Publication reference: Codó, E. and E. Riera-Gil (2022) The value(s) of English as global linguistic capital: A dialogue between linguistic justice and sociolinguistic approaches. In J. Soler & S. Morales-Gálvez (Eds.) Linguistic justice and global English: Theoretical and empirical approaches (special issue). *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 277: 95-119.

The value(s) of English as global linguistic capital: A dialogue between linguistic justice and sociolinguistic approaches

Eva Codó & Elvira Riera-Gil

Abstract

Theorists of linguistic justice tend to assume that English (particularly its native varieties) has paramount and stable value as a global communicative tool. From this alleged value they identify several injustices for non-native speakers, like unequal opportunities and lower dignity, related to the instrumental and identity-related values of languages. In this article we challenge assumptions about the real-life value of English by engaging in an interdisciplinary dialogue that connects normative theories and sociolinguistic theories of value. Through the analysis of ethnographic case studies, we conclude that the value of English (and nativeness in English) as linguistic capital is highly context-dependent, to the extent that possessing native skills may have no positive effects for an English speaker. Both language-centred factors (linguistic awareness and adaptive skills) and non-language centred factors (markets and social indexicalities) determine this value. We highlight that normative approaches to languages cannot address instrumental and identity-related values separately, because identity is instrumental to communicative interactions. We conclude that multilingualism fulfils better than monolingualism (either in English or in state majority languages) the goals of linguistic justice traditionally associated with the latter. Finally, we engage in a critical reflection about the suitability and conditions of possibility of interdisciplinary research.

Keywords: global English; linguistic justice; linguistic capital; linguistic value; linguistic awareness

1 Introduction

Contemporary theorists of linguistic justice have repeatedly insisted on the need for interdisciplinary work with applied linguistic disciplines (De Schutter 2007; Oakes and Peled 2017; Peled 2020; Ricento, Peled and Ives 2015). Their claim is based on the awareness that normative proposals regarding language policies require a sound empirical grounding, because the dynamics of linguistic practices in the real world are extremely complex.[1] However, interdisciplinary work is not an easy endeavour. It requires

[1] By *normative* we refer to the set of questions that political theorists address and the set of arguments they develop in order to discern what just language policies are. As De Schutter (2007: 2) explains, theories of linguistic justice are "not concerned with the study of actual language policies or with empirical research on linguistic diversity. [They deal] uniquely with the just political reaction toward languages."

researchers not only to be open-minded and respectful towards other types of epistemologies and theoretical concerns, but also to carry out a significant cognitive effort in diving into fields of expertise other than theirs.

In this article we engage in an interdisciplinary dialogue between normative theories of linguistic justice and sociolinguistic approaches, with the aim of beginning a conversation that might lead to the building of better connections between the two worlds. In the making, our discussions have led us to the terrain of value(s), which we have identified as a space where the connection between the abstract fundamentals of normative theories and the empirical functioning of language practices blurs.

Normative political theories are based on moral values and principles, which are abstract constructs.[2] Methodologically, they work with categories and ideal-types, so that theorists of linguistic justice primarily address language as an abstract entity, often detached from actual linguistic practices (Wright 2015). Because of the very nature of normative theories, their connection with empirical facts is secondary and significantly influenced by theorists' assumptions on how the world works. For example, traditional approaches to linguistic justice have assumed a discrete and territorialised conception of languages that hardly reflects the linguistic complexity of contemporary societies (De Schutter 2007; Vertovec 2007).

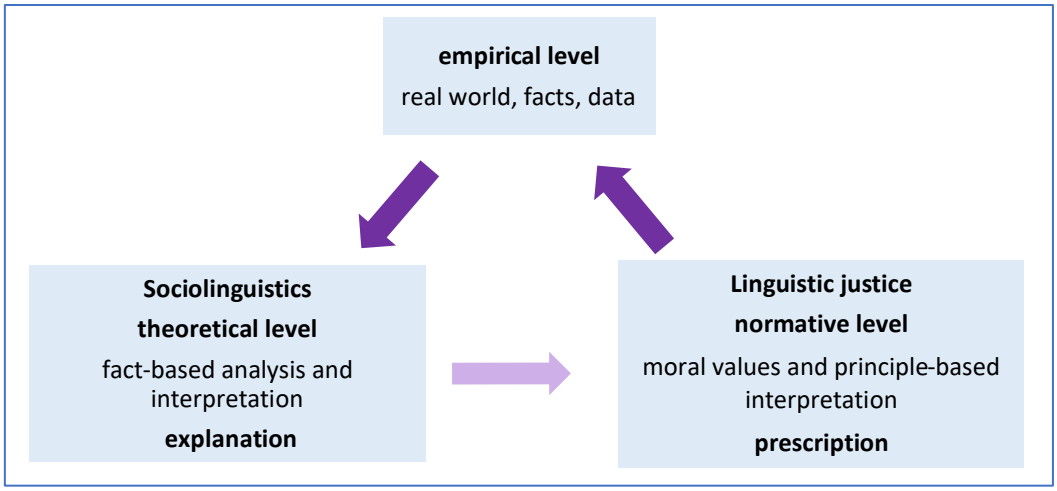
By contrast, sociolinguistics, as a discipline deeply anchored in the social sciences, is based on the analysis of empirical evidence and aims at objectively explaining the social processes and mechanisms at work, their causes and effects, in a straightforward connection with the real world. Of course, it is also the case that sociolinguists' own assumptions and socio-ideological and political positionings influence their choice of foci, analysis and accounts, but methodologically, the logic of data analysis favours closeness with empirical reality.

When addressing the value(s) of languages, we could say that, while normative theories of linguistic justice revolve around their *moral values*, sociolinguistics focuses on their *empirical value* as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991). Moral values are abstract concepts, while empirical value is contingent on a number of contextual dimensions, and therefore, fluctuating (Duchêne and Daveluy 2015).

Figure 1 schematically represents the different nature of both approaches and their relationships between them and with the real world:

Figure 1. Relationships between the real world, sociolinguistics and linguistic justice

[2] Normative political theory is a discipline with many connections with moral philosophy. Moral values are at the hearth of both fields. Political theorists and moral philosophers confer moral values to languages because they understand languages as relevant instruments in achieving a morally valuable life in society. In this article we use the term *moral value* following habitual practice in these fields of thought.



The point here is that normative theories of linguistic justice do not directly stem from empirical facts, and yet do aim at transforming the real world. They suggest moral values and principles, and identify people's interests and rights that should inform just language policies. This is undoubtedly a necessary and useful exercise. However, if linguistic justice theories are intended to suggest how just language policies should be, they must be based on sound knowledge of how languages and language policies work in practice. And this knowledge may be provided by a better connection with sociolinguistic research.

