[3203997]	Stella Heger
Studiengang / Fach	Bachelor of Education Sekundarstufe I, Profilierung Europalehramt Englisch Bachelorarbeit *English as a lingua franca – implications and consequences for English language teaching and Global Citizenship Education*
Erstschrift	( ) 1. Prüferin: Fr. Prof. Dr. Isabel Martin
Zweitschrift	( ) 2. Prüferin: Fr. Dr. Meryl Kusyk
Abgabetermin	26.02.2021

Studiengang Bachelor of Education Sekundarstufe I. Profilierung Europalehramt
nach der Prüfungsordnung 2015

PÄDAGOGISCHE HOCHSCHULE KARLSRUHE

BACHELORARBEIT

English as a lingua franca – implications and consequences for English language teaching and Global Citizenship Education

Fach: English

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Einreichung: WS 2020/21, 26.02.2021

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Sinsheim, den 20.02.2021 Stella Heger

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE Asian Corpus of English
AmE American English
BrE British English
CEFR Common European Framework of Reference
EIAL English as an international auxiliary language
EIL English as an International Language
EFL English as a foreign language
ELF English as a lingua franca
ELFA English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings
ELT English language teaching
ENL English as a native language / English as a new language
EU European Union
GA General American
GCE Global Citizenship Education
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO Non-governmental organization
NNS Non-native speaker
NS Native speaker
RP Received Pronunciation
SLU Second language use
UN United Nations
VOICE Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
WWII Second World War

1. INTRODUCTION

With an estimate of around 309 to 337 active speakers in the world[1] there certainly can be only little to almost no doubt expressed about English performing as an extremely influential language all around the globe. Some researchers of the (socio-)linguistic field would even go as far as describing it as "the most widely taught, read and spoken language the world has ever known."[2]. These numbers already go far beyond the scope of simply native speaker interaction in the English language, meaning e.g., in traditional English-speaking countries like the U.S. or the United Kingdom, where it is registered as an official first language. Thus, the data signifies a strong involvement of non-native speaker discourse. This is able to be detected either in countries in which English is acting as an official second language or in places in which it is actually considered a foreign language but used frequently and to a very large extent. This matter of fact will be explained more into depth in the following chapters of this thesis. To gather all the findings of conducted research and additional upcoming data about the importance of non-native speaker interaction for the English language in one specific department, the term "English as a lingua franca", also known under the acronym ELF, was introduced. The extensive spread of English in the last couple of decades can be traced back to dissemination through e.g., the media, education, the internet as well as through after-effects and consequences of English colonialism[3]. Conversely, the implementation of ELF into the school curricula presupposes many challenges and consequences for researchers, educators and everyone involved. As an example, it requires moving away from traditional native speaker norms and models which formed the center of language classrooms and education for a long period of time and to an inclusion of different varieties of English and the culture of their corresponding speech communities which had established themselves over the last decades. This thesis aims on providing an insight on the concept of ELF and its historical background while grasping implications for an inclusion into English language teaching and Global Citizenship Education for the geographical background of the European Union and Germany and takes into consideration the criticism that has arisen in those fields of research.

[1] Crystal 1997, p. 61
[2] Kachru & Nelson 1996, p. 71
[3] Hammer 2012, p. 248

2. English as a Lingua Franca and Global Citizenship Education

2.1. What is a lingua franca?

In its original sense, the term lingua franca stems from Arabic “lis-al-farang”, which was used to describe “an intermediary language used by speakers of Arabic with travelers from Western Europe. Its meaning was later extended to describe a language of commerce, a rather stable variety with little room for individual variation.” [4] . Broader definitions, far away from the Arabic context, can be found, e.g., by Walter Samarin, who reasons that a lingua franca designates

> “any lingual medium of communication between people of different mother tongues, for whom it is a second language. Applicable to all situations where linguistic communication is difficult or impossible, it applies as well to areas characterized by extreme dialect differences as to those with different languages in the normal sense. Any form of language can be used with this purpose. Natural languages spoken beyond their native boundaries are the best-known examples, but dialects have spread in the same manner. […] Such languages of common intercourse become established informally, as in any instance of second-language acquisition, or formally in some context of education.”[5].

He proposes that lingua franca comes from “Lingua Franca”, which is also known by “sabir”. This language was used with the beginning of the 17th century up until the 19th century and included elements of Spanish, French, Portuguese, Arabic, Turkish, Greek, and Persian. Regarding the spheres of use of a lingua franca, Walter Samarin states that “languages and dialects have their spheres of use extended as a consequence of a variety of social phenomena”, namely “conquest, colonization, migration, trade, commerce and religion”[6]. Throughout history, conquest created the need for a means of communication to administer all of the economic and social aspects for the maintenance of any territory possessed. Furthermore, the spheres of use can be interconnected with each other as e.g., a use of a lingua franca for the purpose of trade/trading can also be an indication for conquest or colonization in that specific country or area. An example for such a language would be Swahili. Samarin asserts that neither by how many people the language is

[4] House 2003, p. 557
[5] Samarin 1987, p. 371
[6] Samarin 1987, p. 371

spoken, which manner and mode they make use of nor the quality of comprehension are defining a lingua franca, nonetheless, they concern both social and linguistic implications for its use. In terms of typology of a lingua franca, it is claimed that lingua francas do not inherit an own specific typology as a reason of them being used for such vast purposes and therefore inheriting a broad set of functions. Only terms that apply to a lingua franca such as e.g., contact language, trade language or international language are said to have their own specific currency, as they are used for a clear and immanent cause. For example, international languages or world languages usually would be considered lingua francas which originated from standard languages used in dominant areas of the world, whether it be a political or economic use. In this specific case, the standard language is considered a lingua franca because it performs as an official registered means of communication and education and seeks to eliminate all the other competing languages functioning in this respect. This in fact is what is described by Samarin as a, if not the, goal of societies which is most likely tried to be achieved through language planning. Language planning can express itself in various measures undertaken, e.g., through the creation of an auxiliary language. An example Samarin gives for this case is "Esperanto", which was invented by L.L Zamenhof in 1887. Another means of language planning would be the creation of a union language which conflates different dialects into one specific idiom. For the language structure of a lingua franca, it needs to be said that there are actually no suggestions made about what the language has to fulfill in those terms. Thus, any language can become a contact or a trade language, however, "the nature of contact and trade can lead to different kinds of linguistic consequences"[7]. This can cause some languages becoming classified as e.g., a pidgin or a jargon, which both do not inherit any native speakers as they evolve out of simple language contact, i.e., for the purpose of trade, where both speakers communicate in an intermix of their first languages instead of using one specific language as their means for communication. They develop in form of the "'pidgin-creole life cycle,' according to which a contact situation produces a jargon, which may die or develop into a pidgin, which in turn may die, remain as such, or develop into an expanded pidgin, which likewise may die, remain as such, or develop into a creole"[8]. Nevertheless, these classifications and lingua francas are not the same matter concerning their origin, they can only function as one. Furthermore, he proposes that all lingua francas can undergo linguistic changes. When a lingua franca changes "it can alter

[7] Samarin 1987, p. 372
[8] Mufwene 2017

patterns of language distribution and pose problems for determining language relationships"[9]. Because a lingua franca is used for communication amongst non-native speakers of that specific language, those alternating processes can shape it in the same manner as i.e., a dialect, meaning e.g., the use of extensive borrowing from one's native languages leaving the lingua franca with little resemblance to how it sounded or was used in its traditional sense or forms. During this procedure a koiné or Gemeinsprache can develop which does not inherit the possibilities to manage and maintain such linguistic changes in a sensible way and manner. Samarin would assign the English language to such a Gemeinsprache. In chapter 2.2. a deeper look into this will be presented as well as different scholarly opinions and perspectives on that matter. Finally, he presents lingua francas with having "undoubtedly characterized the history of human beings since the time […] when large speech communities began to influence smaller ones" and predicts that "they will continue to emerge as human beings adapt to changing social and linguistic situations"[10].

[9] Samarin 1987, p. 373
[10] Samarin 1987, p. 373

2.2. WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY THE CONCEPT OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA?

