

9th GEM&L International Workshop on Management & Language
Helsinki, 10-12 June 2015

Language in Global Management and Business:
Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Advances

**The business of English, global panacea or pandemic?
Myths and realities of 'Global' English**

Robert Phillipson

Language has always been the handmaiden of empire.
*Antonio de Nebrija, 1493*¹

Contrary to the wording affirmed in the Bologna Declaration, the reform of higher education serves the purpose of replacing the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe by an English linguistic monopoly.
*Hans Joachim Meyer, 2011*²

English: the language of higher education in Europe... it seems inevitable that English, in some form, will definitely become the language of higher education.
*James Coleman, 2006*³

... it seems to me indisputable that Global English is becoming the *lingua franca* of Christianity in the twenty-first century.... contemporary language globalization is somehow related to the amazing Christian revival that we see worldwide.
*Zoltán Dörnyei, 2009, 156, 157*⁴

.... the English used as an international scientific language is not a *lingua franca*, a non-language. English is a completely normal language with its specific monolingual semantics, like all other languages. [...] It is the bearer, like all other natural languages, of a particular vision of the world. As such it is not universal and purely objective, which is what real *lingua francas* were.
*Jürgen Trabant, 2012, 108*⁵

How can we counteract the abuse of power that is intrinsic to linguistic hegemony? (...) we need to reflect on this model so as to see if and how it is possible to go along with using English without the risk of being anglicised into its conceptual structures, without being brainwashed by its linguistic patterns.
*Pierre Bourdieu, 2001, 47-48*⁶.

L'alternative est claire, en effet, bien qu'elle soit très rarement perçue : ou bien accepter l'une ou l'autre des fonctions sociales que la nouvelle définition sociale impartit aux producteurs culturels, celle de l'expert, chargé d'assister les dominants dans la gestion des "problèmes sociaux", ou celle du

professeur, enfermé dans la discussion érudite de questions académiques; ou bien assumer efficacement, c'est-à-dire avec les armes de la science, la fonction qui fut remplie longtemps par l'intellectuel, à savoir d'intervenir sur le terrain de la politique au nom des valeurs ou des vérités conquises dans et par l'autonomie.

Pierre Bourdieu, 1989: 486⁷.

These appetisers from the scholarly literature are by a pioneer Spanish linguist with imperial ambitions (Nebrija), a worried German former Minister of Education (Meyer), a British language policy specialist (Coleman), a Hungarian applied linguist who believes in uniting the Christian gospel with the gospel of global English (Dörnyei), a German Romance-language scholar who now has to teach through the medium of English (Trabant), and an influential French sociologist who advocates competence in English without being brainwashed, and considers that academia should not be coopted into uncritically performing tasks for those in power, nor remain ensconced in an ivory tower, but should use the achievements of scholarly knowledge acquired through university freedom and autonomy in committed socio-political activity (Bourdieu).

These extracts capture some of the key challenges in analysing the role of language in the contemporary world, and the role of English in it. Is global English a necessary panacea? Or is global English a myth, a project behind which there are strong forces and identifiable agents with clear commercial and geopolitical agendas? Is English the medium of a pandemic since 'the chief business of the American people is business' (President Calvin Coolidge, 1925⁸)? Can this global thrust be compatible with the interests and rights of other peoples and speakers of other languages in a volatile capitalist system? How can academics remain critical intellectuals generating expertise that addresses serious social and political challenges? The citations serve to show how important it is to understand the forces behind changes to the global linguistic mosaic, their historical origins, and where we are heading, wittingly or unwittingly.

Answering these questions, which are fundamental to the analysis of language policy, and of why some languages thrive while others are marginalised, presupposes a trans-disciplinary approach that can clarify processes in the hierarchisation of languages, and relate them to shifting language ecologies nationally and internationally. The language policy challenges dovetail with issues of social justice and cultural diversity at the individual and the group level. This workshop, and the research focus on the language dimension of business communication, would not be needed at all if intercultural, cross-linguistic communication was completely unproblematical, which it is at both micro and macro levels. In a short article one can only hope to shed a little light on the complexity of the empirical issues involved, and to suggest some elements of a theoretically informed approach.

It is also relevant to point out that use of my source material presupposes proficiency in Spanish, German, and French, as well as English. Understanding what is happening in the Nordic countries (Scandinavia and Finland) requires

proficiency in Scandinavian languages and Finnish. There is a considerable body of language policy analysis in these languages, only some of which has been written up in English. The idea that all relevant scholarship is in English is one of the many myths of global English. We have come a long way from Goethe's principle of texts in all languages enriching humanity and the individual⁹.

Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiß nichts von seiner eigenen.

People who know no foreign languages know nothing of their own.

to English monolingualism and the widespread current belief that in international communication the only language you need is English. This is one of the current myths of global English, in my re-writing:

Wer Englisch kennt, braucht keine andre Sprachen.

Whoever knows English has no need of other languages.

It tends to be scholars from the UK and the USA who see the expansion of English as unproblematical and implicitly condone linguistic imperialism (on Coleman, cited earlier, Crystal, Ostler, and Graddol see Phillipson 1999, 2011a, and in press 1 and 2; on Kaplan see Phillipson 2009, 242-3). I have nothing against English when used appropriately, in education and elsewhere, but English has been and is being mis-used.

