LINGUA ACADEMICA: LINGUISTIC SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY AT HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract: The surge in the use of English has escalated in the higher education sector due to the drive of advancing university ranking world-wide. Major universities from expanding circle countries, including Indonesia, are motivated to send their academic staff and students for short-term mobility programs organized by top world-class universities which are normally situated in inner-circle countries, as faculty and student mobility is essential for developing international quality education. Standardized English proficiency tests are the tools for selecting candidates, as native speaker's English is still regarded as the norm for lingua academica. Therefore, those who receive the access for mobility are always the same people who have already received some academic experiences overseas. With this in mind, we need to challenge the ideology of native speakerism and start embracing the concept of multilinguality. Yet, this is not an easy task to change the deep-rooted ideology. Forty-nine out of 57 college students (82%) of a reputable English Department in Indonesia, for example, still believed in native speaker standards, although they were aware that they could not attain them. In fact, based on socio-psychological and neurobiological evidence, multilinguality unnecessarily impair intelligibility.

Keywords: *EFL, English as lingua academica, linguistic social justice, multilinguality*

As globalization has intensified, it reminds us to a book written by Mario Pei in 1958, entitled *One Language for the World*. He wrote that with each new advance in technology the need of international language becomes more pressing. He even challenges himself and anyone following him, "What can I, as an individual, do to help bring about a world language?" (Pei, 1958, p.247). Yet, that language is unnecessarily superior but workable. He wrote:

> *The international language was needed for the future.... if the world language goes into operation by, say, 1965, it will be spoken in the year 2000 by the younger adult generations of the entire globe, and by 2025 there will be few indeed who do not speak it.* (Pei, 1958, p.243)

Today that language is obviously English, although it is only spoken by 20 percent of the world population (Lyons, 2017) instead of the whole earth population. It has dominated scholarly literature, and has been long thought as the panacea for academic failures. Its dominance has become more intense each day, as universities have to adopt the use of global rankings as a means of assuring internal transparency and accountability for their performance and governance. English is a challenge for the academic world of expanding circle countries (Kachru, 1985), including Indonesia, for its competitive identity, which is described by Kweldju (2015) as language branding.

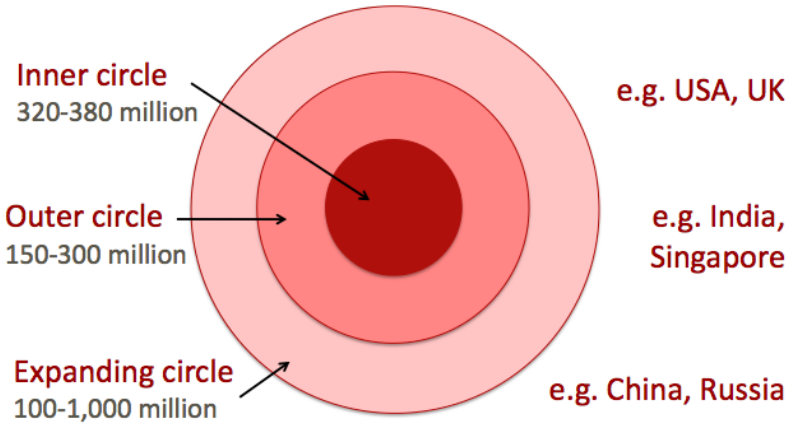

Figure 1. Kachru's model for the concentric circles representation of global English

It is a common perspective and a tradition in Indonesia that the goal of learning English is to speak like the native speaker. Linguistic theory, according to Chomsky (1965), is concerned with an ideal speaker—that is an adult native speaker—who has the valid intuitive judgments on their language to identify ill-formed and well-formed grammatical expressions.

In the theory of second language acquisition, if one has not reached a near-native level, he still speaks interlanguage instead of speaking the target language; if he stops learning and ceases developing, his interlanguage will fossilize in any of its developmental stages (Selinker, 1972). In terms of internal processing, the learner's learning second language was believed to be similar to children's learning first (Ellis, 1985).