The term English as a lingua franca has emerged as a way of referring to communication in English between speakers of different first languages. As implied through the definition, most ELF interactions take place between non-native speakers. Hence, it mostly performs as a contact language "between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture", resulting in English expressing itself as their "chosen foreign language of communication"[11]. According to Seidlhofer, ELF is classified as belonging to the terminology of "English as an International Language" (EIL) or "World Englishes". Before its establishment as the phenomenon of ELF, English had served as a lingua franca for now former colonies of the quondam British Empire since the 16th century, e.g., in India or in parts of Africa. This acknowledgement differs from the standpoint Walter Samarin takes on the first lingua franca emerging only in the 17th century, given above, and already here mirrors the ambiguity this field of research inherits in the linguistic spectrum. The conceptual form ELF is based on and understood by today was first acknowledged by two German scholars, Karlfried Knapp and Werner Hüllen. In 1980 they conducted some research on the topic, however, Knapp stated that their main intention was to stress "the importance of ELF as an objective of English language teaching" which disembogued into what Jenkins defines as "little consistency across their approaches"[12]. Thus, for a long time the field remained a minority interest with only little empirical studies. The turning point is said to have its origins within the publication of two works, one by Jennifer Jenkins from 2000 and the other by Barbara Seidlhofer from 2001. For instance, Jenkins claims that she already referred to ELF as such back in 1996. She declares that her switch from EIL, the most common terminology used at that time, to ELF stemmed from Sissy Gika arguing in an article that "'we teach this language [English] to help people communicate easily, talk to each other without linguistic and even cultural barriers, understand each other better … to bring people closer' and that the term 'foreign' is unhelpful in this respect"[13]. She continued to argue how foreign the English language could be given the fact that people all over the world use it for communication purposes, which is described by Jenkins as her very own "eureka

[11] Seidlhofer 2005, p. 339
[12] Jenkins with Cogo & Dewey 2011, p. 282
[13] Jenkins 2017, p. 594

moment" in which she realized that "'ELF' would be a far more effective, transparent term than the ambiguous 'EIL' to refer to the use of English across linguistic and cultural boundaries"[14]. However, the switch from EIL to ELF brought up, which Jenkins and Seidlhofer would define as, a contextual gap, meaning, "while ELF was 'the most extensive contemporary use of English worldwide', little description of its linguistic reality was currently available, which both 'preclude[d] us from conceiving of speakers of lingua franca English as language users in their own right' and meant that native English norms continued to be considered the only valid target for language"[15]. Some researchers might argue that this gap has not been filled until today, that matter will be part of the upcoming chapters. Yet, Jenkins and Seidlhofer see its fulfillment in or through the formation of various ELF corpuses, e.g., the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) launched at the University of Vienna under Seidlhofer's directorship, the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) at Tampere University in Finland or the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) in Hong Kong, China. In fact, they assert that the creation of these specific corpuses yielded increasing interest in ELF studies and increasing research being conducted in this field. Out of this newly acquired interest there burgeoned two main conceptions of ELF in general, on which studies in this department were based on. One perception of English as a lingua franca, influenced by e.g., John Rupert Firth (1996) and Juliane House (1999), completely excluded the native speaker from its use, as from a lingua franca's traditional sense it only serves people for whom it is a second language and who inherit different mother tongues. The other accepts the native speaker to assert influence over or at least also contribute to the use of English as a lingua franca and participate in ELF interaction. This standpoint is taken up by e.g., Seidlhofer (2004, 2011), Jenkins (2007) and Anna Mauranen (2012). For this thesis, the latter conception of English as a lingua franca will be adopted. Mauranen would differentiate hereby into "the macro, the meso and the micro"[16] level to keep a holistic standpoint towards the matter.

[14] Jenkins 2017, p. 594
[15] Jenkins with Cogo & Dewey 2011, p. 282
[16] Mauranen 2017, p. 8

2.2.1. ELF ON THE MACRO LEVEL

English as a lingua franca on the macro level involves both a linguistic and a societal domain. For the linguistic part, Mauranen proposes that globalization and the increased mobility of citizens all over the world change our perception of language entirely. According to her, ELF shows many similarities with dialects, similar to Samarin's notions, because both emerge out of contact between people from different linguistic backgrounds. Nonetheless, Mauranen claims that ELF, unlike a dialect, does not fulfill all the criteria to pass as a variety. It does imply "a settled, unified language form, complete with a speech community that can be reliably described"[17]. She evaluates the term "lect" being more neutral for description as it shows links with sociolects, idiolects, and other phenomena as such, but does not propose English as a lingua franca to be considered a language variety. The perception of ELF as similar to a dialect developed from processes discovered in dialect contact research being evident for ELF as well. There are a number of lects which are seen to relate to English, Mauranen gives the examples of Swinglish, Czenglish, Manglish and/or Dunglish. An example for the context here in Germany of course would be Denglish. Those lects are said to reflect the fact that "when speakers who share a first language learn a second language, their idiolects display certain similarities in pronunciation, or accent, in syntactic features, lexical choices and so on"[18]. Mauranen refers to this as "similects", which are not considered lects of any speech community but develop certain similarities even if acquired in different settings or by different people. They do not evolve in the same manner as community languages would, they simply embody language contact. Admittedly, this approach is a step away from multilingualism which can be seen as problematic because by including the native speaker into their conception of ELF, as well as all kinds of non-native speakers from different linguistic backgrounds, it actually is made integral part of the field by Jenkins and Co. themselves. That is why in 2015, Jenkins suggested that "English as a multilingual franca" is still an important missing piece of the conceptualization of ELF. Many non-native speakers who are in the stages of acquiring the English language are and were already before bi- or multilingual which needs to be considered given the circumstances of their approach. Added to this, speaker's first language repertoires are

[17] Mauranen 2017, p. 9
[18] Mauranen 2017, p. 9

seen as almost identical, which is certainly not the case at all. In terms of institutional language learning and second language use (SLU), there remains a big difference between the learner and the user, as contemporary forms of English are used far beyond the educational and institutional spectrum. “For a learner, language use is “practice”, whereas in SLU language is used in its own right, for co-construction of meaning in interaction”[19]. One could conclude that it is implied that a learner cannot shape or grasp the language in ways the user can, as he/she is still bound to obeying to the rules of learning as their objective and therefore bound to traditional forms and norms of the English language. This is evaluated as the reason for the complexity of ELF and is exactly why “ELF needs to address the notion of community” and “cannot rest on traditional understandings of a speech community, which is largely local, monolingual, as well as non-mobile”[20]. Up until now, no solution for this problem has been found and it is also not yet acknowledged enough, which proposes a vast area of criticism. Communities today in which ELF is used to a very large extent are usually not dependent on speakers being located at a close distance, as communication can literally be carried out anywhere, even online. In fact, Mauranen argues that such “traditional” speech communities keep getting rarer and rarer strongly influenced by the digital age which bears those points as a consequence. Through the mobility imposed by the digital age, communities tend to change and redefine themselves constantly which makes them particularly hard to define. Individuals, simultaneously to maintaining contacts within their local communities, no matter if they are physically there at the exact moment, are members of multifaceted communities and use language completely different depending on the context they find themselves in and need to use it for. Still, “mobility […] is a resource not equally distributed among everyone” and

> “we can observe an enormous scale of mobility from regions where warfare, poverty and political unrest drive groups of people towards regions that are perceived as safer and offering more opportunities. At the same time very different kinds of mobility pervade the ‘safe’ regions where modern means of transportation and communication are within everyone’s reach, albeit utilized in different ways and to different degrees by different individuals and groups”[21].

[19] Mauranen 2017, p. 10
[20] Mauranen 2017, p. 10
[21] Mauranen 2017, p. 10

This can entail that some people, predominantly from those what Mauranen considers "poorer" regions, feel obliged to learn the English language as they otherwise would feel as if they would miss out on opportunities only in their reach if some proficiency of English is acquired. Those so-called imagined communities are a matter for themselves and again leave a margin for criticism. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that people are getting extensively multilingual and do not shy away from making use of their acquired languages. Mauranen suggests to "liken 'the ELF community' to a diffuse language community […] suggested in LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985)" one "where multiple sources of input prevail, which consists of many kinds of speakers with varying language identities and social ties and comparatively little agreement on what is shared in the language or community"[22]. The European Union is described to be the most intriguing example of this because it is fundamentally multilingual but predominantly makes use of English for maintaining and reproducing measures concerning the whole union, despite each member country carrying their own official L1s and more often even more than one. As a conclusion for the macro level, "ELF communities are diffuse, network-based multilingual communities where English is a dominant lingua franca"[23].

[22] Mauranen 2017, p. 11
[23] Mauranen 2017, p. 12

2.2.2. ELF ON THE MESO LEVEL

The meso perspective on ELF sees the aspect of interaction as most important and to influence and interlink both the social compound and the individual. Mauranen defines interaction as "a self-organising system, which engages in exchanges with its adjacent systems at different scales"[24]. In interaction, speakers tend to accommodate to each other by transforming various linguistical features in order to even out and minimize the lack of common ground. This is done for example through simplifying grammar (Giles and Smith 1979). Another means for building a common ground of speakers in interaction is explicitation (Blum-Kulka 1986). By Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) it is defined as

> "'a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation the process of introducing information into the target language which is present only implicitly in the source language, but which can be derived from the context or the situation'"[25].

