





DOES MULTILINGUALISM PAY OFF? REFLECTIONS ON THE ECONOMICS OF LANGUAGE

Prof. Adam Pawłowski (Uniwersytet Wrocławski)

17TH **EFNIL Conference, Tallin 9-11** October 2019



Plan of the presentation

Basic notions

- language, dialect
- multilingualism
- prosperity
- language economics

Types of multilingualism

- individual
- societal (collective)

Empirical research

- states of the world vs multilingualism
- job offers vs multilingualism
- financial standing of individuals vs multilingualism
- Conclusions



DEFINITIONS



Basic notions: language

Language is one of the information subsystems, which constitute a system of state administration and management.

It enables interpersonal and social communication in the fields of administration, economy and culture; it also builds a community of its users, its prestige and economic potential.



Basic notions: language

For practical reasons, it was considered that only the **official or administrative languages** would be taken into account.

We used the category "principal languages" for specific states, according to the Ethnologue database.



Basic notions: language / dialect

No distinction has been made between language and dialect.

Linguistic diversity ("logodiversity") of specific countries was represented by the Language Diversity Index, according to the definition adopted in the literature (Greenberg 1956).

"Greenberg's Diversity Index (LDI) is the probability that two people selected from the population at random will have different mother tongues" [Wikipedia]

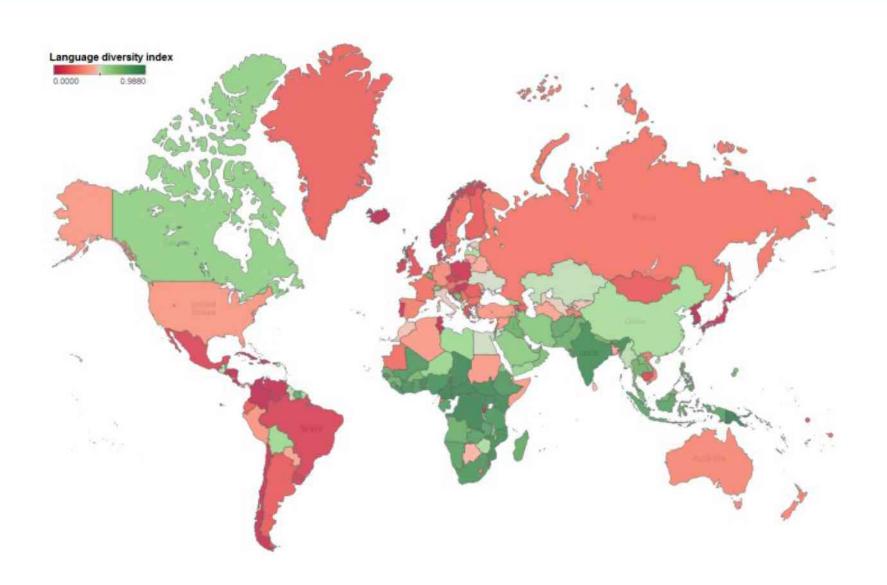
LDI ranges from 0 to 1.

0 means that all citizens speak the same tongue

1 means that every citizen speaks a different tongue



Dialect / Language Diversity Index





Dialect / Language Diversity Index

Language > Linguistic diversity index: Countries Compared

Home / Country Info / Stats / Language / Linguistic diversity index

DEFINITION: LDI.

CONTENTS MAP 4 Q+A

Totals					
#		COUNTRY	AMOUNT	DATE	GRAPH
1		Papua New Guinea	0.99	2009	
2	•	Vanuatu	0.972	2009	ntin
=3	/	Tanzania	0.965	2009	
=3	7	Solomon Islands	0.965	2009	
5	=	Central African Republic	0.96	2009	-1111
6	11	Chad	0.95	2009	
7	/	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.948	2009	
8	9	Cameroon	0.942	2009	0.000



Dialect / Language Diversity Index

186	#	Iceland	0.019	2009	Į.
187	•	Malta	0.016	2009	Ī
188	4	<u>Tonga</u>	0.014	2009	Ē.
189	0	Tunisia	0.012	2009	Ē
190	×	Jamaica	0.011	2009	ľ.
=191	m	Maldives	0.01	2009	Ĭ.
=191	Ž	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.01	2009	
193	v	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.009	2009	E.
=194		<u>El Salvador</u>	0.004	2009	
=194		Rwanda	0.004	2009	
=194	×	Burundi	0.004	2009	
197	:	South Korea	0.003	2009	
198	90	Samoa	0.002	2009	
199	>	Cuba	0.001	2009	
200		<u>Haiti</u>	0.0	2009	



Multilingualism: definition, features

Multilingualism is the ability of an individual or of a group to communicate in at least two languages.

