Critical Essay

Plurilingualism, Multilingualism, and Lingua Franca English in Today's Globalised World

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Abstract

We live in a multilingual world where English serves as the language of international communication. It permeates every sphere of life, from education to trade, from employment to scientific literature. However, parallel to English as the lingua franca of worldwide exchange, several other languages co-exist and overlap in our multilingual and multicultural society. The purpose of this essay is to discuss the central role of plurilingualism as a way to support multilingualism and linguistic diversity but also as a very important means to enhance cognitive abilities, including metalinguistic awareness. It also considers the prominent role of English as the shared language of worldwide interaction. The ultimate aim of this study is to encourage reflection on a new vision of language teaching, which fosters knowledge of languages as a primary source of social and individual benefits, and, at the same time, focuses on lingua franca English for effective communication in the global society.

Keywords: plurilingualism, multilingualism, cognitive abilities, lingua franca English, globalised world

Introduction

Multilingualism and plurilingualism are broad, interconnected and complex topics that can be investigated from different perspectives and approaches (social, cultural, sociolinguistic, educational, economic, etc.). Multilingualism is closely related to globalisation, which, resulting in the spread of English as the language of communication worldwide, has also amplified the value and the importance of preserving linguistic and cultural diversity. Within this context, plurilingualism plays a major role, as competence in more than one language means knowledge of the cultural differences that underlie distinct languages, thus reinforcing and supporting

the existence of different linguistic and cultural identities. This essay intends to highlight plurilingualism as a key means for supporting multilingualism and linguistic diversity, and considers the prominent role of English as the lingua franca of international communication in the era of globalisation. The essay also devotes much space to the beneficial effects of plurilingualism on the development of cognitive abilities – with particular reference to metalinguistic awareness – and explains the positive implications from a sociolinguistic standpoint.

For the purposes of this study, it is considered appropriate to first make a distinction between "multilingualism" and "plurilingualism", two words that are often used as synonyms, despite their different meanings. In the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) document, the Council of Europe (2001: 4) discusses the difference between "multilingualism", defined as "the knowledge of a number of languages or the coexistence of different languages in a given society", and "plurilingualism", when "an individual person's experience of language expands from the language of the home [...] to the languages of other peoples", so that s/he "does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact". In the definition of multilingualism cited above, a distinction is made between individual multilingualism ("the knowledge of a number of languages"), therefore people's ability to speak languages other than their mother tongue, and societal multilingualism ("the coexistence of different languages in a given society"). However, in the descriptions offered by the Council of Europe in another official document, published later, in 2007, no reference to individual multilingualism is made, and the following definitions are provided:

Multilingualism refers to the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one 'variety of language' i.e. the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognised as a language or not; in such an area, individuals may be monolingual, speaking only their own variety.

Plurilingualism refers to the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use, and is therefore the opposite of monolingualism; it includes the language variety referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages or varieties. Thus, in some multilingual areas some individuals may be monolingual and some may be plurilingual (Council of Europe 2007: 8).

In the present essay, the terms "plurilingualism" and "multilingualism" will be used in the sense provided by the Council of Europe (2007), which basically distinguishes between a dimension where languages coexist side by side separately in a given space ("multilingualism"), and a dimension where

individuals are competent, at different degrees, in more than one language and culture ("plurilingualism"). The fact that an individual can be defined as plurilingual regardless of the degree of linguistic proficiency possessed is indicated by the European Commission as follows:

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to 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. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw (Council of Europe, 2001: 168).¹

Plurilingualism and linguistic diversity

Plurilingualism is different from multilingualism but also closely intertwined with it and with linguistic/cultural diversity, as plurilingualism nurtures multilingualism and linguistic/cultural identities. The concept and the importance of *diversity* are emphasised by the Commission of the European Communities (2005), which, regarding multilingualism and European values, states:

The European Union is founded on 'unity in diversity': diversity of cultures, customs and beliefs - and of languages. Besides the 20 official languages of the Union, there are 60 or so other indigenous languages and scores of non-indigenous languages spoken by migrant communities. It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a "melting pot", in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding. Language is the most direct expression of culture; it is what makes us human and what gives each of us a sense of identity (Commission of the European Communities, 2005, 596 1.1).