Through our interdisciplinary approach to the value(s) of English as a global language, we have identified a problematic translation to the real world of the moral values derived from English by theorists of linguistic justice. This translation is problematic because of their assumptions about the real-life value of English as linguistic capital in situated social practices. A sociolinguistic approach allows us to identify at least four types of problems in the way linguistic justice theories address the value of English: (1) they tend to work with an abstract, monolithic and de-socialised conception of language that erases variability and variation, and with ideas that consider value stable across contexts; (2) they tend to view speakers as fundamentally rational beings making conscious choices based on cost-benefit analyses; (3) they tend to present dichotomous and dualistic views of language that hide or undervalue the ambivalence and messiness of linguistic practices; and (4) they are too focused on purely linguistic issues that separate power relations and non-language-centred inequalities from the analysis. The result is a flawed projection of the moral values derived from languages, in the abstract, on the empirical value of English in situated instances of communication.

This article aims to contribute to better bridge these different perspectives through dialogical work between linguistic justice theories and sociolinguistically-oriented ethnographic research. Although issues of linguistic justice have certainly been addressed within different strands of sociolinguistics (see among many others, Piller 2016 and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995), sociolinguists have rarely engaged with the postulates of normative theories of linguistic justice (but see May 2015 for an exception). In this article, we specifically draw on Park and Wee's (2012) sociolinguistic theorization of the concept of value and its application to the study of global English. From that

vantage point, we question that *(1)* English is, by default, the best tool for communication between multilinguals, *(2)* English is necessary and sufficient to lead a full life (multilingualism is suitable but not indispensable), and *(3)* native speakers of English have a privileged position both in terms of access to opportunities and in terms of dignity. By contrast, we argue that the empirical value of English is context-dependent and can differ across communicative interactions.

The article is organised as follows. Section 2 addresses how theories of linguistic justice confer moral values to languages and how these values are projected onto global English. Section 3 presents some criticisms raised by both political theorists and sociolinguists. Section 4 analyses the value of English in a selection of empirical cases collected through ethnographic methods. Finally, section 5 discusses the contribution that our interdisciplinary dialogue can make to both disciplines and concludes.

2 Linguistic justice theories and the value(s) of languages: The case of global English

Linguistic justice theories are normative, that is, they aim to inform how *just* language policies should be according to specific values linked to languages, the interests and rights that people derive from these values, and the principles of distribution of those interests.[3] Their very normative nature is at the roots of some criticisms received from empirical disciplines, such as sociolinguistics. Moral reasoning requires dealing with abstract concepts, ideal-types of empirical entities, and categories that often lead to dichotomies in addressing problems. Thus, intrinsic disciplinary methodological reasons explain that linguistic justice theories start from an idealised conception of languages and speakers, and that they use abstract categories and dichotomous views in developing arguments, which are the three first sociolinguistic criticisms mentioned in the introduction.

The fourth criticism mentioned is distinct in nature. It argues that theories of linguistic justice are too focused on purely linguistic issues and disentangled from power relations and non-language-centred inequalities. In this case, we suggest that this potential deficit is related to an empirical fact, namely that linguistic justice theories flourish and are initially developed as a reaction to the first egalitarian liberalism, a line of thought that hides the role of cultural and linguistic differences in social inequalities and conceives equality *along non-linguistic lines* (Patten 2001: 696, 701).[4] Linguistic justice theories stem from the philosophical debates that, in the eighties and nineties of the 20th century, raise the political and moral relevance of cultural belonging and defend the equal recognition of minorities in multicultural and multinational states. Perhaps paradoxically,

[3] For example, as we well see below, two values traditionally linked to languages are communication and identity. Political theorists consider them *moral values* because people derive crucial interests and rights from them, such as social opportunities, democratic participation (traditionally linked to communication) and dignity (linked to identity). Equality is assumed to be the main principle of distribution of these interests and rights. Subsequently, equal opportunity, equal access to democratic participation and equal dignity can be indicators of the justice of language policies.

[4] Two prominent liberal egalitarians that embrace this cultural-difference-blind notion of equality are John Rawls (1971) and Brian Barry (2001).

the contextual circumstances that frame the debates against a non-linguistic conception of social equality lead them to focus on purely linguistic lines, as sociolinguists criticise.

Against this background, languages are highlighted as particular entities within the large field of cultural differences, and identity-related values become the core of the debate because they are neglected by some theorists and strongly defended by others. These values are put in contrast with instrumental, communicative or non-identity values (De Schutter 2007; De Schutter and Robichaud 2015; Patten 2001), about which a general agreement exists.[5]

Identity concerns highlighted by theorists are (a) the fact that the individual autonomy needed to lead a good life is embedded on a cultural context of choice in which language plays a relevant role (Kymlicka 1995, 2001) and (b) the fact that language, as a source of self-identification, impacts speakers' dignity and self-esteem (Van Parijs 2011). Among non-identity concerns, theorists highlight efficiency, equal opportunity and democratic participation, and mostly relate these values to the use of state majority languages that may function as common languages. Efficiency refers to minimising transactional extra-costs in communication, such as translation (De Schutter and Robichaud 2015). Equal opportunity refers to prospects for individual mobility and socio-economic progress. Finally, democratic participation refers to favouring deliberation between citizens.

Therefore, two dichotomies, one between identity and non-identity values of languages and another one between majorities and minorities, are posited and establish a close link between majority languages and communicative or non-identity values, on the one hand, and between minority languages and identity values, on the other hand. This framework also favours a merely quantitative understanding of communication. The communicative value of languages is only correlated with the number of people with which information can be exchanged. This way, De Swaan (2001) categorises English as a hypercollective good. Qualitative aspects of communicative interactions, namely their results or *effectiveness* (Gazzola and Grin 2007; Gazzola 2014), are neglected (Riera-Gil 2019).

Obviously, in projecting moral values on particular languages, theorists rely on particular assumptions about their real-life value. When it comes to English as global lingua franca, it is widely assumed that it has paramount value in terms of efficiency, equal opportunity and even global democracy (Van Parijs 2011). The spread of English is seen as empowering, because it may serve all non-identity-related goals of linguistic justice. However, at the same time theorists underline the injustices provoked by the spread of English for its non-native speakers. Precisely because of the high and worldwide value conferred to English as linguistic capital, it is also seen as a hegemonic language imposing burdens on non-native speakers (De Schutter 2018; Van Parijs 2011).

Van Parijs (2011) identifies three kinds of injustices. The first is *unfair cooperation*: considering that English as a lingua franca is a public good, their native speakers become free riders because they enjoy a public good without sharing in the cost of producing it

[5] It is not surprising that linguistic justice debates are articulated around the instrumental vs identity value of languages. As Gal (2012) argues, this ideological contrast is at the heart of the process of standardization, fundamental to 19th century nation-state building.

