate that any nation-based cultural traditions are not automatically transferable to an ELF context, and that a certain cultural hybridity may take place" (ibid.). One further outstanding element is the participants' response as a community of practice: when using ELF, they appeared to have developed a shared approach in handling disagreement (127-128). In other terms, the team members' "[…] use of unmitigated disagreement tended to be strategically motivated, and used to promote clarity and directness" (128). The ultimate purpose, and the major argument in favour of mitigated forms, then, seems to be rapport management, but, as Bjørge observes, on the whole, "[…] rapport was maintained, even when unmitigated disagreement was used" (ibid.)

Summing up, Bjørge's investigation (2016) clarifies how expressions of unmitigated disagreement may inform the ELF negotiations process, and illustrates the role of directness in ELF communication (ibid.). The Norwegian scholar highlights that textbooks generally advise ELF speakers to use mitigated forms of disagreement as direct disagreement may hinder rapport management and lead to the breaking down of negotiations. Nevertheless, when analysing the discourse that followed such statements, it becomes apparent that unmitigated disagreement acts resulting in blunt exchanges and overlapping speech did not prevent negotiators from continuing negotiation. The most usual follow-ups were counterarguments and agreement/concession, but speakers also came to elaborate on their own argument (ibid.). In fact, while the two former behaviours

appeared to further the negotiation progress, elucidation of own argument seemed less successful "[…] as it indicates insufficient attention to the other party's contribution" (ibid.). In general, however, "[…] negotiators seemed to take unmitigated disagreement in their stride and carry on" (ibid.).

The study does not present firm conclusions about establishing "[…] a link between a high incidence of unmitigated disagreement acts and not reaching agreement […]" (ibid.). Considering that only three of the negotiations did not end in agreement, other factors, rather than unmitigated disagreement, may account for the negotiation breakdown: attempted shift of scenario, bargaining on individual issues rather than packages, application of time pressure and, above all, using accusation (ibid.). Bjørge concludes that "[…] Thus, the results of this limited study indicate that there is no demonstrable link between the use of unmitigated disagreement and negotiations breakdown" (ibid.). A relevant variable in the empirical work was the different membership of participants in course activity and exam activity. The latter case showed "[…] a lower incidence of unmitigated disagreement, and less use of "no" and blunt contradictions […]" (ibid.). This was most likely occasioned by the instrumental goal of a pass grade on the part of stakeholders who, therefore, paid increased attention to rapport management by being less direct (128-129). One reaffirmed conclusion seems to concern the criticism of essentialist theories that postulate a link between direct/indirect communicative style and national cultural backgrounds. Bjørge's "[…] investigation revealed little systematic interference from any such interactional norms […]" as the discussed link does not apply to the inherent hybridity of ELF contexts. In fact, as observed, the participants in the study took a community of practice approach, since they all had international experience and belonged to the same age bracket (129). Hence, despite the general preference for using mitigation, the use of unmitigated disagreement did not debar negotiators from reaching an agreement as long as they "[…] adhered to the negotiation scenario and paid attention to the other party's arguments" (ibid.). In the end, the issue of mitigation in ELF conflict talk appears to be motivated by overall strategy and related to the integrated need for clarity and for rapport management (ibid.).

9.8 Transcending misunderstanding in English as a *lingua franca*. Working up intercultural communication through cultural divides

In "Intercultural Misunderstanding Revisited: Cultural Difference as a (non) Source of Misunderstanding in ELF Communication", Jagdish Kaur (2016) asserts that the "principle of difference" underlies the various traditional approaches to intercultural communication (Casmir & Asunción-Lande, 1988: 284; Sarangi, 1994: 413. In Kaur, 2016: 134). In the main, cultural difference was viewed as the origin of miscommunication and misunderstandings in intercultural communication, in an incremental relationship between cultural differences and communicative problems. Scholars have assumed that "[…] the absence of shared norms, values, beliefs, ways of thinking and usage of language between participants of different cultural backgrounds is likely to give rise to severe problems in communication" (ibid.). Thus, although we use the same language, communication with people who are very different from us and do not share our knowledge and background may be very complicated, as noted by R. Scollon and S.W. Scollon (1995: 22). Supposedly, lack of common experience and assumptions can make it difficult to draw inferences about what people mean and engender misunderstanding and miscommunication in intercultural communication (Kaur, 2016: 134-135). Samovar and Porter (1991) refer to "[…] error in social perception brought about by cultural diversity that affects the perceptual process", and remark that "[…] unintended errors in meaning may arise because people with entire different backgrounds are unable to understand one another accurately" (21). More recent research has tried to transcend the focus on misunderstanding and the supposed causal role of cultural difference. In their edited volume *Beyond Misunderstanding*, for example, Buhrig and ten Thije (2006) attempt to move away from concern with misunderstanding to the accomplishment of understanding and look into other variables underlying misunderstanding in international encounters, especially the institutional context of the interaction (Kaur, 2016: 135). In reality, as Piller (2007) illustrates, not all misunderstandings are determined by different cultural world views: some are linguistic, whereas others are based on inequality (215). This could lead us to refrain "[…] from making *a priori* assumptions about cultural group membership" (Kaur, 2016: 135). On the

other hand, R. Scollon and S.W. Scollon (2001), from a discourse perspective, look at cultural background as only "[…] a relevant category in communication when the participants themselves orient to it as such" (Kaur, 2016: 135). Thus, linguacultural belonging is just one among the various memberships co-constructed by participants in international interaction at any given time. Other memberships, e.g. gender-related, generational and professional, can equally inform communication (ibid.). Other scholars, such as Koole and ten Thije (2001), warn against a sole focus on cultural differences when analysing intercultural data as this may induce to overlook other significant features of the communication (Kaur, 2016: 135). By their methodological approach, a reconstruction method, Koole and ten Thije (2001) go beyond the notions of cultural differences and communicative failure to disclose "[…] how participants in international interaction establish common ground in pursuit of their communicative goals […]" (Kaur, 2016: 135). The underlying assumption of these alternative approaches to intercultural communication, variously connected to a postmodernist perspective, is that language and culture are not static and homogeneous but dynamic and inherently heterogeneous (ibid.). In fact, English is acknowledged today as a global *lingua franca* (Seidlhofer, 2011: 2) that enables communication between speakers of diverse languages and cultures in a wide range of domains. Hence, work on ELF has mainly centred on the nature of ELF, "[…] on how this linguistic resource is exploited in lingua franca settings to fulfil the communicative goals of its users […]" (Kaur, 2016: 135). This also entails investigating the linguistic and pragmatic changes the language undergoes when serving "[…] a variety of functions in an increasing number of domains by diverse groups of people" (135-136), as well as other phenomena, such as ELF variability, the practices and strategies used in successful communication and the creative use of the language in *lingua franca* settings (136). Further investigated issues concern "[…] the reconceptualization of English, the ownership of English and the implications of ELF to second language pedagogy" (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins *et al*., 2011. In Kaur, 2016: 136). Kaur claims that other aspects have been neglected and singles out "[…] the influence on ELF of various contextual factors such as its cultural and intercultural dimension as a global phenomenon" (ibid.), a field of research to be further probed by both ELF and IC researchers for "[…] a more complete and comprehensive picture of ELF" (ibid.).

One focus of attention for ELF pragmatists' investigation has regarded miscommunication. Apart from looking into the causes of misunderstanding and non-understanding, scholars have examined how such problems are pragmatically pre-empted and resolved when they occur (ibid.). Findings on the use of ELF reveal that misunderstanding and miscommunication are not as widespread as initially assumed by mainstream communication studies and cannot be ascribed to differences in the participants' cultural background (House, 1999; Mauranen, 2006. In Kaur, 2016: 136). The data show, instead, that "[…] the lingua franca context exerts some influence on interactions between participants of different cultural groups" (ibid.).

Kaur's investigation (2016) attests that interactants take stock of cultural difference in the ELF interactional context but talk a *third culture* or *third space* into being and eventually position themselves as a community of practice where cultural identities are instrumentally and creatively built upon. Kaur advocates, to this effect, "[…] an alternative approach to intercultural communication, one which accepts understanding as the default rather than misunderstanding" (ibid.). She states that "For communication to be successful, shared understanding between the interacting parties is essential" (ibid.). However, mutual understanding is not easily achieved in the first instance and partial and incomplete understanding, or even utter misunderstanding, are frequent as participants try to get meaning across (ibid.). Communication via ELF is assumed to be especially problematic as speakers have different linguacultures and are, more often than not, non-native English speakers (Mauranen, 2006, 2007. In Kaur, 2016: 136-137).

Although ELF research has also dealt with the use of the language between native speakers and non-native speakers (Jenkins *et al*., 2011: 283), linguists' attention has mainly focused on interactions in which English is not the native language of the participants (Kaur, 2016: 137). Along the same lines, beyond lack of shared knowledge and assumptions, ELF use is complicated by a number of contextual variables such as the different varieties of English, including native use, and the various levels of competence, with a pertinent risk of misunderstanding. Nonetheless, Kaur claims that considerable data from studies on ELF show that communication, on the whole, is not critically hampered by the problem of misunderstanding (ibid.).

House (2002) gave evidence of such "paucity of misunderstandings" (251) when examining the findings from a 30-minute interaction between four university students—a German, a Korean, a Chinese and an Indonesian—using English as a *lingua franca*. Various types of speech perturbations, e.g. bad turn-taking management and "non-aligned", "parallel talk" (House, 1999: 80), were found, yet clear and overt misunderstandings could not be detected (Kaur, 2016: 137). Similar conclusions were drawn by Meierkord (2000) in her dinner-table ELF talk, recorded at a hall of residence for international students in the UK. She deduced that ELF is "[…] a form of intercultural communication characterised by cooperation rather than misunderstanding" (11). In detail, the participants' very diverse linguacultural backgrounds—17 languages—and consistent variety of communicative norms and practices were expected to pose serious problems of understanding or miscommunication. Conversely, and surprisingly, the participants' communicative behavior resulted in cooperative and supportive talk, with few misunderstandings (Kaur, 2016: 137). As accounted by Meierkord (2000), the interactants demonstrated their "[…] awareness of their interlocutors' different cultural backgrounds which motivated them to negotiate and jointly construct new communicative practices and norms" (Kaur, 2016: 137). Within a conversation analysis framework, Firth (1990, 1996) and Gramkow (2001) reached a similar conclusion: use of non-standard forms, in addition to various linguistic anomalies, in ELF exchanges are not conducive to open or overt misunderstandings (Kaur, 2016: 137). Lack of misunderstanding, on the other hand, is not occasioned by the let-it-pass strategy which participants are considered to employ when facing ambiguities and problems of understanding (House, 2002. In Kaur, 2016: 137). As illustrated by Firth (1996), the let-it-pass strategy is just one of the pragmatic resources that ELF speakers tap when they take ambiguities as irrelevant to the unfolding talk and simply allow them to pass without comment (Kaur, 2016: 137-138). Kaur, however, questions the recipient's conscious application of this strategy: "However, as misunderstanding presupposes that the recipient lacks awareness of having misinterpreted the speaker's meaning, unless pointed out by the speaker in the next turn, it would be erroneous to suggest the conscious application of a strategy by the recipient to downplay the problem" (138). Rather, the let-it-pass strategy would signify the recipient's conscious "[…] inability or failure to understand, wholly or partially, the speaker's message […]". Thus, under certain

circumstances, the recipient may decide to let it pass instead of making it known (ibid.). Other scholars like Mauranen (2006) have explained the few instances of misunderstanding observed in the data as the ELF interlocutors' effort to prevent or pre-empt such problems from the outset (Kaur, 2016: 138). Therefore, interactants make use of a set of pragmatic tools for checking, monitoring and clarifying understanding: self-repairs, repetition, paraphrase, confirmation and clarification requests.

Dealing with the source(s) of misunderstanding, Mauranen (2006) rules out any "[…] clear evidence of culture-based comprehension problems, at least […] in the traditional sense of 'national culture'" (144). The linguist rather attributes surface-level misunderstandings to "[…] the linguistic meaning of items […]", while other forms of misunderstanding "[…] are not specific to lingua franca communication, but likely to occur elsewhere independently of the speakers' native languages" (ibid.).

Thus, Mauranen (2006) as well as House (1999) object to the assumptions of the early work in intercultural communication, which attributed misunderstanding to cultural difference and treated this connection as a given (Kaur, 2016: 138). House (1999), in particular, found no convincing evidence for the culture-related misunderstanding assumption in her data. On the contrary, the findings signified that "[…] the participants' affiliation with their native language and cultural norms is never foregrounded in their interactions in ELF […]" (Kaur, 2016: 138). Rather, the participants' problems of understanding mainly resulted from a lack of pragmatic fluency, inaccurate turn-taking and interactional mismanagement (139). However, Kaur underscores that House's study was exploratory in nature and only involved the analysis, elicited rather than authentic, of four participants' 30-minute interaction, thus needing further in-depth investigation (ibid.).

Ultimately, both Mauranen's (2006) and House's (1999) data highlight the fact that interaction in ELF is a unique type of intercultural communication with specific features that "[…] minimise the occurrence of misunderstanding but also cause some other factor to take precedence over cultural difference as the main source of misunderstanding" (Kaur, 2016: 139). The uneventful occurrence of misunderstanding, on the other hand, is recorded in the analysis of native speaker vs non-native speaker interactions.

In 2011 Kaur conducted a deeper investigation into the nature and sources of (mis)understanding in intercultural communication with naturally occurring ELF data in a conversation analysis (CA) approach (Kaur, 2016: 139). She examined 15 hours' naturally occurring spoken interaction in ELF, which had been audio recorded at an institution of higher education in Kuala Lumpur. The stakeholders were 22 graduate students coming from 15 different linguacultural backgrounds. They all used English as their main medium of communication and were required to work on several group assignments for their various courses (ibid.). A large proportion of the findings was taken from discussions about the assignments that took place outside the classroom, as well as from casual conversations between the participants. The recordings were conducted by the participants themselves without the presence of the researcher over a period of 10 weeks and then transcribed using a slightly adapted version of the notation system developed by Jefferson (2004) for CA. An analysis of the participants' own understandings reveals a total of 33 overt misunderstandings. According to CA criteria, the participants' perspective is taken into account. In other words, "[…] the parties themselves address the talk as revealing a misunderstanding in need of repair" (Shegloff, 1987: 204). Misunderstandings, then, emerge as a result of the speaker's intentional move to correct the understanding obtained by the recipient, who has given a response to an enquiry or asked for confirmation of understanding (Kaur, 2016: 139-140). As detailed by Kaur quoting Shegloff (1987: 204), "It is the repairs therefore that 'anchor the analysis as misunderstandings and […] show what the participants treat as sources of the misunderstanding as well'" (Kaur, 2016: 140). On the same basis of the participant's perspective, phenomena other than misunderstanding, e.g. non-understanding, performance errors and the like, can be excluded from the analysis (ibid.). As already observed, in line with the principles of CA, social factors such as the participant's cultural background are not presumed or treated as given in the analysis of data. Rather, these elements need to be talked into being by the participants for their relevance to be acknowledged (ibid.). For the purpose of grounding any misunderstanding attributed to cultural difference in the participants' actual verbal behaviour, "[…] the analyst is prevented from applying preconceived notions of a causal relationship between misunderstanding and cultural difference to the data" (ibid.). Examining the various examples of overt misunderstanding in detail, Kaur (ibid.) notes

that scholars (Bazzanella & Damiano, 1999; House, 1999; Weigand, 1999) have identified several factors as the source(s) of the problem, each interacting with the other(s) in complex ways. In particular, Bremer, Roberts, Vasseur, Simonot and Broeder (1996: 38) indicate "[…] a constellation of several causal factors […]", rather than a single cause, when investigating the data (Kaur, 2016: 140). Jagdish Kaur remarks that when a detailed analysis of a talk allows for a set of contributing factors in a misunderstanding, all the factors are taken into account, but the misunderstanding is categorized according to the most important factor that affects the participant's understanding (ibid.). A CA framework, in the end, failed to detect any misunderstandings directly linked to cultural differences between the participants in the data under investigation.

9.9 A misunderstanding typology from English as a *lingua franca* empirical findings

Kaur (2011) refers to four mains sources of misunderstanding: ambiguity (1), performance-related misunderstanding (2), language-related misunderstanding (3) and gaps in world knowledge (4) (In Kaur, 2016: 140).

Ambiguity (1) is a major source of misunderstanding in many of the speakers' utterances and also features as a common source of misunderstanding in intracultural communication (Bazzanella & Damiano, 1999). Ambiguity results from various sources, but the most common is the speaker's lack of explicitness "[…] for time-economical reasons and because we are not always aware of every piece of information that would be necessary for clear understanding" (777). Since the recipient has to fill the semantic gap, he/she may then draw the wrong inference and misunderstand the speaker's utterance altogether. In Schegloff's (1987) view, inaccurate reference is "[…] a commonly recognized potential source of ambiguity […]" in communication that may lead to an "interpretive error" which results in overt misunderstanding (205). Another possible cause is ambiguous semantics. In this case, polysemy opens the way for different interpretations of an utterance and a possible mismatch between the speaker's intended message and the recipient's achieved interpretation. In other instances, ambiguity stems from "[…] the

speaker's failure to provide sufficient detail or context in the first place" (Kaur, 2016: 141). Then, inadequate information can mislead the recipient into ambiguous interpretations and consequent misunderstanding (ibid.). Ultimately, in the ELF data examined, ambiguity in the speaker's utterance seems to be the main cause of misunderstanding (142). As mentioned, various elements, such as problematic reference, ambiguous semantics and lack of specificity, contribute to ambiguity. What stands out, as noted, is that such forms of misunderstanding are not specific to ELF communication. As clarified by Bazzanella and Damiano's study (1999) of intracultural interactions in Italian, misunderstandings occur regularly in all types of communication. The two linguists conclude that "[…] ambiguity seems to play a major role in generating misunderstanding" (818). They attribute 66% of the misunderstandings in their data to this factor, while in Kaur's work, ambiguity contributes to 48% of the misunderstandings (Kaur, 2016: 142).

Performance problems (2), such as mishearing and slips of the tongue, play a certain role in the misunderstanding data too. Bremer *et al.* (1996), however, explain that misunderstanding due to faulty hearing may have been "[…] reinforced by another factor such as the utterance having been spoken quickly and/or unclearly" (38). The interweaving of such factors is likely to come about in many ELF interactions where the interactants use different varieties of English with variation in pronunciation and accent that affect the clarity and intelligibility of sound segments (Jenkins, 2003). Under such circumstances, the recipient is unable to identify the phonological sequence of a word or phrase and may "[…] come to a false identification […]" (Weigand, 1999: 775) resulting in misunderstanding. Thus, mishearing, i.e. incorrect perception of a word or phrase, turns into misunderstanding at the comprehension level (Dua, 1990, cited in House, Kasper & Ross, 2003. In Kaur, 2016: 143). As a matter of fact, the instances of misunderstanding examined by Kaur (2011) are to be expected in any type of everyday speech, "[…] regardless of whether the participants in interaction are monocultural or multicultural" (144). As elsewhere, however, the assumption that incorrect identification of the phonological sequence of a word or phrase, i.e. mishearing, should mark ELF talk more frequently, given the greater variation in pronunciation and accent, is not supported by the data. Overall, only 4 of the 33 misunderstandings identified could be ascribed to the recipient's faulty hearing (ibid.).

One more source of misunderstanding, as attested by Kaur's findings (2011), stems from the language problems (3) of one or both of the participants in interaction (Kaur, 2016: 144). The data give evidence of ungrammaticalities and inaccuracies in some of the participants' use of the language. Still, linguistic anomalies, on the whole, do not hamper the achievement of successful communicative outcomes (ibid.). Research into ELF shows that non-native speakers of English can use communication strategies and interactional practices proficiently to negotiate meaning and achieve mutual understanding (Kaur, 2010; Pitzl, 2005; Watterson, 2008. In Kaur, 2016: 144). Nonetheless, some misunderstandings in the data are due to the speakers' non-standard use of lexical items or lack of coherence in their utterances (ibid.).

Finally, some misunderstandings in the findings can be ascribed to gaps in the recipient's knowledge of the world (4), and pertain to content rather than language, although the speaker's incompetent use of the language can worsen the situation for the recipient (145). In such cases, clarification of meaning is not always successful for the combined action of insufficient knowledge of the topic and inadequate linguistic resources on the part of the speaker (ibid.). In the extract examined by Kaur (145-146), various interacting factors make mutual comprehension impossible despite the interactants' attempts to address the misunderstanding. Accordingly, the recipient's lack of world knowledge and speaker's language incompetence can lead to irreparable misunderstandings. Also, the speaker does not succeed in clarifying meaning owing to lack of relevant vocabulary and, for the same reason, she is unable to repair the misunderstanding successfully (147).

9.10 Misunderstanding and a *third culture* in English as a *lingua franca*.

Kaur's (2011) findings reveal that instances of misunderstanding, such as ambiguity, mishearing and lack of world knowledge, are not typical features of ELF multicultural interaction. In fact, apart from the language-related ones, they often turn up in communication between people of the same linguacultural background in intracultural

interactions (Weigand, 1999). Kaur's (2011) data show that the participants' diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds do not impinge on the ultimate co-construction of understanding. The empirical study, carried out in a conversation analysis approach, disproves, then, most of the assumptions of the early investigation into intercultural and interethnic communication from diverse perspectives—cultural-anthropological, interactional-sociolinguistic or cross-cultural pragmatic (Sarangi, 1994)—, which attributes communicative misunderstandings to the differences in the participants' cultural backgrounds (Kaur, 2016: 147-148). Consistently, lack of shared assumptions and beliefs, together with participants' different discourse strategies and communicative styles, would be conducive to problematic communication. In reality, as previously inferred by House (1999) and Mauranen (2006), none of the misunderstandings in Kaur's (2011) investigation are to be ascribed to the participants' different linguacultures (Kaur, 2016: 148).

The various findings also underpin some of the new perspectives on the issue of misunderstanding in intercultural communication (Buhrig & ten Thije, 2006; Piller, 2007. In Kaur, 2016: 148). Hartog (2006), for example, raises doubts about the discriminating salience of the category of misunderstanding when analysing intercultural communication (176). The linguist even wonders whether "[…] all communication [is] intercultural simply because members of different [national] cultures meet" (175). She applied a functional-pragmatic discourse analysis method, looking at both language and culture as social action, to the institutional setting of a university hospital in Germany. Analysing a genetic counselling session between a German doctor and Turkish counsellees, she found that the institutional setting was more relevantly conducive to misunderstanding than the encounter of different cultural backgrounds. She vocalized, therefore, the need to refrain from conceptualizing an interaction as "intercultural" simply because the interactants are of different cultural backgrounds (Kaur, 2016: 148). Significantly, she only came across one instance in the entire interaction to be intercultural, "[…] that is, where the participants orientated to differences in their cultural backgrounds as relevant" (ibid.).

Kaur's investigation, with its 15-hour fine-grained turn-by-turn analysis (Kaur, 2011), gives evidence that "[…] the participants misunderstand on account of factors that similarly affect the understanding of speakers in monocultural settings" (Kaur, 2016: 148).

The few misunderstandings identified in the data seem to underpin, therefore, House (1999) postulating "the culture irrelevance hypothesis" and "'[…] the non-influence of ELF speakers' native linguaculture' (1999: 84) in ELF interaction […]" (Kaur, 2016: 148-149). She rather refers to "[…] a focus on interpersonal and individual concerns" (House, 1999: 84). Kaur (2011) points out "[…] a concern with achieving mutual understanding and accomplishing communicative goals in the lingua franca […]" underlying "[…] the participants' efforts at co-constructing new practices and procedures, negotiating and accommodating to each other, all of which have been widely documented in ELF research findings" (see Jenkins *et al*., 2011. In Kaur, 2016: 149).

In this regard, the notion of "third culture", or "third space", is a prominent focus. It may account for "[…] both the absence of culture-based misunderstanding and the overall small number of misunderstandings detected in ELF talk despite the diversity and variability present in terms of the variety of English spoken, level of linguistic competence and cultural background, amongst others" (ibid.). Kaur stresses that, as Casmir and Asunción-Lande (1988) explain, more than a fusion of the interacting participants' separate cultures, a third culture represents a "harmonization" of distinct parts into a coherent whole (294). Multicultural ELF interlocutors are aware of and highly sensitive to differences of norms, values and behavior between them. With the instrumental aim of achieving shared understanding, these differences are suspended through "temporary behavioural adjustments" (ibid.) in interaction for the purpose of "[…] converging in a cultural space that is shared between the participants" (Kaur, 2016: 149). Thus, participants adjust and readjust to each other, building upon commonalities that already exist: the common status of being non-native speakers of English and, possibly, "a shared incompetence" in the language (Varonis & Gass, 1985: 71. In Kaur, 2016: 149). Kaur (2016) highlights that "[…] the threat of communication breakdown is a very real one when participants are compelled to use a medium of communication that is not their native language" (149).