Linguicism and linguistic capital accumulation or dispossession

The historical record reveals that in the UK, as in other European countries and the USA, a systematic effort over centuries went into attempts to convert a multilingual reality into a monolingual state, and to pursue the same goal worldwide by means of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, 2009). The essential process involved was *linguicism*, which functions in analogous ways to racism, sexism, and classism: 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 13). Most education systems worldwide reflect linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The privileging of English in the EU system can also be seen as involving linguicism in largely covert ways through *laissez faire* policies that allow market forces free rein (Phillipson 2003, in press 3)¹⁰.

The global Europeanisation process dates back to the policies of the Spaniards and Portuguese six centuries ago, the Christianising mission with a Papal blessing, and the quest for gold and territory, after the expulsion of Islam from the Iberian peninsula¹¹. In Mexico 'The locals who could not understand Spanish were considered subhuman, and so could be subjugated forthwith... reaching far beyond anything Nebrija imagined when he commented on language and empire going together' (Errington 2008, 25-26). Europeans have violently taken over

the territories of other peoples on all continents and to a large extent eliminated their cultures and languages.

Dispossession is rather more subtle in Europe, but linguisticism is definitely occurring. At some *Scandinavian universities*, there are much higher financial rewards for books or articles published in English than in a national language. Promotion prospects may also be determined by this linguisticist practice. Inter-Nordic collaboration has resulted in the Nordic countries being formally committed to maintaining the vitality of national languages while promoting competence in international languages, particularly English¹². Since this is the first time that government-level language policy in this area has been made explicit, it is positive that language policy is not merely being left to market forces and improvisation. The underlying thinking is both/and rather than either/or. The focus is not on a single medium of instruction, but a combination.

There has been a good deal of reflection in Germany, leading to a declaration by German University Rectors that aims at maintaining the vitality of German as a scholarly language, while also ensuring proficiency in other languages for a variety of purposes¹³. A major conference has produced a detailed analysis of issues and recommendations (Oberreuter et al, eds., 2012), which aim at strengthening language policy so as to avoid the doomsday scenario of Meyer, cited earlier. Such efforts aim at ensuring that German remains a full language of scholarship in all relevant fields and in scientific teaching and popularisation.

All education in *Singapore* is exclusively through the medium of English, with national languages as subjects only. English is the language of power, as in other former colonies, with the consequence that now more than half the population of Singapore use English as the home language (Pakir 2007, 197). They have more limited competence in other languages as well as in Singlish, a hybrid creole for informal purposes. Elites in other former colonies are also increasingly opting for English-medium education at all levels, and in their private and professional lives. The Singapore case follows the logic of the city and country being a creation of colonialism, and its post-independence rulers appreciating that its economic and linguistic well-being would thrive best by its integration into global finance and commerce.

When Singaporean parents gradually shift from Asian languages to English, this represents *linguistic capital accumulation*, increased competence in English. If government and family policies in effect entail reducing and ultimately eliminating competence in other languages, this represents *linguistic capital dispossession*, behind which there are external and internal forces. Similarly, if users of German or Swedish as languages of scholarship shift to using English, similar structures and processes are at work. Whether there is a healthy addition to people's linguistic repertoire, linguistic capital *accumulation* or, at the other end of a continuum, the gradual subtraction and elimination of national languages in research, teaching, and publication, linguistic capital *dispossession*, is an empirical question that needs exploration in any given context. We should all be frightened of English as a *lingua tyrannosaura* (Swales 1997), English as pandemic. It is false to refer to the extinction of languages as language death,

which implies a natural, agentless process (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2010). It is linguistic cannibalism (glottophagie, Calvet 1974). English has functioned as a *lingua frankensteinia* on several continents.

Individuals opt for the neoimperial language because it is felt that this linguistic capital will serve their personal or professional interests best. Individual agency and decision-making reflect a range of societal forces and ideologies, with education as a key site constraining individual freedom and choice¹⁴. Linguistic imperialism involves a mix of push and pull factors, local and external pressures. When language shift is subtractive, and if this affects a group and not merely individuals, there are serious implications for other languages. If domains such as business, the home, or scholarship are 'lost', what has occurred is in fact *linguistic capital dispossession*. There are agentive forces behind the language shift, causal factors that lead to an increased use of English.

The *Bologna process* has systematically ignored language policy. Multilingualism and bilingual higher education have never been on the agenda, despite the EU rhetoric of strengthening multilingualism¹⁵. Effectively what this means is that internationalisation is conflated with English, though clearly the overall picture is still linguistically diverse. It is however fair to conclude that Bologna and its supplement, a European research area, is in reality a market that strengthens English at the expense of other languages.

In the DG for Research of the European Commission, the regulations for applications state that one can submit in any of the EU's 24 languages, but it is made abundantly clear that you will be doing yourself a disservice if the application is not in English. This discriminates against scholars for whom the main language of scholarship is a Slavic, Romance, or Finno-Ugric language. The policy is linguicist.