"Unity in diversity", "greater solidarity" and "mutual understanding" are three enormous values that can be achieved through awareness that different linguistic and cultural realities exist. This awareness can be fully obtained by penetrating those realities through knowledge of languages, which reflect the cultures of those who speak them. Multilingualism and diversity are two concepts closely connected with that of cultural and linguistic heritage. Coexistence and diversity of languages and cultures can only occur if linguistic and cultural heritage is preserved. This applies to all languages, especially to minor languages, those most at risk of dying. Bromham *et al.* (2022: 163) report that "of the approximately 7,000 documented languages, nearly half are considered endangered" and that "the loss of global language diversity has been massively accelerated by colonization and globalization."

¹ For an in-depth analysis of plurilingualism from the perspective of communication effectiveness, see Piccardo and Puozzo (2015).

The question of globalisation as the main threat to linguistic diversity and the importance of linguistic identity are also broadly discussed by King (2018: 2), who, regarding the spread of English worldwide, highlights the centrality of a language education policy that next to the prominent role of English as the international lingua franca, also "respects mother tongue heritage."

Plurilingualism and cognitive abilities

One of the domains where plurilingualism has been most investigated is cognitive linguistics. Here, it has been shown that plurilingualism has beneficial effects on several cognitive abilities (Marian and Shook, 2012; Chung-Fat-Yim et al., 2022; Achaa-Amankwaa et al., 2023). More specifically, plurilingualism seems to positively affect various aspects of cognition, such as memory, attention, problem-solving, creativity, and mental flexibility. The main reason lies in the fact that people who speak more than one language are used to switching between different linguistic codes. This process requires executive functions on the part of the brain, thus strengthening the abilities of planning, organising, and controlling (Gonzalez-Barrero and Nadig, 2019; Iarocci et al., 2017; Ratto et al., 2020; Romero and Uddin, 2021; Sharaan et al., 2021). However, the literature on this topic appears controversial, with some studies claiming sure positive effects on cognitive ability enhancement, and others arguing the need for further investigation, as more evidence is required to confirm the beneficial outcomes of bilingualism/plurilingualism on cognitive performance (see Filippi and Bright, 2023). Confusion and controversial positions on the topic in question are also generated by the lack of a universally accepted definition regarding the concept of bilingualism itself, starting from the distinction between bilingualism and plurilingualism, in that sometimes bilingualism is considered in the strict sense of competence in 'just two languages', others in the more general meaning of 'more than one language'. In the latter case, bilingualism becomes a form of plurilingualism in all respects (see Quay and Montanaro, 2018). Moreover, attitudes about bilingualism (in the sense of just two languages) have changed noticeably over time, going beyond the traditional view that only individuals with equal command of both languages can be considered bilinguals, and supporting instead a more 'tolerant' opinion according to which different degrees of proficiency can be accepted for individuals to be defined as bilinguals. In addition, the age of acquisition is another important factor that has been taken into account in the definition of bilingualism, i.e., whether the two languages have been acquired at the same time (simultaneous bilingualism) and during infancy or the second language has been learnt after infancy (sequential bilingualism). Within this framework, the lack of consensus about bilingualism/plurilingualism has led to heterogeneity in the selection criteria concerning the population to be

investigated about the relation between bilingualism/plurilingualism and development of cognitive abilities. However, Pot *et al.* (2018: 1) report that "cognitive advantages for bilinguals have indeed been observed in studies comparing the performance of bilinguals and monolinguals on a series of tasks that measure (components of) executive control, most notably inhibition." More specifically, the scholars report on the influential model of executive control by Miyake *et al.* (2018), where four components of executive functioning are distinguished, namely inhibition (the ability to suppress dominant responses), switching (between different tasks), monitoring (the ability to detect a potential conflictive situation and signal that the situation demands a specific action) (Costa *et al.*, 2008; Liu *et al.*, 2019), and updating (i.e. the ability to 'renew' information in the working memory). Based on this model, the prevalent view is that the enhancement of cognitive performance in bilinguals is due to a process of inhibition of the non-target language, as in bilinguals' brain both languages are always active.