According to Mauranen it can be found in conversation in "form of frequent paraphrasing, rephrasing and repetition, or syntactic strategies like fronting or tails". Furthermore, these accommodation processes can have consequences for the area of grammar. ELF research and its scholars go by the understanding that it shapes and influences its own grammar which is believed to transform with its explicit language use. This is the reason why they expect more changes to be undertaken the more the sphere of interaction in English between different speakers increases. Logically, the fluidity and flexibility of ELF in that respect can lead to some structures strengthening themselves in its usage as they are preferred by the majority of speakers. Usually, they are the ones easier to produce than the corresponding traditional forms. It is said to be an "empirical question whether this reflects a parallelism between ELF and creoles" as they "display relatively little overall grammatical complexity on account of their pidgin origins and therefore have little that is unnecessary to communication"[26] (McWhorter 2001). According to Mauranen, "ELF does not originate in pidgins, nor is it functionally reduced; it is used for everything a

[24] Mauranen 2017, p. 13
[25] Pym 2005, p. 29
[26] Mauranen 2017, p. 14

language is normally used for"[27]. Simplification is though still possible because ELF is linked so closely to and shaped by multilingualism. This can show itself e.g., in the use of a simplified vocabulary. Nevertheless, there is not quite a possibility to measure the overall simplicity or simplification of language. Because ELF communication thus usually differs a lot from the one in Standard English or traditional forms of English, there are many expressions used which would be considered far from conventional. This does, however, not propose any implications for the speakers participating in discussion and more so lead to a feedback loop arising (figure 1). This loop acts as "a crucial link in reinforcing and spreading expressions that might otherwise pass as idiosyncrasies (or even, in language pedagogical contexts, as lack of success or errors)."[28].

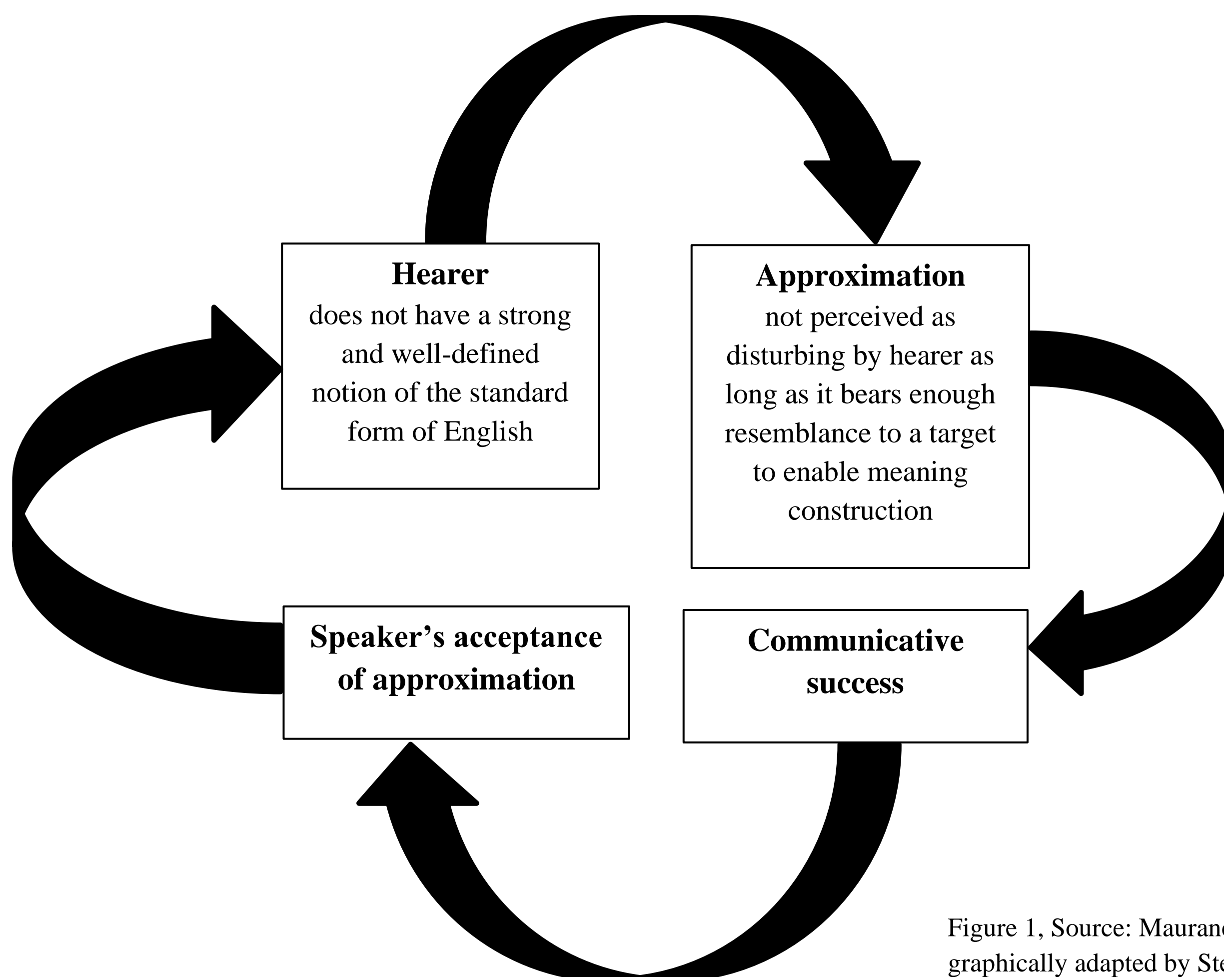

Figure 1, Source: Mauranen, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

[27] Mauranen 2017, p. 14
[28] Mauranen 2017, p. 14

Another question left open regarding the meso level of ELF is if and to what extent its speakers share cultural background with each other. Mauranen claims that "English language teaching materials tend to promote not only a given 'code', but certain information, clichés and beliefs about British and North American culture that speakers will be familiar with to a greater or lesser extent"[29]. In addition, media, the entertainment industry, etc., are used to provide information on all sorts of topics no matter where the speaker is currently located at. Shared concepts can be historical (e.g., holocaust), contemporary (e.g., Brexit) or embedded in different languages (e.g., Dark Ages). What is more important than which cultural background is shared is what actually is shared in a conversation. Language is developed in social interaction and therefore emergent. In this respect, ELF is not considered as any different. However, ELF researchers claim that it is perceived as "appreciating dynamic notions of language and multilingualism"[30] more than the conventional forms of English do. Nonetheless, also here much criticism has arisen over the last couple of years.

[29] Mauranen 2017, p. 15
[30] Mauranen 2017, p. 15

2.2.3. ELF ON THE MICRO LEVEL

Interaction is demonstrably said to shape our brains as cognition is attuned to its social environment. In Goffman's sense (1983), interaction is evaluated as autonomous. But which role does cognition play then exactly? To answer this question, research strands like enactivism were brought up and sought to reconcile the individual with social interaction as autonomous, dynamic systems. An autonomy both of the individual and the interaction is not denied and the possibility of tension between the two is thematized. Even though autonomous, dynamic systems are seen as self-organizing, they are still said to be connected to external processes which in turn are again important for their internal processes - a cycle. In ELF studies the individual's experience with English is considered differently than with the languages he/she acquired from infancy due to less exposure to later languages than to the mother tongue(s). This fact has great influence on the working memory as well as on language acquisition. In addition, it leads to an increased accommodation (see chapter 2.2.2) in interaction with other speakers. Hence, cognitive processes play a fundamental role in shaping grammars of users. The lifetime experience he/she has with the language will influence what becomes fixed in his/her grammar. This is evidence for a "speaker's language repertoires" being "dynamic" and undergoing "constant change during their lifetime"[31]. In a traditional view of language, imperfect learning is implicated in language contact situations and causes structural or phonological changes which utter themselves in simplification. Mauranen is convinced this leads to predict that ELF displays structural simplification rather than lexical changes. She adds that language contact can be defined as a relative overrepresentation of the most frequent lexis used and proposes that this is exactly what is found in ELF. Nonetheless, this overrepresentation does not equal "impoverished" vocabulary, which is necessary to add. Thus, ELF processes help to foster and perceive language change and need to be included in the linguistic research of the English language.