(Van Parijs 2011: 51). The second is *unequal opportunities*: considering that English is an individual asset, the lack of near-native skills significantly reduces socio-economic opportunities. The third is *imparity of esteem*: considering that initial languages (L1) are a prominent source of self-identification, the use of English for communication between multilinguals harms the dignity of its non-native speakers. Particularly illuminating are three advantages for native speakers of English identified by Van Parijs that relate to their linguistic skills, namely their privileged access to language-related jobs (e.g. translation), their privileged access to other jobs with linguistic requirements (e.g. in transnational companies) and their communicative advantages in face-to-face interactions (Van Parijs 2011: 92-95).

De Schutter (2018) embraces the categories of injustices identified by Van Parijs (which he renames as resource injustice, communicative injustice and dignity injustice) and also identifies a life-world injustice caused by the strong anglo-colonisation of the world.

For the purposes of our research, the most relevant of these injustices are unequal opportunity or communicative injustice and imparity of esteem or dignity injustice. Interestingly, De Schutter (2018) attributes communicative injustice to the facts that (a) in interactions in English between different L1-speakers, native speakers of English can communicate more fluently, and that (b) fluent English is necessary to access an adequate range of vital opportunities. In turn, he relates dignity injustice to both the undeserved prestige of English as a lingua franca, which confers to non-native speakers a *message of inferiority* (2018: 176), and the lower prestige of the English they use.

Other theorists (Oakes and Peled 2017; Peled and Bonotti 2016) have framed this dignity injustice as epistemic injustice (Fricker 2007), that is, an injustice that occurs when individuals are wrongly judged in their capacity as knowers because of certain prejudices associated with their identity. Epistemic injustice can affect speakers in terms of credibility and intelligibility. As we shall see below, this approach is strongly connected with the concept of the social indexicalities of English addressed by sociolinguistics.

In a nutshell, the paramount empirical value attributed to English (particularly to its native varieties) as linguistic capital results in several injustices suffered by non-native speakers.

Table 1 summarises them:

Table 1

Assumption	**Injustices for non-native speakers**
English is the best language for communication between multilinguals	Pressure to adapt that damages their dignity and self-esteem
Native speakers possess better communicative skills	Less socio-economic and personal opportunities in public and private spheres Less credibility and intelligibility
Native varieties of English have more prestige than any other	Lack of respect that damages dignity and self-esteem
English is necessary and sufficient to access vital opportunities	Limited and low-value life choices

However, these assumptions are challenged both from within political theory and from sociolinguistics. The point is that a closer analysis of communicative interactions in their context is needed, an analysis not focused on the quantity of interactions theoretically available through a language, but rather on the quality of the results obtained through communication in situated real-life interactions relevant for particular people.

3 Critical perspectives on the empirical value of global English

Two kinds of criticisms have been levelled against these assumptions. The first is language-centred and based on the appraisal of speakers' linguistic and communicative skills. The second underlines non-language-centred factors, such as the configuration of linguistic markets, social inequalities and indexicalities.

3.1 Language-centred criticisms

Both applied linguists and political theorists have challenged the assumptions that native speakers of English possess a communicative advantage over non-native speakers in terms of skills, and that monolingualism in English is sufficient to perform successful communicative interactions with multilinguals.

From applied linguistic perspectives, criticisms have clustered around the problematization of the notion of native speaker in relation to English in a global context. From the earlier works of Kachru (1992) and the pluralization paradigm, scholars have been concerned with questioning the superiority in terms of status and prestige of one variety of English over another, in particular, of inner-circle varieties (those of the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand, etc.) over outer-circle varieties (those spoken in former British colonies). The goal was to legitimize alternative models of speakerhood, and ultimately, decentre the notion of the native speaker itself. This objective was perhaps most effectively achieved by scholars working within the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) paradigm (Seidlhofer 2011). ELF initially began as a ramification of Kachru's world Englishes and aimed to develop a model of English that was culturally relevant to foreign language users in transnational spaces, where interactants were mostly non-native speakers. Their research agenda centred around the description of the core features of ELF, as the model variety for global, "international" English. Later, they nuanced this goal and emphasized the locally-situated nature of ELF and its appropriateness. What is relevant for our purposes is that they distinguish ELF from ENL (English as a Native Language) and emphasize non-native speakers' agency and creativity rather than deficiency (Cogo 2012). ENL is no longer considered the variety to emulate; rather it is argued that it is ENL speakers that should adjust to the new international form of English, i.e. ELF, where multiple and contingent socio-pragmatic factors (beyond mere linguistic ability) come into play to guarantee communicative effectiveness. In this sense, then, "traditional" native-speakers would be at a disadvantage in relation to highly proficient non-native speakers well versed in communicating in international fora.

In turn, from the field of political theory, Wright (2007, 2015) shows how some members of the European Parliament who are native English speakers are at a disadvantage in terms of communicative effectiveness. This happens because they are monolinguals not much

prone to cooperation and adaptation, which are two essential needs in communication in multilingual settings. Wright (2015) highlights that in this case effective communication relies on speakers' ability for negotiation of meaning, for adjustment in response to interlocutors and for a constant accommodation to others' needs. In Wright's view multilinguals fare better in these transnational contexts because they have more *linguistic awareness*, that is, "enhanced consciousness of and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language", in Carter's words (2003: 64). This awareness, according to Wright, stems from multilingual speakers' experience with "the arbitrary nature of the sign" (2015: 6) grounded on their practice of moving between systems. This places monolinguals (in this case, native speakers of English) at a disadvantage in lingua franca contexts, as they lack the linguistic awareness that multilinguals usually have. [6]

Also, Oakes and Peled (2017) underline that monolingualism may be considered a liability in two ways, overtly and covertly. Overtly, because of the barriers it poses to mobility in a global labour market even for monolingual anglophones. More covertly, because it limits an *awareness of language* that enables individuals "to understand that communication in a complex linguistic environment does not necessarily align with their own particular communicative expectations, practices or beliefs" (Oakes and Peled 2017: 73).

We agree with these critiques and we argue that native English speakers do not necessarily possess better skills than non-native speakers, that non-native varieties are not necessarily less prestigious in multilingual settings, and that monolingualism –even nativeness in English– might not be enough linguistic capital and may even become a liability.