By the same token, however, the *lingua franca* context may, more than any other context of interaction, induce participants to transcend cultural difference and seek out or co-create common cultural forms and practices towards shared understanding and successful communicative outcomes (ibid.). Meierkord's (2002) study on the role of

culture in *lingua franca* communication gives further insights into the workings of a third culture in ELF (Kaur, 2016: 149-150). She found few instances of culture-specific practices in the data from participants' ELF communication (Meierkord: 2002). These practices were confined to two cases only: use of native-culture proverbial expressions by two participants and use of first-language norms when requesting by a number of participants (Kaur, 2016: 150). From the conversations in her corpus, Meierkord (2002) surprisingly inferred that a large part of the features examined did not stem from the interactants' mother-tongue communicative norms (117). For instance, their way of managing turns and pauses, generally ascribed to native culture, could not in fact be related to the speakers' linguacultural background (Kaur, 2016: 150). Likewise, participants used laughter and pausing in novel ways to replace verbal backchannels and mark topic-and-phrase boundaries, respectively. Overall, the findings showed their ability to employ "[…] universal features known to all, e.g. laughter and pausing, to perform new functions […]" and so create third culture practices and procedures, which contributed to reduce the incidence of misunderstanding, especially culture-based ones (ibid.). Along these lines, Baker's (2009) study delves into the relationship between language and culture in ELF. The scholar analysed spoken data and carried out interviews with some of the stakeholders, Thai speakers of English. The interviews, in particular, provide a valuable resource to understand the participants' self-conceptual dimension when communicating with people of other linguacultural backgrounds in ELF (Kaur, 2016: 150). He noted that the participants adapted English native speaker norms to suit their needs and purposes and talk into being "[…] a different place that is free from the conventions of any one particular culture" (Baker, 2009: 580). In other words, adherence to English native norms in ELF is substituted with "[…] a 'third place' (see also Kramsch, 1993) characterized by conventions and practices that are distinct from the participants' native culture as well as the culture of the native speaker of English" (Kaur, 2016: 150). Both Meierkord (2002) and Baker (2009), then, demonstrate that ELF interactants are willing to put aside their linguacultural norms and practices when interacting. Instead, they jointly search out or construct shared practices to facilitate *lingua franca* communication (Kaur, 2016: 150-151). Finally, cultural differences, in Kaur's analysis (2016), are viewed as no hindrance to communication in the course of the interaction. They are, instead, creatively transcended

by the participants who "[…] collaborate, negotiate and adapt to create meaningful communication that allows for communicative goals to be achieved" (151). And this would explain the absence, or paucity, of culture-based misunderstanding in ELF as investigated by House (1999), Mauranen (2006) and Kaur (2011).

Kaur (2016) concludes that ELF findings from speakers of varied linguacultural backgrounds substantiate some of the new perspectives on the issue of misunderstanding in intercultural communication (Buhrig & ten Thije, 2006). On balance, then, misunderstanding and miscommunication are not expected to come about when people engage in intercultural encounters (Kaur, 2016: 151) since non-native speakers of English in international settings turn out to produce and interpret meaning successfully in the *lingua franca* use in spite of the linguacultural diversity and the hybridity and instability in the Englishes used. Intercultural communication bears witness to "[…] a high degree of interactional robustness, cooperation, consensus-seeking behavior and affiliation" (Firth, 2009: 149). Kaur admits to the existence of communicative problems in the exchanges, i.e. speech perturbations and disfluencies, but, on the whole, the data attest to the participants' constructive "[…] effort in monitoring, adapting, negotiating and accommodating […]" (Kaur, 2016: 151). In so doing, they select, adopt and finetune "[…] a great number of strategies designed to clarify and raise the explicitness of their utterances and to preempt problems in understanding" (ibid.). Hence, as the participants' perspective and their perception of what is relevant in communication are paramount, cultural difference is ultimately downplayed during the interaction in favour of what is shared and common (ibid.). If they find no commonalities, they "[…] jointly create practices and procedures to facilitate communication" (ibid.).

Kaur's conclusions, as noted, counter the early approaches and focus of intercultural communication research "[…] to not only reassess current practices but also reconfigure basic notions such as 'culture' and 'intercultural'" (Buhrig & ten Thije, 2006; Lavanchy, Gajardo & Dervin,, 2011; Piller, 2007. In Kaur 2016: 151-152). The linguist also highlights that ELF communication findings raise questions of pedagogical implications and practices (Kaur, 2016: 152). The data, in fact, disprove the usual approach to taking stock of and devising "[…] effective means to incorporate cultural awareness

raising in second/foreign language pedagogy […]" (ibid.). As discussed by Kaur (2016), ELF interactants, far from being hindered by, are highly competent in handling diversity (ibid.), or even using that, as observed by Jenks (2016), as a resource in intercultural interaction. To put it another way, being multilingual, at varying levels of proficiency, enables these speakers to develop "[…] the skills and abilities required to negotiate and to adapt to the linguistic and cultural diversity and variability present in ELF contexts of interaction" (cf. Canagarajah, 2007. In Kaur, 2016: 152).

The most recent implications in ELF studies confirm the making of a new form of cultural awareness beyond learners' textbook knowledge of one's own culture vis-á-vis the culture of the Other(s), inasmuch as this knowledge is unsuited to prepare them for the realities of present-day global communication (ibid.). Indeed, as Baker (2009) notes when describing the respondents in his study, "[…] many of the participants viewed cultures as mixed, hybrid, and open, and saw the need to adapt, interpret and mediate between different cultures" (585). To this effect, "[…] second/foreign language learners may have already acquired varying degrees of cultural knowledge and awareness through their first language" and uneventfully apply such ability and pliability to intercultural interaction (Kaur, 2016: 152). House (1999) claims that "*linguistic knowledge*",[109] instead of cultural knowledge, is of paramount importance in ELF interactions (85).

Kaur agrees with Piller's (2007) comment, sustained by substantial investigation, that "[…] misunderstandings predominantly result from limited proficiency in one or more of the languages of the participants in the interethnic encounter" (218). Kaur also concludes that language inadequacies can interact with and exacerbate problems associated with (mis)hearing, ambiguity and lack of world knowledge. However, sheer linguistic proficiency in grammar, vocabulary and phonology does not seem to ensure effective communication in international settings. Likewise, as Kaur (2016: 152) notes, quoting Baker (2011), "[…] heightened awareness and knowledge of the differences between national cultures is unlikely to be very helpful […]" in our days of global flows and multiple identities and allegiances "[…] when boundaries are increasingly becoming blurred and culture takes on a more dynamic and fluid hue".

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[109] Author's italics.

As concerns translating ELF research into concrete pedagogical practices, Kaur (2016) emphasizes what should be viewed as a definite and integral objective of any second/foreign language programme in our global society: "[…] developing in learners the skills – both linguistic and communicative – displayed and strategies employed by successful multilingual English speakers interacting in multicultural settings […]" (152-153).

9.11 Crossing out English as a *lingua franca* and questioning research conceptualization. 'O Regan's Marxist critique

In "Intercultural Communication and the Possibility of English as a Lingua Franca", John O'Regan (2016) carries out an ontological discussion of the concept of English as a *lingua franca*, first reporting on historical sources that underpin the notion that *lingua franca* and multilingualism have been commonplace aspects of overt and covert multiethnic and multicultural trade exchanges over the centuries, up to the current human-being smuggling internationally managed across the Mediterranean (203-204). He poses two introductory questions:

> 1. "What would the world have to be like for ~~ELF~~ to be possible?"
>
> 2. "What would the world have to be like for lingua franca Englishes to be possible?" (204).

O'Regan maintains that these two questions, and the pertinent answers, are qualitatively different, and "[…] that they lead to different conclusions about the history and dissemination of English(es) is in the world" (205). The linguist places the concept of ELF under purposeful erasure (~~ELF~~) to signify that the acronym is not only provisional, but also unsuited to embody "[…] the sociolinguistic complexity of global and local uses of 'English' in the world" (ibid.). The terminological criticism is also aimed at the term "English" itself. In fact, on the basis of numerous studies and the entire growing field of

"World Englishes", the word would appear "[…] erroneous and problematic", since it "[…] hides a multitude of varieties within it (Blommaert, 1998) […] in a world increasingly acknowledged to be populated by 'Englishes' (Katchru, 1985) […]" (In O'Regan, 2016: 205). O'Regan (ibid.) finally questions the very term "culture" and recalls the ongoing discussion about the appropriateness of all these terms in the applied linguistic arena (Blommaert, 1998, 2010; Holliday, 2010; Pennycook, 2007; Rajagopalan, 2012).

His main point is that ~~ELF~~ is an hypostatization (O'Regan, 2014) as the acronym implies the properties of stability and concreteness, which has been a controversial subject for debate. In a sociolinguistic and pedagogic sense, the British linguist maintains that the second-or-foreign-language medium commonly shared and used by speakers from diverse linguacultures cannot be considered "English", since this "[…] suggests something which is uniform, or "centripetal", in relation to an implied hegemonic norm" (Rajagopalan, 2012. In O'Regan, 2016: 205). He observes that, in reality, *lingua franca* speakers use a more "centrifugal" (Rajagopalan, 2012) variety of Englishes, different from "[…] standardized native-like inner-circle norms (Gao, 2014) […]", which sound like forms of L1-inflected English (O'Regan, 2016: 205). The scholar allows for "[…] a certain amount of modelling of imagined native speaker (NS) norms […] with greater or lesser degree of success and, depending on the subjective judgment of the hypothetical hearer, whether native or not" (ibid.). In the end, O'Regan criticizes ELF supporters' construction of this use of English as a hybrid, plurilithic and original medium, which is labelled, instead, by O'Regan as "[…] an hypostatized form – reified, settled, resolved, fixed, sedimented, cemented, and finally stamped onto the page: an inked sign in a white landscape" (205-206). O'Regan argues that the use of English in intercultural settings is too diverse to be condensed into an acronym or a term such as ELF or English as a *lingua franca*. The speakers, in fact, use qualitatively different forms of English to one another as a result of their learning experiences of the language as well as their linguacultural and personal backgrounds. By the same token, they may opt for non-native speaker English as a type or style of English, or not (206). Some speakers will conform to "[…] an abstracted authority which is able [to] pronounce on what is or is not legitimate English", i.e. a recognized set of native-speaker norms. Others, alternatively, will realize and accept their idiosyncratic

ways of using the language—Japanese with Japanese characteristics, Greek with Greek peculiarities, etc.—, which might be labelled *lingua franca* Englishes, or LFEs.

At any rate, O'Regan questions the suitability of the term ~~ELF~~, "[…] a language variety with no NSs", for L2 intercultural communicative encounters. He brings home to us the salience of an absent figure: "[…] the world which would have to be assumed for ~~ELF~~ to be possible – the implied ontology for ~~ELF~~" (Bhaskar, 2008. In O'Regan, 2016: 206). Thus, he eschews *a priori* assumptions about ELF as a given object of knowledge and conducts "[…] an enquiry into the very nature of that sedimentation" (ibid.), namely what Jenkins (2007: 2) calls "[…] an emerging English that exists in its own right" (O'Regan, 2016: 206). Put simply, the scholar perceives an underlying weakness within ELF theory, which he accounts for as "[…] the reduction of ontology (reality) to epistemology (what can be observed) so that what is presumed to be real is interpreted and understood – or misrecognized – primarily in terms of what is observed" (207).

In his view, on the contrary, the mobile, multifaceted and accommodating nature of ELF as a hybrid medium of intercultural communication in English among speakers of different L1s does not allow us "[…] to speak of an entity that is ~~ELF~~ and to take this as a self-affirmed starting point" (ibid.). As a result, O'Regan denies the existence of English as a *lingua franca* as a given object of knowledge altogether. He refers to the mythologization of ELF stemming from the assumption that "[…] non-native speakers (NNSs) of Englishes in the world are in the process of evolving a new variety of English – ~~ELF~~ – with accompanying pragmalinguistic strategies to which these users are incrementally contributing, whether consciously or unconsciously" (cf. Cogo, & Dewey, 2012; Jenkins *et al.,* 2011, Seidlhofer, 2011. In O'Regan, 2016: 207). This presupposition would explain researchers' focus on "[…] observed empirical linguistic-pragmatic innovations and conjunctions of events in the discourse of speakers engaged in communication in inter- or cross-cultural settings" (ibid.). Hence, the notion of "[…] innovative language forms and creative accommodation techniques […]" in a consistent and uniform evolution across intercultural settings would warrant mapping the emergence of ~~ELF~~ and its intercultural pragmatics (ibid.). O'Regan queries Seidlhofer's (2009) belief that ELF encounters "[…] magically coalesce into communities of shared practice and repertoire […]", and the idea

that speakers treat English "'[…] as a shared communicative resource within which they innovate, accommodate and code-switch, all the while enjoying the freedom to produce forms that NSEs (native speakers of English) do not necessarily use'" (Jenkins *et al.* 2011: 297. In O'Regan, 2016: 207). This would mean, in O'Regan's understanding, to "[…] both exaggerate and oversimplify matters […] (ibid.). Instead of cross-cultural continuities, he points to the "[…] linguistic and pragmatic discontinuity – and real-world inequality – so that no one encounter is identical to another" (Blommaert, 1998. In O'Regan, 2016: 207-208). Hence those commonalities observed across settings do not signify "[…] creative and imaginative realizations of ~~ELF~~, or of shared repertoire […]", but typical L2 variants and L1 lexico-grammar coincidences discursively enacted in *lingua franca* intercultural interactions (O'Regan, 2016: 208). O'Regan holds that accommodation is not the exclusive domain of "[…] L2 speakers of English in the world, or indeed of speakers of ~~ELF~~" (ibid.). He invokes a renowned tradition in philosophy and linguistics that has disclosed how accommodation and cooperation underlie all human communication and action (Gadamer, 1989; Grice, 1975; Habermas, 1984). Habermas (1987: 100), in particular, denies interactional stability and absence of ambiguity, which are "[…] *rather the exception in the communicative practice of everyday life*" (O'Regan, 2016: 208).[110] Instability appears especially conspicuous in the ongoing co-construction of *lingua franca* interaction.

O'Regan (2016: 208-209) reports Pennycook's (2010a) and Canagarajah's (2007) views on the subject of *lingua franca* English (LFE). Pennycook (2010a) distinguishes between English as a *lingua franca* and *lingua franca* English, the former postulating a pre-given language used by different speakers, while the latter would more appropriately suggest that LFE emerges from its contexts of use (684). Canagarajah (2007: 91, quoted in Pennycook, 2010a: 684) simply writes that "[…] LFE does not exist as a system out there. It is constantly brought into being in each context of communication".

Taking a broader and controversial view, Blommaert (1998), reported by O'Regan (2016: 209), explicitly disproves the occurrence of a harmonious and peaceful meeting of cultures: "If 'cultures meet', they usually do so under rather grim socioeconomic circumstances, with a clear societally sanctioned power difference between the various

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[110] O'Regan's italics.

parties involved". He questions "[…] the abnormality of many studies of intercultural communication that focus on elite forms of interaction such as business negotiations, technological cooperation, international management or diplomacy […]" (ibid.). Positing that "culture" in all its meanings and with all its affiliated concepts is situational and depends on the specific concrete context, Blommaert believes that "*Studying speech conventions of certain groups of people, and then contrasting them with those of other groups of people, is of little use to the study of intercultural communication* […]" (ibid.).[111] O'Regan subscribes to Blommaert's position and extends it to ELF intercultural interactions. Thus, maybe reflecting the thorny and troublesome wall building times we have been living in, he claims that "[…] accommodation and cooperation are present in the rejection, oppression and disparagement of the other" (cf. Holliday, 2010; Jenks, 2012; Ladegaard, 2013; Phipps, 2014. In O'Regan, 2016: 209). O'Regan's scenario runs topically counter to the recurring image of harmonious and cooperative communities imbued with "[…] some nirvana of toleration and harmony" (Phipps, 2007: 19). The harsh realities of contemporary life would signify, instead, "[…] that around the world people are accommodating and cooperating in the marginalization, oppression and annihilation of one another, and that this is not new but rather has a long history" (O'Regan, 2016: 209). Hence, along the lines of Terence's famous Latin saying, *homo homini lupus*, it would be possible, according to O'Regan, "[…] to kill the other in ~~ELF~~ while being accommodating at the same time […]" (ibid.), as epitomized by the atrocious use of English by ISIS cold-blood murderers and large-scale human-being smugglers these days.

O'Regan also questions the historical narrative, or ontological reasons, that would justify the postulate of ~~ELF~~ as an original and new phenomenon. In point of fact, a number of representative voices have regarded the *lingua franca* use of English as a relatively-recent event that began after 1945, with the breakthrough of international digital communication following decolonization, the spread of the knowledge economy and globalization. This turnabout, with the renewed clout of English as the indisputable instrument of world media, would be crucial to the new *lingua franca* status of the language as "[…] a newly emergent, hybridized, plurilithic and deterritorialized form of

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[111] O'Regan's italics.

English which is especially suited to this new era" (Dewey, 2007; Dewey & Jenkins, 2010; Jenkins, 2013; Jenkins *et al.*, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011. In O'Regan, 2016: 210). The narrative would also imply that learners of English are, in the main, all users, and hence that non-native speakers of the language would outnumber native speakers. O'Regan affirms that not all learners become users and that the supposed coincidence of learners and users would provide "[…] the numerical basis for questioning the legitimacy of standard NS inner circle Englishes as the ideal models for English in classrooms around the world […]". Quoting Blommaert (2010:16), the linguist argues against the presumption that the situational use of English as a *lingua franca* by multilingual participants, globalization and the peculiarities of ~~ELF~~ discourse are "[…] shockingly new things – as if the world we now live in is a totally new one. It is not" (O'Regan, 2016: 210).

In reality, judging from ~~ELF~~ literature, the phenomenon is "[…] almost entirely confined to the recent past, and mostly since the mid-1990s" (ibid.). O'Regan detects a kind of short-sighted historical perspective in the idea that speakers of different L1s interacting in English over the centuries would not have used it as a *lingua franca*. He holds that the employment of English in a global capitalist world system dates at least to the 1600s (Wallerstein, 2004) and that LFEs, as he prefers to call the diverse historical repertoires, "[…] have been around for a very long time" (O'Regan, 2016: 210). The linguist touches upon an array of multilingual and multicultural encounters across historical and sociocultural contexts which would disprove the notion that English used as a *lingua franca* among speakers of different L1s is an "[…] original, creative or especially new […]" phenomenon (211). Consistently, in his view, the users of *lingua franca* Englishes "[…] are certainly not simply the progeny of a narrow range of modern-day bilingual elites in globally rarefied international business, education, research and leisure domains […]" (Breiteneder, 2009; Ehrenreich, 2011; Kalocsai, 2009; Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010; Mauranen, 2012. In O'Regan, 2016: 211). The heterogeneous diversity of those speakers' linguacultural peculiarities, "[…] their lexico-grammars and their lifeworlds […]", which inform their difficult and, more often than not, messy "[…] struggle to make meaning […]", thus, are not created "[…] according to an *a priori*, emergent or incrementally evolving plan" (ibid.). The variety of linguistic pragmatics in intercultural communication encounters, instead, are made anew from one context to

another (ibid.). Therefore, *lingua franca* Englishes, not ~~ELF~~, according to O'Regan, are "[…] necessarily plural, not singular, because the contexts where LFEs are present are plurilingual […]" as well as "[…] differentiated and stratified in terms of class, race, gender, economy and religion" (ibid.).

The crux of the matter, and an apparent weakness, in O'Regan's terms, then, concerns the presumed scenarios of LFE encounters in the eyes of present-day mainstream criticism, which are confined to "[…] globalized and largely White elites in international business, diplomacy and research contexts", whereas "The poor, the disenfranchised, the ethnically marginalized, and the exploited – the 'McWorkers' of neoliberal economies – are also users of LFEs in intercultural settings[…]" but "[…] these speakers appear to have no voice" (211-212). To this effect, O'Regan singles out the constraints of the term *lingua franca* English (LFE) and his preference for the plural *lingua franca* Englishes (LFEs). He explains that the former does not capture the simultaneous presence of "[…] the singular and the plural of intercultural encounters […]": the idiolectal hallmark of the individual language, i.e."[…] the personal imprint which each speaker brings to the variant they select […]"—, but also the multiple dimension of each encounter "[…] in respect of the different Englishes drawn upon by all of the participants together" (212). He accepts the *de facto* existence of ~~ELF~~ as an established formulaic neologism that has "[…] slid into the linguistic collective consciousness and now, in Marx's words, 'weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living" (Marx, 1978 [1852]: 595. In O'Regan, 2016: 212). Ultimately, ELF would stem from "[…] a liberal-idealist rationalism and acquiescence to the geo-capitalist status quo […]" that would primarily determine "[…] the global distribution of economic and linguistic resources, and thus individuals' life chances as well" (ibid.)

O'Regan's final critique is apparently resonant with the Marxist conceptions of Gramsci (1971, 1985) and Bourdieu (1986, 1991):

> Instead, the world system is taken as given, and economic, gendered, racial, religious and class inequalities within and between the populations of nation states are discounted in favour of a focus on lingua franca forms as ideologically neutral and self-emancipating and, less promisingly, as geoculturally Eurocentric and the property of cosmopolitan bilingual elites (O'Regan, 2016: 212).

The scholar, thus, draws attention to the macro-sociological dimension of ~~ELF~~, the power differential and uneven distribution of cultural and linguistic resources sanctioned by its use:

> ~~ELF~~ as a political project thus provides a pillar of support to mobile capital in the reproduction of global class stratifications along linguistic lines. To put this another way, those who have most access to intercultural lingua francas and the most opportunity to use them are those with the highest quotients of economic, social, cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1986. In O'Regan, 2016: 212).

O'Regan's (2016) ideological framework also reminds us of the elitist preference for native-speaker lexico-grammar models as championed by ELF research against the claims to non-native speaker legitimacy. Accordingly, not "[…] the 'ordinary' or the marginalized of the world […]", but the powerful, though stratified, upper-class elites, "[…] the higher echelons of international global power – whether in education, business, finance, philosophy or diplomacy", would continue to uphold, and aggressively promote, via international testing systems such as IELTS, TOEIC and TOEFL, a standardized and mythologized form of native-speaker-like English (213).

In this scenario, against the presumption of linguistic democratization that 21st-century criticism ascribes to the real-world multifarious repertoires of English as a *lingua franca*, O'Regan highlights parents' choice for NS models of English (214). The underlying reason for this would be, then, "[…] the capitalist world system […]" which would also explain ELF advocates' lack of critique and the inherent precedence of "[…] the empirical experiences (uses of LFEs in intercultural contexts) […]" over the ideological domains of the actual and the real (Bashkar, 2008): "In other words, the empirical becomes the lens according to which the real world is distorted, and an imaginary world free of ideology and capital is set in its place" (O'Regan, 2016: 214). So, in the researchers' outlook, the intercultural encounters of ~~ELF~~ "[…] are fetishized and the reality of Englishes in a structurally inegalitarian world is obscured" (ibid.). O'Regan wishes for ~~ELF~~ theory to overcome the reduction and recognize the misrecognition for the

purpose of "[…] a significant redistribution of language resources and capital away from elites in the world system towards those systematically disadvantaged as well as linguistically disparaged by it […]" (O'Regan, 2016: 214).

O'Regan's (2016) ideologically-committed analysis appears legitimate and well-founded. Nonetheless, the actual reasons for the success of ELF across diversified multicultural settings and in the critical arena remind us of Sue Wright's matter-of-fact account of the glocal transcendence of this language today:

> The choice of language is dictated by forces outside the control of national policymakers and cannot be countered by any anti-globalization bloc. Trying to counter a consensus that has built worldwide will not be possible from any one quarter. Status planning at the global level does not appear from any of the available evidence to a be a sensible or a useful activity. As Kachru has said, 'English […] comes through the channels which bypass the strategies devised by language planners' (Kachru, 1994: 137. In Wright, 2004: 177).

Consistently, whether confined to "*inner circles*" (Ruanni F. Tupas, 2006: 170) or not, ELF might soon come to establish a *de facto* popular and ever-more democratic function and status in cross-cultural, intercultural and intracultural contexts. The jury is still out.

9.12 Conclusions. Reconceptualizing interculturality. A final statement for ELF research and language teaching practice

What may be, therefore, the implications of reconceptualising language and culture in ELF intercultural communication for investigation and English language teaching? From the multifaceted debate, we may ultimately infer that ELF, by countering monolingual and monocultural homogenization, can be a pliable and plurilithic intercultural instrument for international and intranational communication, alien from native-speaker normativity and open to the many voices and educational needs of today's society. With this instrument, the

English language is not only an international global medium, *lingua mundi* of world science and scholarship, but also, in its multifarious uses as a *lingua franca*, a mediator of multicultural, cross-cultural and intercultural awareness between members of diverse societies and, primarily, between non-native speakers of English, as set in the teachers' handbook accompanying the new Greek curriculum (Fay, Sifakis & Lytra, 2016: 62) Then, notwithstanding the obstacles and constraints provided by "[…] the educational discourses and curricular documents" (64) in a variety of EU contexts, the spreading use of English as a *lingua franca* can be a versatile tool matching a global and intercultural awareness and skills development with specific cultural awareness of multiple local resources and of particular topics, (63) "[…] used potentially by any type of English user anywhere in our transnational world of cultural flows of people, products, and ideas as mediated through English" (58). We can finally draw some conclusive reflections:

  1. A number of projects and works in progress, such as the AHRC project "Researching multilingually at the borders of languages, the body, law and the state", are indicative of the "[…] complex cultural, social, economic, political, religious, historical, etc. forces" that shape *lingua franca*. These projects and works challenge the constraints of current "[…] theoretical, methodological and ontological research approaches and tools […]" (ibid.) and open up new possibilities for prioritizing the concept of interculturality as co-constructed in ELF encounters, breaking away from taken-for-granted mainstream orthodoxies (26-27).