[31] Mauranen 2017, p. 16

2.3. Global Citizenship Education

Global Citizenship Education (GCE), as implied through its name, designates a citizenship on a global level. Definitions of this matter are not very easy to make and often are found to be very diverse.

> "Some argue that global citizenship is based on moral identity, which implies that everyone has a moral obligation to care about each other, regardless of geographic locations or nationality. Others believe global citizenship can only be achieved through leadership of global institutions, such as the United Nations, or through involvement in non-governmental organizations (NGOs)."[32].

The NGO Oxfam expects a global citizen to be someone who

- is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen
- respects and values diversity
- has an understanding of how the world works
- is outraged by social injustice
- participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global
- is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place
- takes responsibility for their actions

In fact, GCE is not a new phenomenon. Su, Bullivant and Holt give the example of Stoics who already thought of humans that "were part of and had obligations to a global community beyond the local, national or wider regional communities in which they were located"[33]. Since then, the idea of a global citizenship was not further thematized and only picked up again after WWII where an increased nationalism uttered itself. Back then (1970s – 1980s) it was known as "World Studies" and primarily implemented in teacher education and training. Nonetheless, many educators today shy away from an implementation into their own lessons because they perceive methodological materials handed to them as not being designed adequately enough and as not making them feel secure enough in centering GCE in their classes (Bourn, 2012; Brown, 2009; Robbins et al, 2003). This fact leaves a margin for discussion for the upcoming chapters.

[32] Su, Bullivant & Holt 2013, p. 1
[33] Su, Bullivant & Holt 2013, p. 2

3. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ELF

English is certainly not the only language that was originally confined to and defined by a relatively small community of users and has spread beyond its borders to become an international means of communication. It is just carried out to a higher degree than the others have before. An extension of a language into lingua franca use naturally involves variation and change. People spike their language with their own sociocultural values which they want to express and protect through its use. However, values seem to be undermined if speakers who do not belong to its original speech community shape the language to their own needs. "Linguistic preservationists" claim to have some sort of custody over their personal L1 and changes made to it are usually not welcomed by them. They see themselves entitled to watch over those changes made to "their" language in order to guarantee its use in its traditional sense. This attitude goes way back in time and predominantly expressed itself in people fearing "abuse of English". The question one has to ask oneself therefore is to which extent the language used needs to resemble the traditional uses in order to fulfill those purposes. The domains of use of English extended with the expansion of empire and since this spread was a function of colonialism, the English language was under jurisdiction of British rule. For instance, authorities had to approve of any recoding of the language and usually did not do so but rather sanctioned it. When the U.S. declared independence from the British Empire in 1776, a new group of native speakers of English formed which was not bound to any kinds of conformity and changed the language to suit the needs of its community. This served to develop a sense of national and cultural identity and recodification was seen as a way of combatting nationalism. In Europe, nationalism was seen as a major fact supporting the First World War to happen. Nonetheless, English was not only recodified for e.g., former colonies but in turn de-nationalized for its native speakers as features distinctive for their language were removed and they were not longer able to "own" it. The issue of recodifying language is ever so present today and has influence on the international use of English. The relationship between the function of a language as an expression of communal identity and its function as a means of wider communication still concerns users and scholars today. Widdowson proposes that in native speaker communities both of those functions "seem naturally compatible", in ELF however, "language is appropriated by

others and adapted expediently to meet their communicative needs"[34]. In fact, its "identifying function may have little if any relevance"[35]. Another concern is "how far it is possible to identify what features of the standard language are essential for communication"[36], this was already discussed in the chapters prior to this one. Over time in history, English became more and more international and the problem now uttered itself in how to characterize the language which then was known under the term "International auxiliary language" (EIAL) (Smith 1980).

> "In the case of the language called 'English' the sheer numbers of English users whose individual performances (and competences) are summated within the fiction of 'English', their worldwide geographical distribution, the great range of social needs and purposes they serve, and the resulting myriad of identifiably different versions of English – all these factors combine to produce a paradox: as English becomes ever more widely used, so it becomes ever more difficult to characterize in ways that support the fiction of a single, simple language".[37]

For this approach, the model of Kachru's circles (1992) became evident, which will be visualized in the following figure.

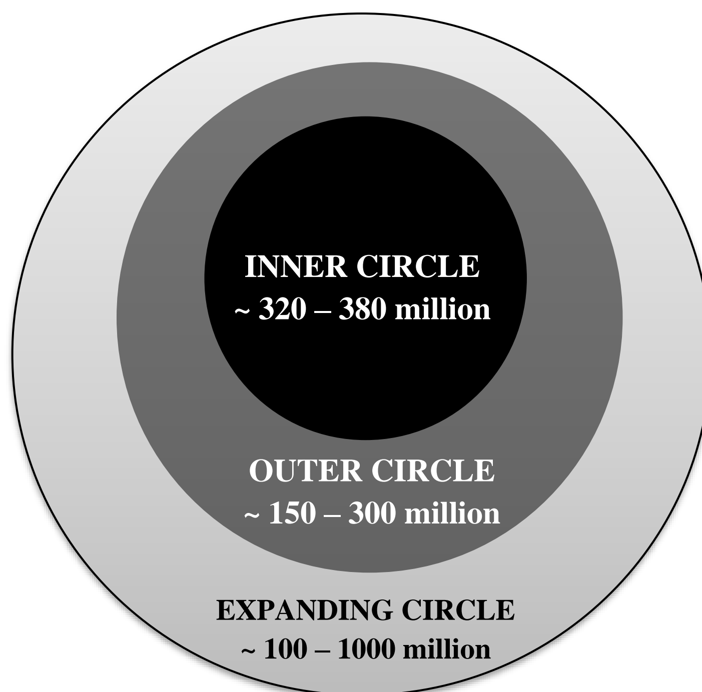

Figure 2, Source: Kachru, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

[34] Widdowson 2017, p. 103
[35] Widdowson 2017, p. 103
[36] Widdowson 2017, p. 104
[37] Strevens 1980, p. 79

This model presents itself as a concentrical "Zirkelmodell" and its emphasis is focusing on reciprocal power structures between different varieties of English and their interaction. The inner circle consists of traditional English-speaking countries, e.g. Great Britain, the U.S., etc. They are considered norm-providing, meaning they oblige what is accepted as linguistically correct and what is not. The outer circle is made up of countries, which took up English as their second language, e.g., India or Nigeria. This circle is norm-developing, their use of English affects the norms of the inner circle. Lastly, the expanding circle contains countries which consider English a foreign language but use it to a very large extent and according to the norms of the inner circle, e.g., China, Israel and so on, which is why it is defined as norm-depending. The inner circle is most influential on the expanding circle while the outer circle obeys to the standards of the inner circles' language use. Regarding characterization of the English language, Widdowson states that in the outer circle "English was adopted as a community language" by ex-colonial countries, such as India, while in the expanding circle the countries "need the language 'for contact with the external world, for communication with other individuals and communities, for access to science, and other uses for which English is the vehicle'"[38]. The points made here can also be evaluated very critically and not everyone accepts them as equally valid. The circles describe an intranational use of English, nevertheless, it can also be used internationally. An international use of the language refers to ELF, according to Widdowson. EIAL only focused on an intranational use and its main concern was to describe nativized forms of English. Those nativized varieties were gathered under the term "Global Englishes" and were seen as "symbolic confirmation of political independence" of "ex-colonial countries"[39]. This standpoint to some researchers also is very questionable. English therefore formed a "means of expressing social identity". World Englishes research was eager to gather empirical data on different varieties of English and their corresponding identities. This marked the change from "purposes" of English to "versions" of English. Still, by many, Standard English was seen as superior to its varieties and the non-conformity to this standard as a deficiency. As for ELF, there is a "use of English between people who do not belong to the same speech communities" and "therefore do not share the same primary socio-cultural or lingua-cultural space"[40]. The question must be asked, which communicative demands need to be realized. To

[38] Widdowson 2017, p. 104
[39] Widdowson 2017, p. 105
[40] Widdowson 2017, p. 106

discuss this, one must look back on the process of pidginization. To give another representative definition the one given by Rickford in 1977 will be included here:

> "The process of pidginization is usually assumed to begin when a language is used only for very limited communication between groups who speak different native languages. Sharply restricted in domains of use, it undergoes varying degrees of simplification and admixture. If a new stable variety of the language emerges this process, it might be described as a pidgin"[41].