Another cognitive ability that seems to benefit from knowledge of languages is metalinguistic awareness. Difficult to define due to the different perspectives it can be considered from (D'Angelo, 2021: 35), the concept of metalinguistic awareness has been explained as "an individual's ability to focus attention on language as an object in and of itself, to reflect upon language, and to evaluate it" (Schönpflug, 2001: 1174). Also described as "the ability to distance oneself from the content of speech in order to reflect upon the structure of language" (Ramirez et al., 2013: 54), metalinguistic awareness is a type of metacognition. A more detailed definition is provided by Bialystok et al. (2010), who describe metalinguistic awareness as a set of multiple skills that are related to the formal aspects of language: lexical, morphological, phonological, and syntactic. More precisely, lexical awareness is the ability to manipulate different aspects of lexical competence, with the latter including vocabulary size and lexical organisation. It proves useful in word selection, especially for writing purposes (Newton et al., 2023). Most importantly, lexical awareness also involves polysemous word learning, a crucial aspect in language acquisition as learners need to recognise multiple meanings of words and develop their cognitive and metacognitive knowledge of lexicon (Stahl and Nagy, 2006). In this respect, one of the most effective ways to polysemous word learning is exposure to authentic language input by means of concordances, lists of words that in a keyword context format (KWIC) help L2 learners understand the specific meaning of a word within the context it is used (Hwang and Cho, 2022). As for morphological awareness, this involves conscious knowledge of a series of linguistic aspects that help vocabulary learning. Nation and Bauer (2023: 81) provide a list of notions that contribute to building morphological awareness, first and foremost consciousness that

many languages have words that are made up of meaningful parts and that these parts systematically provide the meaning of words.

Another metalinguistic skill is phonological awareness, i.e. the ability to attend to and manipulate sound units such as syllables, phonemes, onsets and rimes (as distinct from rhymes), and other suprasegmental units like tones (Vender and Melloni, 2021: 1). It involves the ability to act on the sound units of languages in different ways. These include matching (the ability to recognise shared phonemes in a group of words), blending (the ability to listen to a sequence of separate phonemes to form a word), segmentation (the ability to break a word into separate phonemes), deletion (the ability to recognise the word that remains when a phoneme is removed from another word), addition (the ability to generate a new word by adding a phoneme to an existing word), and substitution (the ability to substitute a phoneme for another to create a new word) (Paganelli, 2007; Vender and Melloni, 2021). Phonological awareness has been documented as being higher in bilingual/plurilingual individuals who speak languages varying in phonological complexity, orthographic depth, and typological affinity (Kuo et al., 2016). It is important to primary language acquisition and mastery, and research shows it is likewise essential to second language acquisition, especially in regard to developing reading ability, the cornerstone of language literacy (Garcia, 2017). Finally, syntactic awareness is "the ability to manipulate and reflect on the grammatical structure of language" (Murthy et al., 2017: 533). Current theories such as the Reading Systems Framework (Perfetti and Stafura, 2014) see syntactic awareness as closely related to the reading comprehension process through the mechanisms of parsing (Burchall et al., 2023). Syntactic awareness increases in bilingual children, who perform better than same-aged monolingual peers, as the former must learn to control attention to language choice (Foursha-Stevenson and Nicoladis, 2011).

For the aims of the present work, the relationship between plurilingualism and cognitive abilities proves of great importance, as a mechanism is triggered in which competence in more than one language results in the development of cognitive skills in general and higher levels of metalinguistic awareness in particular, and this process, in turn, facilitates language learning (Jessner, 2010). It means that the improvement of cognitive abilities provided by language learning enables acquisition of new languages and/or the reinforcement of those already known. The ultimate result is the development of intercultural competence. From a sociolinguistic perspective, this process has very important positive implications. Developing intercultural competence means developing the ability to understand and respect each other across cultural barriers, therefore promoting openness to diversity. Plurilingualism thus proves to be a very precious resource. It is not just a tool that serves communication purposes. First and foremost, it is a means of

mutual understanding that gives value to languages and highlights their identities, while also giving prominence to *one's own* linguistic identity. Plurilingualism supports multilingualism and preserves diversity, and in doing this, cognitive skills and metalinguistic awareness play a major role.