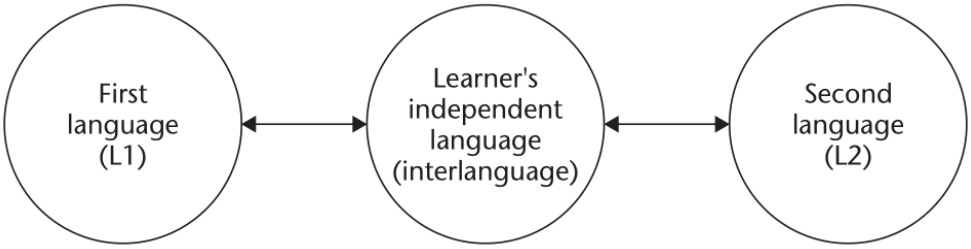

Figure 2. The learner's independent language (interlanguage)

Therefore, in measuring one's proficiency, standardized tests always use the native speaker's norms. For examples, IELTS is developed based on all standard varieties of native speakers' English, i.e. American, Australian, and British. The test writers are native speakers from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and the USA. It is the only test approved by UK Visas and Immigration, while one of a few others in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. The accents of the listening section are generally 80% British, Australian, New Zealander, and others, mostly American.

Historically, why non-native speakers are expected to speak as correctly as the native speakers is because only the children of the educated and the elite minority received education and spoke English. Being proficient in English is synonymous with being formally educated. In India and in many places in the world, English proficiency is historically a measure of socio-economic status, intelligence, and a source of pride. Later, initiated by the Ford Foundation and the Danforth Foundation starting from 1964, all non-native speakers of English, should successfully pass the TOEFL to obtain the post-war scholarships. English is always associated with the educated and has to be spoken correctly.

A new perspective has to be taken in the globalized world. We need to switch that perspective because it is an ideology and language policy orientation which are against the politics of social justice. Kachru (1992) also argues that because of its change of status in terms of universalism, liberalism, secularism and internationalism, English should acquire a new identity, a local habitat, and a name. In Indonesian context, people's process and target of learning English as a second language cannot be equalized with the children's process and target in learning their first language. They are actually multilinguals who are successful to operate in their own environment. They are native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia and speakers of several other languages. They also know how to use a particular language available in their whole linguistic repertoire in various ways according to the context of language practice. Instead, they are multilinguals with languages that can flow effortlessly into each other. Thus, it is unrealistic to expect that an Indonesian adult multilingual is

equal to a number of monolinguals in the same person. In other words, it is useless to demand them to pass the native speaker standard, while to ignore their capacity as a multilingual. For Grosjean a multilingual is comparable to a high hurdler who combines the two (or more) types of competencies, jumping and sprinting, in one person (Herdina & Jessner, 2002, 59).

Ignoring a multilingual's multilinguality is actually ignoring their identity. At this point we do not only understand language from the linguistic point of view, but also a politics of language on the emerging linguistic justice debate: which includes attitude, identity and power. Basically, speakers of a language share a real or yearned for identity, prestige, and symbolic value to act out (Haugen, 1972).

CHALLENGING STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY: A CHALLENGE IN ITSELF

In the last few decades terms like standard language ideology (Jenkins, 2007), native speakerism (Holliday, 2005), and idealised nativeness (Rudolph, 2019) have increasingly raised English native speakers' and non-native speakers' judgment on ELF varieties. Standard language ideology only gives positive attitudes to mainstream varieties of English as the only correct norm, such as the Received Pronunciation and the General American English. Standard language ideology entails one language only policy (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT) ideology. Languages should be kept separate, discreet, and pure; mixing and switching between languages are seen as interference or trespassing, affecting both individual language users and the communities in which they live (Li & Wu, 2009).

Native speakerism is a neo-racist ideology based on the monolingual principle, which says that an ideal speaker should be a unilingual or monolingual speaker as a member of an idealized homogenous group of speakers (Paradis, 1998). This principle is the basic monolingual native speaker standard (Howatt, 1984) which believes that native speakers are the best models and teachers of English, because they represent a Western culture as the ideal of the language and the methodology of teaching it (Holliday, 2005; Phillipson, 1992). The terms share a common perspective that English should be spoken like the ideal native speakers, no matter whether English is spoken as an ELF in the outer circle and expanding circle countries.

If this "idealized and essentialized nativeness" is continually reinforced, the outer circle and expanding circle speakers' identities and abilities will become more marginalized (Rudolph, 2019), and against pluralism (Jindapitak et al., 2018). Jenkins (2007) has even more written strongly against it as colonizing ELT communities.

Standard language ideology still manifests itself in the academia. This paper, however, proposes that every variety has the right not to be excluded from the spoken English as Lingua Academica. Excluding a variety is excluding the speaker's identity. No variety is actually superior; superiority is socially constructed for maintaining social hierarchies, and implies the marginalizing of a variety spoken by NNES. Standardization is not an aim, unless it can contribute to the creation of useful lingua academica.