Once undergoing this process, a language becomes communal and offers room for identification to its speakers. When researching the topic of variation, it can be either looked at how the language evolved into such a stable variety through linguistic features or at the whole process itself, meaning more attention paid to the pragmatic features. Widdowson proposes that over time, a language will naturally complexify to fulfill its demands and measures undertaken, such as approximation, do not change this fact in any way. This is the reason why again; ELF is considered unequal to pidgins or creoles and a language in its own sense. For this perspective of the historical background on ELF by Widdowson it needs to be annotated that, though he indeed deals with the question of who is considered to "own" the English language, since the era of globalization maximized its spheres of use in almost all parts of the world, is disputed but at least classifiable as no longer being subjected to be under full ownership of its native speakers, little background is provided on how English came to such a rise exactly. He marginally mentions the effects of colonization but not as into much detail as other scholars would like him to, especially those originating from countries affected by colonialism or those who feel similarly concerned by its influence on the ascent. From Widdowson's point of view here, "the relation between English and other national languages in the present era is posited as one of a harmonious coexistence, given that the difference in status is now based on functional specialization rather than on power and authority"[42]. This should by no means be an attempt to accuse Widdowson and other ELF scholars of promoting linguistic imperialism by not acknowledging enough background, there are other publications of his where he acknowledges that "the phrase 'English spread' can be interpreted in two ways, either as a natural event where 'English has spread' or a form of deliberate imposition where 'English has been spread'"[43]. ELF researchers do recognize

[41] Rickford 1977, p. 191/192
[42] Lysandrou and Lysandrou 2003, p. 208
[43] Dewi 2012, p. 4

the strong ties of language and cultural identity most of the time and do not present a mere use of it as a means of communication, nonetheless, most of their empirical research is based on an understanding of it as such. Therefore, it is quite pretentious to assume that the identifying function of a language, and therefore also of ELF, is just a beneficial side-effect of the lingua franca function and does not propose a lot of relevance to NNS and that "Global Englishes" can be seen as "symbolic confirmation of political independence" of "ex-colonial countries"[44]. Such statements indeed do not recognize at all the power structures English served to impose and still to this day does in specific sectors. This might be owed to the fact that it would be considered a more political problem than a linguistic one and therefore maybe not as a "crucial point" for their field of interest. It does however affect how English is and was dealt with throughout history and provides suggestions for why ELF is still not as greatly appreciated or implemented especially into language educational settings. As some fear an abuse of English, others see it as detrimental to the upholding of competing languages and fear the loss of their own language(s) (see chapter 1). It won't be gone as far here to describe ELF and the general rise of the English language as an explicit form of continued imperialism, as there can be a number of studies found featuring the views of NNS who argue the converse (see e.g., Bisong, 1955). Nevertheless, this should not be made able to allow denying that English was not primarily given a head start to transform into a global lingua franca with the beginning of the era of globalization but long before that, with its roots in the British Empire.

[44] p. 20

4. English in the European Union with a view to Germany

The English language has great influence on Europe in general and on Europeans to various extents, as they are exposed to it in many different ways. It continually gained importance after the Second World War and by now, a proficiency in this language acquired by citizens of Europe is highly valued. It seems like it sometimes is even considered a “cultural technique”[45]. According to Eurostat (2001), more than 90% of pupils in secondary schools study English and for most of those learners it proposes a second language. This triggers a “snow-ball effect” (Myers-Scotton 2002): “The more people learn a language, the more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it”[46]. Hence, English enters the EU in a top-down process through its education and its institutions. However, it can also enter in a bottom-up process through “popular music, dance, sports and computers” following that English in Europe presents itself as a “synergy between top-down and bottom-up processes”[47]. In European education, English accompanies its students from elementary school as far as into higher education on a university level. In addition, English is the language in which most scientific reading is published and thus needed for being able to access and publish information. Logically, one can imagine that it is quite mandatory to at least have some sort of competence in English to even have the possibility to get into higher educational programs in the EU. As another consequence, “the majority of European scientific associations embrace English as the dominant, or indeed sole, language for the exchange of ideas”[48]. Although the European Union is in fact very multilingual as of its various member countries each possessing their own individual mother tongues and also likes to present itself in such a multilingual or multilingual friendly manner, it does take active part in establishing “the supremacy” of English by applying it in politics and even in international organizations, such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), the UN (United Nations) and the Council of Europe. Despite the European Union’s own language policy promoting multilingualism this support of the English dominance can also

[45] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 4
[46] Myers-Scotton (2002), p. 80
[47] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 4
[48] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 4

be seen inside European countries, e.g., by communication in the European Central Bank (Frankfurt, Germany) being conducted solely in English. In this respect, a proficiency in English also secures job offers for those who have it at their command. According to Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl, the most important impacts of the English language show themselves, however, in "public domains, such as media, the internet, advertising, popular youth culture, and entertainment"[49]. Generally, in all of its domains, English can function "as a direct mediator between participants in a discourse who would otherwise have to rely on translation or a third party"[50]. According to Seildhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl, the above mentioned spread of English in the EU through both top-down and bottom-up processes ensured that English now has to be considered a lingua franca for the European Union, enabling people to connect based on common interests and concerns across languages as its users are still able to appropriate the language to their own needs and do not have to follow traditional, imposed norms and standards. As a conclusion they claim that ELF in the EU "declares itself as independent of the norms of English as a native language (ENL)", "[…] is better suited to express their [the user's] identity" and is "[…] more intelligible"[51] than the use of standard varieties. If one takes a look on the matter from a German perspective, it becomes clear that the prominence of English and the establishment of it into German society are quite similar to the processes described to be detected in Europe. This is not entirely based on the fact that the country is a perpetual member of the union. According to Decke-Cornill (2002), English had consolidated itself increasingly in Germany over the course of the last 15 years, especially in its foreign language education. Before this had happened, most German schools confined themselves to teaching Russian, predominantly in what was formerly considered East Germany, which had replaced French by the end of the 1980s. The spread of the English language had started during the 1960s and "was motivated by the Cold War and the economy of the Western Alliance", nonetheless, Decke-Cornill agrees with the majority of other scholars that "its recent further rise must be seen in the context of globalization in general and the European Unification in particular"[52]. Despite all of this, it becomes clear that English in the European Union and in Germany, already reached far beyond its general perception of primarily functioning as a means of communication. It is tied to all aspects

[49] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 5
[50] Breidbach 2003, p. 20
[51] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 6
[52] Decke-Cornill 2002, p.59

of maintaining and regulating social life and is not any longer used predominantly in education and institutions. One must take a deeper look here into the implications and consequences this also imposes first and foremost on citizens of the EU and their sense of belonging and identity.

5. ELF in Europe with particular reference to Germany

According to Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl, English exercises two forces on Europe. One has preserving purposes and "perpetuates, or reinforces existing norms", while the other is "a force for innovation, which changes existing norms" and hence can be called "norm-developing"[53] (Kachru 1985). The preserving force naturally is more influential as it imposes pre-existing norms on people as well as the importance and significance of obeying to them. This is of great deal for the European Union because in most of its member countries English was introduced and transferred into them as "ENL" (English as a new language), e.g., by native speakers coming to the EU and bringing their corresponding media channels with them. Logically, these expatriates introduce the others to their language in its traditional sense and to its existing norms, values and identities (see chapter 3). Consequently, ENL is what is targeted in EFL instruction both in "public and private sectors"[54]. A minor step away from this concept can only be achieved through "different" teachers of English and what they set themselves as goals for their instruction. Solely the last-mentioned point combined with the variety of learners found in the European Union, gives opportunity and the possibility to categorize English in the EU under them term ELF, other than that, it is predominantly stuck with the native perception of the language and its culture. Nonetheless, Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl claim, that English in Europe can also fall under ELF when

> "its use is essentially motivated by communicative needs, not linguacultural factors, for instance in scripted conference presentations, international publishing, on official political occasions and for formal business correspondence"[55].

In addition, it is also declared to be used as an ELF, e.g., when needed for communication between tourists within the European Union, in chat rooms with participants from different member countries, etc. They conclude that it is "obvious we cannot just conceive

[53] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 6
[54] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 6
[55] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 7

of on monolithic "English" in Europe"[56]. Figure three displays "English in continental Europe (i.e., in non-ENL contexts)". This chart was designed by Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl and it is thus going to be referred to their illustrations and explanations of the matter.