The 'High Level' group on the modernisation of higher education, in their Report to the European Commission in June 2013¹⁶, in Recommendation 12, endorses English as *the* language of internationalisation, while also making a token nod in the direction of competence in a second foreign language. Only one language is seen as an international *lingua academica*. This is a clear example of what may sound pragmatically sound, but which fundamentally represents yet another instance of the linguicist favouring of English, without consideration of the implications for other languages, local language ecologies, or of how national languages serve as democratic instruments for creating a well-informed public.

English is now also the default language in-house in EU institutions, supplanting French at the top of the linguistic hierarchy. This development led the *Délégation nationale à la langue française et aux langues de France*, in its Annual Report of 2006 to conclude '... le français tend à devenir une langue de traduction et non plus de conception'. In other words a monolingual culture and mindset within EU institutions affects both content and form. I have elsewhere explored in some detail the factors accounting for the EU not pursuing more dynamic language policies (Phillipson 2003, 2011b, in press 3).

There are therefore major faults in the work of advocates of English as the sole unifying language for all Europeans and an exclusive language of EU law like Philippe van Parijs (Phillipson 2012a, May 2015). Likewise Jim Coleman, cited initially, misrepresents, in a 'state of the art article', what is happening in European higher education (Phillipson in press 1). Our critical antennae need to be hoisted when eminent scholars like David Crystal and Nicholas Ostler neglect the political economy of English and implicitly condone linguistic imperialism (see reviews, Phillipson 1999 and 2011a), or when Jan Blommaert, in his sociolinguistics of globalization ignores many of the aspects that connect language and power (Phillipson 2012b). Linguicism co-articulates with class, racism, and sexism, and needs to be resisted, like all mechanisms that condone injustice and inequality.

The historical record: from *terra nullius* to *lingua nullius*

The English philosopher John Locke, in *Two treatises of government* (1698), provided a rationalisation for Europeans arrogating to themselves a Christian God-given right to occupy territory elsewhere. Land in what became named the Americas was *terra nullius*, land supposedly belonging to no-one, to which its benighted inhabitants had no claim or rights¹⁷. The ideological foundation for this argument is the dichotomy between Us ('civilised') and Them ('barbarians') that has been deeply rooted in the thinking of the Western world and other cultures since the time of the ancient Greeks.

The international expansion of English has been predicted and promoted regularly by leaders on both sides of the Atlantic over the past 200 years. In October 1934 the Carnegie Foundation sponsored a conference in New York on '*The use of English as a world language*'. It brought together British and American teachers of English with extensive Asian experience, people who were a major influence on textbook production, dictionaries, and the theorisation of language teaching. The goal of '*spreading English "as a world language" on a basis of UK-US collaboration*' (Phillipson 2009, 112, italics added) led to US funding of activities on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1930s and again in the 1950s with the creation of the English Language Teaching profession and departments of applied linguistics, now a billion-pound industry in 'English-speaking countries'. This label is a misnomer for countries that have always been multilingual, and sanitises the reality of a history of language oppression and current hegemony.

US influence on academia in continental Europe and the UK was strong throughout the entire inter-war period. US foundations funded research, and influenced the way that many academic disciplines such as medicine, anthropology, and sociology were fashioned. In the natural sciences, US funding and influence facilitated the shift from German to English as the dominant *lingua academica*.

In 1941 Churchill and Roosevelt signed an Atlantic Charter that was a blueprint for what should happen once fascism was defeated (Phillipson 2009, 118). At Roosevelt's prompting, Churchill was awarded an honorary doctorate at Harvard

in 1943. The five key themes of his acceptance speech were UK/US unity, military collaboration, plans for global peace-keeping, US/UK global dominance, and global English¹⁸.

This gift of a common tongue is a priceless inheritance, and it may well some day become the foundation of a common citizenship. I like to think of British and Americans moving about freely over each other's wide estates with hardly a sense of being foreigners to one another. But I do not see why we should not try to spread our common language even more widely throughout the globe and, without seeking selfish advantage over any, possess ourselves of this invaluable amenity and birthright.

Churchill was well aware that 'selfish advantage' was central to the British Empire¹⁹. His claim of a 'birthright' to expand English worldwide is classic imperialist rhetoric.

The five strands in Churchill's address at Harvard led him to conclude: 'Such plans offer far better prizes than taking away other people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. The empires of the future are the empires of the mind.' Churchill accurately anticipated how different the world would be after World War Two, and acted to ensure the promotion of English worldwide. The mantras of our current empire of the mind are the knowledge economy and lifelong learning, both of them promoted by the OECD, the successor to the Marshall Plan, and the EU. It is arguable that Churchill's ideas have had a decisive influence on the modern world, with the UK as a junior partner to the US in the post-1945 neoimperial world and the transition into corporate and military neoliberalism.

After 1945, English became the dominant language of international relations, trade, banking, scientific scholarship, and popular culture, not by chance but through American leadership. The groundwork was laid in think tanks funded by US foundations during the war, and implemented in Bretton Woods, the UN, World Bank, IMF, NATO and countless other ways. This was a deliberate US strategy: 'The whole world should adopt the American system. The American system can survive in America only if it becomes a world system' (President Truman 1947, cited in Pieterse 2004, 131). Barack Obama echoed this theme on 28 May 2014: 'Here's my bottom line: America must always lead on the world stage'²⁰. The expansion of English worldwide has been a key constituent of British and American policy since the 1940s (Phillipson 1992, 2009). American empire and linguistic imperialism co-articulate.