Therefore, the first reason to challenge standard language ideology in higher education intercommunication is that all universities, especially high-ranking universities which most of them are in inner circle countries, and which present themselves as international universities, should accept the fact that the consequence of internationalism is linguistic diversity (Jenkins, 2017).

The second reason is that to achieve that level of proficiency for a multilingual can take years or a lifetime. It is a true rarity for a multilingual to achieve those standard performance abilities (Wicha et al, 2019), as there are always features of non-standard English shared by most NNES. However, non-standard forms are also found in all varieties of British English (Chambers, 2004). Furthermore, using non-standard form by multilinguals caused by language fluidity is more natural in the real and social world than distinct languages, as every society and every community is characterised by a multiplicity of linguistic and cultural practices. According to Labov, this phenomenon should not be stigmatized as vulgar and substandard (Labov, 1969). Standardization implies the marginalizing of a variety spoken by non-native speakers.

The third reason is that although the NNES may fail to acquire that standard competency, it is not indicative that they lack intellectual capabilities; one variety is not superior than another.

The fourth reason is that English is important for international mobility; but when the native variety is the standard, and standardized English Language entry tests are their tools of measurement. The chance is that the same candidates will experience repeated opportunites, while those who do not have sufficient skill using the NES standard will never have the opportunity. If this norm persists, higher education mobility tends to benefit mainly English-major students and the privileged minority. This will not motivate the general productive and resourceful citizens who do not pass the standard. Therefore, Kweldju (2015) questions the

validity of this requirement, and highlights the importance of new attitudes, a new instructional focus, and a student-driven approach to curriculum.

The fifth reason is that since higher education is for initiating social change, the staff and the students' multilinguality may not obstruct social change for equality and justice. Language is not only a means of communication, but also social change.

In spite of the facts mentioned above, however, it is still a long way to combat the standard language ideology and to claim that English is no longer the sole property of the inner circle countries. It has become a deep-rooted myth of the monolingual nativist ideologies of English (Kim, 2020). In fact in the Western world, monolingualism used to be considered the rule and bilingualism the exception. This belief contradicts the existing reality. In modern globalized era only a few countries that are strictly monolingual; multilingualism is the rule (de Bot, 2019).

Those who endorse standardization believe that, first, English belongs to the inner circle countries, and they are the rightful group to innovate, while speakers of the 'outer' and 'expanding' circles are forever foreigners who speak with deviations which have the potential to spoil the quality and purity of the English language. Second, speakers of the non-inner circle countries are learners of the language, and learners do not have any capacity to innovate. Thus, the varieties they produce is a mistake instead of a creativity (Li, 2020).

Fifty-seven English Department students of a reputable state-run university in Indonesia responded to the questionnaire distributed to them that 45 of them wanted to speak like native speakers; three of them specified that they preferred to speak with British or American accent, and one specified to speak with American accent, while the rest eight said that they wanted to speak like their own familiar local accent. However, those students were aware that they could not gain that "ideal" level of proficiency. Their ultimate aim was only to attain about three quarters of native proficiency; particularly, pronunciation, structure, and vocabulary skills were repectively at 82.72% (SD 10.65); 74.30% (SD 11.53) and 76.23% (SD 11.56).