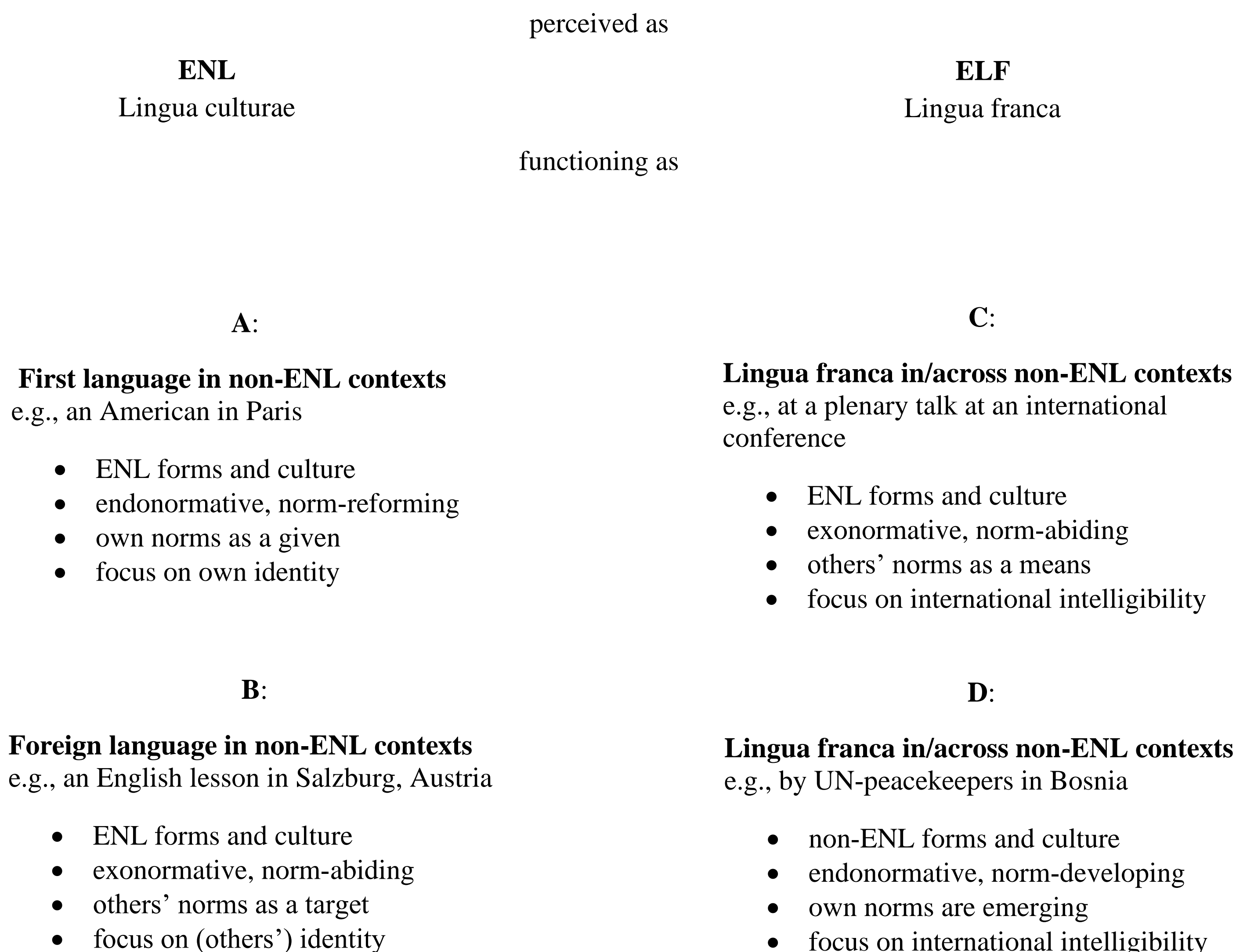

Figure 3, Source: Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl, graphically adapted by Stella Heger

As can be taken out of that visual representation, English can serve very different domains, both in form of ENL and ELF. Interestingly, in the educational sector, there is still strong conformity with native speaker norms of English, while in the public domain of the EU it acts more as a lingua franca, which is used as an aid to form own cultural

[56] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 7

norms and behaviors. This fact will show itself important for further analyses. Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl claim that all areas of use “are not hard and fast categories”[57] and everything depends on how the language use is categorized and what the “motivating forces” of it are considered as. Overall, it can be seen that “the uses of the language as a wider means of communication are various and coexist with other languages with their own cultural and political claims”[58]. This situation is described as extremely problematic because “the need for a common means of communication is in potential conflict with the ideals of societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism”[59]. What needs to be acknowledged indeed is that no matter the vast multilingualism, plurilingualism and the immense linguistic variety in each member country, the EU still considers itself “a political and economic unit”[60] and wants to be recognized as such by other countries in the world. Every aspect concerning the maintenance and management of the union is based on this self-definition, from e.g., economic matters all the way to education. This concerns e.g., designing support strategies for respective curricula and objectives, managing exchange programs like ERASMUS aimed to be made accessible to all European members, etc. This perception of the EU may lead to see it as a union interdependent of one another, where all economies as well as citizens are able to profit from when showing themselves willing to contribute to it. Added to this, also the sociolinguistic situation, which was presented above, provides reasons for such an interdependence. Nonetheless, ELT in each member country is defined and tackled differently according to how they consider their own learning objectives, goals and measures. Members of the EU come up with their own committees and responsible councils which develop their own curricula and syllabi for language education. The European administrative points out the importance of the formation of such curriculum development and comes up with resources of support by e.g., introducing the “Lingua-Programm” (28th of July 1989) which targeted “eine quantitative und qualitative Verbesserung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts in der Europäischen Union”[61] besides various other programs and acts. One of the only tangible means published by the EU which is first-handedly used in language education not only inside the union but over time also in different parts of the world is the Common European Framework of Reference, in

[57] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 7
[58] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 8
[59] Seidlhofer with Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006), p. 8
[60] Berns 1996, p. 6
[61] Eurydice 2001, p. 171

short CEFR. The CEFR was introduced by the Council of Europe in 2001 and is considered "a general framework for all languages, intended to include 'a descriptive scheme for analysing what is involved in language use and language learning" and "defines six levels of communicative proficiency that reflect an individual's language competence"[62]. The CEFR is not considered language specific and hence can function for any language chosen. It is evaluated as especially efficient for language testing and evaluation, first and foremost by its developers. Nevertheless, its compatibility with ELF is debatable. Criticism came up because the framework shows strong orientation on native speaker norms of a language and what teachers expect in terms of students' proficiency on the different levels, rather than empirical findings from language learner data. Therefore, it presents itself as quite the opposite than the key principles of the ELF movement even though it has been developed long before such notions have been made. Nevertheless, it needs to be said that the matter of fact if and how the CEFR is compatible with the phenomenon of ELF is a research field of its own and it would take up too much space to analyze all the concerning features and reasons of criticism in this thesis. It would be more sensible to look into depth at the curricular work of members of the EU and how they apply notions and awareness of English as a lingua franca into ELT, e.g. in Germany. English language teaching in Germany after WWII made Britain and British culture to its center. From the 1960s on they added the United States to the picture and later on Australia, compared to the other two alas only to a minimized extent. Reasoning, for a long period of time traditional English-speaking countries and the norms of native speakers formed the standard. According to Decke-Cornill, it was recognized that this standpoint needed to be reconsidered, which revealed itself through "the present move towards internationalisation"[63], as it was also reflected through the measures taken by the EU priorly mentioned. However, she states that if one would look at the current situation in German institutions and interrogate e.g., teachers, learners, parents, or anyone concerned about how they perceive ELF to be represented in English lessons they either design themselves or participate in, most of them would not propose that "the lingua franca function" of English is "playing any significant part"[64]. In fact, most teachers share an opinion not in favor of integrating any other varieties than the standard forms of English, British English (BrE or Received Pronunciation/RP) and General American (GA

[62] Hynninen 2014, p. 294
[63] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 60
[64] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 60

or AmE). Consequently, they consider providing the learner with notions of such varieties would be defective, as not all of them are compatible with "the norm" and, to them, therefore simply unacceptable.

> "Opening their [the learner's] minds to a lingua franca approach also means that you want to open their minds to encounters with a variety of cultures. But if you have a little bit of Chinese here and a little bit of Indian there, I feel the danger of superficiality."[65]
> (A teacher of a German Gymnasium in an interview with Decke-Cornill, 2002).