Churchill's total faith in the USA has been shared by all subsequent British Prime Ministers. The Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom at the Heritage Foundation in Washington DC²¹ has as its goal the promotion of US/UK dominance worldwide. The Establishment in the UK (leading bankers, corporate directors, politicians, and media barons) has implemented a neoliberal agenda that has exclusively benefited the wealthy and intensified inequality (Jones 2015).

The next honorary doctorate that Churchill was awarded was by the University of Copenhagen in Denmark in 1950. The declared reasons for granting the award were Churchill's accomplishments as a historian (he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953) and his key role in the Second World War. This ultimately ensured the end of five years of German occupation of Denmark. In his Copenhagen speech Churchill had a completely different focus from Harvard in 1943, and made profound observations about the role of the university that are extremely relevant in the 21st century:

The first duty of a university is to teach wisdom, not to train, and to confirm character and not impart technicalities. We want a lot of engineers in the modern world, but we do not want a world of engineers. We want some scientists, but we must make sure that science is our servant and not our master... No amount of technical knowledge can replace the comprehension of the humanities or the study of history and philosophy.

The advantages of the nineteenth century, the literary age, have been largely put aside by this terrible twentieth century with all its confusion, exhaustion, and bewilderment of mankind. This is a time when a firm grip on all the essential verities and values of humanity and civilization should be the central care of the universities of Europe and the world.

This is an endorsement of the academic freedom that Bourdieu advocates, the need for creative, independent, critical scholarship. Alas, this humanist vision of the role of universities has been gravely undermined in recent decades. Following the example of the USA and the UK, and with active EU support, governments worldwide are increasingly forcing universities to graduate technocrats and technicians who are ignorant of 'history and philosophy', who no longer seek wisdom or independent thought. Academic freedom and university autonomy are severely constrained, critical scholarship is rare and generally submerged under positivistic, empiricist blankets or intellectual theorizing or fantasizing. Churchill's engineers have been replaced by doctrinaire economists and mediocre politicians committed to neoliberalism²². The constitutional treaty of the EU endorses neoliberalism. Universities are expected to service it. The empires of the present, in which English plays a decisive role, promote inequality and injustice.

From American *cultura nullius* to English as a *lingua nullius*

In the cultural cold war, all western European countries experienced massive efforts by the USA to project Hollywood, to influence intellectuals, reading habits, and cultural and political life in general (Saunders 1999, Wagnleitner 1994). McDonaldisation (as defined by Hamelink 1994 and Ritzer 2011) penetrated academia, the business world, the media, lifestyles and entertainment in countless ways. Neoliberal economic principles dovetail with cultural norms. American consumerist capitalism is projected as a *cultura nullius* of universal relevance, a necessity in the modern world (Kayman 2004). There are now 16,000 business schools worldwide, half in the US, one-third in 'UK-Europe'. After expansion in India and China, Africa is 'The new frontier for international

business schools', with the risk of this being a new 'colonial frontier' of academic and economic imperialism²³.

In school education the frontier is well established, with the mushrooming of English-medium education and with the increasing privatisation of education, which is in conflict with the human right to free education (Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010, 14-22). 'Global' English is a project to establish English as the language of neoliberal empire serviced by global finance whatever the consequences for other cultures and languages. Consolidating English in school systems worldwide is a major constituent of this project, with the British Council both master-minding the project and, paradoxically, making money out of it, as its Annual Reports and Corporate Plans make clear²⁴. Most of the para-statal's budget derives from teaching and examining English.

There is a boom in the market for English learning products and know-how, for fee-paying 'international' schools, for English-medium universities, for English ever earlier in 'basic' education, and for 'native speaker' teachers (Bunce et al in press). This affects former colonies in Africa and Asia, and the countries of 'informal' empire in Latin America and the Middle East. Pearson, the transnational publisher with a foot in many educational doors worldwide, has been denounced for its involvement in privatizing education in the global South, for which the British 'foreign aid' department provides funding²⁵. Other publishers, Macmillan and Oxford University Press, have been convicted of bribery when ensuring the place of their textbooks in education in three west African countries.

English is marketed as a language that everyone needs and that all should learn. This is another of the myths of global English. It is blithely proclaimed as the *lingua franca* of science, of European integration, and of international understanding as though no other languages serve such purposes. English is fraudulently projected as a de-territorialised language that is disconnected from its original sources and even from the driving forces behind its expansion worldwide. English is promoted as though it serves all equally well, as if it played no role in intensifying the global and local gaps between haves and have-nots, the obscenely rich in North and South countries and the Majority World. English is ascribed the role of a *lingua nullius*, reinforcing the myth and injustices of *terra nullius* and an environmentally destructive *cultura nullius*. In the USA and Australasia, *terra nullius* coalesced with English as a *lingua nullius*. This is now a global project. Global English is not a reality but a project behind which there are identifiable agents.

The currently fashionable English as a Lingua Franca movement, the study of the use of English by people for whom it is not a first language, is a clear instance of promoting English as a *lingua nullius*, a language that is divorced from societal power, in which anything goes, and native speaker norms are considered irrelevant. This empiricist exercise is theoretically and methodologically flawed, as many articles have demonstrated (e.g. O'Regan 2014).