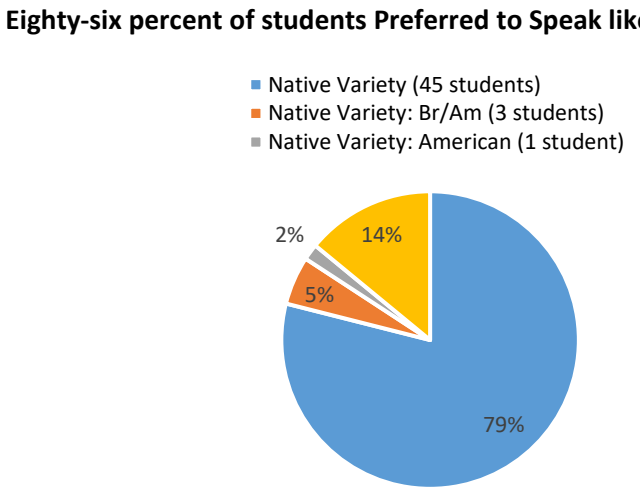

Figure 3. The Varieties of English Preferred by Students to Learn

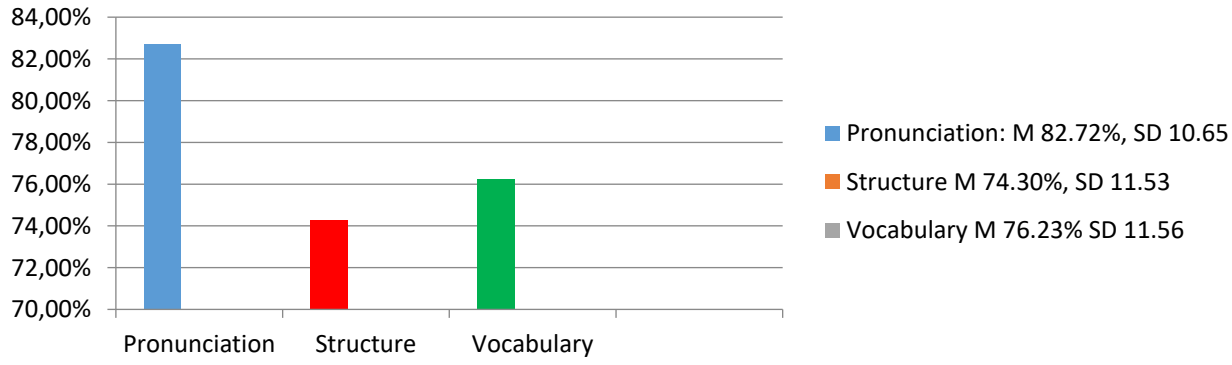

Figure 4. Students' Ultimate Aim in Attaining the Ideal Level of Proficiency

They also reported that they preferred to watch videos with native English pronunciation. In spite of that, they were still willing to keep their interest to listen to unfamiliar accentedness speech up to 71.53% (SD 17.56) as long as the topic was interesting, and it was spoken slowly and easily comprehensible. When they attended conferences, they also expected to listen to native speech, but they could keep their interest up to 73.51% (SD 16.46) as long as the topic was useful and interesting, and the speaker was resourceful and spoke clearly. This level of interest would fall when strong accented speech made the speech incomprehensible.

ABOUT MULTILINGUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Multilinguality stems from the principles of social justice and human rights to reduce the impact of linguistic hegemony. The aim is to empower the non-native speakers of English to face the challenge of undemocratic linguistic perspective, especially for English speakers from the expanding-circle countries for their international communication. Monolingualism privileges English native speakers, but disadvantages the others. It is characterised with its acceptance of language fluidity, that is the use of mixed languages in intracommunication, intended for democracy, inclusion, equity, and professional opportunities and participation. Under multilinguality native-like competence is no longer the desired goal; it is the concept to challenge further. Thus, Agnihotri (2007) highlights that speakers of languages associated with power are not allowed to exploit speakers of languages spoken by the underprivileged. Language education policy for plurilingualism plays a dominant role for democracy, social inclusion, economic or employment opportunities for the individual and the development of human capital.

The term multilinguality is introduced by Agnihotri (2014) as an umbrella concept that may cover all other concepts such as translanguaging or the use of multiple languages in the classroom (García, 2009), individual trilingualism that places more emphasis on the language systems and language codes in use, bi-/multilingualism, super-diversity, polylingualism, hyperlingualism, code-mixing, and plurilingualism, and multicompetence that emphasizes the interrelatedness of languages in the brain (Cook, 1991).

Multilinguality is not just bi-/multilingualism which is understood as plural or multiple monolingualism or parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999; Heugh, 2003). It was first introduced in educational practices in an ex-colony, India, as there is always a link between education—including language education—and social justice, especially in modern development (Hall, 2016). Essentially, language rights are part of human rights. Equal to plurilingualism— the concept introduced by the Council of Europe (2001) —multilingulity is not only a matter of competence but also an attitude of being positive towards language varieties of all kinds. It provides a new identity to English speakers from outer circle and expanding circle countries for their confidence and ability to interact and communicate with people from other cultures using the full range of their linguistic repertoire.

Under the concept of multilinguality, non-standard form is more natural in the real and social world than distinct languages, as language fluidity is the natural characteristic of the multilinguals' language. Non-standard forms are found in every society and every community; yet, emphasized by Labov (1969), this phenomenon should not be stigmatized as vulgar and substandard.

Native speakers' English is not any more the obligatory standard for those who want to be actively involved in higher education mobility, especially the short-term ones. In the higher education context, English as Lingua Academica (ELA) is used in inter-cultural communication, between and among non-native speakers of English from a wide range of outer circle and expanding circle countries. Thus, ELA is not native speakers' English. Two standards of English can be accepted: the native speaker's standards and the local nativeness or the idealized non-nativeness, which is called by Rudolph (2019) as the juxtaposed nativeness.