This viewpoint of teachers is intensified when one takes a look at the "Educational Standards for the province of Baden-Württemberg" described for 10th graders, which Kohn organizes into five dimensions: "kommunikative Fertigkeiten", "Beherrschung der sprachlichen Mittel", "Umgang mit Texten", "kulturelle Kompetenz" and "Methodenkompetenz"[66]. He describes them to be "by a strong native speaker bias" and elaborates that

> "Pupils are expected to understand national and regional pronunciations, clearly pronounced everyday conversations between native speakers, selected radio/TV broadcasts and movies as well as less challenging newspaper articles and literary texts. In their own productions, pupils should be idiomatic in between BBC English and General American English. Their utterances are required to be grammatically correct without too many interferences from German and approximate the norms of BBC English and General American. Formal and informal expressions should be used appropriately. Regarding, for example, politeness, greetings, or eating habits, pupils are expected to behave in culturally adequate ways according to British or American conventions. All in all, these target competences clearly focus on Standard English in the sense of a set of idealized native speaker norms of linguistic and cultural behavior"[67]

In addition, the curricula in Germany offer no "Hinweise zur Integration der lingua franca-Aspekte". The corresponding Lehrplan for secondary schools in Baden-Württemberg simply states that

> "Die Schülerinnen und Schüler begegnen der englischen Sprache in ihrer Lebenswelt in vielfältiger Weise, zum Beispiel in der Jugendkultur, in den Medien, in der Werbung und dem Sport. Die Sprache ist für sie im Alltag lebendig und stellt somit eine Grundlage für Freude am Sprachen-lernen dar. Auch als Reisende erleben sie, dass Englisch als *lingua franca* vielerorts die Sprache ist, die die Verständigung mit anderssprachigen Personen ermöglicht. Diese Erfahrungen machen ihnen unmittelbar einsichtig, wie sinnvoll und bereichernd das aktive Sprachhandeln im Englischen ist. In einem späteren Lernstadium entwickeln sie ein Bewusstsein für Chancen und Grenzen der englischen Sprache als *lingua franca*."[68].

In this quotation here there is exactly acknowledged why the English language is

[65] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 62
[66] Kohn 2011, p. 85
[67] Kohn 2011, p. 85
[68] Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg 2016

considered a lingua franca in Germany and the other parts of the world as learners are confronted with it in many aspects other than in educational settings, namely through media, advertisement, etc. Nevertheless, only a few lines after it is again denoted that the most important "Bezugsländer im Englischunterricht" are still made up of "Großbritannien" and the "USA". The native speaker still is awarded the power to decide what is acceptable as proper English and what is inacceptable and everything which deviates from the native speaker is seen as inferior anyway (see chapter 3). To make clear, this is not only expressed from a teachers' perspective. Learners as well utter skepticism about being confronted with non-native varieties of English. Chloe Groom states that "As a teacher of English in central Europe, (Switzerland) […], it is not clear to me that ELF is actually the variety of English L2 users want to learn and speak"[69]. Groom conducted a study with participants, who were all learners of English, from 22 different European L1 backgrounds (exact backgrounds can be taken out of figure 4) in which she gathered information on how they evaluated appeal of output goals by both non-native and native varieties of the English language. She came to the conclusion that the "participants showed an overwhelming preference to speak like the NS" (figure 5) (even though it was made sure that very proficient NNS were chosen for the audio files presented to the participants, who had no troubles what soever to express themselves in English) and generally, "rejected the idea that European ELF should be the variety taught in schools in Europe"[70] (figure 6). As the majority of the participants of the study were to be found native speakers of German the findings give the impression to be of reasonable consideration here.

L1	Number	L1	Number
German	36	Romanian	3
French	15	Bulgarian	2
Swedish	12	Greek	2
Dutch	11	Basque	1
Hungarian	9	Catalan	1
Russian	8	Italian	1
Swiss	6	Norwegian	1

Figure 4, Source: Groom, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

[69] Groom 2012, p. 51
[70] Groom 2012, p. 52

	Number	Percentage
Speaker A (native)	101	79.53
Speaker B (non-native)	4	3.15
No preference	22	17.32
Total	127	100

Which speaker would you prefer to speak like?
Figure 5, Source: Groom, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

	Number	Percentage
Strongly disagree	54	42.86
Disagree	47	37.30
Neutral	15	11.90
Agree	8	6.35
Strongly agree	2	1.59
Total	126	100

European English, rather than a native variety of English, should be taught in schools of Europe.
Figure 6, Source: Groom, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

What also is evaluated to encourage a still present preferableness of NS norms in English language teaching in Germany is the design of materials provided to use for teachers. Studies conducted by e.g., Syrbe and Rose (2018) found that in a majority of English textbooks used for lessons in Germany predominantly makes use of characters of either US-American or British background. It is important to clarify here, that they were evaluating textbooks used in schools of North-Rhine Westphalia, namely Camden Town, Green Line and English G21, and that "each state in Germany is free to set their own curriculum and their own textbook materials"[71]. Nevertheless, the findings are thought to provide an interesting insight here, as the analyzed material is frequently made use of in a number of other federal states as well. Of course, textbooks are not the only source of material used in classes and teachers are more or less free to choose if they want to

[71] Syrbe and Rose 2018, p. 156

implement different sources and writings, but they are still used to a very large extent. Syrbe and Rose propose that there were only "29 authentic materials excerpts that that depicted real-world language between speakers of English" found and "almost all of these involved only native speakers of English, who were communicating within their own broad linguistic communities"[72]. In addition, only one described a use of English as a lingua franca in particular, throughout all of the textbooks. Hence, those textbooks express English as the language of what Kachru defined as the inner circle (see chapter 3) and as owned by its native speakers. Additionally, if e.g., any information about vocabulary or specific expressions of a variety of English are given, they are usually portrayed incoherently and demonstrably confuse the learners more, than they make them aware of the language being used to express a specific cultural identity or behavior patterns of the concerned linguistic community. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged here that it is tried to implement background on varieties of English into the textbook and that there is a general appreciation of terms which did not originate from the standard forms of the language. However, the integration into the contexts of the written material is still lacking accuracy. Also, very often, a reference from the spread of English through colonialism often is presented to little or not at all. Julia Hammer, in her study of textbooks, states that "eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der lingua franca-Funktion der englischen Sprache, die solche Aspekte wie die gegenwärtig empfundene Bedrohung durch das Englische, die Gefährdung der Mehrsprachigkeit Europas und lokaler Varietäten und das Aussterben der Sprachvielfalt einbezieht, findet in den Lehrbüchern schulartenübergreifend nur selten bis gar nicht statt"[73]. This has major influence on how GCE is implemented into English lessons in Germany as well. As seen from chapter 2.3., a lot of educators do not feel prepared enough to implement it into their classes because of lack of material. In Germany's "Cross-Curricular Framework for Global Development"[74] there is a strong emphasis "on three aspects to the foundation of intercultural learning": "recognizing", "evaluating" and "taking action"[75]. This Framework also proposes suggestions how to apply GCE variables into one's lesson through specific areas with corresponding topics. A visual representation of this will be provided (figure 7).

[72] Syrbe and Rose 2018, p. 158
[73] Hammer 2012, p. 263
[74] Kultusministerkonferenz 2016
[75] Lütge 2017, p. 23

Areas	**Topics**
Diversity and inclusion	• arranged marriages • festivals
Globalisation of religious and ethnic role models	• creation vs. evolution • church meets state • democracy – an ideology for the world?
History of Globalisation: from Colonization to the global village	Australia: Aborigines, (Aboriginal) Languages, Immigration English in India: The heritage of British colonization New Englishes: Remaking a colonial language in post-colonial contexts
Goods from all over the world: Production, commerce and consumption	Coffee – the world's most traded commodity The "Play Fair" campaign and the international sportswear industry
Agriculture and diet	Hunger in a world of plenty, e.g. global food production
Education	• the internet • illiteracy – barrier to cultural growth
Globalised leisure	• this thing called "Youth Culture" • football as the world's game • an internet lifestyle
Preservation and usage of natural resources and generation of energy	How green is your future? • the carbon footprint • low impact living

Figure 7, Source: Lütge, graphically adapted by Stella Heger.

In this framework there is explicit reference to the need to teach about English language varieties and the history of colonization in general. The students are missing out on gaining such knowledge by teachers showing themselves unwilling or unable to include them and thus lack opportunity in what is defined to "become a good, global citizen". Regarding material in audio forms, e.g., to use for a listening comprehension, similar judgements were detected. The Gymnasium teachers in Decke-Cornill's study indicated that when they would implement audio material of NNS in their lessons, "students found it hard to tolerate non-standard pronunciation", which even showed itself in real life situations, e.g., when their French exchange students were their guests: "'Their pronunciation has a lot of entertainment value for our students, so much that they do not

pay attention to *what* the French students say because they are too amused about *how* they say it.'"[76]. Yet, one should not overgeneralize these findings. It has to be said that there are both teachers and learners who have a positive attitude towards the implementation of ELF into ELT in Germany. In Decke-Cornill's study, teachers of German Gesamtschulen, although they were not too familiar with the phenomenon and hadn't made use of it so far in their teaching careers, they did not show themselves reluctant of applying it in the future. They first and foremost considered their classrooms, predominantly of mixed cultural and linguistic background, as a source of their opinions. For most parts, they did not know which atmosphere to create in their English lessons, if it should lean more towards a British or an American perspective, even though they were advised to do so. They thought it would present itself as "beside the point for their pupils who would probably never travel to England" and only had the luck to be in close contact with Americans because their teachers had "established an exchange programme with US-American partners in which successful students took part"[77]. Most of them, however, could not see their students in interaction with any NS of English in the near future.