The latest variant of 'English for Special Purposes' is called English for Peace-Keeping, a spin-off (with apologies for the pun, this label is pure spin) from the way NATO has been globalized since the implosion of the Soviet Union, for instance in central Asia and in former Warsaw Pact countries (Nazemroaya 2012). There is training for English as a *lingua bellica* throughout these countries (Templer in press). US and French military activity is being entrenched in much of Africa. The shock treatment imposed on Iraq involved the destruction of Iraqi higher education and US-led efforts to restructure education from top to bottom by Americans with no familiarity with the Arab world (Klein 2008, Kabel in press). Among the direct beneficiaries are higher education institutions in the UK, to which Iraqis are sent for training, and the symbiotic English teaching business, teaching materials, language schools, consultants, etc. Linguistic and educational neoimperialism follow in the wake of invasion.

The British government announced a 'New push to grow UK's £17.5 billion education exports industry' on 29 July 2013 to ensure that 'British schools, universities, colleges and education businesses continue to stay ahead in the global education market – worth almost £3 trillion annually.' One goal of this 'export industry' is to attract '90,000 extra overseas university students by 2018', continuing a policy initiated by Thatcher.

The British Council spearheads the expansion of English learning worldwide through a wide range of activities. Its determination to influence education systems worldwide is of even greater significance than what is happening in higher education. The marketization of English is led by a 'Director of English and Exams' who is presented on the BC website as follows: 'Mark Robson is a member of the British Council's Executive Board. Much of his business career has been in international consumer product marketing and sales, including at the market research agency MORI, Colgate-Palmolive, and the US conglomerate Georgia-Pacific.' The commodification of English and of education through the medium of English is considered a comparable task when directing an organization that defines itself as 'the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities' and is formally a charity²⁶.

British Council policy texts, which are used in advising governments worldwide, describe English as 'the world's common language', which demographically is patent nonsense. They claim that 'development' is dependent on proficiency in English (Howson 2013), an equally selective, false statement. They project 'world' English and 'global' English as a universal need (Graddol 2006, 96-97, 106-9). 'English is now seen as a "basic skill" which all children require if they are fully to participate in 21st century civil society. (...) It can now be used to communicate to people from almost any country in the world (...) We are fast moving into a world in which not to have English is to be marginalised and excluded' (Graddol 2010, 10). This is straight English as a *lingua nullius* discourse that makes invalid claims and conceals the vested interest of the British in promoting English worldwide.

No evidence is adduced for the claims or who underwrites them. The argument that you can communicate in English with 'people from almost any country in the

world' is flawed. You don't get far in Latin America, southern Europe, most of Africa, the Middle East or Asia - even in India - with English outside elite circles and tourist sites. Even in Scandinavia, proficiency in communication in English above a crude spoken level is not widespread. Contrary to what Coleman, cited initially, asserts, the expansion of English in higher education in Europe consists almost invariably of English being added to national language repertoires rather than replacing them (Gregersen 2014, Phillipson in press). While English is of major importance for the global economy, assuming that it is so 'basic' that it is a requirement for economic success is contradicted by the fact that the economies of China, Japan and Korea succeed through using local languages in basic education, as do continental European countries.

It is also more than likely that most scholars are creative when thinking in their mother tongue, and that for continental Europeans or Latin Americans, this can be combined with acquiring proficiency in English as a *lingua academica*, an additional rather than a subtractive language, at some point in their professional career. This is what Bourdieu advocates, proficiency in English without one's primary linguistic competence being downgraded, without being brainwashed.

British Council activity in promoting English is ubiquitous. Its Chief Executive asserts in the Annual Report 2009-10: '*English Next India*²⁷ tells us that from education to the economy, from employability to social mobility, the prospects for India and its people will be greatly enhanced by bringing English into *every classroom, every office and every home*' (italics added). This brazen neoimperial idea is in conflict with principles of social justice in India, as articulated by Gandhi (2010), Tagore, and Nehru. Amartya Sen, the Nobel Prize for economics laureate, pleads for more equitable policies that could enable the needs of the entire population of India to be met (Drèze and Sen 2014)²⁸.

The British arguments are a re-run of the imperialism of the colonial age, as can be seen if one compares the bible of British colonial language policy, a Minute by Lord Macaulay, a spin doctor in India, and a policy document by an adviser to the British Council, David Graddol. The overall thrust in the two texts is fundamentally similar (Phillipson in press 2):

Macaulay's <i>Minute</i> 1835	Graddol's <i>English Next India</i> 2010
It denigrates and stigmatizes the local.	Indian learning of English is inadequate.
It glorifies Western culture and English.	English is the key to success in the modern world.
It rationalizes the asymmetrical relationship between colonizer and colonized.	The UK has the solution to India's language in education problem.
A British intellectual can decide matters.	A single expert from the UK can cover the issues.

It conceals the economic interest of the colonizers.	The potential benefits to the UK economy are not mentioned.
It fails to refer to the reality of British military occupation of India.	Geostrategic political and military interests are not mentioned.

Advocates of global English promote British interests worldwide, perpetuate linguistic imperialism, and condone linguistic capital dispossession.

What can one conclude ?