2. On balance, the holistic approaches mentioned by Baker (2016: 85) validate diverse and alternative paths to ELF that should draw on teachers' informed experiences and be better geared to the needs of different learners and settings. They also take full advantage of the multifarious experiences and knowledge that teachers may bring to the language classroom. The primary aim, in Baker's experience, is, then, "[…] to develop ELT practices that allow teachers and learners to challenge existing models and to approach the subject in a manner that better reflects the realities of their communicative and educational needs and aspirations" (ibid.). Nonetheless, he admits to the fact that conflicts between research and practice in intercultural communication, ELF and ELT, are unlikely to disappear (ibid.).

3. One crucial direction concerns the scenario of *lingua franca* in intercultural communication as a follow-up to O'Regan's Marxist critique. Holmes and Dervin (2016) subscribe to a broader scenario "[…] not just among global elites and those economically advantaged […]"—and the implied hypostatized vision of 'good English'—but all the other people in the world: "[…] the poor, the oppressed, and those disadvantaged, disenfranchised and disowned through wars, religious oppression and persecution, and economic transformations inflicted upon them by global, powerful and privileged elites in the developed world" (ibid.). This overarching extension is especially apt to give voice to "[…] the transnational, linguacultural, migratory flows of people across borders […] who (re)construct new linguacultures and communities" (ibid.). It also postulates a novel examination of the concepts of "[…] borders and border crossings (whether geographical or metaphorical) […]", so as to have a deeper understanding of the relevance of *lingua franca* communication beyond ELF and the intercultural dimension entailed (ibid.).

4. What is, then, the position of the researcher in dealing with the intercultural aspects of ELF encounters? Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) maintain that research participants are influenced by much research as researchers "[…] cannot pretend to be absent or invisible from their field". Therefore, they inform not only interaction but also their participants who are "doing" identity and culture (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 11). Holmes and Dervin warn researchers against a number of possible mistakes in the research process—objectification, decontextualisation, dehistorisation and deauthorisation—that can be eschewed through "[…] honesty, ethicality and reflexivity […]" (ibid.). This committed attitude also entails that researchers "[…] acknowledge and harness their own linguistic resources as well as those of their participants when undertaking their research […]" (ibid.). Last but not least, "[…] they should challenge the ideologies of the linguistic regimes embedded in the research site, including assumptions about the role of English (as a lingua franca)" (Holmes *et al.*, 2013. In Holmes & F. Dervin, 2016: 11**).**

5. Since research on ELF and language pedagogy, especially in terms of classroom practice, are in the early stages, any recommendations must necessarily be tentative (Baker, 2016: 84). At any rate, if the purpose of ELT is to enable learners to communicate on a global scenario in English, it may be inadequate to focus on the traditional "[…] features of

lexis, syntax and phonology of a single idealized form of the language" (ibid.). The ultimate learning scope has to be much broader: "Learners need to be able to manage the inherent variability not only in both the form and function of English but also in the multitude of contexts and interlocutors that they will encounter" (ibid.). This also calls for enhanced skills, knowledge and attitudes for comparing and negotiating between differing communicative practices, adopting "[…] pragmatic strategies associated with multilingual communication such as accommodation, code-switching, and repair" (ibid.). Furthermore, there is a crucial need to employ this set of competencies "[…] in a flexible and contextually appropriate manner as suggested in ICA" (ibid.). Realizing that "[…] it is not possible to specify in advance the linguistic forms and communicative norms […]" for learners to successfully engage in multilingual and multicultural situations, it is better to provide them with communicative repertoires which can be tapped as appropriate (ibid.). This implies a critical dimension and, considering the provisional and situational hallmark of intercultural communication, including ELF, "[…] learners must be prepared for a high degree of 'flux' with temporal and emergent communicative practices and cultural associations a common part of interactions" (ibid.).

6. We may agree with Will Baker that translating this understanding of communication into classroom practice is clearly challenging (ibid.). He finally notes that pedagogically-focused ELF research has generally demonstrated that learners and teachers are aware of the use of English as a global *lingua franca* no longer tied to the Anglophone world. Nevertheless, the research (cf. Jenkins, 2007) has also produced mixed findings about how this awareness has informed language ideology and teaching practices, showing an inherent ambivalence between an acknowledged fluidity in English communication and a more traditional normative approach in teaching (Baker, 2016: 85). Baker calls attention to teachers' and learners' conflicting views: "Given the pervasiveness of normative and idealised NES-based approaches in ELT […]", we may presume that, if teachers and learners became more aware "[…] of the varieties and variation in Englishes, and other languages […]" (ibid.), the normative views would be less prominent.

7. In the end, "[…] it will be with teachers and teaching training that ELT practices change"(ibid.). And yet the intercultural approaches to language and culture and the

complexity and fluidity of the relationships "[…] do not offer teachers easy answers to what they should teach or to the aims of language education" (ibid.). This is dramatically epitomized by the language choice ambivalence affecting Philippine teachers of English as substantiated in "Standard Englishes, Pedagogical Paradigms and their Conditions of (Im)possibility" by T. Ruanni F. Tupas (2006: 169-185). The linguist examines the painful process by which these teachers deal with "Standard English" and the "[…] conditions of (im)possibility when presented with pedagogical options which encouraged them to depart from a rigid Standard English (SE) model" (Rubdy, Saraceni & contributors, 2006: 111-112). Tupas voices the dilemma between "[…] sociolinguistically and politically legitimate ways to deal with English" and Philippine teachers' yielding to the power of Standard English, being "[…] constrained by socio-economic, political and ideological conditions […]"—in other words, instrumental expediency—"[…] which are largely not of their own making" (170).

9.13 Setting an agenda for research into English as a *lingua franca* and intercultural communication

The variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, contexts and pedagogical implications in Holmes and Dervin's (2016) study opens up "[…] a new agenda for ELF in particular, and for lingua franca research and pedagogy […]" more in general (25). With the ultimate aim of reconceptualizing *lingua franca* research from the working perspective of interculturality, the two linguists single out a number of key issues which warrant further empirical investigation and conceptual underpinning and might be summarized as follows:

(1) Can researchers straitjacket the plurilithic interactions between multicultural interactants into the label "ELF"?

(2) What critical and interpretive frameworks can be best employed by researchers who delve into the intricacies of ELF interactions?

(3) How do the multifarious contextual factors of an interaction—historical, social, religious, economic, educational, gender-related, etc.—affect *lingua franca* encounters?

(4) Who is considered intercultural? Who decides? Isn't intercultural a viewpoint?

(5) How can researchers get over a focus on methodologies in applied linguistics and ELF to unpack and elucidate the intercultural aspects of communication?

(6) How do the complex understandings of identities, both intercultural and intracultural, impinge on *lingua franca* communication?

(7) How can *lingua franca* pedagogies encompass such constructs as interculturality, critical intercultural awareness, multicultural awareness (Fay *et al.*'s MATE), ethical communication, etc.? (Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 25).

Holmes and Dervin (2016) conclude that "[…] much theoretical, methodological and pedagogical work remains to be done to address these questions and others […]" posed in their volume (25). In fact, in spite of recently-collated corpora of ELF communication, e.g. the VOICE corpus at the University of Vienna, the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) and that of Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (WrELFA) at the University of Helsinki, an encompassing and satisfying definition of what ELF communication is as well as of its underlying rules, structure and cultural/intercultural/intracultural dimensions is not available to date. The two editors, however, look at these goals as "[…] unlikely and undesirable" and vocalize that recent criticism of the "[…] limitations of the theoretical concepts of intercultural competence and intercultural dialogue […]" have opened up "[…] new lines of investigation towards capabilities (rather than competences) and towards ethical and responsible communication" (ibid.). They refer to O'Regan's final Marxist critique as pointing "[…] strongly to the limitations of much contemporary ELF research" (ibid.). In their view, O'Regan's position is reminiscent of the ever-present "[…] dangers of words – in their rigidity, sedimentation and fashion" (25-26). As viewed, in fact, O'Regan brings

into question the consistency and suitability of taken-for–granted general terms such as "English", "culture" and "ELF", which he crosses out.

Therefore, a firm standpoint in the reconceptualization might be that the alternative to solid and definitive answers, inappropriate for the in-the-making, situational and variegated ELF interaction, is "[…] to continue to question and investigate in order to appreciate and understand the uniqueness of human interaction in whatever lingua franca encounters" (26).

The theoretical description of cross-cultural, intercultural and intracultural spaces as empirically enacted by a variety of ELF interactants across diverse situational contexts can now usher in a provisional inquiry into the multi-layered relationship between ELF and glocal identity, being a working answer to (6) and the object of the next chapter.

PART 6

THE MATHETIC PULL OF GLOBAL ENGLISH AND THE DEBATED IMPLICATIONS OF A GLOCAL IDENTITY THROUGH ENGLISH AS A *LINGUA FRANCA*

CHAPTER 10

DECONSTRUCTING MONOLINGUALISM, PRESERVING TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE (TEK) AND BUILDING A GLOCAL INTERCULTURAL MULTILINGUAL IDENTITY

10.1 Language and identity. 21st-century discursive co-construction beyond oppositional categories

As perceived from the wide-ranging debate on the glocal uses of ELF in a cross-cultural and intercultural dimension, one controversial issue both in language policy and planning and in applied linguistics at large has been the interrelationship between language and identity. In the preface to his mentioned work, van Lier (2004) argues that "[…] one of the most significant developments of recent years is a focus on self and identity" and emphasizes its promising salience for language education: "The research in this area is still very tentative and exploratory, but I am convinced that this will be an extremely important aspect of language pedagogy in years to come" (Preface).

It has been observed that language *per se* does not necessarily mark or define identity. Indeed, a Basque or a Galician is likely to express cultural identity by using the Basque or Galician language, but a Gaelic or Irish may not use language for expressing Gaelic or Irish identity. It goes without saying that language is one of the strongest symbols and boundary markers in determining one's belonging to a group, region, nation or international community. Though highly influential, however, language by itself is not essential in defining individual identity, e.g. being Italian, Maori or Philippine. Some Spanish speakers, for example, may forget their heritage language when assimilating into the host community, yet still express their Latino identity. The language versus identity debate has aroused, then, contentious views.

The traditional and usual way, in scholarship as much as in everyday life, is to categorize humans in opposite pairs: man/woman, compatriot/foreigner, heterosexual/homosexual, white/African-American, native/migrant, native/non-native speaker. Barbara Johnstone (2008) observes that "People often act as if identities were natural and predictable: as if gender ("man" vs. "woman") were a result of biological sex ("male" vs. "female"), as if nationality were a result of place of birth, as if ethnicity could be predicted on the basis of skin color or genealogy" (150).

Recent changes in perspective have presented a very different vision of the problem as strict census takers' and demographers' categorizing appears obsolete and unnatural in the 21st century. Identity is not fixed, given or unitary; it is socially created and re-created through language, i.e. through intentional negotiation of meanings and understandings. As Colin Baker (2011: 398) writes, "[…] identity is daily re-written, imagined, reconstructed and displayed as we interpret sociocultural experiences and take on multiple roles and identities (Norton, 2000)". Language conveys our distinctiveness and allegiance (e.g. Spanish) but is only one marker amongst many that make up our co-constructed, fluid and multifaceted identity (May, 2000). In fact, we should rather refer to a set of hybrid and multiple identities based on gender, age, race, dress, nationality, region, locality, status, socioeconomic class, group membership (e.g. religion, politics). Identities are diverse, complementary, interacting, sometimes even conflicting, especially those of people of mixed backgrounds; they can change over the lifespan and are continuously renegotiated, from situation to situation, with the surrounding context and possible interactants.

Accordingly, the assumption of people having "[…] easily describable, stable, predictable social identities […]", as reported by Johnstone (2008: 150-151), might qualify more stereotypical than real, traditional, maybe rural individuals living in a feudal state-nation or modern nation-state polity. Together with other forms of economic and sociocultural security, the global village has fragmented and multiplied individual membership identities across time, place and real-life versus virtual circumstances. We could even share the view of some conversation analysts that "[…] categorizations arise exclusively in interaction, and that neither participants in interactions nor people who study interactions need any prior knowledge of what social categorizations are conventionally taken to imply about people" (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998. In Johnstone, 2008: 151). More than language skill, it is "discursive performances" that index, i.e. create and/or (re)affirm, shared membership in a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998) through interaction. Johnstone (2008) explains that "Everyday interaction requires "performances" (Goffman, 1959) of selves strategically geared to the interactional demands at hand. The term "identity" has been used to describe these performances" (Gumperz, 1982a; Buchholtz & Hall, 2005. In Johnstone, 2008: 151). Referring to "discursive performances", then, may be particularly useful for understanding the ways we categorize ourselves "[…] and are categorized by others […]", how "[…] others categorize themselves and are categorized […]" through everyday interaction and how "[…] people create, claim, and express these orientations in their discourse" (ibid.). Multiple identities are, thus, the result of mutual labelling through social comparison: "[…] dialogue within ourselves and with others, and through the experience of ever-varying dramas and arenas, plays and stages" (Baker, 2011: 398).

Postmodernist thought has stressed the fact that labels do not define individuals in full and forever. Accordingly, a black woman may be Muslim, conservative, Somali-speaking and heterosexual but her identity may be "[…] left behind as further distinctiveness, connections and complexity become apparent" since "Labels are sometimes fleeting as situations and contexts change" (ibid.). This especially characterizes essentialist labelling of ethnic and national identities, which is, more often than not, "[…] too general and reductionist" (399): "Being a Jew or an Arab does not immediately correspond with other fixed religious, economic or personality attributes" (ibid.).

We know, in other words, that social identities can be indexed by styles of discourse, e.g. when a person adopts "[…] sets of features associated with groups with which others would be likely to associate them (as when a man "talks like a man" or an African-American youth sounds African-American) […]" (Johnstone, 2008: 152). Thus, they gain acknowledgment of group membership in gender, ethnic, regional, religious or political terms. Intentional deviation, however, is also possible; Rampton (1995a, 1995b, 1999) refers to the phenomenon as "language crossing": adopting "[…] features associated with identities with which others might not normally associate them, as when a male talks like a woman, an Anglo-American uses Spanish-sounding words, or a white London youth sounds for a while like an Afro-Caribbean or a Punjabi" (Johnstone, 2008: 152).

One intriguing and critical topic for a public discussion often engaged in by politicians and assimilationists "[…] is whether multilingualism leads to being caught in-between two languages, with a resulting **conflict of identity**,[112] social disorientation, even isolation and split personality" (Baker, 2011: 400). It is assumed that sharing expressions in each other's language means to build a friendly cross-cultural bridge between language groups through a shared set of multilingual identities. However, as suggested, indexing multiple identities may also signal individual tension and challenging search for a coherent self; in its worst forms, it may even point to split identity, marginalization and anomie, as a "[…] condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individuals" (Macionis & Gerber 2010) and the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and the community, e.g. under unruly scenarios resulting in fragmentation of social identity and rejection of self-regulatory values. This state of mind, impressively featured by the character of Zelig in Woody Allen's film, may affect immigrants, especially in the early days of adaptation to the host language community. Conversely, longitudinal research has demonstrated that, particularly in the strong forms of bilingual education (dual language, heritage language and immersion bilingual classrooms), children can actively participate in co-constructing new, vibrant, mobile identities "[…] not easily classified into existing cultural, ethnic or linguistic groups" (Baker, 2011: 399). Thus, "[…] the self-perception of identity may be of a new, dynamic, multiple, overlapping and situationally-changing nature" (ibid.). Colin Baker notes that "Stereotyping, prejudice and distance are reduced when we see others across multiple classifications rather than just by, for example,

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[112] Author's emphasis.

ethnicity or language" (ibid.). In sum, group labels, as variously illustrated, are never static, and, especially these days in Europe, language identity making correlates with a set of interwoven factors and events, such as mass migration, technology (e.g. internet, satellite, air travel), post-colonialism, religion, feminism, intercultural marriage, the gender issue and the ongoing enlargement of the European Union.

As regards linguistics, the evolution of English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) varieties of the global language and corresponding decrease in the number and normative power of native speakers have witnessed the making of hybrid ever-changing language identities. It has concerned, in particular, young multilingual communities in England, where new varieties of English are heard (Cheshire, 2002). The youth are remarkably apt to combine membership of multiple networks with shared, traditional loyalties. Wray, Evans, Coupland and Bishop (2003) refer to the "[…] process of 'turfing' (knowledge, practice and subjective experiencing) whereby a new identity is adopted by individuals with no 'grass roots' affinity to that identity" (Baker 2011: 400). Li Wei, Dewaele and Housen (2002) see a considerable "[…] variety in multilingual identity (e.g. among asylum seekers, refugees, immigrants): switching to a majority language identity, retaining the minority identity, bridging and combining, and rootlessness" (Baker 2011: 400). But at the same time the scholars stress the "[…] anxieties and struggles in identity […]" (ibid.) caused by "[…] the social, economic and political conditions surrounding the development of bilingualism" (Li Wei *et al*., 2002: 4): material poverty, "[…] political oppression, racism, social exclusion, discrimination, hostility and powerlessness" (Baker 2011: 400). Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) clarify that adult immigrants undergo "[…] a process of **reconstruction of identity** […]"[113] following immigration (Baker, 2011: 400):

(a) from "[…] an initial loss of linguistic identity […]" and first language attrition

(b) through a staged development, i.e. "[…] appropriation of others' voices, emergence of a new voice (e.g. in writing), reconstructing one's past […]" up to

(c) a period of full recovery and "[…] continuous growth into new understandings and subjectivities" (Baker 2011: 400-401).

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[113] Author's emphasis.

Finally, from the perspective of language, "[…] there is transformation or 're-narratization' (reconstruction) rather than replacement, with an outcome that represents an identity in motion that is not exclusively anchored in one language or another" (401).

10.2 Multilingualism in practice. Globalization, diversity and English as a glocal language

On balance, it has been noted that the making of the global village has entailed a decreased clout of the state and the sensibly accrued role and encroachment of multinational corporations as institutions of global decision making (Schubert, 1990). Still, a definitive assessment of globalization and relevant linguacultural upshot is not viable since the phenomenon is in progress:

> Guillén (p. 237) argues that the phenomena began "with the dawn of history." In my view, globalization was truly in place with the colonization of the Americas by European powers and the subsequent meeting and miscegenation of the colonized, the enslaved, and the colonizers. The Spanish and Portuguese were early participants in the process of globalization, before the spread of English around the world (Schmitz, 2017).

Blommaert's (2010) volume, *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, considers the effects of contemporary globalization on language and linguistics. He highlights the importance of mobility, at a number of levels, and calls for a consistent process of unthinking and rethinking conceptualization:

> […] globalization forces sociolinguistics to unthink its classic distinctions and biases and to rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements. This unthinking and rethinking is long overdue […] and sociolinguistics still bears many marks of its own peculiar history, as it has focused on static variation, on local distribution of varieties, on stratified language contact, and so on (Blommaert, 2010: 1).

We might still wonder, with sociologist Mauro Guillén (2001), who presents a critique of five main debates in the literature of social science, whether globalization is

"civilizing, destructive, or feeble" (235), but ultimately agree with Schmitz that "Globalization is complex and there is really no right or wrong answer to the queries" (Schmitz, 2017) and that "No author is looking for an ultimate truth, only possibly provisional one(s)" (Skelton, 1997). Significantly, Hebron and Stack (2011) wrap their work up with the following words: "[T]hroughout this book, we have illustrated how globalization as a concept, process, value system, and an end is neither black nor white, good nor bad" (59). We might conclude with Guillén (2001) that "We need to engage in comparative work in the dual sense of using multiple methods of data collection and analysis, and of applying our theoretical and empirical tools to a variety of research settings at various levels of analysis" (256).

The advent of post-Cold War globalization, markedly since the 1990s, has led to the *de facto* role of English as the world's global *lingua franca* at the same time as research, as viewed, has elucidated the multiple advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism. Though in some countries, such as the USA, bilingualism has been still mainly identified with under-achievement at school, high unemployment, menial jobs, low pays, poverty and powerlessness, the global village has not crossed out diversity: local niche economies, working from home and community initiatives, such as the Cuban enclave economy in Miami, can support and sustain a language minority. Meanwhile, the slow making of a united European entity in a progressively cross-cultural and intercultural global market has turned out to revive language diversity. Since the 1970s a novel spirit of rediscovery and revitalization of local and regional tongues, with their handed-down cultural heritage and expertise, has characterized supranational policies in the EU. Countries that used to centralize and dismiss local needs of autonomy started to think of diversity as a resource instead of a weakness to uproot. There ensued new policies of tolerance and inclusion in the UK and Spain, with mixed fortunes of democratic devolution. The historical link between nation and language—one language, one culture, one nation—and the ideologies of monoculturalism and standardization have been challenged and undermined by global circulation of ideas, goods, people and multilingual practices.

On the one hand, in fact, it has been observed that, even though globalization has restricted the traditional clout of nationhood and national identity, member states continue to enforce nation-state mindset and legislation in globalization processes (Blommaert, 2006). This is epitomized by the controversial response of the EU to the 21st century

dilemma of mass exodus from Syria and other African countries: a conflicting dichotomy between aid providers and wall builders resulting in no coherent measures of realistic and shared foreign policy.

On the other, a consistent number of scholars have focused on the complex and rapid changes brought about by globalization and global economy: how the "one nation-one language" notion and relevant societal and individual identity have been disrupted by post-colonialism and minority language movements (Stroud, 2007: 25-49; Jaffe, 2007: 50-70); how the new centrality of language within the global economy (Pujolar, 2007: 71-95) and the running emergency of mass migration, in which "[…] 1 in every 35 people is an international migrant", (Moyer & Rojo, 2007: 137) have altogether undercut monolingual nation-state identity. Under such conditions, monolingualism is no prerequisite for citizenship any more and multiple identities and citizenships prevail, inducing changes even in the persisting language ideologies (Farr & Song, 2011: 657).

While a number of critical voices have investigated the global impact of English-only monolingualism on language variety worldwide and relevant loss of other languages (Nettle & Romaine, 2000), others have remarked how nativized English speakers have promoted, rather than reduced, linguistic diversity (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). McKay (2010: 89–115), in particular, has researched the symbolic capital of global English, which people adopt for many reasons, but make it their own.

As observed, in glocal multilingual contexts, speakers draw on a multifarious set of verbal and non-verbal repertoires to create styles that construct social meanings and, through them, individual identity. This stands especially out from the global flow of popular culture, in which multilingual style is not simply the vehicle but the message itself (Farr & Song, 2011: 657). Rap circuits, which Pennycook (2010) illustrates, are a case in point: language mixing is a key feature of these music and lyric circuits as rappers tap a functional variety of resources: from French, English and Haitian Creole in Montreal; Yoruba, Pidgin, English and Igbo in Nigeria; vernacular Cantonese (including a vulgar, largely taboo register) and English in Hong Kong, etc. Likewise, by using a medley of working-class world language, hip hop is "[…] resistant and oppositional not merely in terms of the lyrics but also in terms of language choice" (Pennycook, 2010: 75).

The glocal spread of English is also epitomized by Asian families with young children who move to English-speaking countries, including Expanding Circle countries

(Kachru, 1982). English acquisition comes to be the goal of the family's transnational migration but does not undermine the preservation of heritage language, which continues to mediate the children's ethno-national identity. Rather, English learning adds up to their linguacultural funds and enables them to enter and join an imagined cosmopolitan community, thus leading to an elitist type of additive bilingualism. These families' adoption of English, therefore, is of accrued value and a key for cosmopolitan membership generating multilingual practices and multiple memberships (Chew, 2009: 33-39). Many Asian countries also further English competence by adopting the language as the medium of instruction in order to strengthen their socioeconomic and political capital in the world (Malaysia, Cambodia, India, Nepal, Brunei, Bangladesh, Singapore) or make it an official second language (Japan and South Korea). As viewed, the usual model for learning is Standard English, which legitimizes the hegemony of the Western variety of the language spoken by the upper middle class in North America and Britain (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007: 1-21). In the main, however, there is a shift towards the establishment of local varieties of English, which emerge and vie with the Western variety in each country, with a range of roles in different contexts. In Singapore, for instance, an emergent campaign in 2000 promoted the shift from British Standard English to a local variety of Standard English (LSE) which is thought to be internationally intelligible (Chew, 2007). Chew's survey documents that this variety has been favoured over the foreign variety by most Singaporeans. At a basilectal level, *Singlish*, another local variety only intelligible among Singaporeans, was used as a marker of Singaporean identity by more than half of the stakeholders (Farr & Song, 2011: 658). Thus, two opposing forces are in motion: many Asian countries use English as a medium for internationalization; yet, they resist its hegemonic influence on their own cultures and national identities. The latter process is exemplified by the national movement for "deconstructing" English in Japan, i.e. adopting the language only as a tool so that the values and traditions embedded in the Japanese culture are retained (Hashimoto, 2007: 27). In such countries, then, the promotion of global English interacts with the maintenance of local languages and cultures, with a resulting variety of linguacultures within one political state (Farr & Song, 2011: 658). A different sociolinguistic scenario characterizes North America and Europe, where regional and migrant languages coexist with the hyperlanguage and the national standards.

On the whole, multilingual coexistence in a state implies a hierarchy among languages, and standards generally prevail over local dialects and languages, but this varies with contextual factors. Global hip hop language, minority language movements and nativized Englishes have produced counter-discourses to the traditional power of states and elites (Farr & Song, 2011: 658). Ultimately, as noted by Farr, Seloni and Song (2010a), "The tension between vernacular usage and the standard taught by schools is of central importance to education generally and to literacy in particular".