Multilinguality vs. Multilingualism

Although both multilingualism and multilinguality are against monolingualism; yet, they are distinct. Multilingualism refers itself to the situation in completely homogenious speech communities or a geographic area where several languages co-exist in a particular situation. It is a societal phenomenon which is rooted in monolingual language ideologies. Multilinguality, on the other hand, puts the emphasis on the ability of a single individual's abilities and resources. It is an individual phenomenon of individual store of languages at any level of proficiency that is dynamic and changes over time. It is about the unique wealth of the repertoires that is ready to use, even for code-switching, whenever the individual interacts with speakers from varied language backgrounds and for different functions. Thus, multilinguality is the inherent, intrinsic characteristic of the multilingual, including partial competence, incomplete fluency as well as metalinguistic awareness, learning strategies, opinions and preferences and passive or active knowledge of languages (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2003).

Multilingualism implies that the languages learned sequentially or simultaneously are separate entities, independently represented in the human mind, and largely kept separate in social behaviour. It is a phenomenon suggesting the demarcation of L1, L2, and L3, where the boundaries among languages are artificial. Garcı´a (2013) called it double/multi monolinguality, or plural monolingualism (Makoni, 2003). The multilinguality perspective, however, which sees languages or varieties as porous, emphasizes an individual's ability, and treats every language spoken by a multilingual as a resource for their communicative and intercultural skills. The boundaries between languages are made softer, fluid, and dynamic.

Multilingualism in school may direct students to separate languages very clearly. English should be used according to the textbooks written by the native speakers. Teachers easily fail students when they do not write according to the native spakers' standard in using tenses, prepositions, particles, and so forth. This makes students avoid using English and learning English, as they find that English is very difficult. They prefer not to speak English, rather than speak "broken" English like vendors in tourists destinations areas.

Multilinguality aims at identity construction, career choices, social stratification choices and opportunities; therefore, it is intertwined with many elements of affective domains, such as emotions, attitudes, preferences, anxiety, cognitive aspect, personality type, social ties and influences and reference groups. It is a notion which is more connected to personality and intrapersonal dynamics. The concept of a pure standard language with accuracy and purity in multilingualism, or multiple monolingualism, is completely unnecessary.

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA ACADEMICA: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

English as a lingua franca (ELF) is a term originally introduced by Firth (1996, 240), while English as lingua academica (ELA) is an ELF used in international higher education programs. The former is an umbrella definition for the vehicular language, or contact language, used when speakers do not share a first language, while the the latter is for teaching and communication in universities, particularly for content learning in higher education, research publications, and a medium of communication in international conferences between speakers who do not share a mother tongue (Phillipson, 2009).

In the global world today ELF is largely used by multilinguals as an additional language. The goal is successful intercultural communication, instead of near native production. However, originally it also reflected the spread of idealized nativeness. Therefore, to completely accept ELF needs a new attitude and a new movement for equities in contemporary societies (Norton & Toohey, 2004). In this context, an additional language learned by students should be able to improve their life (Crooks, 2012), to create a social change, and new possibilities for the future (Norton & Toohey, 2004).

There are three main underlying principles leading to the need of ELF for social justice, as illuminated by Paulo Freire's concept of critical education, which relates language curriculum to the issues of the students' life and the issues of their life. The social justice principle values the strength of bilinguals, the communities where they come from, and their identities. The first underlying principle is that it is unnecessary to use English as a symbol of prestige and it is not owned by the inner circle countries. Using the language is not associating non-native English speakers (NNESs) with inner-circle countries, and approximating the NNESs' proficiency with the native English speakers (NES). Second, since it is no longer a luxury, English has become part of basic universal education for all. Keeping English from anyone, whether actively or indirectly, must now be seen as an issue against social injustice (Hall, 2016). The third is that the working knowledge of English is as essential a tool as basic literacy and numeracy (Hall, 2015; Hall, Arrol, & Diaz, 2013). In other words, ELF is just as important as reading, math, and history.

ELA was first used in Erasmus Higher Education Programs for intercommunicability at the global level with a multilingual public (Hermet, 2019). Standardization is the norm of ELA and standardized English proficiency tests such as IELTS or TOEFL are parts of its tools (Hermet, 2019). In spite of the standardization, the use of non-standard forms is still unavoidable due to the international students' heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds (Kirkpatrick, 2010). To be realistic, once the concept of ELA is adopted, the native speakers' values and norms should not apply anymore; ELA is a means to bring one into the international, translingual higher education communities where one is no longer necessary to sound like a native speaker.