It is worth noting the relevance of the notion of linguistic awareness for normative debates. Linguistic awareness is a skill most frequently fostered by individual multilingualism and it appears closely connected to non-identity-related values, namely efficiency, equal opportunity and democracy. First, since linguistic awareness favours effective communication, multilingualism can be considered efficient in terms of cost-benefit, and not an extra-cost. Second, multilingualism favours more opportunities, not only because of the ability of managing different languages as systems, but also because the linguistic awareness it confers helps improve communicative effectiveness. Finally, linguistic awareness better enables people for dialogue and democratic deliberation (Council of Europe 2007; Peled and Bonotti 2019).

In sum, research on the utility of linguistic awareness not only challenges the usual assumptions about the superiority of English (and nativeness in English) in multilingual

[6] De Schutter (2018) pays attention to ELF theorists' and Wright's arguments, but continues to assume that English native speakers possess better linguistic skills than non-native speakers. He is mainly concerned with aspects relating to language codification (2018: 182-184). First, the proximity between ELF and ENL linguistic corpora, which confers advantages to native speakers. Second, the lack of clarity regarding standardisation of ELF, which may produce communicative insecurity and uncertainty. However, both ELF theorists and Wright are stressing adaptive skills, which are not directly related to sound knowledge of standard varieties, but to the use of effective resources in navigating communicative interactions between multilinguals.

settings, but also those about the adequacy of monolingualism in a majority common language to fulfil the so-called non-identity-related goals of linguistic justice.

3.2 Non-language-centred criticisms

One of the sociolinguistic proposals that has tried to theorise the global attractiveness of English based on the analysis of empirical data is that by Park and Wee (2012). The authors' agenda is to produce a critique aimed to "transform the study of global English" in way that "allows us to move beyond the domain of language itself, and to develop a more systematic way of thinking about how the problem of English is rooted in other (non-linguistic) aspects of social life" (2012: 6-7). Their point of departure is the idea of value, which they see as a way of bringing the social to bear in the analysis of linguistic value (2012: 26).

The conceptual toolbox of Park and Wee pivots around the notion of the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977, 1991), which is complemented by insights and concepts from the language ideologies approach (Irvine and Gal 2000) and social indexicalities (Silverstein 1979). Central to Park and Wee's understanding of value is Bourdieu's metaphor of the linguistic market (1977, 1991). Bourdieu employed this metaphor to understand and explain the process by which language forms are evaluated, and thus, acquire value (or do not) in specific social configurations. Markets are spaces regulated by laws of price formation. These laws do not come from some abstract entity but are the result of the process of sedimentation of practice (which, of course, includes moments of negative sanctions). Not all speakers are endowed with the same kind or amount of capital, and thus, they do not fare equally in the linguistic market. In fact, the value of one's linguistic capital depends on other forms of capital, both economic and symbolic (which includes cultural and social capital). What this means is that the value of a linguistic form or language variety is never an exclusively linguistic matter; on the contrary, it is always dependent on extralinguistic factors. It is a social matter.

Park and Wee argue that linguistic markets are multiple and variably linked to one another. Two main consequences arise from their approach. First, we cannot assume the existence of one single, global linguistic market where the value and signification of English are unequivocally defined. Instead, to determine the contextual value of a specific type of ability in English or use of this language, it is necessary to analyse and understand in detail the social and ideological logics of each linguistic market, and the ways in which it interacts with the regimes of value of other markets, most notably, of unified (or nation-state dominant) markets. However, recent theorisations of the notion of value (see Duchêne and Daveluy 2015) have pointed out that, even within a given market, the value of linguistic resources is never consensual or stable, but subject to negotiation, as extract 2 below will illustrate, and therefore, fluctuating and largely speculative. To this must be added that linguistic markets stand in a stratified, hierarchical relationship to one another. This is particularly relevant in the age of globalization. Drawing on the metaphor of scales, Blommaert (2010: 32) points out that "events and processes in globalization occur at different scale-levels, and we see interactions between the different scales as a core feature of understanding such events and processes". This means that we must not see

markets as co-existing side-by-side, but as intersecting in ways that, as analysts, we need to disentangle.

One crucial idea in Park and Wee's perspective is that, as a language, English is not only a commodity with economic value, but crucially, also a sign. Both facets of value need to be understood as inseparable. They argue that "understanding the nature of English as a commodity with value requires looking at the broader semiotic processes that construct the meaning of English" (2012: 124). For this reason, they draw on the concepts of linguistic ideologies and indexicality from the field of linguistic anthropology. This is a perspective that is often missing from accounts of value by linguistic justice scholars, which tend to understand communication from a purely referential and instrumental perspective, and to detach communication from identity. As situated and naturalized conceptualizations about languages and their speakers, ideologies rationalize linguistic behaviour, and "mediate between political economy and linguistic practices" (Gal 2012: 22). In fact, Park and Wee show that for English to be able to be considered a commodity that can be "owned" and "exchanged", a number of ideological operations must be applied, in particular, the extraction of English from its social contexts of production, and thus, its objectification. The *ideology of neutrality*, that is, the idea that English has high convertibility across markets and independently of other factors is only viable in so far as it is linked to this process of objectification. Instead, Park and Wee claim that convertibility is a struggle that depends on social actors' success in negotiating neutrality, that is, the social markedness of their capital that emplaces them in the social hierarchy. We shall see how this operates through one of the empirical cases discussed later. By "social markedness", Park and Wee refer to the social meaning attached to the language. This is what the concept of indexicality (Silverstein 1979) refers to, that is, what kinds of persons, spaces, and comportments become naturally associated with English through the numerous occasions of metadiscursive commentary in which the meaning and use of English is discussed and evaluated. For Park and Wee, it is through these semiotic processes (as well as actual market exchanges) that the value of English is sedimented. This approach connects with Fricker's (2007) notion of epistemic injustice, discussed in section 2, according to which prejudices linked to certain aspects of speakers' identities (e.g. their non-nativeness in a given language) may affect their credibility and intelligibility. And, crucially for normative debates, it shows that both communicative and identity-related values of languages (so both potential communicative and dignity linguistic injustices) play a role in every interaction (Riera-Gil 2019).

In the next section, we shall provide empirical examples, from our own and published research, that will help us unpack some of the complexities surrounding the issue of value in relation to global English. We shall focus on the world of work, both in terms of access and in terms of inclusion and even promotion, and discuss to what extent claims about the opportunity potential of English are justified. A sub-thread within that goal will analyse whether the assumed superiority, and labour and communication benefits of native speakers over non-native ones, is justified.

4 Challenging the assumptions on the value of English through empirical examples

In this section, we show, following Park and Wee, that the appraisal of the empirical value of English must be anchored in the context of situation and in situated regimes of value. To illustrate this, we analyse several case studies involving the evaluation of English competence. We identify situations where English is not enough linguistic capital, where nativeness in English is a liability, and where English is seen as non-capital at all. Through them, we try to understand what kinds of contextual elements might be playing a role in establishing the appreciation or social value of specific forms of English.