10.3 The mathetic pull of glocal English and multilingualism. Deconstructing monolingual identity

In a macro-sociocultural outlook, one question stands out from the diachronic and synchronic perspective of postmodernist linguistics: the emerging evolution of group identity throughout history, from the medieval notion of a supranational *ancien régime* of multilingual subjects through the rise of the French Revolution construct of one language/one territory/one people monoglossic and centripetal nation-state, up to the dual and complementary framework of the European supranational state-nation, where cultural prerogatives can be, especially in the form of asymmetrical federalism, constitutionally embedded for sub-units with salient, territorial identities. Consistently, reviewing the linguistic panorama of lesser-used and regional languages in Europe and other continents, their historical relationship with the majority languages and with the predominant *lingua franca* of the time and place, it might be looked, in a constructivist view, into how group identity defines and is defined by individual identity and assess whether a novel, still in-the-making, European supranational identity can gradually supersede the obdurate 19th century nation-state mindset. There comes the critical point of the relationship between group identity and individual liberty, suggestive of Susan Wright's conclusions (Wright, 2004: 244-251) on the ideological divide between communalism and individualism and the inevitable issue of power relationships in language policy and planning. The cases of France and Spain are emblematic.

In the former country, the remnants of the Jacobin spirit of civic nationalism embodied in the country's treatment of regional minority issues—e.g. the Diwan bilingual schools in Brittany not being funded and the constant attrition of Basque in the south-west of France—do not appear to be threatened by a new European-looking French concern about minority rights. The country, indeed, signed but did not ratify the European Council's 1998 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, as the *Conseil constitutionnel* ruled that it would be contrary to the constitution (Wright, 2004: 277). Therefore, minority language needs and Europe-related expectations are still unmet.

The Spanish situation appears more complex and controversial. The introduction of the new Constitution (1978), the new Statutes of Autonomy (1981) and the Laws of Linguistic Normalization (1983) marked the end of centripetal monoculturalism, monolingualism and repression of nations' language identities in the country. However, the process towards bilingualism and multilingualism has been difficult. This is especially apparent when comparing two salient articles published by El País on 12th July 2008: José Vidal-Beneyto's *Una lengua con otras lenguas* and Antonio Elorza's *El Manifiesto*, warning, respectively, against overt and covert measures of English monolingual homogenization and discriminatory policies being adopted in minority areas.

A specific concern for language ecology is the question of deconstructing monolingual identity. In some polities, scholars have tried to deconstruct the monolingual ideology of one nation/one (standard) language arguing that the presumed costs of multilingualism are outweighed by its benefits. In view of current implementation, discussion on the benefits and assumed dangers of bilingualism and multilingualism has continued. In her insightful study, Susan Wright (2004) vocalizes, on the one hand, the danger of renewed chauvinism as a kind of historical reaction of minorities eventually reproducing the repressive centralism of long-standing nation-states, once they have gained autonomy or independence. On the other hand, narratives highlight the place of identity in language revitalization efforts, a topic scrutinized by Henze and Davis's (1999: 3-21) contributors. Multilingualism has constructively inspired political debate in Guatemala, "[…] where official recognition of the country's indigenous languages was an important part of the peace accords ending the country's civil war" (Tollefson, 2010: 469). In post-

apartheid South Africa, the establishment of eleven official languages as an element of "innovative language policies" has ultimately fostered "[…] an ideology of multilingualism as a symbol of national revival […]" (ibid.) enhancing the process of democratization (Blommaert, 1996). Along these lines, in Timor-Leste, there has been an increasing use of vernacular languages, designated as National Languages in the 2002 Constitution, for primary education (Taylor-Leech, 2011). McCarty's (2002) *A Place to Be Navajo* gives a rich and detailed account of the remarkable achievements of the community-based bilingual and bicultural programme at the Rough Rock School both in terms of Navajo language maintenance and revitalization and as regards the implied preservation and flourishing of Navajo identity. Brutt-Griffler (2002) has maintained that where multilingualism is well established, world languages like English will produce additive rather than subtractive bilingualism. From a different angle, Singh, Zhang and Besmel contest these conclusions in relation to Afghanistan, China, India and Nepal (*Revista brasileira de linguística aplicada,* Apr./June 2012). Abley (2003) writes that dialects are to languages as subspecies are to species: "Chain saws and invaders menace them indiscriminately" (273). Dealing with the interconnection between language and identity, Warner (1999) rebuts any scholarly distinction between them arguing against "[...] an ideology whereby language is viewed as an autonomous entity distinct from the people from whom it evolved" (78). He maintains that such an ideology, promoted by non-Hawaiians for political reasons of their own, comes to undermine the cause of Hawaiian revitalization. Finally, Abley (2003) emphasizes the mathetic power over threatened languages and the necessity of carrying out, with their survival, "[…] the endurance of dozens, hundreds, thousands of subtly different notions of truth" (277). He foregrounds the impossibility of articulating certain ideas through our tongues, which are, instead, vocalized, e.g., by Aboriginal languages:

> With our astonishing powers of technology, it's easy for us in the West to believe we have all the answers. Perhaps we do—to the questions we have asked. But what if some questions elude our capacity to ask? What if certain ideas cannot be fully articulated in our words? "There are amazing things about Aboriginal languages," Michael Christie told me when I visited his office at Northern Territory University in Darwin. "Their concepts of time and agency, for example. They go right

against our ideology of linear time—past, present, and future. I reckon they'd completely revolutionize Western philosophy, if only we knew more about them" (ibid.).

Overall, it is reasonable to conclude that a monolingual and monocultural outlook mediated by the mathetic clout of global English still prevails in group identity and the conceptual selves of individuals. A lively debate is about whether a pluricentric use of the language as a *lingua franca* for intercultural and intracultural communication and education on a new basis of cross-cultural and intercultural awareness could make a credible ecolinguistic solution.

10.4 The intercultural and intracultural making of identity in the use of English as a *lingua franca*

More than the construct of culture, that of identity via ELF, as viewed, has been extensively investigated. Researchers have illustrated "[…] how ELF, as with any language use, is utilized to construct identity, but, in common with much postmodernist research in linguistics and outside it […], the types of identifications constructed are often fluid, emergent and multiple with participants identifying with a range of different communities" (Baker, 2016: 75). ELF researchers, such as Dewey (2007), Ehrenreich (2009) and Seidlhofer (2007; 2011), refer to "communities of practice" (Wenger, 1998) as the "[…] types of dynamic and temporary communities that ELF users may form and identify with" (Baker, 2016: 75). They all underline that these communities are more fluid than originally conceived-of and are better described as "constellations of interconnected practice" (Wenger, 1998, cited in Ehrenreich, 2009: 134). However, Baker (2016) notes that more empirical data are warranted (75). His research on users of ELF in Thailand (Baker, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012b) builds on the notions, already discussed in the intercultural communication literature, of "global flows", "third places" and "communities of practice" where ELF is used "[…] to refer to communities and cultures that are salient to the communication at hand and also to create new cultural practices and products" (Baker,

2009: 577-579. In Baker, 2016: 75). Baker's data account for users' "[…] multiple cultural frames of reference in the same conversation […] moving between and across local, national and global contexts in dynamic ways" (ibid.).

As demonstrated by the cases reported in Holmes and Dervin's (2016) book, ELF interaction is not relevant to those "[…] binary distinctions between particular languages and cultures characteristic of earlier intercultural communication research" (76). What emerges, instead, is a postmodernist "[…] relationship between culture and language entailing fluid, dynamic and multiple viewpoints" (ibid.), although Baker does not reject "[…] more normative influences often associated with national languages and cultures […]" altogether. He allows for a "[…] tension between normativity and creativity, fixity and fluidity […]" which conveys the postmodernist understanding of the ELF communication discussion. The linguist highlights the value of emergence and contingency in the ELF relationship between culture and language, which excludes *a priori* cultural categories and always questions how and why these categories are used (77). Though allowing that this is not unique to ELF, he states that such a constructional and emergent outlook on culture and language prompts "[…] a necessary critique of how we understand and what we regard as necessary for successful intercultural communication and the associated concept of intercultural competence" (ibid.).

Jenks (2016: 97) refers to a *lingua franca* as "[…] a contact language spoken by interactants that do not share a common L1 (Jenkins, 2006)", quoting Jenkins' definition. An ELF encounter, then, entails an English language exchange by speakers who possess different first languages. It may involve two non-native speakers of English, e.g. an Italian and a Greek, or a non-native and an English native speaker (Jenks, 2016: 97). The word "contact", as Jenks highlights, is evocative of identity construction in ELF encounters. Its main function is instrumental and has been described as a means to an end (e.g. Baumgarten & House, 2010; Firth, 1996), or "[…] a tool for transactional purposes rather than a vehicle for the transmission of identity" (cf. House, 2003. In Jenks, 2016: 97). To this effect, ELF would occupy the right pole of Kirkpatrick's "identity-communication continuum" (Kirkpatrick, 2007), that which makes talk intelligible and enables interactants to perform pragmatic acts like closing a business deal, arranging a meeting or delivering a conference presentation (e.g. Pullin, 2010). Jenks, however, reports on a small but growing body of research that shows how ELF encounters can also promote the co-construction of

participants' identities. These studies reaffirm the fact that identities are fluid and continuously re-built, according to the context and setting (see Baker, 2009b), by interactants who, as viewed, do not always or simply comply or identify with American or British linguacultural norms. The reason for this follows from the more and more common occurrence of ELF interaction between non-native speakers of English. Being exposed to a variety of Englishes, such speakers are often critical of "Inner Circle" English norms and talk their cultural identities into being in a general atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty. As reported by Dervin (2013), the context may induce "[…] a level of cultural and linguistic accommodation that, over time, shapes identities in relation to being an English speaker in Europe" (Jenks, 2016: 98). Surprisingly, as observed by Jenks, compliance with American or British conventions did not prevent international students in Finland from sounding Finnish in order to fit in with local norms (ibid.). Jenkins (2007) deals with the "[…] perceptual tensions between the values placed on native-like English accents and local varieties" (Jenks, 2016: 98). Her interview study (Jenkins, 2007) spotlights students' identity-related instability in the use of English: on the one hand, "native-like" accents are still regarded as ideal linguistic models; on the other, non-native speakers go to considerable lengths "[…] to maintain their national identity and the cultural and linguistic influences local varieties of English have on language use" (Jenks, 2016: 98).

By and large, these studies have relied on interview data. Hence, "[…] much of what is known about identity construction in ELF encounters is related to perceptions of cultural identities in relation to English rather than the use of cultural identities as interactional resources" (Jenks, 2016: 98). Jenks notes, in fact, that few studies have "[…] investigated how cultural identities are used as interactional resources in ELF encounters" (ibid.). He refers to Pölzl (2003) who "[…] shows that code-switching and lexical borrowing are used to affiliate with cultural groups" (Jenks, 2016: 98). Thus, when participants use a first language, for instance Arabic, during an ELF encounter, they express their "home" cultural identity at the same time as they index their membership to an English-speaking community. Pölzl (2003) illustrates that the use of a first language is not perceived as a deficiency, but as the empowering possession of multiple linguistic identities on the part of speakers in ELF encounters (see also Meierkord, 2002).

From the literature discussed, Jenks deduces that the issue of identities constructed in ELF encounters needs further investigation and that more social-interaction work is also

warranted (Jenks, 2016: 99). Accordingly, since much of what is known has been derived from interview data, there is a need for empirical studies to examine how identities are used as interactional resources in naturally occurring ELF interactions (ibid.). Jenks' investigation makes "[…] a small, but important contribution […]" to this kind of ethnographic research "[…] by uncovering how interactants from three or more nations or regions […]", with diverse cultural and linguistic repertoires, "[…] use national identities as resources to manage talk-based activities in ELF encounters" (ibid.).

In "Finnish Engineers' Trajectories of Socialisation into Global Working Life: From Language Learners to BELF Users and the Emergence of a Finnish Way of Speaking English", Tiina Räisänen (2016) deals with a more practical application of ELF to a global pedagogic and working life context. She explores "[…] how identity work and processes of 'enregisterment' change among Finnish student engineers […]" (22). The linguist describes a process of self-conceptual empowerment on the part of these Finnish interns "[…] who shift their understanding of their English-speaking abilities […] as they are socialized into new ways of speaking with their German and other international peers during work experience in Germany" (ibid.).

Räisänen's exploration of both ELF and BELF, i.e. English as a business *lingua franca* (Louhiala-Salminen *et al*., 2005; Seidlhofer, 2011: 7. In Räisänen, 2016: 157) starts on a common-sense statement: "English as a lingua franca, ELF, is *the* world language and thus the inevitable communicative medium of choice for many speakers of different first languages" (ibid.). When approaching ELF study, we need to consider how its users embody different communicative repertoires (Räisänen, 2013) and linguacultural backgrounds (Risager, 2010), and how they make use of these unique tools, assumptions and expectations to construct local and heterogeneous interactions (Baker, 2009; Jenkins, 2007: 43; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2006: 43. In Räisänen, 2016: 157). The Finnish linguist defines interactants' communicative repertoire as "[…] the package of all the resources available to them and used by them to communicate meaning" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 7. In Räisänen, 2016: 158). Each repertoire results from "[…] one's unique trajectories of socialisation and access to community memberships and interactions" (ibid.). Likewise, individual linguaculture, in Risager's view (2010: 8), stems collectively from membership in communities and individually from the user's own history

and biography. *Linguaculture*[114] encompasses all the language, or languages, one first acquires; then, over the years, it develops as the individual learns additional languages (ibid.). Räisänen concludes that both elements, communicative repertoire and linguaculture, contribute to the "identification of the self", or identity construction, in and through discourse (Räisänen, 2016: 158), which recalls Neisser's construct (1988: 36) of *conceptual self*,[115] or "self-concept".

These theoretical underpinnings are applied to "[…] the ways in which a group of Finnish engineers discursively construct their language user identities by drawing on their collective and individual backgrounds" (Räisänen, 2016: 158). The study throws light on their process of discursive identity making and the emergence of a Finnish way of speaking English over time. It builds upon an earlier co-authored work with Professor Tarja Nikula (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010) looking into "[…] discursive identity construction among Finnish ELF users as revealed in interviews with seven engineering students aged 22-26 years both before and after a stay abroad, in Germany, in 2003" (Räisänen, 2016: 158) and on later interviews during their employment in an international company in Finland from 2008 to 2010. Following these data, the analysis unfolds how identity construction and forms of enregisterment are shaped by individuals' experience in intercultural encounters and socialization into new ways of speaking during their global employment. The findings also illustrate the emerging significance of ideas of culture and nationality while speakers become aware of *lingua franca* interactions and of themselves as users of English (ibid.). The interviews, in particular, appear instrumental in clarifying discursive identity work as speakers define themselves as English language learners and users.

The chapter explores the crucial role of cultural and intercultural dimensions in discursive identity making, notably, "[…] in working life proper, where the study participants communicate with people from various backgrounds" (ibid.). In so doing, the investigation makes up for a research gap that has overlooked the cultural and intercultural implications in ELF users' identity construction (ibid.). Following a non-essentialist and post-constructionist approach in dealing with identity, the study clarifies "[…] the ways in

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[114] Italics added.
[115] Italics added.

which identities emerge, are locally negotiated and discursively constructed in interviews" (ibid.). The participants draw on "[…] discourses of language proficiency, Finnishness and global working life" (159) and "[…] position themselves as certain kinds of people (Davies & Harré, 1990), or construct a certain kind of identity for themselves" (Räisänen, 2016: 159). The empirical work accounts for the changes in their discursive identity and incorporation of more cultural and intercultural aspects as they increase their global mobility. It focuses on the challenges they meet in intercultural interactions, on their feelings and emotions in interaction, stereotypes questioned and on how they come "[…] to accept new ways of doing and being, and to assess their earlier assumptions about nationalities" (ibid.). Such processes are thought to explain the development of intercultural competence, which can be defined, with Spitzberg and Changnon, (2009: 7, cited in Holmes & O'Neill, 2012: 708. In Räisänen, 2016: 159) as "[…] a relational ability to manage intercultural interactions". In the interviews, the participants question and discuss the notion of "culture" from the perspective of their intercultural experiences. Talking culture into being through discourse turns out to be "[…] of central interest in discussion of the intercultural dimensions of communication in the age of globalization" (Piller, 2011. In Räisänen, 2016: 159). Elaborating on a dichotomy between the language learner identity and the language user identity as foregrounded in the earlier study (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010), Räisänen (2016) illustrates how "[…] a language learner identity emerges out of the Finnish schooling system, but is later reconstructed and seriously challenged when the participants engage in intercultural encounters during their stay abroad in Germany and in working life proper" (159). Hence, while constructing identity, the participants single out and evaluate linguistic features in enregisterment processes (Agha, 2007) in which "[…] culture and nationality are discursively attached to ways of speaking" (Räisänen, 2016: 159). This especially occurs in their working life.

The study presents five Finnish students being interviewed three or four times between 2003 and 2010. Their first language is Finnish and they have lived in Finland all their lives. Overall, they studied English as a school subject for ten years, and took a few courses at their polytechnic, now called university of applied sciences. They used English as a *lingua franca* extensively for the first time during their four-to-six-month internship in Germany in 2003. The researcher, Tiina Räisänen, accompanied the participants to

Germany and lived in the same student hall of residence for five months. This enabled her "[…] to gain an ethnographic, insider perspective of the participants' lives in Germany and of the kinds of communicative situations they encountered" (Räisänen, 2016: 160) in a multicultural and multinational student community that mainly used English as a *lingua franca*. The stakeholers had to use some German in their workplace as well, according to company policy, since many of the German employees only spoke this language (ibid.).

The longitudinal ethnographic work accounts for the Finnish students' language evolution, from the first interview in Finnish at the beginning of their stay to the final interview at the end of the internship, or after the stay was over (ibid.).

The first interviews revealed the participants' general opinion of foreign language proficiency, of their own proficiency, in particular, and of how they felt as English users. Before their internship in Germany, these students had only viewed English as a spoken language. None of them had travelled abroad for more than two weeks and many highlighted the lack of opportunities to speak English in Finland. Räisänen (2016) notes that, according to recent findings, Finnish people "[…] now encounter and appropriate English through various forms of new media, information technologies and through products of popular culture" (cf. Leppänen and Nikula, 2007; Leppänen *et al.*, 2011. In Räisänen, 2016: 160). Still, the participants had a restricted school experience of the spoken language, or occasional opportunities related to tourism.

The second interviews bore evidence of the students' actual experience of being abroad: the effects of the experience on their skills as foreign language users, their awareness of the encounters with people in English, their perceptions of these encounters and their accrued self-confidence (ibid.).

After their stay in Germany, the engineering students returned to Finland, completed their studies in two years and started to work in sales, project engineering or project management in a Finland-based international company. Since their employer companies used English as their official or working language, the participants began to use the language in more varied ways for professional purposes (160-161).

The ethnographic research project continued in 2008, following the stakeholders at work in Finland and in other work trips abroad, in the US and China. Their work interactions were audio-or video-recorded and they were finally interviewed for a third round, once or twice, between 2008 and 2010, about their use of English in working life and the "[…] possible changes in their conceptions of themselves as English users since 2003 […]" (161).

It may be pertinent, then, to propound a discursive approach to identity construction. As advanced by Virkkula and Nikula (2010) and reaffirmed by Räisänen (2016), a discursive approach makes it possible to investigate how ELF users build their identity, i.e. their understandings and points of view, through discourse. By the same token, Räisänen uses sociolinguistics of globalization and a stronger ethnographic approach in order to look into the interactional interplay between people and language in a holistic dimension, i.e. "[…] what language does to people and what people do to language" (Blommaert, 2010. In Räisänen, 2016: 161). When people interact, they draw on discourses as "[…] socially accepted association[s] among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting […]" that identify participants as members of a "[…] socially meaningful group or "social network" […] or "[…] signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful "role"" (Gee, 1990: 143. In Räisänen, 2016: 161). Thus, discourses are indicative of individually-perceived knowledge through which the interlocutors identify each other (Georgakopoulou, 2007. In Räisänen, 2016: 161). Räisänen (2016) states that, when individuals construct their identity as users of English, "[…] they draw on pre-existing discourses about English, language proficiency and communication, which they have learned and into which they have become socialised during their lives" (161). A discursive approach, in particular, casts light on the cultural and intercultural aspects of language use by exposing, beneath the surface, "[…] the kind of reality participants construct, reject, embrace and reconstruct, i.e. layers of hidden discourses" (Dervin, 2011. In Räisänen, 2016: 161). We can thus trace how "[…] individuals construct identities in relation to intercultural encounters and their linguistic and discursive choices when talking about their experiences" (ibid.). Consistently, the researcher is led to take stock of his/her own biases, assumptions and interpretations that inform the interview interaction, both the questions asked and the replies given (Dervin,

2011: 47). A holistic approach, then, along the lines of Foucault's problematization of discursive practices (1972), considers "[…] the interviewer's word choices and points of view, which have a direct impact on the way the interviewee answers the questions and talks about the topics" (Räisänen, 2016: 162). The Finnish scholar lays emphasis on the necessity of considering "[…] aspects of interculturality, interaction and the co-construction of knowledge between the interviewer and the interviewee" (ibid.). There follows a unique twofold understanding: one is provisional and only occurs at the start of the encounter; the other is co-constructed in the process by the interactants "([…] making sense of the world with their own repertoires and linguacultures)" (ibid.).

In Räisänen's longitudinal study, the participants and the researcher shared a sociocultural context—linguaculture, socialization into Finnish discourses and common experiences—during their stay abroad (ibid.). The linguist points out the necessity of recognizing this common background "[…] when interpreting the participants' accounts of themselves as language users […]", their assumptions about good language proficiency and judgements of their own and their interlocutors' ways of speaking and communication. Such "co-constructed metapragmatic typifications" indicate those elements of speaking that have been enregistered and "[…] how cultural and intercultural dimensions are part of such enregisterment work" (ibid.), considering individuals' linguaculture and intercultural experiences as well. The analysis of discourses, too, shows individuals' inequality of access, especially related to intercultural communication, which is found "[…] typically between people who have starkly different *material, economic, social and cultural resources* at their disposal" (Piller, 2011: 173 […] In Räisänen, 2016: 162).[116]

Räisänen's findings show, as mentioned, two main identity options for users of English as a foreign language (EFL): a language learner identity and a language user identity (Jenkins, 2007; Jenkins *et al*., 2011; 307-308; Virkkula & Nikula, 2010. In Räisänen, 2016: 162). Speakers' language conduct, therefore, is informed by the choice of either identity: while the learner's behaviour aspires to native speaker proficiency, the user's conduct is less concerned about this and more focused on language for communication. In the context of schooling and ESL or EFL, students generally regard

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[116] Räisänen's italics.

themselves as learners being socialized into discourses of language learning that are conducive to constructing their identities (Virkkula and Nikula, 2010. In Räisänen, 2016: 162). It is interesting how, in Virkkula and Nikula's study (2010), the participants judged their own English competence. Evoking a particular discourse, i.e. evaluation, they admitted to their skills being inadequate, highlighting their shortcomings in language proficiency (Räisänen, 2016: 163). In detail, they stressed their "[…] very little experience of using English with others before their stay abroad […]", referring to a restricted, mainly receptive, use of the language at school, and very few opportunities of using the medium outside school (ibid.). A very different view emerges from the analysis of the ELF experience. From the perspective of communication and interactional abilities, individuals' performance is viewed as positive and legitimate in their own right (e.g. Jenkins, 2006. In Räisänen, 2016: 163). Furthermore, ELF speakers' affiliation with members of different groups and nationalities is multiple. They appear to "[…] wish to create their own shared, temporary membership […]", elaborate on their earlier assumptions and discourses or "[…] reinvent their current identities by blending into other linguacultural groups" (Baker, 2009, 2016; Jenkins *et al.*, 2011. In Räisänen, 2016: 163). Under other circumstances, speakers hold on to their previously constructed identities, through primary and secondary socialization, and reject the new identities that an ELF encounter may offer.

Räisänen (2016) concludes that "[…] neither ELF interactions nor ELF user identities are static; rather, they are changing and fluid […]", as inferred when investigating "[…] individuals' trajectories across contexts and over time" (163). Thus, as theorized by post-constructionist thought (e.g. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), identities "[…] constructed earlier do not disappear but gain new meanings when individuals engage in new intercultural encounters", being "[…] multiple, fluid and negotiable […]" (Räisänen, 2016: 163). Along the same lines, Finnish engineering students, as viewed in Virkkula and Nikula (2010), came to legitimize their language competence of ELF in their interactions with other ELF speakers abroad. This implied recognizing and using English in new ways and assigning different values to their idiosyncratic use of the language. In the interviews, they constructed their new identities not only from the vantage point of language but also from those of nationality and group membership. Doing so, they opened

their mind to other, different, realities and developed intercultural communicative competence, as detailed by Baker (2016).

In general, a study experience or internship abroad generates powerful emotional effects. In Räisänen's investigation, the participants' effects were both positive and negative: their self-confidence in their English skills strengthened in certain contexts, but, on the other hand, the stay was emotionally demanding and aroused feelings of anger and frustration due to the ineffective outcomes and the communicative challenges experienced by the interns at work or in public offices (Räisänen, 2016: 164). Nevertheless, the overall upshot was positive, since the students overcame any sense of failure or incompetence and managed to build, instead, "[…] identities as competent language users and communicators who could survive with their repertoires in daily life" (ibid.). Even more than such restored self-confidence, the second and final interviews attested to a new collective identity as legitimate Finnish speakers of English as a *lingua franca* (ibid.).