> If we start from the reality that we have here, if we start from the clientele we have here, then the lingua franca approach seems to me much more realistic. That is what the students will do with English … And as for myself, you know, this thought comes as a kind of relief to me, because in some of the forms some students really have hard time struggling with what we want them to swallow. And – yes, I find this thought a relief."[78]
> (A teacher of a German Gesamtschule in an interview with Decke-Cornill, 2002).

Those teachers also considered textbook material strongly based on NS norms as not helpful for neither their lessons, nor their students.

> "Whenever I take a student's perspective I simply cannot understand why he should study a text about a British Museum when he has never even seen a museum or a library in Hamburg from inside. This is total beyond his sphere of interest"[79]
> (A teacher of a German Gesamtschule in an interview with Decke-Cornill, 2002).

[76] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 64
[77] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 64
[78] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 64
[79] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 65

The data provided until here shows two standpoints in German education towards ELF. One does not accept an implementation of any kind of variety of English into their English lessons and already feel operated enough with including both a British representation of language and culture as well as an American, the other shows a general acceptance of English as a lingua franca and would try to apply it into their classes, however, they find themselves confronted with not knowing how to do so. An aggravating factor to this whole situation is, that there is no access to well-edited teaching materials, hence, the educators would have to develop it themselves according to the standards of ELF and GCE. Decke-Hill introduces a third standpoint towards the matter in Germany, which gathers people who

> "fear its effect as 'killer language' on the other established school languages such as French and Latin as well as on languages of migrant communities such as Turkish, Italian, Polish and Russian whose delicate hold in primary education is endangered while English flourishes. According to them, early English and English as a first foreign language threaten multilingualism, and they suggest that English should be left until a later stage, well after another foreign or second language is introduced"[80].

Such notions bear very high amounts of criticism which is why it would be best to refer to this in more detail.

[80] Decke-Cornill 2002, p. 59

6. Criticism on ELF and implications for the implementation of ELF into ELT

As it became clear throughout this thesis, ELF is presented by its originators as a useful phenomenon for broadening the borders of the use of the English language. Through awarding non-native speakers a sense of ownership of and unimpeded development of own cultural identity in and through English, they helped establishing the acceptance of constantly new arising varieties of the language as well as the awareness that a conformity to NS norms and standards is not compulsory for acquiring a high proficiency. However, as already hinted in both chapter three and chapter five, their approach leaves room for a lot of criticism and implications to be brought up. First, it needs to be acknowledged that the fact their concept of ELF is predominantly based on a spread of the English language through globalization can just not be accepted as veridical. It is necessary to be considered for guaranteeing an adequate, holistic approach to the teaching of English in educational settings, as consequences of globalization influence how the language is dealt with by students today. Nevertheless, it would be presumptuous to not thematize its strong connection to colonialism enough. ELF cannot be detached from such historical data. Phillipson argues that especially people from outer circle countries can very well perceive English as a lingua divina, which once put them, together with their own mother tongues, in a position inferior to their colonizers, leaving them forced to drop their own first languages and acquire and make use of a language for which, once adapting changes to its structure to fulfill the needs of their language communities, they were sanctioned for (see chapter 3). For those reasons, Phillipson argues that English can be titled a “lingua frankensteinia” expressing “the truism that any language can serve good and evil purposes, whether humane or monstrous ones”[81]. Through movements such as the one of ELF, English tends to be presented in a light which preponderantly uncovers its beneficial purposes, e.g., enabling people to communicate all over the world unattached from the need of a shared common ground in conversation and a specific graphical location. To highlight that English as a lingua franca may not simply serve benefits, he refers to what was mentioned back in chapter 2.2.1, the goal of complex societies to achieve more or less a state of monolingualism in order to

[81] Phillipson 2008, p. 251

"simplify" their maintenance. Some would go as far here as to label languages such as English, which were or argued to still be used to remove any other competing languages, as "killer languages" and what happens to the competing ones as "linguistic genocide". A fear of such matters can also be detected in Europe (see chapter 5) and can lead to an unacceptance of English and a refusal to acquiring it, accepting the consequences this decision might bring with it, such as fewer chances in academia on university levels or in recruitment procedures. Such fears are only worsened when they see themselves confronted with the, what Phillipson refers to as, "fuzzy dividing-line between language policy"[82] in Europe. On the one hand, multilingualism is aimed at to be further established and appreciated, precisely through an acknowledgement of ELF and GCE notions. On the other, the supremacy of English is supported and upheld to high extents, especially through the ongoing rigid adherence to native speaker models in English language classrooms and the demonstration of economic benefits by presenting a proficiency in English as a "cultural competence", leaving citizens to almost feeling obliged to learn English in order to be able to act globally. Furthermore, it can be evaluated that developing a multilingual friendliness in Europe is more or less inhibited through its government, as English is the chosen means of communication in almost every sector of social life while varieties of the English language and their cultural backgrounds are left out as well as the own varieties within the EU, as citizens are instructed to acquire English first rather than any other first languages of members of the union. Implications for an implementation into ELT both in Germany and the EU utter themselves mostly in an unwillingness or -ability to do so. One must think about from out of which problems such an unwillingness can originate today. That both teachers as well as learners still perceive varieties of English to be of an erroneous nature is very problematic as it is first and foremost untrue (see chapter 2 and subchapters). It can be concluded, that such an unenlightement stems from insufficient teacher education in those fields, such as shown in GCE, and is thus also projected on their students. Teacher education must aim on pointing out the importance of educating about language varieties as well as their cultural background because those varieties of mostly NNS speakers of English is probably what most of their pupils will be confronted with during their lifetime. It is important to note here, that a striving for native speaker-like proficiency is not perceived as unhelpful at

[82] Phillipson 2011, p. 253

all. It should just be left open for the student to decide whether he/she wants to accomplish such a high proficiency or not and they should not feel obligated to do so and be subjected to it by their teachers and their grades. This however again denotes a research field of its own and also is disputed in and across research of English language teaching. Nonetheless, the criticism expressed on ELF is of reasonable nature and has to be taken into one's consideration of the whole matter.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis ought to present a critical analysis of the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca. A breakdown of the approach was provided as well as the historical and linguistic background from which it stemmed. Through clarification of the importance of English for the European Union and Germany, for which it resembles one of the most special means of communication in all aspects of life from social to institutional levels, it was witnessed how the language was dealt with over the last couple of decades as well as how it is dealt with today and to what extent implications of integrating ELF, e.g., into curricula in Germany, is possible. The data significantly demonstrated that not only educators in Germany still show high preferences for native speaker models of English but also the learners still feel the need to be provided with native speaker-based information and strive to develop native speaker-like proficiencies. On the other side, there can be found teachers who wish to apply ELF measures, especially through awareness that their classrooms are constructed in an increasingly heterogeneous linguistic and cultural way, in which most learners never had and probably never will have any kind of close contact with and relationships to native speakers and their cultures but are not provided with the knowledge how to. A tremendous factor for those problems could be seen in not well-designed teaching materials which do not fit the learners needs nor provide coherently structured information about English language varieties, the cultural norms and standards of their speech communities and a reference to all the historical events promoting a rise of the English language, e.g., also colonialism, in an appealing form connected to the living environments of the learners. It can be concluded that a lot of work still needs to be done especially in terms of teacher education and reconnaissance of what makes up "effective" language teaching. Here, a final standpoint can be seen as perceiving it as not reasonable to make use of either ELF or of standard forms and native norms of English in ELT. Striving for an intermix which provides enough input on English varieties and their cultural backgrounds while not condemning a personal strive for native-like proficiency would be a good start. Nevertheless, this should not be made an objective of only teachers and learners. There has to be more support provided by officials of educational sectors and the government, e.g., through designing more adequate teaching materials, better teacher education and clearer language policies. Overall, ELT has to develop into a clearer direction in Germany.

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