The selected cases[7] allow us to assess the three kinds of advantages for native speakers of English specified by Van Parijs (2011), namely their privileged access to language-related jobs, their privileged access to other jobs with linguistic requirements and their communicative advantages in face-to-face interactions.

4.1 Native English as not enough linguistic capital

Contrary to what is posited by authors like Van Parijs and De Schutter, English as the sole linguistic capital a person possess might not be considered enough linguistic capital. In those cases, multilingualism might not simply be an advantage; it might be an implicit or explicit requirement.

Our first case focuses on the process of relocation and labour insertion in Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain, of a white, middle-class British professional around 2010. We shall call her Mary.[8] Mary is a teacher trainer and speech therapist in her mid-40s from Birmingham, UK (further details on this case can be found in Codó 2018). Upon relocation, Mary imagined that, with the global (and indeed, local) demand for English, it would be relatively easy for her to find a job commensurate with her training and experience. In particular, she was envisaging a relatively easy insertion into the world of language teaching. Instead, what she found was a totally different reality. In her very long initial turn, we see how Mary describes a painful and frustrating job-search process.

[7] These cases come from research funded by the following two projects: HUM2007-61864 and FFI2011-26964. My current thinking about how to conceptualize the value of global English is shaped by my participation in ENIFALPO, ref. PID2019-106710GB-I00, funded by MCIN.

[8] All the names that appear in this article are not the real names of informants or institutions to preserve their anonymity.

Extract 1. Mary: interviewee; Eva: researcher

01	Mary:	market research really erm so that was good so I had work for a year and a half so that started to run out so really the only thing that was available at that time because I didn't have Catalan really so I couldn't get into anything academic or professional I couldn't get into schools even though I was trying secondary school teacher erm and also I was a literacy specialist from university and all of it different other things I was also erm a qualified dyslexia assessor and support teacher I had lots of professional qualifications but I couldn't do anything in Catalunya because I had to know Catalan yeah? Actually I probably couldn't have done it Spain anyway because my Spanish wasn't good enough if I was really honest so I just didn't have the language skills so really when I came here I didn't have the language skills up to a professional level to really maintain any professional job I probably still don't actually I'm just very xxx don't try to xxx yes I don't have those formal skills erm so I started doing language academy teaching and honestly I did that for about I don't know about three years and yes I had various experiences there that I won't go into but still generally it's quite deprofessionalised and very low paid
02	Eva:	very low paid
03	Mary:	yes and then I saw this job in La Vanguardia in to work in a self-access center
04	Eva:	oh okay
05	Mary:	there wasn't a pre-requisite to know Catalan or Spanish and therefore I could do the job so I got the job here

This interview excerpt nuances the "magical" power of English to access qualified employment in non-English speaking countries. Rather than a discourse of "opportunities" or "benefits" grounded on English proficiency, Mary constructs a discourse of language "lack". English alone, even if the person speaks a supposedly prestigious native variety, does not guarantee immediate access to skilled employment, for example, as an English language educator in local mainstream schooling. It must be pointed out that a certified advanced competence in Catalan (and a Masters' Degree in Education) is an obligatory qualification for accessing any state-funded teaching post in Catalonia.[9] Requirements are less strict in the field of English-medium private education (Sunyol 2019), but English native teachers' lack of advanced command of the local languages is problematized because of difficulties to manage lessons, and interact with students and families.

What this example also tells us is that it is necessary to carry out sophisticated, contextual analyses of the affordances of native English. In fact, Mary did find a job related to teaching, but only in the private language school ("language academy") sector, which is a labor-intensive industry with a high turnover rate, precisely for the reasons that Mary supplies, that is, low salaries and de-professionalization. In fact, we observe how she does not consider that type of employment "any kind of professional job" (turn 1).

The case of Mary calls on us to be wary of overtly celebratory discourses around the super-powers of English, but also, of overtly critical accounts, which tend to assume that English will quickly and unproblematically wipe other languages out. English is indeed a capital with economic value, that is undeniable, but seldom by itself.

Our next source of evidence comes from the literature on language in transnational companies. Again, this is a context where, according to Van Parijs, native English

[9] This language requirement was established to ensure that all teachers in the Catalan education system mastered the two co-official languages of Catalonia, as competence in Catalan would otherwise not be guaranteed.

speakers have an advantage over non-native speakers. In what follows, we shall demonstrate not only that this is not the case but also that native speakers might find themselves at a disadvantage in relation to non-native, and therefore, multilingual speakers.

We might think of transnational corporations as very different spaces from compulsory education, a marketplace where the linguistic regime of the nation-state prevails. In fact, we might imagine transnationals as being situated, in Blommaert's (2010) terms, on a higher up sociolinguistic scale, where the prices of law formation of the nation-state might be suspended. However, as we shall see, this assumption is problematic. To demonstrate this, we draw on Lønsmann (2014), who conducted an ethnographic examination of language choice and language-based exclusion and inclusion processes at the headquarters of a Danish transnational pharmaceutical company in Copenhaguen.

Despite English being the corporate language and the workforce being fairly heterogeneous, Lønsmann shows how lack of competence in Danish is an issue for what she calls "the international experts", that is, qualified employees (most with postgraduate qualifications) that work in research and marketing departments. Based on her observations, Lønsmann argues that those employees, a significant proportion of whom are native speakers of English, are excluded from Danish-only or Danish-peppered interactions. This affects not only their ability to socialise with fellow employees during informal events, feel integrated or participate in social clubs, but also their participation in important work activities, such as induction courses. Some employees also perceive lack of near-native competence in Danish as a barrier for career advancement, a sort of glass ceiling. In fact, during Lønsmann's fieldwork the top management tier was exclusively made up of Danes. These findings are actually in line with previous studies conducted in Finland by Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002), who underline the importance of proficiency in the parent company language - even if the corporate language is English - to access top managerial positions.

Lønsmann explains the implicit Danish requirement as grounded on the ideology that Danish is the "natural" language to be spoken in Denmark among Danes at a Danish company. She also explains how this ideology and subsequent processes of exclusion apply differently to new arrivals than to employees with some years of residence in the country. More than the actual competence in Danish, the author argues, what is valued is the willingness to learn Danish, which is taken to be an index of ex-pats' appreciation for the local culture. So, despite it being a transnational corporation, the company analysed does not stand in a de-localised ideological vacuum, but is emplaced both geographically and linguistically. This is done through the multilingual practices put in place that accord a prominent role to Danish and through the legitimising ideologies that sustain them. We might conclude, then, that transnational companies do not constitute entirely alternative linguistic markets where only global linguistic codes such as English enjoy high convertibility. Instead, we argue that we need to attend to the complex interplay of different sociolinguistic scales to identify the value of less obvious linguistic capitals in those contexts.