MOBILITY AND ENGLISH AS LINGUA ACADEMICA

Today mobility in general is a new marker of class and power. In the higher education terrain, academic mobility is unavoidable for creating a new social equity, the next generation of positive leaders, and engaged and enlightened national and global citizens. As emphasized by Jenkins (2017), higher education is arguably one of the domains most affected by globalisation and hence by mobility. However, there is a correlation between mobility and inequality. It belongs to the powerful and becomes a means to gain more benefit from

the immobile. One fact is that English proficiency requirement for mobility creates a type of linguistic-driven inequility.

Higher education mobility is for motivating cross-border education and increasing international academic collaboration, which becomes a must today for multiplying knowledge in the students' and academic staff's mind and skill distribution—a means to overcome the constraints of skill acquisition (Hassler, 2007), the constraints of regional isolation of academic community (Popa & Knezevic, 2018), and a means of the internationalization of the higher education institutions (Kweldju, 2015), and individual upward mobility (Hassler, 2007).

In the academic mobility, English is the principal tool for the dissemination of knowledge. Thus, the globalisation of higher education entails the idea of globalization in English (Jenkins, 2017). In this context, higher education does not only mobilize the people but also the most principal international language. However, the majority of those who have the aspiration for international mobility are non- native English speakers (NNESs) from less developed countries, and their main target countries are normally those with top-world ranking universities for their vertical mobility (Rivza & Teichler, 2007), which are located particularly in USA and followed by other inner circle countries, such as UK, Canada, and Australia, as the preferred international STEM study destination. Mobility is not the dream of native English speakers (NES), who already live in developed countries. This makes NNES staff face difficulties and the feeling of acute insecurity to fulfill their aspirations if they lack the skill to communicate adequately in native-like English, both academically and socially.

Formalizing the Standard Language Ideology

The standard language ideology in the American academic world is actually formalized in the visa eligibility criteria to enter an English-speaking country. For example, to obtain J1-visa to enter the USA for an exchange activity an applicant has the obligation to fulfill the requirement stated in the General Regulation of US Department of State—Bureau of Consulate Affairs, Provision No. 22 C.F.R. 62.10(a)(2):

The exchange visitor possesses sufficient proficiency in the English language, as determined by an objective measurement of English language proficiency, successfully to participate in his or her program and to function on a day-to-day basis. A sponsor must verify an applicant's English language proficiency through a recognized English language test, by signed documentation from an academic institution or English language school, or through a documented interview conducted by the sponsor either in-person or by videoconferencing, or by telephone if videoconferencing is not a viable option.

In compliance with the regulation, a university as a sponsor creates a petition for the applicant after screening and selecting them. To comply to the regulation, universities as the sponsors create a petition and submit it to the Bureau of consular Affairs for the applicant to come to the USA. Different universities have different policies but all of them include standardized proficiency tests. For example, Pennsylvania State University—College of the Liberal Arts—requires an applicant who do not hold a passport from an English-speaking country or earning an academic degree from English-medium Universities, they have to provide official results from one of the standardized tests recognized by the university; for example, the requirement of a minimum IELTS test score of 6.5 overall band, minimum 6 for speaking; or TOEFL iBT test score of 80 cumulative, with minimum score of 18 for speaking.

Another example is the language requirement for exchange student admission to University of San Diego as below:

> *Students must be proficient in English and submit confirmation through an official TOEFL score report, IELTS score report and/or a letter from their home university academic advisor stating that the student is prepared to take courses in English. USD's minimum required scores are as follows:*
>
> *TOEFL Internet-Based minimum score for undergraduate exchange students: 80*
>
> *TOEFL Computer-Based minimum score for undergraduate exchange students: 213*
>
> *TOEFL Paper-Based minimum score for undergraduate exchange students: 550*
>
> *IELTS minimum score for undergraduate exchange students: 6.5*

Another example for a short online and part-time program can be exemplified by University of Essex, UK, as stated in the Online Postgraduate Prospectus 2020:

> *"If English is not your first language, your English ability should be equivalent to an IELTS score of 6.5. If you do not hold an IELTS or equivalent qualification, we require students to pass a free online English Test.*

Based on the analysis of the 2015 international short-course academic flyers available online, Kweldju (2015) has classified four major types of English proficiency requirements specifications for short-term academic mobility not only for entering English speaking countries, but also for entering non-English speaking countries: the stated condition, the minimum mandatory, the implied condition, and the ultimate preferential condition.