Eventually, in the course of their evolutionary discursive positions from learners to users, the engineering students' perspective opened out into a macro self-vision. They saw themselves not only as individual users of English, but also as Finns interrelating with other ELF speakers. Strengthening their linguacultural affiliation, they talked their identities into being Finnish speakers of the language and enregistered "[…] Finns' English as a distinct way of speaking with either negative or positive value for them, depending on the discourse drawn on" (ibid). This process of enregisterment of nationality and national culture is closely related to Jenks' (2016) and other linguists' description of national identity as an interactional resource for identity construction.

In one of the examples reported, an engineering student draws a comparison between Finnish English, i.e. the way he and his colleagues pronounced and constructed ELF, and other non-native speakers' use of the language, holding that "[…] Finnish people perhaps possess 'a bit better' skills in general" (Räisänen, 2016: 165). In another example, another intern, though acknowledging authority to native speakers' English use, looks upon non-native speakers' adherence to native pronunciation as "childish" and "fancy", i.e. altogether pretentious and fake, and this would explain why Finnish people do not pronounce like native speakers (ibid.). As Räisänen explains, ELF encounters come to be

the appropriate context for Finnish speakers to recognize and legitimize their idiosyncratic mode of using the language as distinct from that of those Finnish learners who adhere to native-speaker models thus carrying "[…] overtones of acting in a fancy way, i.e. not being true to oneself and others" (ibid.). Since "[…] Finns […] possess agency to select their own way of speaking" (ibid.), they discursively construct a new identity as Finnish speakers of English who build on their peculiarities as linguacultural resources instead of shortcomings. One more element remarked by the Finnish linguist is the students' determined effort to pronounce as clearly as possible and get meaning across to their multifarious and multicultural interlocutors. ELF situations would then further participants' "[…] awareness of appropriate behaviour and sensitivity in intercultural encounters" (166), i.e. intercultural communicative competence, as discussed by Baker (2016).

Another interesting factor in ELF speakers' appreciation of their own English language skills is their disposition to comparison. In Virkkula and Nikula's research study (2010), for example, the stakeholders describe their competence "[…] in more favourable terms than that of Germans and other users of English as a foreign language" (Räisänen, 2016: 166). Finnish ELF speakers' self-esteem also accrues from the positive evaluation of Finns' English skills as evidenced by Erasmus students in Finland and France (Dervin, 2013). In general, they collectively praise the Finnish educational system and its emphasis on foreign language studies, the comparatively clearer Finnish pronunciation of English and the notion that "[…] other people, particularly Germans, are not terribly good at English […]" (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010: 266-267).

On balance, intercultural encounters enable the engineering students to draw "[…] on a discourse of Finnishness which, clearly, is an important discursive resource for defining the self (and the other) as a speaker of English […]"(Räisänen, 2016: 167). Räisänen also states that analyses and discussions have been centred on "[…] a rather narrow sense of identity, i.e. that related to language proficiency" (ibid.). She puts forward, instead, a holistic understanding of how a stay abroad can inform identity construction by taking stock of "[…] the intercultural dimensions of identity work and the processes of acquiring and developing intercultural competence" (ibid.). She questions how the participants deal with stereotypes, whether they "[…] move beyond opposing 'Us' and

'Them' and challenge their own views about cultures […]", and how they manage intercultural encounters (ibid.).

In the end, the Finnish interns' accounts indicated that their stay had helped them to widen their worldview and appreciate Finland as a home country, with the double result of enhancing both their feelings of national belonging and their intercultural understanding and awareness of the other (168). Emerging stereotypes, such as that Finns are silent and Germans rigid, where challenged, too, from the perspective of individual differences. Dealing with diverging cultures, the Finnish participants were also aware of the different paralinguistic and pragmatic features of the Germans using "[…] their hands more, […] facial expressions and different tones of voice to make a point" (169).

The significant changes in the students' identities, as described in the first two interviews, became more prominent after they had moved into professional life. They now realized possessing "[…] a specialised vocabulary and being able to 'talk business', but they also felt regression because of their sometimes limited ability to use English at work" (Räisänen, 2013. In Räisänen 2016: 169). And yet they had bolstered their identity as Finnish users of English with new meanings that sustained the value of their professional communication in English. The analysis bears evidence of "[…] the discursive construction of a Finnish BELF user identity and the enregisterment of a Finnish way of speaking in working life proper" (ibid.). Indeed, the second and third sets of interviews signify the emergence and reinforcement of counter-discourses of Finnish English and the accrued value of a Finnish way of speaking seen by the participants as "[…] a resource for constructing a BELF user identity" (ibid.). In the example reported, the speaker illustrates the changes in his language proficiency and his increased self-confidence as a user of English compared with ELF speakers of other linguacultures:

Example 6

Tiina: [117] do you think there have been changes in your language proficiency [---]?

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[117] Author's emphasis.

Oskari:[118] the fear to speak is probably completely gone [---] I sort of know that I (.) cannot speak as well as- that I have forgiven myself (.) in pronunciation and the like as I have really noticed even more (1.0) how well Finns speak English and know and understand it compared to what I have encountered in the world and that there is no reason to feel humble about it (ibid.)

The findings highlight, then, a kind of ethnocentric forgiveness for one's shortcomings and praise of Finns' English language proficiency as opposed to others'. Räisänen's conclusion is that "[…] national culture and nationality are indeed important in using English as a lingua franca, and while people use and talk about ELF, they strongly construct their identities in relation to both their own nationality and culture, and to their intercultural encounters" (170). Hence, beyond the language learner's or user's linguistic identity, Finnish workers can now develop regional or professional identities by interacting with people from different linguacultural backgrounds (ibid.). Discourses of common Finnish features, e.g. being not very talkative or straightforward communicators, explicitly emerge in the interviews. Then, "[…] again, nationality emerges as a discursive resource in constructing a sense of self" (ibid.) and ethnocentric stereotypes are brought into question as one speaker realizes his enhanced English skills and fluency that make mental translation unnecessary and small talk "[…] much easier and more natural too":

Example 7

Tiina:[119] how does your small talk go?

Risto:[120] well my [small talk] is sort of taciturn – typically Finnish but then again as I gradually gain more confidence about being able to talk lightly and my speaking flows better so that I no longer have to translate sentences and words in my head before speaking it is much easier and more natural too (ibid.).

A very interesting conclusion is the linguist's focus on building on and reinforcing stereotypes in interaction, e.g. Finns are quiet while Americans are talkative, and on

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[118] Author's emphasis.
[119] Author's emphasis.
[120] Author's emphasis.

constructing power difference through discourse between a native speaker and an ELF speaker. In the latter case, Räisänen highlights the pragmalinguistic gap between the two categories, as Finns' inadequacy indexes unfamiliar sociopragmatic use, and thus "[…] the requirement to learn native speaker habits, such as small talk" (171). In other exchanges, the Finnish stakeholders exemplify awareness of and distancing from stereotypes which interlocutors build upon for co-constructing their accrued identity. The interactions referred to demonstrate, among other things, that Finns are not at all silent in business transactions: they go straight to the point and thus reject unnecessary "poetry", i.e. small talk or superfluous embellishment, when writing an email, for example (172). Such "[…] awareness of differences does not necessarily mean respect for them […]" (173), as the speaker approves of his own way of focusing on the subject matter and implicitly objects to the Chinese idiosyncratic interactional strategy of telling a story, or coating the message.

More divergence characterizes the Chinese sociopragmatic fear of losing one's face and consequent use of strong filters by translators. In example 11 (173), Oskari, the Finnish participant, has to realize communicative differences that need to be locally negotiated in the workplace. While managing differences, he correlates his own linguacultural communication "[…] with the notion of simplicity, directness […] without any redundancies" (Räisänen, 2013: 114. In Räisänen, 2016: 174):

Example 11

Oskari:[121] the message does not come across [via interpreters] in the same way as it has been presented by us apparently strong filtering occurs and somehow they don't want to cause a difficult situation and a loss of face (173).

The third interviews elucidate the Finnish engineers' identities as BELF users, a collective identity typified by discourses of untalkativeness and directness, but also allowing for deviation "[…] as some participants do not perceive themselves as conforming to the stereotype", socialization into multicultural working life being

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[121] Author's emphasis.

conducive to more complex and creative enregisterment work and identity construction by the engineers (174).

To sum up, Räisänen's empirical work presents some Finnish engineers' discursive identity construction, from their internship in Germany to their professional life experiences, in the course of over six years. It accounts for their crucial change, from the local educational Finnish context to global working life, and their progress in the use of English as an essential communicative tool for professional *lingua franca* communication (ibid.). In the process described, the speakers become aware of their own linguistic shortcomings but also interactional English skills with discourses of legitimacy that engender their new identities as successful ELF and BELF users. Thus, they come to question common stereotypes attributed to Finns, such as being quiet or direct, and strengthen "[…] specific resources for identity construction, such as group membership, nationality and culture" (174-175). Their self-concept has changed during their work experience and in working life proper, from an individual perspective to a collective acknowledgment of a Finnish speaker identity as ELF users. They finally appear to be cognizant of their Finnish features, but also question and refuse to fully identify with previously learnt models (175). Jenkins (2007: 201) clarifies that "[…] power relations exist among ELF speakers in that ELF varieties are seen as hierarchical" (Räisänen, 2016: 175). What emerges from the study is the relevance of a Finnish ELF variety and self-ascribed power, also related to the prestige of the Finnish education system resulting from the speakers' comparison with other non-native English users (ibid.). Räisänen also detects, in the contrasts beween "Us" and "Them", "[…] a somewhat controversial image of these individuals' linguacultures and intercultural competence" (ibid.), as discourses of evaluation that had marked the early stages of socialization persisted over the years of the study (ibid.). Therefore, compared to other intercultural contexts, the findings attest to the individuals' ultimate socialization to ethnocentric and judgmental discourses at home that prevailed over the allegedly essential ingredients for "[…] genuine intercultural dialogue, i.e. mutual negotiation and the co-construction of new ways of speaking and being" (Dervin & Layne, 2013. In Räisänen, 2016: 175). In their discursive description of their intercultural experiences and work challenges, the participants often introduced the notions of culture and nationality. Doing so, they used culture as an explanatory factor for

clarifying "[…] individual differences in linguistic proficiency and communicative competence, and in their misunderstandings and gaps in intercultural communication" (see also Angouri, 2010; Piller, 2011. In Räisänen, 2016: 175). They became aware of and came to appreciate silence and directness as typical Finnish discourses, applying national identity to the construction of an understanding of ELF interactions at work as professionals (ibid.). Thus, macro-level discourses of national culture in everyday working life became instrumental in the employees' explanation of work-related problems with people of different cultural backgrounds, such as the Americans and Chinese (175-176).

Räisänen illustrates "[…] how ELF experiences contribute to recognising intercultural differences and reconstructing identities as language users and communicators" (176). Acting in a global environment, the Finnish engineers worked actively out "[…] an understanding of foreign business practices and cultures, and of themselves and others as users of English" (ibid). Identity enhancement, then, implied facing complexity, assessing and accepting new ways of doing, and finding new ways to manage cultural conflicts at work. A typical instance is the description of Tero's effort to develop "[…] intercultural competence in managing intercultural interactions in a meeting between Finnish and Chinese colleagues" (ibid.). The linguist, however, allows for the possibility of not overcoming "[…] ethnocentric views of the self […]" or moving "[…] beyond the construction of stereotypes" (ibid.). Moreover, Räisänen does not deny the existence of inequality in ELF encounters, which she connects to differences in language proficiency, but also to "[…] power relations and individuals' unequal access to resources" (Blommaert, 2010; Piller, 2011; Räisänen, 2013. In Räisänen 2016: 176). Far from representing a neutral medium of choice or necessarily engendering intercultural awareness, therefore, ELF can reinforce stereotypes and ethnocentrism (ibid.).

Räisänen's empirical work shows that identity construction and intercultural development are "[…] an ongoing process as individuals actively negotiate their sense of themselves and communication in the age of globalisation" (ibid.). Identity plays a key role in ELF interaction as this form of communication, more than a "learner" or "user" identity, promotes a "communicator" identity (Gao, 2014. In Räisänen 2016: 176). This also entails the coexistence of different identities within the same individual, with situational variation

and combinations determined in interaction between the social and the individual. The Finnish scholar finally stresses the salience of "Intercultural and cultural dimensions […] essential for our understanding of English used as a lingua franca and its users" (ibid.).

A different and more peculiar function of ELF is related to the making of an intracultural dimension of identity. From the perspective of intracultural communication, as viewed, Henry (2016) throws light on the identity-making reasons for interactants to switch between languages or language varieties in the Chinese context. A surface motive can be the instrumental divide between "mute English", i.e. (mainly written) normative "analytic" competence, for securing entrance to a good university, and "oral English", "experiential" and message-oriented (Johnstone, 2002. In García & Baker, 2007: 167) for communicating with a native English speaker. Henry sees no categorical clash between the two varieties as students use "[…] overlapping strategies to achieve multiple competencies" (Henry, 2016: 194). Conversely, shifting from one language to the other has a more profound pragmatic reason: to assert or counter "[…] various forms of identity based on particular language strengths – with the ultimate goal of claiming control of the conversation" (ibid.). Henry emphasizes the creative and strategic use of English in the Chinese scenario "[…] as an additional linguistic resource to the standard repertoire of Chinese" (Gu *et al*., 2014; Sung, 2014a. In Henry, 2016: 194). In other terms, changing language, word choice, accent, register and other elements enables the interactants to play "[…] with various stances and personae in their speech […]" through which they index, i.e. affirm, construct or reject, particular identities (ibid.).

Henry presents two forms of indexicality in two distinct speakers' metalinguistic appraisal of their own discursive choices. Ellen, a thirty-year-old English instructor at a local university, categorizes two opposed functions for the two languages as she feels that English can be used for things that are clear, distinct and logical, while Chinese would mediate unclear, blurry and emotional concepts. Hence, as Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998) have noted,

> […] her code-switching reflects a language ideology […] that partitions logic and emotion between two languages and indexes shifts in her own perception of social identity as she moves back and

forth between them. Chinese is the language of emotion, English the language of logic, and her discursive choices emphasise these contrasting aspects of her sense of self (Henry, 2016: 194-195).

Ellen's preference for her native tongue to vocalize her own emotions is relevant to ground-breaking research into the cognitive, relational and pragmatic value of emotion in language. To this effect, Alba-Juez, Department of Linguistics, UNED, as well as other scholars (Jornada de Investigación Proyecto Emofundett, 9th October 2015), have distinguished between *emotion talk*, i.e. the verbal description of emotion, and *emotional talk*, the explicit utterance of emotions via language. Tracing the controversial relationship between emotion, cognition and language, Alba-Juez singles out emotional ability as a cardinal aspect of bilingual competence and functional/holistic bilingualism.

Other than logic, as observed by Henry in Shenyang, English is "[…] associated with identities that are international in orientation; these are configured as Western, cosmopolitan or global" (Henry, 2016: 195). The linguist also reports the views of Jeff, another English teacher at a city-level university in his late twenties, who associates Chinese and English use with two antithetical but integrated communicative styles once more reminiscent of Ernest Geller's divide between romantic communalism and atomistic individualism (Wright, 2004: 244-245). Accordingly, Jeff's choice of English indexes "[…] his claim to membership in the second group of people – those Westerners who 'personalise' everything, who value individuality and want to be 'taken care of' first" (Henry, 2016: 195).

Ellen's and Jeff's language choices—their switching between codes and metalinguistic awareness—thus exemplify divergent and competing worldviews and reflect, in particular, "[…] the hybridity inherent in ELF users' sense of self as positioned between global and local forms of identity" (Canagarajah, 2006; Dewey, 2007; Sung, 2014a. In Henry, 2016: 195). To realize such fluid hybridity and mutable sense of self will necessarily mean to take stock of the new peculiarities of real-time digital communication featuring the 21st century glocal village: synchronous or delayed multilingual or language mixing speech-and visual acts with a frequent combination of words, sounds and images

for the purpose of functional contextualized expressiveness, which was simply unimaginable a few decades ago.

10.5 Conclusions. ELF and the elusive concepts of culture, identity and interculturality.

From the multifaceted discussion, we might finally draw some working conclusions:

1. Interculturality, as noted by Holmes and Dervin, has been "[…] defined and understood in many different ways […]" but also "[…] used, overused, and sometimes abused by decision makers […]" as a kind of simplistic slogan (Holmes & Dervin, 2016**:** 6). The multifaceted ambiguity of the concept evokes three other controversial and interwoven notions, especially in this day and age of ideological wall building: those of "culture", "identity" and "civilization". At a time of Western neo-colonialist policies playing havoc with entire multicultural/lingual/religious communities in North Africa and the Middle East, and terror-borne widespread insecurity in Europe, these notions often appear to be ideologically reified into a hypostatized identity marker to define the assumed sociocultural conventions and pragmatic idiosyncrasies of a certain linguacultural group. Discourse on identity has been used as a favourite pretext for homogenizing stigmatization of Islam by Western chauvinists in many European countries, in the face of the current trade in human beings, massive influx of migrants and ensuing political problems. Critical opinion, however, might agree with Moghaddam (2011) that "There is no such thing as a coherent Western or Islamic civilisation that could/would clash. Civilisations are not tectonic plates that move against each other" (19). The danger of putting people into "[…] little boxes of disparate civilisations […]" (Sen, 2005: 4) is, indeed, particularly noticeable in many a European urban slum where the aftermath of ineffectual policies of religious tolerance and multicultural integration—and the globalization-induced dramatic rate of unemployment—have produced sociocultural marginalization and barbaric forms of Islamist radicalism.

2. Building a peaceful and tolerant intercultural society beyond the more politically expedient than real boundaries between cultures means, therefore, to get rid of essentialist and altogether stereotyped ideas, seeing that "[…] culture is not *a thing* but *a concept*" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 7) and, as Adichie (2014: 127) reminds us, "Culture does not make people. People make culture" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 7).

3. Now the fluid and versatile peculiarities of ELF, both the situational contexts and its repertoires, may stress a need to rid ourselves of a "commodified" notion of culture (Dahlen, 1997: 174) and "pre-ordained" attitudes and beliefs. Sen (2006) highlights the multiple elements—global, national, regional, local—that influence but cannot invariably determine the nature of our reasoning. Ultimately, "[…] we need not lose our ability to consider other ways of reasoning just because we identify with, and have been influenced by membership in a particular group. Influence is not the same thing as complete determination, and choices do remain despite the existence—and importance—of cultural influences" (34-35). On the other hand, as observed by Prashad (2001: xi) "[…] culture can easily be used to camouflage discourses of race—which are taboo in many parts of the world. So instead of uttering racially incorrect discourses, by means of culture one can turn such discourses into acceptable discourses about interculturality, cultural difference, norms […]", or, as mentioned, a group's identity to be affirmed and/or defended (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 8). At the same time as interethnic conflict over decent housing-and-employment conditions and availability of public utilities in European suburban areas is stirred up by populist movements and parties, it so happens, as Prashad (2001) points out, that "[…] discourses of culture can also contribute to placing ourselves on pedestals, leading us to pathologize and consider the Other as less civilised, modern and cosmopolitan, even if these discourses can be accompanied, contradictorily, by discourses of tolerance and respect" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 8).

4. The category of the "Other", as remarked by Holmes and Dervin (ibid.), is very unstable too. Rigid preset compartmentalization, unsuited to denote the slippery notions of "language", "culture" and "native speaker", may especially fail to elucidate the fluid concept of the Other, a symbol of today's multifaceted glocal reality. Labelling residents of Mecca, Teheran, Berlin and New York as Muslims, for example, may add up to blind prejudice and show no understanding of the multiple sociocultural components that make

up individuals' "conceptual self" (Neisser, 1988: 36). According to Pieterse (2007), "[…] the Other is no longer a stable or even meaningful category" (139). Holmes and Dervin state that "People may share a current nationality, place of birth, a language, a religion, a profession or a neighbourhood and still be very different from one another" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 8). They voice objections to the world's obsession with difference—the East versus the West, French speakers versus English speakers, Us and Them, (Laplantine, 2012), insiders/outsiders, "Our" culture and "Their" culture. This disposition to erect pre-established homogenizing barriers appears highly questionable in the current era. Defining "British culture" epitomizes such fuzzy conceptualization: is that a set of traditional cultural features, i.e. "[…] a list of distinctively English cultural elements such as Derby Day, Henley regatta or Wensleydale cheese […]"(Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 8), or all this and more recent exogenous entries in an essentialist characterization of Britishness?

5. The nature and workings of ELF interaction come to embody the polar opposite of such expedient, but altogether unrealistic, categorizations. As a matter of fact, *lingua franca* encounters between different "cultures" stage interactants' effort to share "[…] similar values, opinions, interests and so forth across borders […]" (9). Participants do not meet cultures, but complex subjects for a provisional, mobile and situational co-construction of identity and culture. Researchers, as the two scholars maintain, should "[…] rupture the cultural cul-de-sac" (ibid.) and investigate what those shared elements are and how they work in the intercultural encounters. Hence, Holmes and Dervin recommend working on interculturality from a different perspective, one not "[…] 'polluted' by essentialist and culturalist approaches to self and other" (10). To put it another way, a middle ground between the opposite poles of essentialism and hyperconstructivism has to be found (Wimmer, 2013: 3).

6. In particular, Holmes and Dervin (2016) suggest the following points for research on ELF: working from a "diverse diversities approach" (Dervin, 2008), problematizing (Foucault, 1972, 1977, 1980,1985) the complex nature and different angles—"[…] the interrelating of dimensions such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, status, disabilities, language, sexuality […]"(Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 10), which can be taken stock of to unpack ELF interaction. That is to say that, if we look at ELF from the only perspective of

national culture, many identity markers crucial to our understanding of certain phenomena might not only go ignored but even hamper research participants. Conversely, if researchers problematize their analyses, they manage "[…] to empower their participants to exit the minuscule and biased box of culture that is imposed on them" (ibid.). Accordingly, expected national-culture biased socio-pragmatic categories are thrown into question and contextualized, at the same time as misunderstanding, as in the case of the international students in a Malaysian university in Kaur's essay, may also uneventfully characterize intercultural and intracultural interactions without necessarily hindering communication (ibid.).

7. Probing into a further set of interacting elements that connect interculturality and identity could enhance ELF research too: "[…] discrimination, inequalities, power relations and social justice" (ibid.). Politics may be, to this effect, a kind of muddy terrain from which, as Holmes and Dervin (2016) remark, researchers have too often refrained. Yet analysis of ELF interactions will significantly disclose "[…] how […] power relations connected to discourses of culture are expressed, co-constructed and enacted, as well as how hierarchies are created and what their consequences are for people" (ibid.).

8. Zeroing in on the power issue also reminds us of the proactive role of researchers and practitioners in the ethnographic study of ELF interactions. Since ELF contributes to unbalanced power relations, "[…] educators, researchers and decision makers have a duty to help ELF users defuse such situations and to provide them with the tools to do so" (11). In short, ultimately, "Intercultural pedagogies […] should encourage ELF users to take action and to be ethical/responsible communicators" (ibid.).

We may once more conclusively remark that, by withstanding monocultural and monolingual homogenization, ELF comes to be an international and intranational instrument for intercultural communication, alien from native-speaker normativity and its mathetic pull, and open to the many realities and educational needs of today's society. The language is, thus, not only a *de facto* cross-cultural global code, i.e. *lingua mundi* of world science and scholarship; it can also mediate intercultural awareness in its multifarious uses as a *lingua franca* between members of diverse linguacultural communities and, primarily, between non-native speakers of English. In the end, despite the obstacles and constraints,

the spreading use of English as a *lingua franca*, especially across a prospectively humane and cohesive European framework, can be a flexible and versatile medium for an even-handed and viable language ecology, used potentially and additively by any type of English user anywhere in our transnational world of cultural flows of people, products, and ideas.

The multifaceted discourse on a glocal identity and the relevant place of ELF as a medium of ever-more inclusive and flexible cross-cultural and intercultural communication takes us to a final survey of language testing and the application of holistic multilingualism and translanguaging to prospective real-world English as a *lingua franca* assessment for an intercultural European Union, which is the object of the next chapter.

PART 7

LANGUAGE ECOLOGY, ENGLISH AS A *MULTI*LINGUAFRANCA AND HOLISTIC CROSS-CULTURAL TESTING FOR AN INTERCULTURAL EUROPEAN UNION BEYOND MONOGLOSSIC AND MONOCULTURAL HOMOGENIZATION.

CHAPTER 11

BUILDING WALLS OR BRIDGES?

11.1 Language ecology and applied linguistics. A focus for action in glocal diversity

At the end of this work, the search for a final, although provisional, proposition turns us back to Mühlhäusler's (2010) understanding of language ecology as *a focus for action* and "[…] a home in which different communities can coexist, and their diversity is seen as a valuable resource for restoring the disturbed relationship between human beings and their natural environment" (434). This understanding probably encapsulates my own view of language ecology as encompassing, eco-centric and agentive intervention in a multifarious and fluid set of present-day linguacultural scenarios.

In other terms, despite the inherent difficulty of changing the course of human events such as the life of a language in the face of "[…] a hegemonic process in which those who are handicapped contribute to their own disadvantage by accepting to join the community of communication" (Wright, 2004: 177), language activists, planners, crusading parents and pressure groups have shown that, though very little, there is still some space for reversing language shift, revitalizing and even resuscitating a threatened

language and the living cultural heritage that it embodies. The resilience of Spanish in Puerto Rico, Manx Gaelic on the Isle of Man, Navajo in the USA and Maori in New Zealand are cases in point.