Multilingualism can be seen as a feature or ability of individual speakers or as a feature of whole societies.

There exist many varieties of individual and societal multilingualism.



Individual multilingualism

Types:

- voluntary multilingualism (various motivations)
- decreed (compulsory) multilingualism
- intermediate forms

The concept has many nuances, so it needs to be described in more detail in each case. In particular one should consider:

- number of languages
- axiology (status of every tongue, bilingualism vs diglossia)
- level of language competence (low, high, active, passive etc.)
- context of use (professional, neo-colonial etc.)
- sociological aspects (age, gender, origin)



Societal multilingualism

Legal perspective:

- voluntary multilingualism
- decreed multilingualism
- intermediate forms

Structural perspective:

- mosaic-like multilingualism
- melting-pot multilingualism
- intermediate forms

Aspects:

- number of languages
- axiology
- motivations of I. users
- language competence
- context of use
- sociological aspects
- mutual relations of language groups
- active / passive



Prosperity

Prosperity is a complex notion (it is an euphemism).

Financial measures of prosperity:

- GDP (biased by the size of a state)
- GDP per capita
- PPP or Purchasing Parity Power
- average / median salary

Complementary measures of prosperity:

- life expectancy
- infant mortality
- level of literacy
- substitute measures (Big Mac, clean air, 1 sq. meter of an apartment...)



Economics of language

The economics of language deals with the financial aspects of managing the language system of a country.

In particular, it answers the following questions:

- what are the financial implications of managing an official language?
- what are the financial implications of maintaining minority languages?
- what are the financial implications of developing multilingualism?
- what are the financial implications of external language promotion?

The economics of language is closely related to language policy, however it is (or at least should be!) devoid of any reference to ideology.



Terminological confusions

Last but not least:

Language economics and language economy are quite different issues...



DATA SOURCES



Databases in a nutshell

We can divide accessible sources into 4 groups:

- 1) Economic
- 2) Linguistic
- 3) General
- 4) Community-led resources



Databases in a nutshell

Just a list...

- 1) World Bank
- 2) OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development]
- 3) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- 4) NationMaster [statistical database]
- 5) Eurobarometer and Eurostat
- 6) Ethnologue
- 7) SIL [Summer Institute of Linguistics]
- 8) Quora [question-and-answer website]
- 9) National statistical institutions
- 10) Wikipedia
- 11) Other social media



PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES



Economics of language: problems

1) Incomplete, scarce data (or no data at all)

- many official statistics do not cover foreign language skills
- some countries do not create and/or publish statistics at all

2) No clear distinctions

- language vs dialect
- official / administrative / principal / minority language

3) Incompatible data and concepts

- parameter values in various countries
- countries vs dependent territories

4) Incomplete data on labour market

- individual income
- job offers



Dependent territories, microstates

Akrotiri and Dhekelia	Falkland Islands	New Caledonia	Tokelau
Åland Islands	Faroe Islands	Niue	Turks and Caicos Islands
American Samoa	French Polynesia	Norfolk Island	United States Virgin Islands
Anguilla	Gibraltar	Northern Mariana Islands	Wallis and Futuna
Aruba	Greenland	Pitcairn Islands	
Bermuda	Guam	Puerto Rico	Andorra
British Virgin Islands	Guernsey	Saint Barthélemy	Liechtenstein
Cayman Islands	Hong Kong	Saint Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha	Monaco
Christmas Island	Isle of Man	Saint Martin	San Marino
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	Jersey	Saint Pierre and Miquelon	Vatican City
Cook Islands	Macau	Sint Maarten	
Curaçao	Montserrat	Svalbard	



Dependent territories, microstates

- 1) Very small size
- 2) No, partial or disputed sovereignty
- 3) Often high income (GDP)
- 4) Often no statistics
- 5) Sometimes illicit financial activities as a source of revenue (e.g. money laundering, tax avoidance assistance)

Some researchers consider them as microlabaratories of multilingualism. I do not.



Data inconsistencies



European Countries				
Country	Official and national Languages	Other spoken Languages		
Albania	Albanian (Shqip, Tosk (Toskë) is the official dialect)	Shqip-Gheg dialect (Gegë), Greek, Italian		
Andorra	Catalan	French, Castilian, Portuguese		
Austria	German, Slovene (official in Carinthia), Croatian and Hungarian (official in Burgenland)			



METHOD



Method – general assumptions

Correlation measures between economic prosperity and:

- number of principal languages
- percentage of the population speaking English
- language diversity

No data on job offers yet (it will come).