(a) The Stated Condition: English proficiency is required to attend a conference but key performance indicators are not defined as the mandatory minimum such as:

- The International Youth Conference 2015 in Pakistan; although a score of English Proficiency Test is not stated, but it is clearly stated that the applicants' level of English proficiency will play a role in the selection process. The complete flyer is available at: http://www.edu-active.com/conferences/2015/may/28/international-youth-conference-2015-pakistan.htm.

(b) The Minimum Mandatory/Recommended Condition: Minimum Scores of English proficiency requirements or recommendations are definitively provided. Various short-term international activities require applicants' English proficiency scores. They can vary greatly from Japanese Studies to acting, bioinformatics to agricultural engineering.

- In the Japanese Study course delivered in English, offered by Rikkyo University, for example, non-English native speaker applicant is required to have a TOEFL score of PBT 500 or iBT61 or TOEIC score of 700 or higher. The complete flyer is available at http://english.rikkyo.ac.jp/support/international/foreigner/special/programme.

(c) The Implied condition: The straightforward requirements of English proficiency are not stated, but there is an implied condition as suggested in the paper writing guideline. One example is the requirement of English in the 8th International Conference of the World Council for Psychotherapy Asia 2015 in Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia. The requirement of English proficiency is not stated, but it is printed, *"Abstract body is limited to 300 words…. Abstracts are to be submitted in English only."* The complete flyer is available at http://counselingmalaysia.com/

(d) The Ultimate Preferential Condition: English proficiency is not written as a required condition, but a higher working skill is expected as indicated by the ultimate preferential result: One example is the ASEAN 2015 International Joint conference on Nursing Science at Chulalongkorn University. The conference is organized by Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, and Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. English proficiency requirement is not stated, but it is stated that *"Committee facilitates publication of full papers in an International Journal indexed by Doaj, Google Scholar, Ulrich Web, Scopemed, index Copernicus. The complete flyer is* available at http://www.inc.nurs. chula.ac.th.

HIGH TIME FOR ENCOURAGING ACADEMIC MULTILINGUILITY: COMPARING IT WITH PUBLIC MULTILINGUALITY

Academic multilinguality which is essential for social justice in higher education mobility is still widely discouraged in the academic world. The English-only policy is still superior and perceived as intellectually advanced, which is more appropriate for the academic world. Until today, for example, standard English policies still resonate in the practices in Malaysia (Ibrahim et al., 2013). This paper proposes that it is high time for the academic world to learn from the general public how they can challenge and dismantle standard conventions and accept public multilinguality.

The easiest way to clarify this proposition, this paper coins the term public multilinguality to constrast it with the academic multilinguality. The former refers to multilinguality that naturally develops and is accepted by the public, while the latter refers to multilinguality that is scholarly accepted—even legislated by language policy— and used in the classroom and any academic gatherings, by any of the participants such as teachers, students, conference speakers, based on the spirit of social justice. Public multilinguality consists of street multilinguality and broadcasting media multilinguality. Concerning street multilinguality, native speakerism in

large cities in Indonesia, for example, has started chipping away in their linguistic landscape, as it is unrealistic and unjust to exclude the local English varieties only for safeguarding and perpetuating standard English. There has been a natural interplay between English and Bahasa Indonesia in the linguistic landscapes of Indonesian cities (Kweldju, 2017; 2020).

Figure 5. Examples of Street Multilinguality in the Indonesian Linguistic Landscape

Broadcasting media multilinguality is obvious in the alternating use of Bahasa Indonesia and English within television cooking shows, game shows, infomercials and variety shows. Multilinguality is increasing across television stations and through youtube channels, such as Sarah Sechan in TV Net (Khairunas, 2017), a talk show on TV One entitled Indonesia Lawyers Club (Dewi & Ekalaya, 2015) and various radio and television programs, and the Internet (Luciana, 2014). No standard English is required, and no screening is applied.

When the public can already accept multilinguality in its linguistic landscape and the broadcasting media, there is no reason for the academic world not to accept academic multilinguality for the short time higher education mobility. There is still a demand that the Non-Native English multilinguals in outer circle and expanding circle countries have parallel competence in both their national language and English, which they might never be successful to attain. This demand may discourage university faculty and students to believe that it is unnecessary for them to speak like a native speaker, and they have already sufficient working competence in English as they have learned the language in high school. Without having this permissive

perception, they will be held back from involving themselves in higher education mobility, and self-screening themselves out from many international scholarship and academic activities. When they are overseas they use their silent strategy and play the role of a listener in group discussions, and when they are in their home institutions they are not confident to teach international students, although they know the subject area they teach.