In the end, the critical distinction between language murder and language suicide, which has engaged a number of linguists, appears irrelevant when realizing, as often mentioned, that individual speakers will have the last word on the health and life of a language. To this effect, in our time of global homogenization and centripetal submersion of cultural diversity, we may once more agree with Sue Wright that "The choice of language is dictated by forces outside the control of national policymakers and cannot be countered by any anti-globalisation bloc" (ibid.). Applying her insight to glocal English, it is reasonable to conclude, with Kachru (1994), that "[…] it comes through the channels which bypass the strategies devised by language planners" (137). And yet the very spread of English as a *lingua franca*, from exclusive cultural capital of elites, would-be elites and inner circles, "[…] middle and urban classes of the developing world" (Wright, 2004: 178), to commonplace cross-cultural tool for ever-larger grass-roots communities of practice via internet availability, may be really seen as the "democratisation of a formerly elitist resource" (Fishman, 1996: 7).

At last, realizing the dual and somewhat obscurely combined interplay of individual choice and globally-mediated power, the mathetic ways of English submersion and the ultimate perception of the fluidity and hybridity our global times are imbued with, an overview of the various sociolinguistic categories postulate an agentive and committed outlook on applied linguistics in the direction of a new working possibility of language diversity preservation and linguacultural transcendence via English as a *lingua franca*.

In particular, the multifaceted and plurilithic interrelationship between language, culture and identity today call for the making of a top-down and bottom-up language ecology awareness of holistic intercultural multilingualism and a new understanding of *strength in diversity* matching heritage linguaculture with a European supranational dimension and local with global identities across and beyond the nation-state submerging walls of cultural and linguistic homogenization.

11.2 A conclusive statement on language policy in the European Union. From good intentions to effective bi/multilingual practices

As noticed, David Crystal (2000) himself has voiced concern about the plight of most world languages and the risk of extinction to about a half of them. In the EU, statutory multilingual policy is belied by the actual commonplace recourse to three working languages. In "Official Languages of the EU", the EU Commission's official site recalls the EU's decade-long commitment to multilingualism:

> The first official language policy of what was then the European Community identified Dutch, French, German, and Italian as the official working languages of the EU.
>
> Since then, as more countries have become part of the EU, the number of official and working languages has increased. However, there are fewer official languages than Member States, as some share common languages.
>
> On the other hand, some regional languages, such as Catalan and Welsh, have gained a status as co-official languages of the European Union. The official use of such languages can be authorised on the basis of an administrative arrangement concluded between the Council and the requesting Member State, (EU Commission, 16th May 2017).

In relation to prospective language policy and planning in the EU, the European Commission "[…] maintains the policy that all EU citizens have the right to access all EU documents in the official language(s) of the Commission, and should be able to write to the Commission and receive a response in their own language". Consistently, "In high-level meetings between Member States, the participants are able to use their own language when they take the floor" (ibid.). The findings, however, raise a series of questions about the future of languages in the EU. They also deepen criticism of the way the EU spends millions of euros a year translating all of its documents into the 24 official languages of the bloc:

> The European Commission's DG Translation costs 330 million euro per year. In 2004-2007 with the increase of EU's official languages from 11 to 23 [24 today] the translation costs increased by 20%. With the accession of Croatia translation costs will certainly increase, but in the long run the introduction of tools as the MT@EC may significantly cut down the expenses. In 2012 the European Parliament also tried to cut its translation services in an attempt to save 8,6 million euro per year. According to rough estimates, the cost of all language services in all EU institutions amounts to less than 1% of the annual general budget of the EU, reveals the Commission's website (One Europe, 15th November 2013).

Moving from good intentions to hard evidence, few scholars would deny the linguistic and cultural predominance of English in the EU. As viewed, the popularity of English opens the prospect of a further difficulty in the UK now that Britain has quit the EU. On the one hand, the swing towards English spotlights the thorny issue of the decline of language teaching in British schools and universities. It suggests that the motivation for learning languages among native English speakers weakens when people can speak English wherever in the world they may go (Doughty, 6th July 2014). On the other hand, Brexit, as observed, has left Brussels running a union whose real common language is only spoken as a native tongue by the 4.6 million people of the Irish Republic, fewer than one in 100 of its population. Paradoxically, however, English could *de facto* strengthen its historical function of *lingua franca* in Europe as a deterritorialized and denativized instrument for cross-cultural and intercultural communication. The empowering reality of a shared unifying medium should then encourage and accommodate even-handed and localized policies of multilingualism.

Towards a conclusive statement on a viable language ecology in the EU, I have maintained that the objections raised by the Critical Linguists and Phillipson's (2003) worries over the EU repeating past nation-state mistakes by enforcing national standards and killing local language varieties are relevant. We might still agree with the British linguist's historical picture that "The standardization of national languages was inextricably involved in the creation of nation-states through the creation of a 'unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language'. What we are currently experiencing is the beginnings of a unification of a European linguistic market" (108). Other critics

might also agree with Phillipson (2001) about "[…] a process of Americanisation, of cultural homogenisation that is being executed through the English language, in relation to which minority and even majority cultures are defenceless" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 29).

As a matter of fact, before Brexit, an equal standing of all EU member-states' languages was apparently not the case and no smaller nation's claims could subvert the "[…] widespread pecking order of modern/foreign languages, with English with the sharpest beak, French and German slightly less greedy but often going hungry, and most other languages, including immigrant languages, starving because they are not seen as "European"" (Pütz, 1997: 120). Phillipson (2001, par. 4) does not offer any viable solution, simply suggesting that "[…] there needs to be a re-think of attitudes…clarification of criteria... [and] imaginative and realistic scenarios" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 29). Yet House (2001) and Phillipson's (2001) "[…] view that current EU language policy is inefficient and hypocritical […]" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 28) has a realistic foundation. Using 24 or even 3 working languages does not seem to make much sense, especially in our times of slump and deficit-straitjacket policy. Accordingly, the choice of a supranational medium could further a supranational perspective on the part of the EU member states, especially those which are "more equal than the others", i.e. France and Germany.

Other critical voices might assert, especially in the face of the EU's incongruous and discordant foreign affairs, refugee rejection and ultimate wall building, that a sound multilingual intercultural policy and planning in Europe will require a different political framework: not a merely free-trade area that curbs inflation and protects the euro, but a united and unanimous political whole, struggling against the arms and human-being trade as well as any form of exploitation for an even-handed and stable peace, open to the fast-changing African and Asian realities and mobilizing resources for the personal fulfilment of its citizens. To this effect, a new holistic language policy and planning reviving cultural and linguistic diversity and promoting bi/multilingual interculturalism may produce a novel supranational identity.

In the end, getting over the intergovernmental constraints of the Lisbon Treaty, and the entrenched preponderance of banks, transnational corporations and lobbies, with

pertinent debt and deficit preoccupations, may lead to a basic language-policy realization: English is *de facto* the world's language and there is no sensible reason why it should not become the EU's official medium. Lever (2003) claims, in this regard, that a real political unification will only occur if a single working language is adopted (110). For such a breakthrough to take place, it might seem appropriate to move decisions from national parliaments to the European Parliament. This might ultimately give the last say to the multiple voices of a European people in a European federation, extend the legislative and executive powers of the Union's institutions and thus enforce a coherent line on foreign affairs and an inclusive policy of education and training across the member states. In other words, out of an inter-governmental organization "[…] where governments meet to pool their resources and be more competitive" (Martin-Rubió, 2007: 48), the EU could become European citizens' shared home: a cohesive and equitable supranational entity where English has indisputably amounted to and could be acknowledged as a unifying *koiné*—just like Greek and Latin in the past—flexibly invoked to allow for "[…] more fluid and efficient communication […]" (ibid.) and where this language should thrive on, instead of threatening, linguistic and cultural diversity. We could finally subscribe to the picture of the future built up by Alex, one of the students interviewed by Martin-Rubió in his quoted MA thesis: "He says the EU should "have 23 [today 24] official languages, one working language, and make sure everyone learns it [the working language, i.e. English]" (49). Thus, a feasible and efficient policy could promote bi/multilingualism, protect regional, lesser-used, migrant and sign languages, often marginalized by nation-state centralism, and thus augment their symbolic capital, but also further English-language competence and the real-world role of English as a *lingua franca* in Europe.

Along with the obvious instrumental elements of transcendence, a EU English, or several varieties, might grow up in time, with the phonological, lexico-grammar and idiomatic flavour—as Indian or Singaporean Englishes—of a fully-fledged natural language learnt as a first language, like creoles, or Hiddish to young Israelis, by future generations, and this new language might eventually evoke, as observed, a new unified European identity. We can even imagine that, in spite of all forms of nationalism and chauvinism, daily uneventful familiarity with English might supersede, over time, nation-state languages in the EU, as Latin superseded pre-Roman tongues in Mediterranean

Europe. But just as these languages lived on as the substrata of the new Romance languages, English hegemony, and a possible digital English-media monoglossia, would not necessarily entail submersion, or removal, of those cultural heritage and funds of knowledge handed down and mediated by languages and dialects.

Then, since "Monolithic solutions are no longer viable" (EC Commission manuscript, 2011: 50), today's knowledge society will require ever more flexible responses, both pragmatic and far-sighted, to cope with the constant tension between local and global needs and identities (ibid.). In order "[…] to transmit information and ideas across language borders […]" in a "[…] dynamic world system of languages […]", as Mark Fettes (2003: 37-38) says, with equity, efficiency, and sustainability, a variety of strategies could be invoked and flexibly geared to the specific sociocultural circumstances: "[…] acquisition of other languages, translation and interpretation, various forms of localization and the development of innovative tools like inter-comprehension or machine translation" (51), but, also, bi/multilingualism and situated individual recourse to code-shifting, code-mixing and non-verbal repertoires. By the same token, what today seems a common-sense, "necessary but not sufficient" (Grin, 1999) baseline skill may become an ideologically-flexible, empowering and intercultural English competence in this dynamic, cross-cultural and integrated world of ours.

11.3 A working assessment of English as a *lingua franca*. Building cross-cultural multilingual "intersociety" across national dichotomies

English as a *lingua franca* has certainly absorbed the critical thought of linguists from various strands of applied linguistics over the last two decades. As observed by Jenkins and Leung (2017), when dealing with ELF, "[…] we are talking about a use of English that transcends national/first language boundaries, by contrast with the established nativized or developing varieties of English used within any one country of the outer circle" (2). Its largest number of users, then, comes from the expanding circle, "[…] whose English speakers tend to use the language exclusively for international/intercultural (i.e.,

ELF) communication" (ibid.). In addition, most of such communication is co-constructed "online", "[…] as speakers from diverse language backgrounds convey and negotiate meaning through accommodation strategies and the like" (2). Hence, it is mostly in the making and message-oriented, and "The English that results is unpredictable, and often characterized by ad hoc, nonce, and hybrid forms" (ibid.). This portrait makes John P. O'Regan's (2014) immanent critique a sample of one-sided Marxist ideology utterly unfit for a decentralizing and empowering process such as ELF. Schmitz (2017) notes that, far from being "ideologically conservative", the phenomenon is rather "transgressive" "[…] for it questions the legitimacy of an inner circle "native speaker" hegemony of English", ultimately querying "[…] the ELT testing philosophy based on the norms of the correctness of inner circle Englishes in detriment of the norms of indigenized varieties in outer circle nations" (3).

In view of a conclusive statement on ELF, it is to observe that recent investigation has especially focused on its glocal peculiarities and potentialities. On balance, far from adding up to a kind of basic, impermanent and deculturalized pidgin, or contact language, this use of language, though not denying the implicit or explicit reference point of normative 'native' models, allows a wide range of expressive and original outcomes embedded in the speakers' native linguacultures so that "[…] ELF communication is not only frequent, but also, according to a large body of research, highly successful" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 3). There follows, as mentioned, a creative hybrid space, 'third culture', or 'intersociety', in Hüllen's terms (1992), i.e. "[…] an intermediate space between established norms, between communication and identification where users of ELF activate a number of linguistic and pragmatic strategies to construct and negotiate an identity of their own" (Canagarajah, 2007. In Fiedler, 2011: 90). The characteristics of this third space, as observed by Fiedler (2011) need further investigation (ibid.).

Recent findings show that non-native handling of English grammar, phraseology and pre-fabricated speech, often occasioned by lack of lexico-grammar and shared background knowledge, accrues to creative innovation. Some typical ELF features carried over from speakers' L1s and singled out by Seidlhofer (2011) include "[…] countable use of nouns that are (currently) uncountable in native English (e.g., "feedbacks," "softwares"), interchangeable use of the relative pronouns "who" and "which" and alternative ways of

pronouncing the voiceless and voiced dental fricative "th" […]"(Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 2). Pitzl (2009), in her article on metaphor and idioms, argues that formal deviations and the spontaneous reuse of English formulae and idiomatic stereotypes, such as *God bless you*, *Thank the Lord*, *God save the Queen*,[122] often ending up in amusement (ibid.), are not to be seen as errors, but as linguistic innovations that fulfil a variety of communicative functions. By the same token, ELF speakers creatively transfer expressions and phraseological units associated with their own mother tongues and cultures into English, according to their interactants and situational context of communication. Frequent re-employment of phraseology, i.e. idiomatic phrases and pre-fabricated speech, used by non-native speakers of English to display identity, bring their native culture inventively into the discourse as they co-construct a new mobile interactional and intercultural identity and thus reassert the hybrid and multifaceted nature of glocal *lingua franca*. Sabine Fiedler finally refers to Hüllen himself qualifying his dichotomy (1992) when applied to ELF contexts. From her data, she infers a scenario of multi-layered situated identities:

> […] ELF is not merely a language of communication, a neutral code stripped bare of culture and identity. Speakers of English as a lingua franca display an array of various identities, with the English native language and culture(s), their own primary languages and cultures and a specific ELF identity being important pillars. The degrees to which these three constituents are activated as well as their interaction depend on a variety of factors that are of influence in a specific communicative situation (Fiedler, 2011: 92).

11.4 The critical debate on ELF pedagogy. A call for holistic testing

Caragarajah's vivid notion of shuttling between diverse English-speaking communities worldwide (2006: 210) especially applies to ELF learners and users' "resisting linguistic imperialism" (Caragarajah, 1999), the use of English as an exclusive inner-circle commodity, its pedagogic material imported from the West and the inappropriate methodology for the needs and values of outer-circle communities such as

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[122] Italics added.

Sri Lanka and, prospectively, the expanding-circle countries (Schmitz, 2017). Shohamy (2011) adds further details to the portrayal of ELF interaction which, "[…] with the phenomena of translanguaging and bi-multi-languaging, challenges traditional language testing" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 7). Realizing that "[…] for most people in the world, L2 is viewed as ELF, multilingual, and multimodal" resulting in "new and creative mixes", Shohamy (2011) notes that such mixes "[…] are ignored in English language tests, which continue to impose "monolingual practices" and penalize L1 use" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 7). Findings substantiate, instead, that cross-cultural multilingual competence differs from monolingual proficiency altogether as it posits that languages "bleed" into each other (Shohamy, 2011). Her conclusion reminds us of the monolingual bias of fractional bilingualism (Baker, 2011: 9-10):

> […] this multilingual functioning receives no attention in language testing practices. Further, multilingual users who rarely reach language proficiency in each of the languages that is identical to that of their monolingual counterparts are always being compared to them and thus receive lower scores. Consequently, they are penalized for their multilingual competencies, sending a message that multilingual knowledge is a liability (Shohamy, 2011: 418).

Linking English language testing to multilingualism, Jenkins (2015) refers to ELF3, i.e. "[…] English seen as a *multi*lingua franca, in which ELF's multilingual nature is its primary characteristic, rather than one feature among several" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 7). Today's prevalent research approach, then, is to deny monolinguals the right to provide benchmarks for the assessment of multilinguals' English, and to look upon multilingualism as the norm, "[…] monolingualism as the exception, and translanguaging as part of normal language practices" (8). The last term, translanguaging, especially evokes the fluid and multi-layered social dimension of *lingua franca*: "[…] fluid practices that go *between* and *beyond*[123] socially constructed language and educational systems, structures and practices to engage diverse students' multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities" (García & Wei, 2014: 3). Overall, then, the mindset of British and US university staff and students

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[123] Authors' italics.

may be questioned:

> Even when students are hoping to study in universities in native English-speaking countries, the communities they will circulate in are largely lingua franca groups made up of other students from a range of first language backgrounds. These days, even many of their lecturers are not native English speakers. Universities in the UK and USA that like to call themselves "international" need, therefore, to think more carefully about the linguistic implications of their proclaimed international status, including whether their *native*[124] English-speaking staff and students would benefit from developing greater intercultural language skills for use on campus and beyond (see Jenkins, 2013. In Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 7).

ELF polychromatic, in-the-making and hybrid message-oriented communication, then, cuts across the communicative routines of traditional inner-circle educational environments where native-speaker correctness and communicative competence come to appear obsolete and unreal, successful intercultural communication calling for intercultural sensibility and subtle role negotiation as propounded by critical language testing:

> [...] Leung and Street (2014) report that in a London school where over 80 % of the students were from ethnically and linguistically diverse communities, teacher-student talk in the classroom included not only teaching-learning oriented content-based exchanges but also playful mock *ad hominem* insults that seemed to (re-)affirm their cordial relationship. The intricate weaving of formal pedagogic and informal social talk requires all interlocutors to have a highly tuned sensibility to a local language practice, the maintenance of which requires subtle negotiation of role boundaries and individual tolerances (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 7).

Focusing on language testing, in particular, it may be observed that the 21st century specificity of *lingua franca* has two implications that are of crucial importance for effective ELT:

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[124] Authors' italics.

First, the prolific global growth in ELF use, which is predicted to continue for several decades (e.g., Graddol, 2006), calls into question the prioritizing of standard native English grammatical and pragmatic norms in evaluating the competence of the majority of non-native learners. For, as Tomlinson (2010, p. 299) points out, these norms represent a kind of English that they "do not and never will speak." Second, ELF's inherent variability implies not only that language yardsticks need to be updated, but also that new approaches to language modeling and norming in assessment are needed if we are to be able to judge whether ELF users' English is fit for purpose (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 1).

Seidlhofer (2011: 18) gives salient insights into the critical divide between English as a foreign language (EFL) and English as a *lingua franca*: the former's "[…] linguacultural forms are "pre-existing, reaffirmed," its objectives are "integration" and "membership in [a native speaker] . . . community," and the processes involved in its learning are "imitation" and "adoption"", whereas the latter's characteristics are "ad hoc", "negotiated"; its objectives are "intelligibility", "communication" within the non-native speakers' community or between non-native speakers and native speakers, its processes involving "accommodation" and "adaptation" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 6).

Therefore, deviations from the norm are not to be taken as fossilized errors, as they were according to traditional approaches. They may be considered, instead, similarly to variations in the Outer Circle, "[…] evidence of English language change in progress", while, as stated by Widdowson (2011), the traditional norms are the fossils, from an ELF perspective (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 6). Along the same lines, testers' accommodation of ELF error is not to imply an assumedly patronizing attitude: "In this respect, Canagarajah (2006, p. 241) argues that "debates in English-language testing should not be conducted with the condescending attitude that we scholars are just trying to be kind to those non-native speakers outside the inner circle"" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 6).

Up-to-date holistic tests, thus, have to be geared to the variegated *lingua franca* community of non-native speakers from a wide range of first language backgrounds. Jenkins and Leung (2013) maintain that current testing frameworks, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) and the

more recent Pearson Test of English (PTE) and PTE (Academic), are still congruent with the traditional construct of a homogeneous native-speaker speech community *de facto* superseded by a far larger multifarious community of practice of *lingua franca* speakers, e.g. international students, interns and workers, with their heterogeneous and "[…] situated language practices" (Leung & Lewkowicz, 2012. In Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 7). Lowenberg (2000: 67) also points out that the set of norms "[…] accepted and used by highly educated *native speakers* of English"[125] are not appropriately applicable to those local contexts and practices. Thus, "[…] by not reflecting the sociopolitical reality of non-native varieties, [the tests] may unfairly discriminate against speakers of these varieties" (69). Again, as observed, it is increasingly recognized by linguists that morphological and syntactic innovations can be looked at "[…] as "varietal" features, and thus as "differences" from native English rather than "deficiencies" by comparison with it" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 4). These features "[…] could then be taken account of, rather than penalized, in international tests" (ibid.). More empirical research, as voiced by Davidson (2006), has to look "[…] into the quality and quantity of variation across native and nonnative Englishes […]" in view of the fact that "[…] large testing companies […] will act and act most profoundly when confronted with hard, cold numbers" (714).

In spite of empirical research divergence, notably the dispute between Jenkins' (2006) call for "[…] a substantial overhaul of English language testing" (42) and Taylor's (2006) argument for native speaker norms, though qualified by the realization that testing is "the art of the possible"(58), for the 60th anniversary issue of *ELT Journal*, Jenkins and Leung (2017) conclude that "[…] , the major international English language examinations showed, and still show, no inclination to take ELF communication into account in their test design" (5). The two linguists note that the variable, emergent nature of ELF repertoires, viewed as "[…] an organized complex of specific resources such as varieties, modes, genres, registers and styles […]" (Blommaert, 2015: 21–22. In Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 5), have not produced new tests and a relevant holistic notion of 'correctness', while those in use "[…] continue to assess candidates' ability with reference to putative native English norms as if they would only be communicating with native English speakers, or nonnative

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[125] Author's italics.

English speakers who only regard standard native varieties as acceptable" (ibid.).

A case in point of testing inadequacy, reported by Kim's doctoral investigation at the University of Melbourne (Kim & Elder, 2009), regards the attitudes of the Korean aviation industry to the English language-testing policy of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Apparently, "[…] miscommunication between pilots and air traffic controllers is not the fault of the non-native English speaker but arises from the native English speakers' inability to accommodate to their ELF interlocutors […]" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 7). The relevant test, in fact, "[…] is insufficiently oriented to the international (i.e., ELF) community for whom it is designed because of its privileging of native English norms […]" (ibid.). Jenkins and Leung (2013) infer that "[…] native English speaking pilots need to be trained and tested in ELF communication" (ibid.), their conclusions stressing the necessity of designing ELF-relevant tests that refrain from pursuing "[…] a knowledge of lexicogrammar and abstracted pragmatic conventions […]"(ibid.) to take stock of and maximize, instead, the empirically-based contextual social practices ELF interactants use their set of verbal, non-verbal, often multimodal, multilingual and cross-lingual repertoires for. This means to build on and eventually substitute Hymes' capital notion of communicative competence (1972) with Byram's (1997) more relevant constructs of intercultural communicative competence (ICC) and intercultural awareness (ICA), already dealt with in this work. Hence, "[…] observations of what people actually say and do" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 7), not being constrained to that knowledge of lexicogrammar and abstracted pragmatic conventions, need to focus on the "[…] social purposes in actual contexts of communication" (ibid.), i.e. pay " […] close-up attention to the ways in which users of English in multiethnic and transcultural interactions make use of its lexico-grammatical (and other semiotic) resources to serve their pragmatic real-life purposes" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 7-8). Ultimately, "[…] to keep in touch with contemporary developments in English" (7) necessarily means to return to the empirical foundations for reliable and realistic language assessment (8).

Jenkins and Leung's final remarks focus on an overarching question that is likely to engage current and future, especially postmodernist, research: what is English, after all? Or, in other terms, what is it in the real world for? Hall (2014) advances a turnabout in

perspective arguing "[…] on both cognitive and social grounds […] that the Englishes encountered and appropriated by non-native speakers will inevitably be qualitatively different from 'standard English' models, and that the effectiveness of the resources learners do develop should be assessed, where appropriate, independently of linguistic criteria" (376). Then he proposes an approach, which he calls "Englishing", shifting "[…] from testing how people use the language to testing what they can *do* with it",[126] which implies a major overhaul of testers as to "[…] what English is and how it is learned and used" (384). And this takes us back to Mackiewicz's insights, in the quoted interview, about what knowing one or more languages entails in terms of actual competences and abilities in today's global 'knowledge society': "Beware, I mean, you can have three languages within a short period of time, but what are you then able to *do* with these languages?" (EU Commission manuscript, 2011: 75). Taking this into account, Jenkins and Leung (2014), cite Mc Namara (2014) pointing to the negative impact of current English language testing ideology:

> […] current English language testing ideology is having a negative impact on the language itself as well as on test candidates and their future prospects, and [Jenkins & Leung, 2014] reaffirm the call to language researchers to contribute to the task of better understanding "what communication may comprise in terms of participant-driven uses of English as a linguistic resource in contemporary conditions" (Jenkins & Leung, 2014: 1615. In Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 9-10. See also Jenkins, 2006 for an earlier discussion on this point).

Jenkins (2016) questions the validity of current test design which bears witness to lacking "[…] awareness of the sociolinguistic implications of the international spread of English, and of relevant findings in ELF research […]" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 10). Since "[…] language is messy, and lingua franca use is even messier, […] the attempt to impose a preset template on contingent use in diverse English contexts" appears altogether futile (ibid.). Therefore, "[…] none of the current "international" examinations are fit for purpose" (ibid.). On the contrary, in order to be authentic and representative of ELF

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[126] Author's italics.

communities, with their fluid multilingual and multicultural repertoires, international English-language entry tests

> [...] will focus on everyone's ability to use English as a tool of intercultural communication in their own context, *not* on NNESs' ability to mimic certain anonymous NESs. And it will not allow NESs to see themselves as English language experts. This will give English language entry tests authenticity and validity, whereas currently they have neither as far as my international student research participants were concerned (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 10).