4.2 Nativeness as a liability

The third case that we are drawing on also comes from a transnational corporation. It challenges De Schutter's assumptions regarding dignity injustice (so, non-native speakers' assumed inferiority), discussed in section 2, and Van Parijs' idea that native speakers have advantages in face-to-face communication (the previous two cases have questioned the superiority of native speakers in the other two domains that Van Parijs mentions, that is the language industries and transnational corporations).

The type of data that we subject to analysis comes from an email exchange among employees of an American transnational technological company. We are aware that this is not a face-to-face exchange but believe that the considerations that we will make can equally apply to spoken interaction. The email exchange begins with a message sent out by the company's Vice President of Human Resources (HR) to all employees. The second email message contains the reaction by Pau Pons, a R+D engineer based in Barcelona.

Extract 2: Mary A. Philips: VP Human Resources. Pau Pons: engineer; John Harris: Pau's immediate manager.

From: Philips, Susan A.
Sent: Saturday, February 13, 2010 12:25 AM
To: Philips, Mary A.
Subject: REMINDER -Update Profile by 28 February

Hello Everyone,

I want to reinforce for everyone that the Talent Management cycle applies to everyone, and I don't want HR to be cobblers' children on this. Accordingly, if you have not updated your profile since December 2009, please go to the company's application, review your profile, and accordingly and save.

While you are in the application, also take advantage of the TM training for employees which is quite thorough and will walk you through the TM process and give you helpful tips for entry.

Having an updated profile in the system helps me to communicate about you and assist in development and movement aspirations you have.

Cheers

Philips, Susan A.
VP Human Resources
Unidentified Company

From: Pons, Pau
Sent: Monday, February 15, 2010 9:13 AM
To: Philips, Susan A.
Cc: Harris, John (-Barcelona)
Subject: RE: REMINDER -Update Profile in by 28 February

Hello Mary,

I appreciate your interest in that everybody is involved in Talent Management.

However, I disagree on the tone of the message, where informal register is combined with an English saying which cannot be understood by the majority of non-English speakers. I have spent 10min on google to find the Spanish equivalent ("En casa del herrero, cuchara de palo"), and I assume that you do not intend that most employees do that.

Using a more formal register in communications and avoid using sayings would improve communication clearness and respect diversity in our company.

Best regards,

Pau

We observe in this exchange how the ease of communication conferred by native speakerness seems to be a stumbling stone more than an advantage. This example also questions the claim by De Schutter (2018) that non-nativeness causes a feeling of inferiority. On the contrary, what we observe is that, for the engineer, the HR Vice President's use of what he perceives to be an illegitimate code (Bourdieu 1991), the informal register, indexed by the use of the colloquial saying, shows a lack of sensitivity towards the difficulties that non-natives may experience.[10] Pau puts forth an economic argument as well as an inclusion argument by appealing to respect for diversity, which is one of the core values of this company, and which according to Pau, has been violated by

[10] We are aware that there might be a reading along gender lines of this written exchange. However, we do not have evidence to claim that this might be the case.

the informal expression employed. This exchange clearly exemplifies Wright's (2007, 2015) claim that monolinguals lack the linguistic awareness that may help them ease communication with non-natives. In fact, some times, as Wright also argues, nativeness may work to compound communication. In the ethnographic study conducted by Wright (2007) in the context of the European Parliament, native speakers were perceived as more difficult to follow than non-native speakers due, among others, to their quick pace of delivery, soft tone of voice, and lack of clear articulation. Interestingly, this lack of "adaptation" to the needs of their non-native counterparts (or to put it in the words of English as a lingua franca scholars, their non-use of ELF) led to native MEPs's behavior being evaluated in attitudinal terms, that is, to their being considered arrogant. Ultimately, as Wright claims, they risked being marginalized and "out of the loop of much of the transnational information flows" (2007: 154).

Going back to our case study, we see how being a native speaker in a transnational business environment might in some cases be a liability for the employee and for the company, because it is less effective in practical terms (it may hinder communication) and has the potential for, symbolically, making non-native employees feel excluded. We should note that these considerations (communication efficiency and inclusion) seem to override any other concern on the part of the engineer (for negative sanctions, for example, given the power differential existing between him and the Vice President. So, it is not only not the case that the non-native interlocutor feels inferior, but he is even ready to complain about what he views as inappropriate language use even when the native speaker is someone who ranks much higher than him in the company's hierarchy. The mere fact of feeling authorised to voice his annoyance is revealing in itself. We see that what is at stake in this interaction is a struggle for legitimacy but in the opposite direction envisaged by De Schutter. The native speaker is construed as somehow "breaking the rules" of the transnational company "game", and native English (with its potential for variation) is ranked lower than a formal, non-native, "less expressive" type of English.

4.3 English as non-capital

The fourth case that we would like to discuss also touches upon the alleged advantages of English in the labour market, and how English as a commodity intersects problematically with processes of transnational mobility –a theme that is often ignored outside the sociolinguistic literature. With this example, we are going back to the issue of what kind of linguistic capital facilitates access to employment in non-English speaking countries.

This case draws on ethnographic data reported in Garrido and Codó (2017). From 2007-2012, the authors followed the trajectories of a group of seven African male migrants (from Morocco and West African states) in their mid-20s to mid-30s residing in a large city of the Barcelona metropolitan area. They all had secondary or tertiary qualifications, and were in possession of elite linguistic capitals in English and/or French acquired through their formal education. The authors got in contact with them because they were all connected, in some way or other, to a migrant-support NGO that, among other services, provided them with free Spanish and Catalan language classes, and other

services, such as job-search advice. In Garrido and Codó (2017) the labor trajectories in Catalonia of these informants are dissected, and the authors ponder about the value of their previous qualifications and elite multilingualism, in particular their knowledge of English. The authors show how, for these migrants, English is not a faceless, democratizing language that facilitates employment and ensures upward social mobility; in other words, their English is not convertible capital. It is in fact subject to the same de-valuing process as their qualifications and experience; it is erased. Tabula-rasa discourses and practices structure their lives in Catalonia. That is, these migrants are construed as unqualified labor. They are imagined as the deskilled workers that will take up the jobs available in the labor-intensive industries of (in the case of men) construction and farming. For this reason, the authors argue that analyses of the value of English are "inseparable from speaking bodies emplaced in specific ideological and political regimes which are shaped and in turn shape unequal global relations of power" (2017: 47). The class indexicalities of fluency in English in Catalonia, a language that is still seen by many as a middle-class capital, are incommensurate with the way these migrants are imagined. Thus, they are not viewed as legitimate speakers of the language, and consequently, the language cannot "do" anything for them. In Park and Wee's words, these migrants do not manage to negotiate the neutrality of their English. Their linguistic capital was marked, embodied, and thus, subject to the same process of devaluing. They are, in fact, decapitalised (Martín Rojo 2013).