This workshop is about 'Language in Global Management and Business'. 'Language' is used here in a generic sense, and therefore refers to languages in the plural. 'Global' is a deceptively feel-good adjective, one that is used opportunistically in relation to English. Maintaining the vitality of all languages entails avoiding being brainwashed either at the micro level of concepts and discourse patterning originating in English or at the macro level of unquestioning faith in the structures and ideologies that strengthen English and neoliberalism and its devastating consequences. Many language policies are linguicist overtly or covertly.

The overall context is a world that is racked by widespread crises. The *Americanisation* effort to impose its system worldwide is in deep trouble, militarily, politically, and socio-culturally. The *European integration* project has had very uneven results as well as poor legitimacy (euro destabilisation, economic inequality, limited faith in EU institutions, political disaffection nationally and internationally). *Language policy* is left to market forces that currently favour English. For how long is an open question. *China* is investing in strengthening its economy worldwide, its military capacity, and party control, while also promoting Chinese worldwide in comparable ways to Anglo-American policies of the post-1945 period.

Scholars using English run the risk of being in the same ambivalent position as Churchill, consolidating the power of English while wishing to ensure that it only serves humane, culturally sensitive purposes. Academics need to analyse whether they are complicit in a system that serves the 1% rather than all of humanity. My concern in this article is mainly with the macro level, historical factors, and the forces behind the expansion of English worldwide. The monolingualism of much linguistic and applied linguistic research in the USA and UK, and indeed of research in general in monolingual English-using cultures, may serve to consolidate the dominance of English in covert hegemonic ways that we constantly need to be alert to. It may serve to promote English as a *lingua nullius* in linguicist ways.

We also need to be constantly aware of the risk of being '*Imprisoned in English. The hazards of English as a default language*', the title of Anna Wierzbicka's latest book (2014). Her analysis operates exclusively at the micro level. Even when English is used as a *lingua academica*, it builds on the semantics and grammar of

how English evolved in English-using cultures, as Trabant, cited initially, insists. This also applies to the use of English as a *lingua economica*, depending on the communicative functions at play and many inter-linguistic variables.

The assumption that English is the sole language of globalisation, and in everyone's interest is patently false (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2010). *Lingua nullius* arguments and the notion that English is already global are comparable to the claim by Margaret Thatcher that There Is No Alternative to neoliberalism (McMurtry 2002, 19) and Tony Blair claiming that this system is 'universal' (ibid., 21). Neoliberalism is still alive and kicking, despite the financial collapse of 2008 (Jones 2015), the ongoing euro crisis, and failure to adopt more socially just alternative financial and economic measures. Advocates of English for all, nationally and internationally, are false prophets. The argument that English is 'owned' by all who use it ignores the inequalities that are generated by and through English. This can also be seen clearly in the way English is currently favoured in the EU system. English is not a panacea. It need not be a pandemic, provided linguistic capital accumulation does not entail the dispossession of linguistic capital invested in other languages.

References

- Abdul Haq al-Ani and Tariq al-Ani 2015. *Genocide in Iraq, volume 2. The obliteration of a modern state*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, Abram de Swaan, Claude Hagège, Marc Fumaroli, & Immanuel Wallerstein. 2001. Quelles langues pour une Europe démocratique? *Raisons politiques* 2. 41–64.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1989. *La noblesse d'état. Grandes Écoles et esprit de corps*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Bunce, Pauline, Robert Phillipson, Vaughan Rapatahana and Ruanni Tupas (eds.) in press. *Why English? Confronting the Hydra*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean 1974. *Linguistique et colonialisme: Petit traité de glottophagie*. Paris: Payot.
- Coleman, James A. 2006. English-medium teaching in European higher education. *Language Teaching* 39, 1-14.
- Darwin, John 2009. *The empire project. The rise and fall of the British world-system 1830-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diaz, Bernal 1963. *The conquest of New Spain*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Dörnyei, Zoltan 2009. The English language and the word of God. In Wong and Canagarajah (eds.), 154-157.
- Drèze, Jean and Amartya Sen 2014. *An uncertain glory. India and its contradictions*. London: Penguin.
- Errington, Joseph 2008. *Linguistics in a colonial world. A story of language, meaning, and power*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015. *The European Higher Education Area in 2015: Bologna Process Implementation Report*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Gandhi, M. K. 2010 (originally 1909). *M. K. Gandhi's Hind Swaraj. A critical edition*, ed. Suresh Sharma and Tridip Suhrud. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Graddol, David 2006. *English next*. London: British Council.
- Graddol, David 2010. *English next India*. London: The British Council.