11.5 Conclusions. Testing English as a *multi*linguafranca for an intercultural European Union

Capitalizing on Jenkins' (2015) encompassing notion of English as a *multi*lingua franca, its multilingual nature and ever-more shared cross-cultural instrumentality in a prospectively intercultural EU community, we could finally draw some conclusions on the implementation of viable holistic measures, which, though not rejecting native-speaker normativity altogether, might more realistically reflect the empowering spread of ELF in its variation and variability:

1. The ongoing debate on the conceptual criteria for and practical designing of ELF-relevant measures indicates that the CEFR, as used in countries all around the globe, cannot be used as a valid benchmark for such emergent, contingent and agentive tests. As observed by Jenkins and Leung (2017), "The problem with the CEFR in this respect is that it does not distinguish between a foreign language and a lingua franca" (10). It is also apparent, as viewed, that current mainstream testing still adheres to a monolingual and monocultural native-culture perspective which does not mirror the miscellaneous communities of ELF users with their dynamic multilingualism and translanguaging, e.g. exchange students, the mentioned Finnish interns and "[...] engineers from diverse language backgrounds working in multinational and multilingual teams" (12). The very

source and foundations, "[…] remoteness of origin (hailing from a quasi-governmental organization in Europe) […]", "[…] seemingly all-purpose supranational status […]" and "[…] global reach […]", not adequately inspired and finetuned "[…] by discussion on the learning processes that takes dynamic multilingualism and translanguaging into account" (10), have made the CEFR an inflexible base and the relevant test constructs used by international examination boards unnatural. Pitzl (2015), in particular, challenges the essentialist features of the CEFR, "[…] its representation and discursive construction of misunderstanding and communication breakdown" and "[…] the idealized notion that L1 communication is perfect and devoid of miscommunication" (91), which should be superseded by "[…] *understanding*[127] as a jointly negotiated and interactional process" (ibid. In Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 11) as embodied, for example, by migrants, exchange students and Tiina Räisänen's Finnish engineers (2016).

2. What is also relevant and worth investigating is the commercial and power-related grounds for making and enforcing testing measures such as TOEFL and IELTS: the long-established commercial success and "[…] the powerful influence of established transnational and national English language assessment frameworks in different world locations […] through complex processes of ideological articulation and political endorsements" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 12). For the same reasons, big tests are still based on Anglophone mindset and practices, while "Any attempt at reform or further development by language assessment professionals is likely to be a very complex and long-term effort […]" (13).

3. Overall, then, as Jenkins and Leung explain in the abstract to their 2017 publication, "The resulting diversity and emergent nature of ELF communication mean that it is not amenable to being captured in descriptions of static norms, and therefore that conventional language assessment is ill-equipped to deal with it" (1). Being aware of the dynamic fluidity of ELF discourse might then entail what Mc Namara (2014: 231) advocates, "[…] a radical reconceptualization of the construct of successful communication […]" that makes "evolution" inappropriate for communicative language testing and calls for revolution or, rather, "revolución!" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 7). Making innovative ELF-

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[127] Author's italics.

oriented tests of productive skills would probably take stock of Newbold's (2014) perceptive point as he concludes that any such measure "[…] would need to have a clear understanding of its purpose and therefore of the precise context in which it was to be administered" (Jenkins and Leung, 2017: 9). In other terms, it "[…] would need to be grounded in the pragmatics of ELF interaction, and it would need to identify features of successful communication, and to allow for formal variation in a qualitatively different way from rating scales currently used in institutionalized testing. It would need to be user-centred and norm-defocused" (Newbold, 2014: 220).

4. It might be objected that, though realizing the existence of that "[…] relatively fluid, flexible, contingent, and often non-native-influenced" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 8) multilinguacultural scenario, and a communication-oriented idea of accuracy that accommodates non-native strategies and skills, ruling out native English idioms or any other forms not being mutually intelligible, as suggested by Jenkins (2006a), might become an alternative, but equally questionable, instance of proscription. After all, testers' "[…] argument that ELF is not yet sufficiently described to be able to use it as the basis for testing English […]" (Jenkins & Leung, 2013: 8) is well founded. Apart from the simple realization that most learners explicitly or implicitly prefer normative standard language learning and analytic and syntactic processing (Kowal & Swain, 1997), dismissing native use of idioms or proscribing any standard or non-standard norm whatever *a priori* does not seem to make sense. A holistic attitude, instead, could accommodate the use and original adaptability of English idioms to the expressive needs of the situational context, both between non-native speakers and in non-native/native interaction, as it already takes place in manifold daily scenarios. What is more, realizing multifaceted language fluidity and those heterogeneous backdrops should warrant a new data-based normativity for conscientious holistic pedagogy in the coming years. Such normative flexibility might fully enact that "communicative revolution" vocalized by McNamara (2011), who states that "[…] we are at a moment of very significant change, the sort of change that only comes along once in a generation or longer—the challenge that is emerging in our developing understanding of what is involved in ELF communication" (8). He notes that ELF is "[…] a key feature of a globalized world" and as such "[…] presents a powerful challenge to

assumptions about the authority of the native [English] speaker, an authority which is enshrined in test constructs" (McNamara, 2011: 513. In Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 6). In his three separate articles (2011, 2012, 2014), McNamara (2011) critiques the observance of native English-standard normativity underlying the EU Council Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (22nd February 2001) arguing that "[…] the determination of test constructs [such as the CEFR] within policy-related frameworks leads to inflexibility" (McNamara, 2011: 500).

5. In conclusion, setting new patterns for realistic and holistic constructs is still a matter for debate in language assessment research and, to a certain extent, posits forcing ELF agentive, contingent, dynamic and emergent interaction into an abstract straitjacket. More than talking about "assessing ELF", then, we should refer to "[…] taking account of ELF use where appropriate in the conceptualization and design of English language assessment" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 13). A number of key questions remains unanswered:

> Given the contingent nature of ELF-mediated communication, it would be difficult, indeed meaningless, to prespecify different levels. If this is the case, do we need to adopt a binary rating frame that comprises only "pass" or "fail"? If we did adopt this binary rating approach, would we be dealing with an exclusively "communication outcome" orientation in language assessment? (11-12).

Jenkins and Leung call attention to the need for justifying criteria, "[…] in terms of context and purpose […]" (13) for the making of constructs in accord with the learning target:

> It would be relatively easy to see the relevance of ELF sensibilities if we are considering the spoken English language competence of, say, engineers from diverse language backgrounds working in multinational and multilingual teams. ELF sensibilities might not be so obviously relevant if we are dealing with the criteria for assessing English language competence of, say, legal professionals who need to have very high levels of lexicogrammatical accuracy and idiomatic control in the written mode in accordance with a particular local jurisdiction (12).

6. Indeed, putting *parole* into the straitjacket of *lange* is nothing alien to standard making and mainstream pedagogy in the history of linguistics. Presumably, conscientious language teachers will always strive to suit the straitjacket to their pupils' daily needs and realities. In Italy, for instance, secondary-school teachers and learners face the patent contradiction between paying lip-service to the top-down instrumental primacy of English as a *lingua mundi* and the obdurate persistence of old-fashioned curricula that restrict language classes to three hours a week, one of which is devoted to specialized or technical language, which usually induces students' rote learning. This might also call for something similar to Mc Namara's invoked educational *revolución.*

As evidenced by the discussion, language assessment, just like the interrelationship between language, culture and identity, is an intriguing field of applied linguistics and should be the focus of fine-grained empirical and theoretical investigation. We can now draw some final insights from the overall debate on language ecology and the dual role of English, looking to a possible conceptual overhaul of assumptions and practices, with a few conclusive suggestions for forthcoming research.

PART 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS. WHERE TO FROM HERE?

12.1 An overview. Language ecology in an intercultural multilingual society. A multifaceted challenge for a glocal education in the European Union.

From the foregoing survey of language ecology and investigation into current glocal EU scenarios, a few conclusions can be finally drawn.

From the German biologist Ernst Haeckel (1866) onwards, ecology has encompassed a variety of ideological concerns and operative commitments. For a final and personal assessment of the import and wide-ranging applicability of ecolinguistics to the language classroom, I should recall Leo van Lier's *geocentric* perspective and advocacy of a *deep* ecology as an alternative approach that might "[…] take account of the full complexity and interrelatedness of processes that combine to produce an environment" and effectively "[…] inform educational research and practice […]" (Van Lier, 2004: 3,4, 170).

These days, as perceived by a number of critical voices, our world is peculiarly obsessed by differences and has a propensity to set boundaries and compartmentalize reality into essentialist notions, e.g. self, the Other, identity, culture, nation, race, ideology, politics and religion (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 1-30). Obdurate black-and-white wall-building reductionism looks especially illusory in our age of interrelated and mutable sociocultural aggregations. In particular, those very features of transcultural impermanence and heterogeneity make it unreal to draw a clear dividing line between what Werner Hüllen (1992) distinguished as *Identifikationssprachen* and *Kommunikationssprachen,* i.e. 'languages of identification' and 'languages of communication'. Language as a working

process will retain the double function, to a varying degree, in the identity-communication continuum (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 10-13). It is interesting to remember, with Sabine Fiedler (2011), the EU's proposal of a "personal adoptive language" freely chosen by every European, which should be "[…] different from his or her language of identity, and also different from his or her language of international communication" (Maalouf, 2008).

In my thesis, I have tried to substantiate that those 20th century nation-state postulates mentioned in the introduction, i.e. a monolithic and monocultural standard language and its mainly written prescriptive and proscriptive grammar, native/second/foreign language, native/non-native speaker, interlanguage and target language, language competence and language performance, the fractional and additive notions of bilingualism and the artificial distinction between cultural and linguistic identity are no more applicable to the plurilithic, multicultural and cross-cultural flux and flows of today's glocal and hybrid society. Likewise, the past-century pragmatist concern with real-world competence vs performance compartmentalization and discourse analysts' emphasis on text and discourse are no more consistent with our real-time multimedial world, its fluid sociocultural agents and allegiances and multifaceted—and often puzzling—linguacultural impermanence. In other terms, the 17th century "[…] Cartesian scientific model of mind-body dualism, and that view of the world as a resource to be exploited or 'developed'" (van Lier, 2004: 170) are to give way to a holistic, world-friendly, interrelated, situated and glocally contextual representation of language, both in its theoretical assumptions and pedagogic applications to language learning and teaching across multifarious sociocultural scenarios. In particular, challenging, as initially stated, the validity of given-for-granted orthodoxies and ideological divides from a postmodernist perspective, language ecology investigation can fruitfully look into the multidisciplinary, pluricentric, cross-cultural and intercultural implications of bi/multilingualism and the glocal use of English as a *lingua franca* in a variety of EU educational and occupational environments and the in-the-making co-construction of discursive *third space* identities by multicultural ELF interactants. This reversal of entrenched attitudes and concerns, along the lines of Mc Namara's (2014) *revolución*, i.e. "[…] a radical reconceptualization of the construct of successful communication […]" (231) from a holistic language ecology perspective is thus

underpinned by the complexity and mutability of our global and local multicultural communities in the new millennium.

A holistic and cross-cultural outlook on a glocal ecology of language could, then, produce a major overhaul of perspectives and directly inform a new geocentric, pluricentric and inclusive idea of language policy and planning with its multifarious applications: from the early top-down, decontextualized and abstract modernization and development schemes of language engineering to a bottom-up, contextualized, critical and sensitive understanding of sociolinguistic realities and the situated allegiances of macro and micro actors, as advanced by postmodernist critical awareness, including, as mentioned, the fluid and often unpredictable identity and agency of the individual language user. There ensues a widened research interest: no more focused on the actions of state agencies but on those actors whose multiple affiliations are to be investigated through a set of multidisciplinary instruments, *inter alia*, "[…] related work in the ethnography of communication, in mass media, and in microsociolinguitics, as well as in sociology and political theory" (Tollefson, 2010: 472).

The debate on linguistic human rights is probably the most contended field in language planning study and appears critical to the thinking out of a viable and holistic language ecology. Who can have rights and to what, in particular, is still a crucial and controversial issue. As viewed, the ideological discussion involves a variety of historical, cultural and socio-economic factors hinging on the two contrasting principles of assimilation and pluralism and strictly connected to the ideological and political positions on bi/multilingual education. Essentially, the bone of contention is about language power within a specific community: the majority vs minority (minorities) relationships and resulting linguistic policies of empowering integration or disempowering subtraction. The insights of critical linguists, notably Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillippson, who have focused on the rights of indigenous peoples and various dominated groups, including linguistic minorities, have been especially enlightening to me. Consistently, I have picked out the intrinsic elusiveness and political expediency in the employment of such concepts as 'self', 'the other', nation, language, culture and intercultural, when, as voiced by Prashad (2001), discourses of culture are often resorted to as an instrument for placing ourselves on pedes-

tals, looking down on the Other as "[…] less civilized, modern and cosmopolitan […]" while couching the discourses in terms of tolerance and respect (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 8). On the other hand, I have shared Susan Wright's and Colin Baker's perceptive conclusion that committed defence of minority rights and bilinguacultural diversity should always allow for individual choice in maintaining and/or reviving one's heritage language, or dialect, and its cultural world view, integrating this additively with a nation-state standard and/or *lingua franca* to better participate in a larger national or supranational community, or, in some cases, even quitting one's own language, adopting a more useful medium, associated with social and economic mobility, power and prestige, and affiliating with a larger community of practice as an instrument for material promotion and socio-cultural integration. On account of the inherent complexity and manifold implications, the human rights debate continues to be the object of interdisciplinary concern for such diverse scholars as social theorists, international and constitutional lawyers, political scientists, applied linguists, sociolinguists and educationists.

In fact, the discussion about the nature and defence of linguistic human rights and the related assimilation/pluralism issue are complicated by the multifaceted and controversial import of identity: which linguacultural community or communities does the individual actually (want to) identify with? In other terms, if, on the one hand, we are aware of the rights of indigenous peoples and the subtractive imposition of a dominant language on linguistic minorities, with its much-investigated aftermath, on the other, we should realize that an outright rejection of factual individual conditions and opportunities, as sticking to the language or dialect of one's own small heritage community would entail, might lead to personal and societal disempowerment and isolation. Then, if linguacultural entrenchment would have been likely to undermine the life chances of a monolingual or monodialectal speaker, e.g. in Sicily or Galicia fifty years ago, inability to proficiently use English as a *lingua franca* and other empowering *lingua francas* is liable to bring on cultural self-confinement and drastically curb one's opportunities for material advancement in our glocal multimedial world today. Implementing effective policies of bi/multilingualism in the EU, therefore, has to be foremost in the minds of policy-makers and educators.

My short survey of language minorities and language spread has called attention to the precariousness of most world languages, especially the multitudinous array which still convey the cultural and symbolic world views and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of tiny and remote communities. The domain has been extensively investigated in a multidisciplinary corpus of studies on language attrition and loss, with a variety of proposals and schemes to revitalize indigenous and heritage languages. Numerous findings show that, when credible top-down educational policies and bottom-up intergenerational transmission are missing or weak, the compulsion to abandon one's ancestral linguaculture and adhere to the majority group language, especially world-renowned *lingua francas*, is hard to stem and has led to language death and shift.

As mentioned, language use has to do with the varying shape of societal and individual identity. Bringing in mind that a key element in language history is change rather than stasis, that language decline is often occasioned by the decline in the existence and attractions of traditional lifestyles (Edwards, 2004-2006: 458) and that globalization has enhanced a universal desire for real-time cross-cultural communication, shifting to a larger and stronger language, as to mainstream English in Ireland and among Hispanics in the USA, seems inevitable, despite minority-language standardization and modernization efforts, which are always possible but not always practicable. The shift, then, would result from the inherent imbalance of power and prestige between the languages, or language varieties, and the levelling agency of urbanization, modernization and mobility. Edwards (2004-2006) emphasizes the agency of such pressure on immigrant minorities and indigenous groups to change, which throws populations into transitional states that have unpleasant consequences (459).

On the other hand, as Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson illustrate (2001), the reasons for individual option of maintaining, accruing or changing languages and identity-related allegiances cannot and should not be to the detriment of a more encompassing and conscientious awareness of the crucial interrelationship between linguacultural diversity and biological diversity. Since uniformity can endanger a species by providing inflexibility and unadaptability and the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse, being ecological diversity essential for long-term planetary survival (Baker, 2001: 281), that as-

serted commitment to preserving indigenous languages as indispensable and irrecoverable sources of TEK, encoded and passed down over the generations, should unequivocally override the short-sighted interests of national and supranational states, financial lobbies and transnational corporations to inform a new and widely shared approach to language ecology. To this effect, the struggle for linguacultural human rights against impending anomie and genocide tallies with individuals' and communities' pledge to stem and reverse the submersion and erasure of language ecologies, and thus the disappearance of multitudinous languages and minoritized yet precious funds of traditional knowledge. I have tried to substantiate that multidisciplinary commitment to invoking and preventing unequal power relations, subtractive homogenization and irreparable attrition as a result of linguicist genocide should start from a critical analysis of terminology to better look into the key factors of power, status and prestige. Campaigning for linguacultural human rights entails, then, researchers' proactive involvement but also major changes in educational language policy and strategies to counter hierachization and linguistic submersion so that indigenous cultures and languages may have better conditions and be transferred from one generation to the next, in families and through schools, and linguistic minorities may have a local and global voice in their survival and empowerment, as vocalized by the two critical linguists (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 4)

I have also observed that language spread has principally entailed the pervasive dissemination of global English across diverse communities of practice—lesser-used, migrant, dialect and sign languages—, notably in the presence of subtractive language policies and weak forms of bilingual education, with the implication of overt or covert assimilation and submersion. Empirical study attests that the only effective way to curb language death and the mathetic levelling power of the glocal medium is to adopt and streamline strong forms of bilingual and multilingual education, socioculturally appropriate to the multifarious communities and individual users in our multicultural and cross-cultural world village. A central point in the debate on the advantages of bi/multilingualism is about what forms of bilingual education can best counter the well-documented weaknesses of monolingual and transitional education**.** Looking at the manifold outcomes of bi/multi-

lingualism, Mackiewicz's words about what knowing one or more languages entails in terms of actual competences and abilities in today's knowledge society sound a conspicuous caveat for learners, teachers and researchers: "Beware, I mean, you can have three languages within a short period of time, but what are you then able to *do* with these languages?" (EC manuscript, 2011: 75).

The new millennium has ushered in a global and local issue, i.e. migration, which has recurred in the historical shaping and reshaping of the western sociocultural, linguistic and educational scenarios over the centuries. The current phenomenon is directly linked to the EU-wide need for a holistic, humane and clear-sighted policy and planning and the multifaceted protection of allochthonous communities and individual human rights: refugees, internally displaced people (IDP), economic migrants, especially children and women, legal resident migrants as well as brain migrants, i.e. highly-skilled graduate and postgraduate young people searching for more satisfactory and better-paid employment in other EU states or overseas. I have briefly surveyed the devious ways of western neo-colonialism and the agency of transnational corporations and organizations— the "Debt for Equity Swap" framework highlighted by Hatem Bazian (2015)—that underlie the current exhaustion of young human resources in African and Asian war-and-drought battered polities. Regarding the impact of this dramatic turnabout on language teaching and the prospect of a new ecology in the EU, i.e. an across-the-board surge in multilingual and multicultural attendance in primary and secondary education, I have focused on the reasons for intercultural bi/multilingualism based on two major interrelated matters:

a. Migrant and minority-language children do not attain adequate L1 and L2 communicative and academic skills, with a relevant impact on their personality growth, work opportunities and prospective integration as intercultural brokers.

b. Host community members miss plurilingual opportunities to open their minds and also act as intercultural brokers.

A clear-sighted EU policy, then, should go to great lengths to take stock of migrants' deep-seated motivations for migrating, remove material and linguistic barriers and walls between different linguacultures and start to look at the newcomers as cultural

and material resources for an inclusive and truly intercultural European society.

I have also pointed out that a key concept that should inspire holistic educational policies on both migrant and host communities is that of active and generative citizenship, as formulated in the Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, "Living Together As Equals in Dignity" (7th May 2008). Consistently, a different, better-organized and equitable EU-wide educational provision could thwart all kinds of xenophobia, exploitation and blind political interest and protect disadvantaged and marginalised groups from trafficking, illegal adoption, child marriage, sexual exploitation and forced labour while struggling against prejudice and promoting effective and viable forms of integration with the host community. As vocalized by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Malala Yousafzai, education, especially for girls, "[…] not just the basics, but an education that gives them the tools and skills they need to fly" (Malala Yousafzai, UNHCR, May 2016: 1), is the best way to empower and protect these vulnerable groups. Hence the primary objective of intercultural bi/multilingual provision should be to turn a formal equality of opportunities for all communities into effective equality of life chances and outcomes through systematic context-embedded action.

As mentioned, François Grosjean (2011) voiced linguists' widespread enthusiasm for sign languages in his post "Sign Language and Bilingualism. Discovering a different form of bilingualism", where he recalls being introduced to sign language and the world of the Deaf, overwhelmed by the beauty of their visual language as well as by the history of Deaf people. Sharing the same enthusiasm, in spite of my sign illiteracy, I include a brief description of these intriguing linguistic communities, their gestural languages, peculiarities and needs that would certainly deserve a keener multidisciplinary research interest. Hence this work surveys the multimodal and sociocultural implications, sociolinguistic diversity and functionality of sign languages viewed from the perspective of bi/multilingualism in our digital age. The field of sign languages and Deaf communities has, indeed, a terrific semiotic potential, still mainly unexplored by applied linguistic investigation, since, as mentioned, most sign languages in the world are not satisfactorily described or documented and, due to the unavailability of data, still need a cross-linguistic typological survey. In fact, beyond the linguistic work done on a few sign languages in in-

dustrialized countries, namely, in the United States, hardly anything is known about most sign languages in Asia, Africa, South America and Central America. What we know from the World Federation of the Deaf (2019) and the 22nd edition of *Ethnologue* (2019) is that there are around 70 million Deaf people and at least 143 recognized living sign languages in the world as vital instruments for expressing local Deaf cultures, with a complex typological diversity based on the real-world users and use of the languages.

As viewed, the sign language debate has long focused on a crucial question: do Deaf people form a linguistic minority, with sociocultural peculiarities, or just a group defined by their hearing impairment? I have argued that the two divergent positions parallel the assimilation-versus-pluralism discourse on bilingualism and have analogous effects. Beyond this, the issue of sign languages and Deaf communities has a wide range of applications in linguistics and social sciences: *inter alia*, the contended—and often ideological—notion of "normality", the fascinating implications of bimodal bi/multilingualism, the eco-centric earth-and-language rooted, collectivist conception of civilization, progress, nature, community membership, knowledge and identity the Deaf share with Native and Aboriginal groups, the age-old sociocultural marginalization of sign language minorities in the hearing mainstream, the common bias of deafness as a deficit and the use of technology for breaking cultural barriers, countering assimilation and discrimination and augmenting Deaf people's chances on the job market.

One overarching aspect, and the aim of reported EU educational provision, is how to enhance the aural/oral mainstream's knowledge and proactive understanding of the Deaf world view, their uniqueness and necessities, namely through the availability of sign language classes for hearing people, in a holistic and open-minded vision of Deaf people's needs and potentialities to raise awareness, eliminate discrimination, devise situated measures, empower this group and maximize their contribution to a humane, barrier-free European community.

A cardinal postulate of this work is my perception of bilingualism as the mobile and functional outcome of proficient and accurate sociopragmatic use of two languages across a diversified range of styles and registers. As mentioned, linguists have variously il-

lustrated the multifarious benefits of multilingual education and multicultural awareness towards the laborious making of a European citizenship on our continent, since multilingualism plays a crucial role in the educational and vocational opportunities promoted by the EU over the decades. Findings show that the current uneventful daily employment of English has scaffolded the learning and effective use of other EU languages, e.g. among Erasmus students and Grundvig apprentices. Hence, a balanced bilingual will be able to move across a number of domains, targets and registers of the two languages effectively. Bilingual Hispanic children in the USA, for instance, will use their mother tongue in familiar contexts, e.g. speaking 'motherese', or vernacular Spanish, and English as an academic medium, but also as a playground language, with no real effort. Without necessarily mastering the two languages, they will show instrumental ability to understand and convey concepts and ideas and express feelings and attitudes properly. Along these lines, the thesis highlights the special part played by bilinguals and multilinguals in the closer multimodal contact that the Internet brings people and business into and the central place of bi/multilinguals in our cross-cultural and intercultural society, positing a holistic idea of a bilingual as opposed to the fractional notion of 'two monolinguals in one person'. The new instrumentality characterizes a substantial number of people, e.g. exchange students, interns, travellers, and is especially linked to the forthcoming role of migrants' children as intercultural brokers. I have singled out bilinguals' unique linguistic profile and set of multi-competences in a variety of domains which enables them to choose one or the other language, or language variety, according to their different interlocutors, purposes and situational contexts. Bilinguals' capability to proficiently use language shifting or mixing as a form of integrated communicative competence has reminded me of Ofelia García's (2009a, 2009b) 21st century dynamic constructs of *transglossia*, *translanguaging* and *co-languaging* as the hybrid, overlapping and simultaneous use of different languages reflecting intercultural bi/multilinguals' capacity to cross boundaries, make bridges and act as brokers between different monolingual economic and political zones while indexing situated transcultural identities in our fluid world of digital communication. Yet, I have stressed that, in order to avert anomie and split identity, bi/multilinguals need to preserve and nourish their own heritage funds of knowledge.