English as a lingua franca in international communication

Next to the beneficial effects of plurilingualism on the development of cognitive abilities and its positive implications at an individual and social level, one cannot fail to consider the position that English has in plurilingual language education and the function it fulfils today in the global linguistic scenario, as well as its connection with multilingualism and linguistic/cultural identity.

English is the language of science and technology, the language of business and mass media, politics, diplomacy, and academia, and the language of the Internet. The pervasiveness of English in all spheres of life has determined its learning to be carried out starting from primary education and continuing into secondary and higher education, pursuing the twofold purpose of allowing non-native learners to understand an English text and have easier access to the job market. Most importantly, English is the lingua franca of international communication, namely the shared code of interaction between people of different native languages worldwide. English is the most spoken language by number of speakers (1,457 billion) considering both native (380 million) and non-native speakers (1.077 billion), followed by Chinese (1,138 billion), Hindi (609 million) and Spanish (559 million), and the third largest language by number of native speakers after Chinese (939 million) and Spanish (485 million) (Ethnologue, 2023). Thus, English is the third largest spoken language in terms of L1 speakers and the first one when also considering L2 speakers, who outnumber L1 speakers 4 to 1. Furthermore, "its most frequent use outside the L1 countries and ESL countries are between speakers neither of whom learnt it as an L1" (Jenkins, 2000: 6). Numerical data aside, which can also depend on how figures are collected and the lack of a unanimous opinion about the precise level of proficiency that a person must possess to be considered able to speak a language, the fact remains that English has by far the largest number of L2 speakers by any count (Christensen, 2015).

Moreover, English is the most geographically distributed language, as not all languages are homogeneously widespread (*Ethnologue*, 2023). The extent to which English has spread throughout the globe has determined profound changes in the language, and these have been (and still are) an object of investigation in ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) studies, which scrutinise variations and characteristics of English when it is used as a contact language among speakers of other native languages (Dewey, 2009; Jenkins, 2010; Kaur, 2009; Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2009). Research in ELF includes investigations

on metaphors and idioms (Pitzl, 2009), as well as in English in academic settings (Cappuzzo, 2015, 2016; Gotti, 2017; Mauranen, 2006; Mauranen and Ranta, 2008). As a matter of fact, as English has progressively moved beyond its original borders (see Kachru's circles, 1985), it has undergone a process of simplification in morphology, syntax and phonology, aimed at the effectiveness of communication and mutual understanding rather than the reproduction of native speaker standards. With regard to phonology, Jenkins (2010: 13) maintains that "speakers engaging in ELF communication should be free to pronounce English with their own first language regional accent influence instead of the NS way, without being seen as making pronunciation errors" (NS-Native Speaker). English fulfils the function of contact language in any fields and in this respect "globalisation has strongly favoured English, which has also become the preferred medium for international communication in many contexts [...] and a medium of instruction in higher education in many non-English-speaking countries" (Gotti, 2017: 47). In this respect, several strategies are used by ELF speakers to facilitate communication and avoid misunderstandings in the search of knowledge negotiation (Cappuzzo, 2006; Mauranen, 2006).

The position of English as the lingua franca of international communication, and, consequently, as the most taught language worldwide, had already been highlighted by Hardin (1979: 1), who more than forty years ago wrote:

There are many reasons why English is taught in nearly every country in the world: it has been, and still is, the vehicle of successful forms of imperialism, but it is the flexibility and wealth of the language that are most relevant to our present consideration. That English has become the most widely spread of the very few languages that can qualify as truly international is a fact we have to live with – and take advantage of – since English is to be taught as such: to speak of ELIC (English as a Language of International Communication) means that we no longer speak only of the nature of the language, but of its function as well.

What distinguishes English from other idioms is its status as a global language. Crystal ([1997], 2003: 3) states that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country." He also says:

Because of the three-pronged development – of first language, second language, and foreign language speakers – it is inevitable that a global language will eventually come to be used by more people than any other language. English has already reached this stage (Crystal [1997], 2003: 6).