4.4 Key findings

The cases analysed provide evidence that the empirical value of English (and nativeness in English) as linguistic capital is highly dependent on situated regimes of value, to the extent that possessing native skills may have no positive effects for an English speaker and may even be detrimental.

Table 2 summarises our findings and links them to the moral values at play in each case.

Table 2. Key findings from cases analysed

Case	Empirical value of (native) English	Main explanatory factors	Main moral values in play
Mary – teacher (Van Parijs' case 1)	English as not enough capital	Lack of skills required by the linguistic market	instrumental value
Danish company (Van Parijs' case 2)		Lack of skills required by the linguistic market Lack of appreciation for the local culture	instrumental value identity-related value
Pau Pons – VP Human Resources (Van Parijs' case 3)	Nativeness in English as a liability	Lack of linguistic awareness (adaptive skills, ELF) Feeling of exclusion by non-native employees	
Multilingual African migrants with near-native English	English as non-capital	Markedness as non-skilled workers	identity-related value

First, our empirical cases challenge the assumptions of many linguistic justice theorists, namely that English is the best language for communication among multilinguals, that

native speakers possess better communicative skills, that native varieties of English have more prestige than any other and that English is necessary and sufficient to access vital opportunities (see Table 1). They show that native speakers do not necessarily have more opportunities and more high-value life choices than non-native speakers, nor are they more credible and intelligible. What is more, our findings reveal that even in transnational environments local languages have socio-economic value in addition to English (Danish company's case), and that locals do not show inferiority (Danish company and Pau Pons' cases).

Second, the cases analysed help understand how instrumental and identity-related values of languages are inextricably linked in social interactions. They show a range of situations where these values have different weights for communicative effectiveness. In Mary's case, the low empirical value of English is basically due to instrumental reasons (lack of skills in local languages that are a legal requirement and that affect information transfer). In the Danish company and Pau Pons' cases, both instrumental and identity-related values are at play, because a lack of skills (in Danish or in ELF) that may not totally prevent information transfer is appraised as a lack of respect by the locals, who feel empowered and in fact are defending their dignity. Finally, in the African migrants' case it is identity what weights, because their markedness as low-skilled workers erases their objectively valuable linguistic skills.

5 Concluding remarks

In this article we have engaged in an interdisciplinary dialogue intended to bridge better connections between linguistic justice theories and sociolinguistics. We can ensure that this dialogue has required a significant cognitive effort, in our case focused around the concept of language value(s). We have identified, in the linguistic justice literature, a flawed projection of moral values derived from languages (instrumental and identity-related) onto their empirical value, instantiated in the paramount and stable communicative value attributed to English as global linguistic capital.

We have conducted an empirical analysis grounded in ethnographic case studies, from which we can draw three main conclusions:

a) The empirical value of English (and nativeness in English) as linguistic capital is highly context-dependent, to the extent that possessing (near) native skills may have little positive effects for an English speaker. Both language-centred factors (linguistic awareness and adaptive skills) and non-language centred factors (markets and social indexicalities) determine this value. Therefore, potential injustices produced in the relationship between speakers must be assessed in context.

b) Instrumental and identity-related values cannot be addressed separately. Normative approaches to languages must evolve from a purely referential understanding of communication, measurable in terms of potential number of exchanges of information, towards a deeper, qualitative understanding of it which includes the complex notion of communicative effectiveness. If effectiveness is taken into account, then identity-related values (such as speakers' dignity) must be theorised as

part of communication and assigned an instrumental role, sometimes more crucial than linguistic skills.

c) Monolingualism, either in English or in state majority languages that may function as common languages, does not necessarily fulfil the instrumental goals of linguistic justice, as usually assumed. In multilingual settings (both transnational and local), it is the linguistic awareness developed through multilingual competences that favours efficiency in communication, broadens socio-economic opportunities and better equips people for democratic deliberation.

Further dialogical collaboration between linguistic justice theorists and sociolinguists should be encouraged, as both disciplines aim at addressing societal challenges related to language and at transforming the social world. In this article we have focused on one-way 'feeding', from sociolinguistics to linguistic justice theories, because the latter have an explicit normative (prescriptive) approach to language policy. This perspective view actually influencing policies in Western democracies. Political actors and practitioners take normative arguments as sources of legitimation for their programmes and actions, since language policies are dealing more and more with complex contexts characterized by *wicked problems* (Oakes and Peled, 2017). Sociolinguistics can, at least: (a) provide empirical analyses that will be helpful for linguistic justice theorists to improve their normative conclusions (for example, in relation to context-driven variations of value); (b) enrich fundamental notions through an empirically-grounded understanding of how linguistic interactions work (an example would be the concept of *fair background conditions of language choice* suggested by Patten (2014)); (c) complexify the application of normative theories in public policy making; and (d) contribute a more concrete understanding of concepts such as *fairness* and *justice* in processes of policy evaluation. Yet, 'feeding' in the opposite direction is also necessary precisely if critical sociolinguists aspire to inform language policy making. The different ethnographic case studies presented here have shown that the dynamics of language are less predictable than models imagine, and that power relations are contingent and intersectional. It is precisely sociolinguists' attention to the situatedness of language that has caused them to shy away from putting forth concrete policy proposals. However, given the increasing significance of normative models in policymaking, a closer engagement with the principles and concerns of theories of linguistic justice might be a good way for sociolinguists to think about how they can make their insights more relevant to political agendas.

We are aware that this mutual engagement must be actively encouraged in order to overcome multiple stumbling blocks. The literature has reported significant barriers to the engagement between scholars of different disciplinary backgrounds (Guimarães et al. 2019; OEDC 2020). Science systems, their institutions, structures and processes, have been largely designed around distinct research disciplines. This shapes not only academic training, but also peer-review, evaluation and promotion processes, and funding allocation mechanisms (OECD 2020: 9). Researchers have few incentives –if any– to adopt interdisciplinary approaches, to the extent that interdisciplinary research is perceived as a transgressive and risk-taking activity (Guimarães et al. 2019: 10). Solutions proposed by the OECD include the introduction of challenge-based approaches in

research strategies and organisational structures; the development and recognition of new inter- and transdisciplinary research fields; specific training to develop interdisciplinary competencies; changes in career paths, particularly regarding evaluation and promotion criteria for individuals; and the establishment of local, national and international networks of institutions that cooperate and exchange best practices (OECD 2020: 10-12).