One firm point and underlying *leitmotiv* of this thesis is to accommodate what I have looked upon as the two poles of the English spread continuum at the time of globalization: the inherent paradox of the spread of this language, linguaculturally and mathetically encroaching at the same time as transcending and empowering. There is, in fact, incontrovertible evidence that English is no more the native standard of Britain, the USA and other inner-circle countries only. This common-sense realization stems from the extraordinary spread of the language, as non-native speakers outnumber English native speakers and the language is used on a daily basis in an ever-growing variety of international and intranational sociocultural settings. The glocal place and pace of English, primarily used by non-native speakers today as "[…] a banal and unremarkable skill like literacy" (Grin, 1999. In Wright, 2004: 178) and contextually talked into multifarious being, calls for a new, encompassing and situated idea of "correct language" and requires that the 20th-century concepts of "native speaker", "standard English", "communicative competence" and "speech community" be substituted with up-to-date holistic constructs, i.e, respectively, "intercultural speaker/broker", "English as a *lingua franca*", "intercultural communicative competence" (Byram, 1997) and "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998). I have also touched on another interesting focus, i.e. the notion of identity-indexing "global flows". It refers to the hybrid, diffuse and deterritorialised ways in which cultural forms change and move between different local and global communities, fashioning and re-fashioning new co-constructed identities in diverse contexts. All these constructs are, thus, indexical of interactional categories of identity, ethnicity, power relationships, gender and nationality, so that we could better look to glocal ELF as a cross-cultural, situational, protean and fluid form of English as an intercultural language (EIcL), rather than English as an international language (EIL).

ELF and interculturality are two relatively-recent fields that have aroused the interest of interdisciplinary research over the last decades. ELF exemplifies the 21st-century postmodernist view of language as an impermanent and hybrid set of multiple linguistic resources, both global ad local in scope, which construct novel speech forms, whereas "standard" forms have been criticized as ideological constructions informed by structures of institutional power and authority. In opposition to essentialist categorization,

lingua franca English epitomizes, then, speakers' provisional bridge-making co-construction of meaning and reality. We also need to realize that the scenario for ELF intercultural communication has expanded rapidly: from the initial global powerful and privileged elites to the ever-larger multitude of the poor, disenfrenchised and disadvantaged, notably refugees and economic migrants, oppressed by the global economic transformations inflicted by the former (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 26). I have eventually stressed the need for thorough multifaceted analysis of the daily uneventful employment of *lingua franca* English and full potential of this language use as a cross-cultural bridge in the educational and academic establishments and at grass-roots level in a variety of European contexts.

Such wide-ranging implications call for a broader and multidisciplinary research focus on ELF beyond mere investigation into intelligibility and the grammatical, pragmatic and sociolinguistic dimensions of *lingua franca*. In fact, refraining from essentialist and centripetal observance of native-speaker norms, this use of the language creatively capitalizes on multifarious speakers' linguacultures as well as native and nativized English varieties and their pluricentric cultural heritage, being pragmatically suited to the real-life needs of international and intranational communication and pedagogy. Consistently, applied researchers need to look into those two broad areas of priority mentioned in Henry's study: the intracultural implications of using ELF and the relevant indexical value of such discourse as alternatives to the much-investigated intercultural and intelligibility focuses (Henry, 2016: 183). Instead of looking into differences and divides, researchers need to investigate similarities among interactants, i.e. "[…] values, opinions, interests and so forth across borders […]" and what these elements do to ELF interaction (Holmes & Dervin, 2016: 9). For this purpose, ethnographic research, especially set in natural, familiar and informal surroundings, e.g. the kitchen of a PhD students' hall in the UK or Finnish engineering students' workplace in Germany, is likely to best elicit how ELF international interactants, far from erecting barriers, use national cultures to creatively co-construct interactional *third space* identities and cultures in between their first language and culture (L1/C1) and the target language and culture (L2/C2) (Kramsch, 1993: 233).

As regards the question of deconstructing monolingual identities, the uneventful cross-cultural and intercultural adoption of English as a *lingua franca* across the most diverse sociocultural contexts might definitely help deconstruct the monolingual ideology of one nation/one (standard) language while furthering additive bi/multilingual practices in the EU at the same time as the presumed costs of multilingualism are outweighed by its benefits. Along these lines, the debated problem of medium of instruction, especially emphasized by globalization and internationalization and inevitably linked to questions of power and socioeconomic differential, might induce language-in-education planners to fully realize the daily commonplace use of this language everywhere and thus implement inclusive policies of additive bi/multilingualism. In fact, beyond the instrumental reasons for individual learning of a second or third language, bi/multilingual programmes, especially the strong forms of immersion and dual language education, can be crucial to developing learners' intercultural communicative competence (ICC), symbolic competence and intercultural awareness (ICA). I have emphasized that functional and contextualized use of an additional language (or languages) promotes our tolerance and understanding of different mindsets, cultural conventions, creeds, customs and rituals and thus breaks down societal and individual stereotypes, enhances intercultural sensitivity and co-constructs our own world view at this time of impermanence and transformation.

Yet, there is a caveat when considering ELF identity-making. Räisänen (2016)'s ethnographic study following the Finnish interns' cultural and intercultural trajectory, shows that the process does not always and necessarily lead to unanimous empathy with other non-native users of ELF. Despite the rejection of inner-circle native normativity and the overall evolution towards mutual cross-cultural understanding and enregisterment in and through interaction, participants may talk their identities into being in a general atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty (Dervin, 2013) and ELF does not always engender or enhance intercultural awareness. Thus, although *lingua franca* communication promotes a "communicator" identity (Geo, 2014), it may also reinforce stereotypes and ethnocentrism, as illustrated by Räisänen (2016). More than direction, what seems to me especially pertinent is the very mutability of the process. Virkkula and Nikula (2010) highlight that students' identities in relation to being an English speaker change over time: from a lan-

guage learner's identity at school to a language user's identity in a global working environment. And if this has been intrinsic to all contact language communication over time, it also reminds us of the intrinsic sociocultural impermanence of our glocal society today.

We may finally agree that the existence of a common language being no more the exclusive advantage of a privileged class of inner-circle speakers may provide a huge advantage to a large number of people, both Anglophones and non-Anglophones, who realize how indispensable and empowering a vehicular language may be in the most diverse spheres of human activity, e.g. international cooperation, commerce, politics and, particularly, science, since, as Mühleisen (2003) points out, "[…] all science is useless if it is not accessible to other members of the discipline. This is easier with only one language as a scientific lingua franca" (117). Thus, incontrovertibly—and despite Critical Linguists' conclusions grounded in history—, English has *de facto* become the world's global *lingua franca*, locally and contextually appropriated as a baseline commonplace skill, across fields, registers and modes. Phillipson's (1992) and Grin's (2005) criticism, then, appears disproved by the actual spread and intercultural/intracultural pliability of ELF, well beyond the labels of 'language of communication' or 'native-culture-free code' (Fielder, 2011: 80). English as a *lingua franca* could then simply come to be the EU's supranational language for intercultural communication being a major cut in expenditure and an indispensable common tool for every European. It would probably be a simplified, rather artificial language at the beginning, necessarily empty of its native idiomatic features, but open to the variegated diversity of phonological, lexico-grammar and socio-pragmatic peculiarities of its speakers' native tongues. It goes without saying that all other languages—national, regional, migrant and sign languages—could continue to be used in specific sectors and domains and preserved for identification purposes.

Realizing such evolution opens the door to McNamara's (2014) invoked communicative *revolución* in the making of testing frameworks. Capitalizing on the crucial distinction between a foreign language and *lingua franca* (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 10), applied linguists need to focus research on that "[…] radical reconceptualization of the construct of successful communication […]" (Mc Namara, 2014: 231) with a view to re-

examining those firmly entrenched standard-based assumptions still evidenced in teaching practice and recommending major changes to English language teaching (ELT), as observed by Caine (July 2008). Thus, taken-for-granted monocultural constructs need to give way to a holistic pluricentric overhaul of outlook incorporating Mackiewicz' insights (EC Commission manuscript, 2011: 75) and Hall's (2014) notion of *Englishing*—from how people use the language to what they can *do* with it—throwing new light on what knowing one or more languages represents and enables in terms of actual abilities in a multifarious variety of glocal cross-cultural encounters.

Empirical investigation, therefore, needs to unpack that *third culture*, hybrid intermediate space between established norms, where ELF users negotiate and talk into being their multiple and mobile identities through linguistic and pragmatic strategies (Canagarajah, 2007). The resulting holistic measures, then, should be user-centred and norm-defocused (Newbold, 2014: 220) and look into the quality and quantity of variation across native and non-native Englishes. Refraining from the one-fits-for-all language-market testing templates, such as the CEFR, investigation should return to empirical and localized foundations for reliable and realistic outcomes. Also, countering established national and transnational English-language assessment frameworks—and the underlying ideological and political market power that legitimizes and enforces them—language testing should become an inclusive and empowering objective of language ecology and applied linguistics at large.

We may also agree with Will Baker that translating this understanding of communication into classroom practice is clearly challenging (Baker, 2016: 84). As he concludes, pedagogically-focused ELF research has generally demonstrated that learners and teachers are aware of the use of English as a global *lingua franca* no longer tied to the Anglophone world. Nevertheless, the research (cf. Jenkins, 2007) has produced mixed findings about how this awareness has informed language ideology and teaching practices, showing an inherent ambivalence between an acknowledged fluidity in English communication and a more traditional normative approach in teaching (Baker, 2016: 85). Baker calls attention to teachers' and learners' conflicting views: "Given the pervasiveness of normative and idealised NES-based approaches in ELT […]", we may well presume that

if teachers and learners became more aware "[…] of the varieties and variation in Englishes, and other languages […]", the normative views would be less prominent. In the end, "[…] it will be with teachers and teaching training that ELT practices change" (ibid.). And yet the intercultural approaches to language and culture and "[…] the complexity and fluidity of the relationships do not offer teachers easy answers to what they should teach or to the aims of language education" (ibid.).

On balance, turning theory into practice, user-centred ecolinguistic testing might imply a brand new perspective for a data-based normative viability. It goes without saying that thinking out and implementing ecological constructs for authentic multilinguacultural assessment is, as mentioned, "[…] a very complex and long-term effort […]" (Jenkins & Leung, 2017: 13). It calls for a thorough painstaking analysis of a set of interrelated factors: a student's sense of ownership, "[…] awareness of evolving accomplishments […], personal possession of progress", parents' collaboration and viewpoints and "[…] the gathering of information not just about the student but also about teaching, program design, family dynamics, parental involvement, previous schooling, cross-cultural expectations and available human and material resources" (Hamayan, Marler, Lopez & Damico, 2007. In Baker, 2011: 357).

Conclusively, on a sociolinguistic level, my analysis seems to confirm an ongoing Europe-wide disregard for several categories of language minorities which deserve careful consideration and strategic intervention: notably, migrant languages, sign languages and dialects. Still, this work tries to bring to the fore and critical forum applied linguists' expectation that the European proactive focus on the positive rights of linguacultural minorities and relevant legislation—e.g. the 1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, the 1998 EU Council Convention and Charter, the Commission and Parliament's various Resolutions and the OSCE's promotion of minority rights—should become fully operative, extend and soon embrace the situated needs of the multifarious language communities for the purpose of an open-minded, equitable, intercultural and inclusive language ecology in a really United Europe that may build bridges instead of walls between cultures, languages and religions.

Taking into account the specific living conditions of each language—regional, migrant and sign languages, dialects and *lingua francas*—, not easily changed by superimposed models, we may finally advocate a new ecolinguistic outlook on and real-world attention to those multifarious scenarios, with a critical eye and conscientious respect for language diversity and the ultimate choice of communities and individuals. This commitment appears foremost in this day and age of concrete and symbolic political wall building and sociocultural intolerance. The jury is still out, but, as suggested, who is going to have the last word will not be top-down language policy, but the bottom-up daily choices of individual Europeans.

12.2   A map of the terrain and proposals for future research

On balance, the real impact of bi/multilingualism and interculturality on schools, the repercussions for students' and teachers' needs and the challenge they pose to school management and families have not been thoroughly analysed and call for a more critical commitment and the hands-on experience of scholars and specialists. Building on postmodernist criteria applied to the real-world hybridity of English, as clarified by Juliane House (2003), the following questions could be finally singled out for debate and elicit further insights and conclusions from empirical data for an in-depth discussion towards even-handed and viable forms of language ecology:

1. In view of its science-based individual and societal benefits and the most recent political events, are bilingualism and multilingualism still conducive to effective and realistic policies of ecolinguistic transcendence and intercultural diversity?

2. How does the mass phenomenon of migration affect the linguacultural identity of the host community and migrant community? Is there an equitable solution to the widespread conflict of multiethnic and multicultural relationships? Can ELF contribute to a successful outcome in terms of cross-cultural and intercultural ecology?

3. Can we trace the thorny realities of terror, material and cultural disparity and marginalization to the historical weaknesses of our *de facto* multiethnic and multicultural, but not intercultural, society? The problem addresses a number of political, social and linguacultural issues that applied linguists can advantageously probe into, e.g., overt and covert forms of resurgent neo-colonialism, the Western attitude towards African and Asian countries and migrants' bottom-up world views, needs and expectations, wall-building nationalism and widespread intolerance against localized lip-service and perfunctory policies of integration.

4. What might be the upshot of glocal English spread in terms of linguistic human rights and policies of sociocultural and linguistic inclusion/exclusion?

5. From the perspective of the current debate on ELF and bi/multilingualism, is the principle of *strength in diversity* still viable for the purpose of a new and possibly fairer language ecology in the EU?

6. How does the glocal prominence of English discourses impact on the preservation of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) worldwide? Can a *de facto* predominance of English bring on the attrition and possible erasure of cultural and linguistic diversity? To what extent are biodiversity and linguacultural diversity endangered? Is there a viable solution to submersion?

7. What is the multimedia-mediated mathetic pull of glocal English likely to produce in the construction of individuals' "conceptual self" (Neisser, 1988) and group identity? Is deconstruction of monolingual identity a viable instrument for an intercultural pluricentric language ecology?

8. What are the real-world implications of ecolinguistic theories on language teaching practices?

9. What do students and families know and think about the intercultural classroom? What should they expect?

10. What forms of bi/multilingual education could best counter the well-documented weaknesses of monolingual and transitional education, e.g. not attaining adequate first-and foreign language communicative skills and monolingual/monocultural mainstreaming and submersion?

11. What are the general criteria in terms of "intensity, starting age, duration and amount of explicit language teaching" (Coyle, 2007, 2008) to be inferred, shared and possibly applied to the local learning communities?

12. How can the EU member states better pool their know-how, advances and diverse pedagogic experience in the design and implementation of bi/multilingual intercultural testing frameworks?

13. How can experiential, message-oriented, intercultural bilingual teaching be effective in terms of L2 oral communicative skill development? Is it useful to teach specialized and technical vocabulary in secondary education (e.g. in the Italian school)?

14. How can intercultural bi/multilingual education advantageously tap English as a *lingua franca* for a real-world, holistic and plurilithic application of this medium to a variety of work and academic *communities of practice* across intercultural and intracultural settings today? Can ELF become a shared *κοινή*, i.e. cross-cultural medium of instruction and instrument for intercultural understanding and tolerance across the EU? What is its hands-on application to glocal heterogeneous educational settings likely to bring forth?

12.3   A few final remarks on the intent of this thesis

This work might be seen as a sample of in-the-making qualitative research. Its most apparent constraint consists in its very theoretical and descriptive outlook and scope, although it was originally meant to include a primary empirical study that circumstances have not allowed me to carry out. It was inspired by the reading of various texts, including my MA thesis, and has its theoretical foundations in the critical insights of Bourdieu (1982,

1986, 1991), van Lier (2004) and Foucault (1972, 1977, 1980, 1985). Susan Wright's (2004) observations on the ultimate sweep of the Foucauldian view are especially relevant to my own perspective in the thesis, which has its leitmotif in the inherent hybrid interplay of two opposing forces, i.e. submersion and transcendence:

> Pennycook takes a highly Foucauldian view of the issues, seeing discursive practices as wholly constitutive of social systems and the very object of conflict (Foucault 1972). Because of this, he has a tendency to underplay the socio-politico-economic dimension of power formation (Holborow 1999). I do not want to deny that discursive practices and the elaboration of ideology are constitutive of the present linguistic situation, but I do believe, along with Holborow, that this is only a partial truth. **Power relationships are constituted through force and money as well as through discourse and these three actually dovetail in a complex way. Moreover, the Postmodern discursive model tends to lead authors to concentrate on the top-down imposition of ideology and to neglect the very strong and widespread bottom-up demand to enter and be part of the process**. **To see those who want to be part of global networks, structures and flows as completely hoodwinked by hegemonic manipulation from the heartland of Capitalism denies agency to the vast majority.**[128] It is difficult to accept that the individual subject is never competent and that their motivations and rationales do not sometimes develop from a dispassionate assessment of the opportunities open to them and the constraints operating on them (Wright, 2004: 170-171).

Consistently, I deny a deterministic—and maybe simplistic—notion of discourse and advocate a heterogeneous set of individual choices along a continuum between the macro "[…] top-down imposition of ideology […]" through power-enforced discourse and the micro "[…] bottom-up demand to enter and be part of the process" (ibid.). And such a multifaceted and fluid reality is also likely to inform that *third space* individual and creative agency in the use of English as a *lingua franca* to be further investigated by applied linguists.

Ultimately, the other side of the theoretical and ideological coin, as expounded and promoted by van Lier (2004), and the main purpose of this work, is to prompt an empirical investigation into the pedagogic viability of a language ecology perspective and the

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[128] Emphasis added.

making of intercultural plurilithic testing constructs. As stated in the introduction, language does not flow in a shapeless vacuum so the ecolinguistic outlook and critical sensibility will warrant applied linguists' thorough ongoing understanding and creative application of holistic patterns to the ever-growing variety of real-world contexts and concerns.

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RESUMEN Y CONCLUSIONES EN ESPAÑOL

Por supuesto uno de los hitos de la investigación sociolingüística y de lingüística aplicada reciente ha sido haber puesto en tela de juicio conceptos aceptados de manera indiscutible por la tradición lingüística de occidente como son "gramática prescriptiva y su conjunto de normas", "lengua nativa", "lengua nativizada" y "lengua extranjera", "competencia lingüística", "bilingüismo", "multilingüismo", y, finalmente, las mismas categorías de "lengua", "cultura", "identidad" e "interculturalidad". De este modo, las categorías fijas y la idea esencialista de la lengua como *producto* reificado, chomskyamente condensado en normas codificadas y prescriptibles, han dado paso a un constructo descriptivo y progresivo cuya validez sólo es atribuible a un número de interactantes en una interrelación de roles y en un contexto situacional. Además, la superación de las barreras nacionales, de ideologías contrapuestas, de seguridades y valores tradicionales que fomentaban la *Weltanschauung* del siglo XX ha sido acelerado por los resultados de la globalización.

La movilidad y la fluidez, propias de una visión trasnacional e intercultural, fomentan los nuevos principios: gramática descriptiva, repertorio verbal y no verbal, motivación integrante, aprendizaje cooperativo (scaffolding), multicompetencia y multiculturalismo, 'translanguaging', sensibilidad comunicativa, competencia comunicativa intercultural, competencia simbólica, conciencia intercultural, identidad múltipla y cambiante y una visión holística del bilingüísmo y multilingüísmo. Se elabora una justificación sociopragmática y estratégica del error gramatical en el discurso multilingüe y translingüe de hablantes no nativos y finalmente surge un nuevo concepto de la lengua como *proceso* expandible, inclusivo, dinámico, trascultural y multilingüe, como Colin Baker nos explica comentando el constructo de 'translanguaging' de Ofelia García:

> The additive view of bilingualism is more of a 20th century concept. O. García (2009a) suggests that a 21st-century view is more dynamic, with the hybrid, overlapping and simultaneous use of different languages. Such 'translanguaging' reflects transcultural identities and multilingualism in an increasingly globalized world of communication. The dynamic, simultaneous existence of different languages in communication makes for a close interrelationship between languages, which is more than being additive (Baker, 2011: 72).

Al plantear una construcción semiótica del lenguaje como un proceso abierto e inclusivo (Ortega y Gasset, 1957; Becker, 1991, 1995; Prodromou, 2006) y una interconexión estricta entre las dinámicas del lenguaje y el poder (Bourdieu, 1982, 1986, 1991), mi trabajo ofrece un análisis general de cuestiones teóricas y de la práctica del lenguaje en el mundo real relacionadas con la importancia de la ecología lingüística, la diversidad, el bi/multiligualismo y el papel funcional del inglés como *lingua franca* y *lingua mundi* en la UE, en un enfoque geocéntrico, contextual, orientado a la acción y crítico del lenguaje en oposición a los constructos antropocéntricos, descontextualizados y fraccionarios del estructuralismo racional del siglo XX. Basado en la práctica de la enseñanza del inglés, mi estudio apunta a destacar las debilidades de una visión monolingüe y monocultural y se centra en el dilema entre un dominio *de facto* del inglés y preocupaciones 'glocales', es decir globales y al mismo tiempo locales, bilingües y multilingües en toda la Unión Europea.

La presente tesis doctoral es, por lo tanto, una revisión conceptual y descriptiva de la visión del mundo innovadora y del campo de trabajo todavía provisional de la ecología lingüística desde un punto de vista posmoderno. Examina las implicaciones pluricéntricas, holísticas, interculturales y multidisciplinares de la ecología lingüística y del inglés como *lingua franca* y las interconexiones estrictas y de amplio alcance de macro y micro facetas de la educación lingüística en una variedad de escenarios sociolingüísticos 'glocales' de la UE. El inglés ya no es una lengua colonial para varios escritores africanos. Achebe (1975/2005) y Soyinka (1966-1996), por ejemplo, opinan que escribir en inglés no es celebrar las virtudes de un poder colonial sino que el inglés es una lengua africana y que "[...] writing in adapted African forms of English can be both a powerful means of literary expression and a powerful, medium for expressing rebellion" (Schmied, 1991. In Kirkpatrick, 2007: 112).

Puesto que el inglés, como afirma la famosa novelista Indiana Anita Desai, es "[...] flexible, elastic, resilient, capable of taking on whatever tones, rhythms and colours I chose" (Desai, 1996: 222), podríamos sostener y compartir la creatividad lingüística de Soyinka: "When we borrow an alien language [...] we must stretch it, impact and compact it, fragment and reassemble it [...]"(Soyinka. In Schmied, 1991: 126). Eso es justamente lo que parece conseguir Achebe al presentar dos versiones del mismo cuento, una en una variedad africana de inglés; otra en inglés 'standard' para ilustrar la riqueza metafórica y la intensidad evocadora del vernáculo africano. Achebe evidencia la doble funcionalidad del inglés como *lingua franca* literaria de los africanos: "The African writer should therefore 'aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his personal experience'" (Achebe, 1975/2005: 171. In Kirkpatrick, 2007: 112).

El papel del inglés como *lingua franca* en Europa condensa, a mi entender, la fluidez, la movilidad y la ambivalencia de nuestra época. ¿Sumersión o trascendencia? ¿Instrumento de la hegemonía económica y cultural angloamericana y sus corporaciones transnacionales, causa oculta de desgaste y extinción de la variedad lingüística y cultural en el mundo y de sus 'reservas de conocimientos', prerrogativa de los 'nativos' y de círculos interiores de privilegiados, o medio globalmente compartido de comunicación y comprensión interculturales, koiné denativizado, mediador flexible de multiidentidades étnicas y sociolingüísticas? El objetivo de mi trabajo es aclarar la ambivalencia no resuelta propia del asunto en un marco diacrónico y sincrónico y plantear preguntas en vez de conclusiones definitivas al juício crítico y a la investigación empírica de los lingüistas.

De hecho, por un lado, la superación de la tradición y el multilingüismo erosionan dramáticamente el sentido tradicional de la identidad individual, puesto que el uso del inglés como *lingua franca* presupone la adhesión del hablante a una comunidad multilingüe, lo cual tiene implicaciones en el uso pragmático del lenguaje y, como nos explica Halliday (1978: 54-56), en la función matética y heurística del lenguaje, o sea la construcción individual de la realidad y del sentido y la manera de aprender (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 169-170). Por otro lado, sin embargo, el uso diario del inglés en las instituciones europeas y en la vida común por parte de expertos, políticos, estudiantes e individuos comunes en lugares, círculos y ámbitos semánticos cada vez más extensos define su

peculiaridad como lengua *glocal*: diversidad localizada y sociolingüística, extrema riqueza lexical, variabilidad fonológica e idiomática, mediación intercultural.

Dicho de otra forma, lo que Phillipson (1992) describe como instrumento de imperialismo lingüístico hoy en día sólo aparece "[...] a banal and unremarkable skill like literacy" y la competencia en lengua inglesa "[...] necessary but not sufficient, a basic requirement for a whole raft of professions, activities and memberships" (Grin, 1999. In Wright, 2004: 178). En mi opinión, una vez constatada esa realidad que es el inglés como lengua global y local, que ha venido determinada por el propio devenir histórico, es urgente abrir el círculo y poner al alcance de todos los europeos, de manera más democrática y efectiva, el poder mediático e interculturalmente unificador del inglés.

Finalmente, aprovechando las percepciones inspiradoras de van Lier (2004) y el paradigma crítico de 'problematización' de Foucault (1972, 1977, 1980, 1985), mi tesis apunta a estimular la reflexión crítica y el debate sobre la aplicación del inglés como *lingua franca* a marcos educativos y ocupacionales europeos heterogéneos con el objetivo de una ecología lingüística situada, equitativa y abarcadora y el propósito de abrir "[...] ventanas por las cuales podamos ver mejor a la realidad" (Natsoulas, 1993).