Method – general assumptions

How can economic prosperity be measured?

- collective statistics (GDP per capita, PPP etc.)
- individual statistics
 - average income
 - average salaries
 - number of open positions (offers of employment)



RESULTS



Correlation 1

Economic prosperity vs principal languages

Scope: entire world

Number of countries under investigation: 185

Average no of principal languages: 1.611

Measure: correlation coefficient

Correlation value: 0.061

Conclusion:

The number of principal languages is not correlated with economic prosperity of a country



Correlation 2

Economic prosperity vs percentage of English

Scope: entire world

Number of countries under investigation: 109

Average percentage of population speaking English: 39,8%

Measure: correlation coefficient

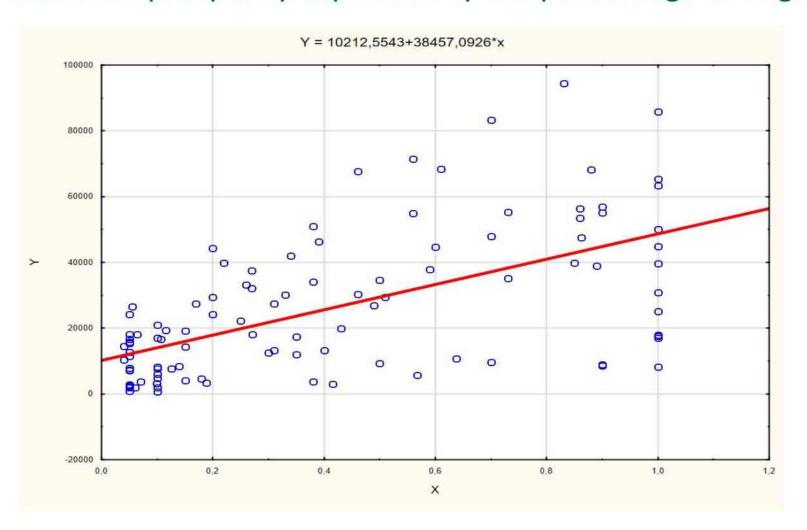
Correlation value: 0,601

Conclusion:

The level of English (as a 1st or 2nd) is strongly, positively correlated with economic prosperity of a country

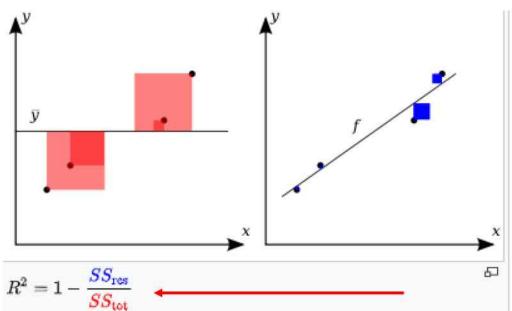
Correlation 2, regression line

Economic prosperity explained by the percentage of English



Correlation 2, regression line

How much GDP (Y, independent variable) does EFL (dependent variable) explain?



The better the linear regression (on the right) fits the data in comparison to the simple average (on the left graph), the closer the value of \mathbb{R}^2 is to 1. The areas of the blue squares represent the squared residuals with respect to the linear regression. The areas of the red squares represent the squared residuals with respect to the average value.

A= 38457.09

B = 10212.55

 $R^2 = 0.36$

Error = 300212682.55



Correlation 3

Economic prosperity vs language diversity (LDI)

Scope: entire world

Number of countries under investigation: 177

Average value of LDI (language diversity): 0,452

Measure: correlation coefficient

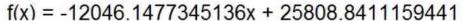
Correlation value: -0,174

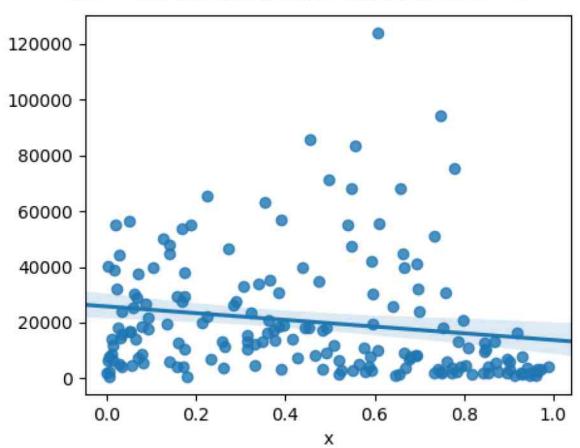
Conclusion:

Language diversity is weakly, negatively correlated with economic prosperity of a country

Correlation 3, regression line

Economic prosperity vs language diversity (LDI)







Correlation 4 (OECD)

Scope: OECD

Number of countries under investigation: 36

Average value of principal lang.: 1,28

Percentage of English speaking: **55,6%**

Average value of LDI: 0,28

Correlation values:

Principal lang. vs GDPpc: 0,214

English speakers vs GDPpc: 0,655

LDI vs GDPpc: 0,312



Correlation 5 (EU)

Scope: EU

Number of countries under investigation: 28

Average value of principal lang.: 1,29

Percentage of English speaking: 53,4%

Average value of LDI: 0,27

Correlation values:

Principal lang. vs GDPpc: 0,089

English speakers vs GDPpc: 0,603

LDI vs GDPpc: 0,243



Correlation 5 (partial data)

Scope: **EUROPE**

Number of countries under investigation: 35

Average value of principal lang.: 1,37

Percentage of English speaking: 51,7%

Average value of LDI: 0,29

Correlation values:

Principal lang. vs GDPpc: 0,0

English speakers vs GDPpc: 0,682

LDI vs GDPpc: 0,232



To be done

Statistics on the share of foreign language proficiency requirements in job offers.

Basic observations:

In Poland statistically foreign languages are not required often. The pilot study showed that only about 10% of the offers contain foreign language requirements.



CONCLUSIONS



Conclusions (entire world)

- 1) Multilingualism is a complex notion, no clear definition
- 2) There is a relationship between societal and individual multilingualism
- 3) There is no correlation between prosperity and the number of principal languages in a country conclusion: societal multilingualism does not pay off!
- 4) There is a negative correlation between prosperity and the language diversity of a country (LDI) conclusion: societal multilingualism not only does not pay off, it also costs extra
- 5) There is a strong, positive correlation between prosperity and percentage of population speaking English: societal multilingualism pays off, provided one of the spoken languages is English (also as L1)



Conclusions (specific regions)

- 1) Societal multilingualism IS AN ASSET in some rich and stable countries (e.g. Switzerland or Luxembourg)
 - it supports international business (but not local businesses!)
 - it maintains neocolonial dependencies (point of view of dependent countries)
 - it contributes to the drainage of local markets (idem)
- 2) Societal multilingualism IS NOT AN ASSET in poor, intermediate, and even some developed countries
 - it supports deep social, ethnic and/or national divisions that weaken the integrity of the community and may even lead to total disintegration (e.g. so called ex-countries)
 - its management is costly (education, public communication etc.)
 - it encourages emigration



Conclusions (individuals)

- 1) Individual multilingualism IS AN ASSET in just some contexts:
 - rich and stable countries with sound economy open to international business
 - tourism and transport
 - international politics, culture, science
- 2) Individual multilingualism is a **VALUABLE SOFT COMPETENCE** in general
 - it encourages open attitudes and helps avoid unnecessary conflicts
 - it stimulates creativity

BUT

Individual (and societal) multilingualism is a costly activity that only rich individuals (or societies) can afford. It has negative effects: costly education and public communication, loss of intellectual potential of individuals on studying languages...



Crucial question....

Why do people blindly believe in the magic power of multilingualism?

Because ordinary people listen to experts. And experts are academics, a sort of intellectual elite where multilingualism is a part of all successful curricula.

Because ordinary people from poor countries observe the wealthiest and dream of being "like them".

They try to copy apparent reasons of their success, while real reasons are different.



A subjective view...

In my opinion science and academia are the only fields of human activity, where multilingualism is an **unconditionally valuable and indispensable asset**.

But the same is not true outside academia.







THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

Prof. Adam Pawłowski (Uniwersytet Wrocławski)

Copyright:

No part of this screen presentation (text, graphics, logotypes) may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means without the prior permission of the author. All trademarks, brand names, logos and other data are protected by copyright and belong to their respective owners.

Copyright:

żaden fragment niniejszej prezentacji ekranowej (tekst, grafika, logotypy) nie może być powielany lub rozpowszechniany w żadnej formie i w żaden sposób bez uprzedniego zezwolenia jego twórcy. Wszelkie znaki graficzne, nazwy własne, logotypy i inne dane są chronione prawem autorskim i należą do ich właścicieli.