Linguistic justice theorists and sociolinguists are well positioned in this way because they share important goals regarding action-oriented research. Common spaces for mutual understanding and dialogue should be fostered in order to favour their joint work. A recent initiative, the international Linguistic Justice Society[11] launched by the KU Leuven in order to "promote the coordination of all the research carried out by scholars working on language, politics and ethics and disseminate them both in the academic and the public arena", may represent a significant step in this direction. We hope that our work shows that interdisciplinary thinking is feasible and valuable, and encourages many others to follow the same path.

References

Barry, Brian. 2001. *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16. 645–668.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. London: Polity.

Charles, Mirjaliisa, & Marschan-Piekkari, Rebecca. 2002. Language training for enhanced horizontal communication: A challenge for MNCS. *Business Communication Quarterly*, 65(2), 9–29.

Codó, Eva. 2018. The intersection of global mobility, lifestyle and ELT work: a critical examination of language instructors' trajectories. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 18(4). 436-450.

Cogo, Alessia. 2012. ELF and super-diversity: A case study of ELF multilingual practices from a business context. Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, 1(2). 287-313.

Council of Europe. 2007. *Guide for the Development of Educational Language Policies in Europe*. 1st edn. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

De Schutter, Helder. 2007. Language policy and political philosophy: On the emerging linguistic justice debate, *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 31(1). 1–23.

De Schutter, Helder. 2018. Linguistic justice and English as a Lingua Franca. In Peter A. Kraus and François Grin (eds.), *The Politics of Multilingualism. Europeanisation, globalisation and linguistic governance*, 167-199. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

[11] https://hiw.kuleuven.be/ripple/research/linguisticjusticesociety

De Schutter, Helder, & David Robichaud. 2015. Van Parijsian linguistic justice: context, analysis and critiques, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 18(2). 87-112.

De Swaan, Abram. 2001.*Words of the World: The Global Language System*. Cambridge: Polity.

Duchêne, Alexandre & Michelle Daveluy. 2015. Spéculations langagières: négocier des ressources aux valeurs fluctuants. *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 39(3). 9-27 (Special issue "Spéculations langagières").

Fricker, Miranda. 2007. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gal, Susan. 2012. Sociolinguistic regimes and the management of "diversity." In Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller (eds), *Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit*, 22–42. London: Routledge.

Gazzola, Michele. 2014. *The Evaluation of Language Regimes: Theory and Application to Multilingual Patent Organisations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gazzola, Michele, & François Grin. 2007. Assessing Efficiency and Fairness in Multilingual Communication: Towards a General Analytical Framework. *Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée Review* 20. 87-105.

Garrido, M. Rosa, & Eva Codó. 2017. Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: Pathways of labor market incorporation and the value of global English. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 15(1). 29–49.

Guimarães, M. Helena, Pohl, Christian, Bina, Olivia & Marta Veranda. 2019. Who is doing inter- and transdisciplinary research, and why? An empirical study of motivations, attitudes, skills and behaviours. *Futures* 112. 1-15.

Irvine, Judith, & Susan Gal (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities and Identities*, 35-84. Santa Fe (NM): School of American Research Press.

Kachru, Braj B. Ed. 1992. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. 2nd ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 2001. *Politics in the Vernacular*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lønsmann, Dorte. 2014. Linguistic diversity in the international workplace: Language ideologies and processes of exclusion. *Multilingua*, 33(1–2). 89–116.

Martín Rojo, Luisa. 2013. (De)capitalising students through linguistic practices: A compararative analysis of new educational programmes in the global era. In Alexandre Duchêne, Melissa Moyer and Celia Roberts (eds.), *Language, Migration and Social Inequalities: A Critical Perspective on Institutions and Work*, 118–146. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

May, Stephen. 2015. The problem with English(es) and linguistic (in)justice: Addressing the limits of liberal egalitarian accounts of language. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 18(2). 131-148.

Oakes, Leigh, & Yael Peled. 2017. *Normative Language Policy: Ethics, Politics, Principles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OECD. 2020. Addressing societal challenges using transdisciplinary research. *OECD Science, Technology and Industry Policy Papers* 88. Retrievable from: https://www.oecd-

ilibrary.org/science-and-technology/addressing-societal-challenges-using-transdisciplinary-research_0ca0ca45-en (last accessed 4th December 2021).

Patten, Alan. 2001. Political theory and language policy. Political Theory 29(5). 691–715.

Park, Joseph Sung-Yul, & Lionel Wee. 2012. *Markets of English: Linguistic Capital and Language Policy in a Globalizing World*. London: Routledge.

Peled, Yael. 2020. *The idea of language ethics as a field of inquiry*. In Yael Peled and Daniel M. Weinstock (eds), *Language Ethics*, 3-30. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Peled, Yael, & Matteo Bonotti. 2016. Tongue-Tied: Rawls, Political Philosophy and Metalinguistic Awareness. *American Political Science Review*, 110(4). 798-811.

Peled, Yael, & Matteo Bonotti. 2019. Sound Reasoning: Why Accent Bias Matters for Democratic Theory. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(2). 411-425.

Phillipson, Robert & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. 1995. Linguistic rights and wrongs. *Applied Linguistics*, 16(4). 483-504.

Piller, Ingrid. 2016. *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction to Applied Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Ricento, Thomas, Yael Peled & Peter Ives (eds). 2015. *Language Policy and Political Theory: Building Bridges, Assessing Breaches*. New York: Springer.

Riera-Gil, Elvira. 2019. The Communicative Value of Local Languages: An Underestimated Interest in Theories of Linguistic Justice. *Ethnicities* 19(1). 174-199.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2011. Conceptualizing 'English' for a multilingual Europe. In Annick de Houwer and Antje Wilton (eds.), English in Europe Today: Sociocultural and Educational Perspectives, 133-146. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Silverstein, Michael. 1979. Language structure and linguistic ideology. In Paul Clyne, William Hanks and Carol L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, 193-247. Chicago (IL): Chicago Linguistics Society.

Sunyol, Andrea. 2019. *Multilingualism, Elitism and Ideologies of Globalism in International Schools in Catalonia: An Ethnographic Study*. PhD Dissertation, Department of English and German Studies, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Van Parijs, Philippe. 2011. *Linguistic justice for Europe and for the world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vertovec, Stephen. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6). 1024-1054.

Wright, Sue. 2007. English in the European Parliament: MEPs and their language repertoires. In Ulrich Ammon and Klaus J. Mattheier (eds), *Sociolinguistica Jahrbuch*, 151-165. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter – Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Wright, Sue. 2015. What is Language? A response to Philippe Van Parijs, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 18 (2). 113–130.