- Gregersen, Frans (ed.) and thirteen contributors 2014. *Hvor parallelt. Om parallelspråkighet på Nordens universiteter*. København: Nordisk Ministerråd. <http://www.norden.org/en/publications/publikationer/2014-535>.
- Hamelink, Cees 1994. *Trends in world communication: on disempowerment and self-empowerment*. Penang: Southbound and Third World Network.
- Howson, 2013. The English Effect. The impact of English, what it's worth to the UK and why it matters to the world. <http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/english-effect-report.pdf>, 2013, accessed 28 February 2015.
- Jones, Owen 2015 (2014). *The Establishment. And how they get away with it*. London: Penguin Random House.
- Kabel, Ahmed in press. Afterword: Decentering the Hydra: Towards a more equitable linguistic order. In Bunce et al, in press.
- Kayman, Martin A. 2004. The state of English as a global language: communicating culture. *Textual practice* 18/1, 1-22.
- Kayman, Martin A. 2009. The lingua franca of globalization: "filius nullius in terra nullius", as we say in English. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 8/3, 87-115.
- Keynes, John Maynard 2015. *The essential Keynes, edited and with an Introduction by Robert Skidelsky*. London: Penguin Random House UK.
- Klein, Naomi 2008 [2007]. *The shock doctrine. The rise of disaster capitalism*. London: Penguin.
- Locke, John 1988 (originally 1690). *Two treatises of government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 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 Political and Social Philosophy*.
- McMurtry, John 2002. *Value wars. The global market versus the life economy*. London: Pluto.
- Meyer, Hans Joachim 2011. Bologna oder Harvard? Realität und Ideologie bei der deutschen Studienreform. *Zeitschrift für Politik, Sonderband* 4, 51-62.
- Mohanty, Ajit K. and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove 2013. MLE as an economic equaliser in India and Nepal: mother tongue based multilingual education fights poverty through capability development and identity support. In Henrard, Kristin (ed.). *Socioeconomic participation of minorities in relation to their right to (respect for) identity*. Leiden: Brill/ Martinus Nijhoff, 159-187.
- Nazemroaya, Mahdi Darius 2012. *The globalization of NATO*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press.
- Oberreuter, Heinrich, Wilhelm Krull, Hans Joachim Meyer und Konrad Ehlich (Hg.) 2012. *Deutsch in der Wissenschaft. Ein politischer und wissenschaftlicher Diskurs*. München: Olzog Verlag.
- O'Regan, John P. 2014. English as a lingua franca: an immanent critique. *Applied Linguistics* 35/5, 533-552.
- Pakir, Anne 2007. Bilingual education in Singapore. In Jim Cummins & Nancy H. Hornberger (eds.). *Bilingual education. Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, 2nd edition, Volume 1, 191-203. New York: Springer.
- Phillipson, Robert 1992. *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, Robert 1999. Voice in global English: unheard chords in Crystal loud and clear. Review article on 'English as a global language' by David Crystal. *Applied Linguistics* 20:2, 288-299.

- Phillipson, Robert 2003. *English-only Europe? Challenging language policy*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, Robert 2009. *Linguistic imperialism continued*. New York: Routledge, and Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Phillipson, Robert 2011a. Book review of Nicholas Ostler, *The last lingua franca. English until the return of Babel* (HarperCollins, 2011), *Language Policy* 11/2, 197-200.
- Phillipson, Robert 2011b. The EU and languages: diversity in what unity? In *Linguistic diversity and European democracy*, edited by Anne Lise Kjær and Silvia Adamo. Farnham: Ashgate, 57-74.
- Phillipson, Robert 2012a. Review Essay. Languages, genocide, and justice in the European integration process. Review article on *Indigenous Children's Education as Linguistic Genocide and a Crime against Humanity? A Global View* (Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar) and *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World* (van Parijs). *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 20/3, 377-381.
- Phillipson, Robert 2012b. How to strengthen the sociolinguistics of globalization: A review article based on challenges in *The sociolinguistics of globalization* by Jan Blommaert. *Critical Discourse Studies* 9(4): 407-414.
- Phillipson, Robert in press 1. English as threat or opportunity in European higher education. *English-medium instruction in higher education in Europe*, ed. Slobodanka Dimova, Anna Kristina Hultgren and Christian Jensen. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Phillipson, Robert in press 2. Promoting English: Hydras old and new. In Bunce et al (eds), *Why English? Confronting the Hydra*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Phillipson, Robert in press 3. Linguistic imperialism of and in the European Union. In *Revisiting the European Union as an empire*, ed. Hartmut Behr and Jannis Stivachtis, London: Routledge.
- Pieterse, Jan N. 2004. *Globalization or empire*. New York: Routledge.
- Ritzer, George 2011. *The McDonaldization of society* 6. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor 1999. *Who paid the piper? The CIA and the cultural world war*. London: Granta.
- Skutnabb-Kangas 1988. Multilingualism and the education of minority children. In Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Cummins, Jim (eds). *Minority education: from shame to struggle*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 9-44.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove 2000. *Linguistic genocide in education – or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove and Robert Dunbar 2010. *Indigenous children's education as linguistic genocide and a crime against humanity? A global view*. Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino: Galdu, Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous People.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove and Robert Phillipson 2010. The global politics of language: markets, maintenance, marginalization or murder. In *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, ed. Nikolas Coupland. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 77-100.
- Swales, John 1997. English as 'Tyrannosaurus Rex', *World Englishes* 16 (3), 373-382.
- Templer, Bill in press. English Hydra as Invader on a post-communist 'new periphery'. In Bunce et al, in press.
- Trabant, Jürgen 2012. Über die Lingua Franca der Wissenschaft. In Oberreuter et

al (eds.), 101-107.

Wagnleitner, Reinhold 1994. *Coca-Colonization and the cold war. The cultural mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wierzbicka, Anna 2014. *Imprisoned in English. The hazards of English as a default language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wong, Mary S. and Suresh Canagarajah (eds.) 2009. *Christian and critical English Educators in Dialogue. Pedagogical and ethical dilemmas*. London & New York: Routledge.