ACADEMIC MULTILINGUALITY DOES NOT IMPAIR INTELLIGIBILITY: SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND NEUROBIOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Comprehensibility of Accented Non-native Speech

Socio-psychologically, intelligibility is two ways. It is not only the speaker's effort but also the listener's attitude and willingness to reconstruct speech gestures, instead of reconstructing the speaker's. Social expectations and stereotypes may benefit or hinder speech intelligibility (Fiedler et al., 2019). Accepting accented non-native speech is neurobiologically possible as long as listeners are initially ready to deal with the ambiguities of language, including accepting the foreignness of the speaker's look (Yi et al., 2014).

According to the fMRI study when one listens to an accented non-native speech with low intelligibility, he may first not understand almost anything, but later he can well adjust himself to it (Callan et al., 2014). Also, evidence from ERPs shows that listeners' comprehensibility also depends the listeners' familiarity with the accent (Grey et al., 2019).

The adjustment happens because neurologically the listener has recruited their speech motor areas to facilitate his adaptation to the foreign accented speech, known as the adaptation of auditory speech perception (Goldstone, 1998).

The Single-network Hypothesis

Multilinguality does not impede a multilingual's comprehensibility, as the lexical networks of those languages are integrated and are active most of the time. Basically, two or more languages share a common neural mechanism. No separate language systems are found in a bilingual's brain as discovered by considerable research conducted on the neurobiology of bilinguals since the late 1970s. This is called the single-network hypothesis, which explains how bilinguals are able to operate in a single-language mode without intrusions from the unintended language. Bilinguals can successfully select the correct language to use according to specific situations they produce the utterances. Bilinguals and multilinguals cannot deactivate one of their languages at will (Colomé and Miozzo 2010). However, language control takes place to cognitively enable multilinguals to use a target language while to monitor for potential interference from language(s) not in use but constantly active in the multilingual mind (Green, 1998). Yet, language intrusions happen rarely and language switch can take place without much effort. The production of each language also relies on a similar frontotemporal system, but that the exact networks engaged are task-dependent (Blackburn, 2019). Co-activation of the languages takes place at the phonological, orthographic, lexical, and morphosyntactic levels of representation (Hayakawa & Marian, 2019).

No specific regions appear to be differentially activated between monolinguals and bilinguals. Research has shown that language networks for monolinguals and bilinguals are similar, although they are not necessarily identical. Those networks are for the selection in the language control, monitoring articulation and post-articulatory feedback; and for the less automatic processes in non-native language on subvocalization, phonological awareness, and greater lexical retrieval effort (Blackburn, 2019). Further, a bilingual should also activate the multilingual control, articulatory and cognitive control which involves a frontoparietal-subcortical cognitive control network when they switch between languages (Abutalebi & Green 2008; Blackburn, 2019). This experience make bilingual brain have higher gray matter density in regions implicated in executive control.

Therefore, monolingualism model does not meet the neurocognitive mechanisms of language representation and processing. When a multilingual use two or more languages, it is simply because they take the elements that are most appropriate and accessible. First language and second language share a lexical system as suported by the neuroimaging literature (Grant et al., 2019).

CONCLUSION

The surge in the use of English has escalated in the higher education sector due to the drive of advancing university ranking world-wide. Major universities from expanding circle countries in Asia, including Indonesia, are motivated to send their academic staff and students for training, engaging in research programs and conferences organized by top world-class universities which are normally situated in inner-circle countries. Faculty and student mobility is essential for developing international quality education. Standardized English proficiency tests are the tools for selecting candidates, as native-like proficiency in English is believed to be necessary for thoughtful interaction in those events; otherwise, participants will become nervous, reticent, and inconfident to actively participate and express themselves. Native speaker's English is still regarded as the norm for lingua academica, although near-native production needs a lifetime effort, or can hardly be achieved. Therefore, those who receive the access for international mobility are always the same people who have already received some academic experiences overseas. With this in mind, we need to challenge the ideology of native speakerism and start embracing the concept of multilinguality. Yet, this is not an easy task to change the deep-rooted ideology. Forty-nine out of fifty-seven college students (82%) of a reputable English Department in Indonesia, for example, still believed in native speaker standards, although they were aware that they could not attain them. This native speakerism standard tends to be maintained by the inner circle countries as a strategy to attract fee-paying participants to listen to the "real" English.

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