After having discussed the main historical, political, economic and military factors leading to the global spread of English, Crystal ([1997], 2003: 11) analyses the reasons that underlie the need for a global lingua franca. More

precisely, unlike areas where two or three languages are in contact and where people communication among be implemented can bilingualism/trilingualism, in countries like South-East Asia and in much of Africa, the large number of spoken languages requires the use of a common idiom, if only to reduce the costs of interpretation/translation services and those of clerical work needed. Furthermore, Crystal ([1997], 2003: 14) writes that "never has there been a more urgent need for a global lingua franca." The rapidly increasing technological progress and the unremitting growth in international mobility have exponentially increased the need for a lingua franca in intercultural communication. Nevertheless, this phenomenon does not lack negative implications, first and foremost the fact that English may represent a threat to the survival of other languages – as well as to the profession of translators and interpreters. At the same time, however, with the striking advancements in the field of computational linguistics and artificial intelligence, languages might be 'saved' by machine translation systems, which could work as very powerful means for breaking down linguistic barriers and allowing people to interact using their first languages.

However, the pervasiveness of English constantly fuels debate and concern about whether this language is a real threat to multilingualism or whether no actual detrimental effects for the other languages should be dreaded. Lie (2017: 73) speaks about "cultural identity transformation among its users." She states that on account of Internet-based communication and massive use of social media, young people favour the use of English, which has gradually replaced local languages, and this phenomenon has caused a change in "their behaviours, perceptions of themselves, and preferred ways of expressing themselves." Thus, the predominance of English is regarded as a negative factor, a form of imperialism and homogenisation of culture where identity is in some way inevitably compromised. By contrast, Johnson (2009: 136) reports that while languages are conceived as serving the function of carriers of culture, there is no consensus "over the degree to which English has remained connected to its cultures of origin during its tenure as a global lingua franca." The scholar examines evidence that indicates English as separated from its culture of origin and instead as "actually facilitating cross-cultural dialogue." From this perspective, English becomes a powerful communication tool that reduces distances among interactants of diverse cultures by acting as a bridge and allowing exchange. In the search for answers about upsides and downsides of the international prominence of English as a global language, Johnson (2009: 159) claims that while it is of no use to oppose the rise of a lingua franca altogether, "multilingualism has not lost its importance, and remains key in the development of the true cross-cultural awareness and cosmopolitanism."

Conclusions

With globalisation pervading every sphere of life, the use of a unique, common linguistic code that functions as a contact language among people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds is paramount. Due to several factors, mainly of historical nature, the status of global lingua franca is far and away held by English, which surpasses all other languages for number of L1 and L2 speakers. It is also the only existing language where L2 speakers outnumber L1 speakers, with a ratio of 4:1. Moreover, most interactions through the medium of English take place among L2 speakers outside L1 countries. On a pedagogical level, educational policies worldwide should consider the prominent role of English as the language of international exchange, and remodulate syllabuses by adjusting them to the core features of English as a lingua franca and to the communicative needs of learners, who will find themselves taking part in international contexts where effectiveness of communication has priority over compliance with native-bound forms and models. At the same time, with societies becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural as an effect of greater mobility flows, actions are needed to underpin multilingualism and multiculturalism, and foster respect for otherness. Focus should be placed on teacher plurilingual and pluricultural training, and on the types of activities to be carried out to prepare learners for linguistically and culturally heterogeneous societies. 'Best practices' from early education should include learning at least two languages – in addition to English – and extensive work of contrastive analysis as a key tool to develop metalinguistic awareness. The latter, together with other cognitive abilities, facilitates further language learning, thus contributing to the development of intercultural competence and the valorisation of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Finally, multilingualism is an inestimable source of cultural wealth for society, since culture finds expression through language, and languages define personal identities but are also part of a common heritage. Hence, the importance of interventions aimed at protecting minor languages, those most endangered. In this respect, investments in plurilingual language education as well as language documentation and/or revitalisation are necessary to avoid language decline. Translation, too, plays a crucial role, as it supports linguistic diversity and serves as the foundation of intercultural exchange.

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