¹ 'Siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio'. In *Prólogo a la Gramática de la lengua castellana* en <http://www.antoniodenebrija.org/prologo.html>. All translations are mine.

² "Entgegen dem Wortlaut der Bologna-Erklärung dient also die Studienreform dem Ziel, die dort beschworene sprachliche und kulturelle Vielfalt Europas durch ein englisches Sprachmonopol zu ersetzen" (Meyer 2011, 61).

³ In a survey article on English-medium teaching in European higher education (2006,11). For further examples, see Phillipson in press 1.

⁴ From an anthology probing the links between the worldwide English teaching industry (TESOL) and contemporary Christian missionary organisations, Wong and Canagarajah 2009.

⁵ From a book on the future of German as a scholarly language, see Oberreuter et al, eds., 2012.

⁶ 'Comment lutter contre ces abus de pouvoir linguistiques qu'autorise l'hégémonie linguistique et contre l'impérialisme symbolique ?... Et il faut réfléchir sur ce modèle pour voir si et comment il est possible d'accepter l'usage de l'anglais sans s'exposer à être anglicisé dans ses structures mentales, sans avoir le cerveau lavé par les routines linguistiques.' (Bourdieu et al. 2001, 47-48).

⁷ The citation is in the original French as a reminder that the vocabulary of French and English have the same origins

⁸ This quote is often cited incorrectly as 'The business of America is business', see <http://www.thisdayinquotes.com/2010/01/business-of-america-is-business.html>.

⁹ Maximen und Reflexionen, *Aus Kunst und Altertum*, 1821.

¹⁰ *Laissez faire* social and economic doctrine emerged in the 17th century and was canonised in the 19th as an endorsement of individualism in the age of 'free' trade. Christian faith and political philosophy were seen as confirming *laissez faire* capitalism and individualism (Keynes 2015, 39-61, originally written in 1926).

¹¹ The European occupiers of Mexico in 1519 destroyed heathen idols (Diaz 1963) with the same barbarity as the Taleban and IS destroy artefacts in Afghanistan and Iraq. The US and its willing partners have perpetrated well documented crimes of cultural genocide and cultural cleansing in Iraq, with massive consequences for local languages (Abdul Haq al-Ani and Tariq al-Ani 2015).

¹² A *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* was approved in 2006 by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and promulgated in Danish, Faeroese, Greenlandic, Finnish,

Icelandic, Norwegian, Saami, Swedish, and English. The document specifies the language rights of all residents in a Nordic country, and sets out goals for language policy. It encourages key institutions to develop long-range strategies for choice of language, the parallel use of languages, and language instruction, www.norden.org.

¹³ Resolution of the German Rectors' Conference of 22 November 2011, in English at www.hrk.de.

¹⁴ See the typology of fifteen factors contributing to the increased use of English in Europe, grouped as structural and ideological, Phillipson 2003, 64-65.

¹⁵ This reality is confirmed in the latest implementation report, European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015.

¹⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/education/library/reports/modernisation_en.pdf.

¹⁷ *Terra nullius* in international law signifies land to which no-one holds legal title. My use of *cultura nullius* and *lingua nullius* does not detach what is referred to from its original owners or inhabitants, i.e. US culture and the English of the UK and USA. Cultural and linguistic expansion do not occupy vacant space but are necessarily in competition and conflict with local practices. The culture and language are no more empty than the land of the ancestral inhabitants of non-European continents was. They are vulnerable in the same way as bastard offspring have been treated as *filius nullius* (Kayman 2009).

¹⁸ <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/118-the-price-of-greatness>.

¹⁹ See Darwin 2009, 268.

²⁰ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/28/remarks-president-united-states-military-academy-commencement-ceremony>.

²¹ <http://www.thatchercenter.org>.

²² A contemporary of Churchill, the distinguished economist Keynes, denounced love of money as a pathological evil, and recommended that economists 'should get themselves thought of as humble, competent people, on a level with dentists' (Keynes 2015, 75-86, written in 1930). For Keynes the ideal economist combined the talents of the mathematician, historian, statesman, and philosopher (ibid, xxvi).

²³ <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2015042116254940>. Wachira Kigotho, 24 April 2015 Issue No:364.

²⁴ www.britishcouncil.org.

²⁵ <http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/04/push-to-privatise-education-in-global-south-challenged/>.

²⁶ www.britishcouncil.org. When Educational Testing Services of Princeton NJ (famous outside the US for the TOEFL test of language proficiency) established a European office, its first director was recruited from the pharmaceutical world. It now has six 'global offices, one of which is for 'Europe, the Middle East, and Africa', reflecting trends of the past 15 years. Its 'Global Institute' is all about marketing its US services worldwide. Its explicit goal is to influence and be used throughout education worldwide, www.ets.org.

²⁷ A follow-up to Graddol 2006.

²⁸ Drèze and Sen's book does not cover language policy, probably because of lack of familiarity with the research on bilingual education. Sen's focus on capability deprivation correlates precisely with how English-medium education in India impacts on children (Mohanty and Skutnabb-Kangas 2013).