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List of Abbreviations

CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
DGT	Directorate General for Translation
EC	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
e.g.	for example
EIL	English as an international language
EJLP	European Journal of Language Policy
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EMI	English as a medium of instruction
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
FAQ	frequently asked questions
Ibid.	in the same source
L1	first language
L2	second language
NS	native speaker
StE	Standard English
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
Vs	versus, as opposed to

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Neither Europe nor English exists in a vacuum, something which makes our task as researchers much harder but also more interesting and exciting.

Andrew Linn, *Investigating English in Europe*

1. Introduction

The everyday life of EU citizens is characterised by an increasing intercultural exchange with the help of the internet, social media and new technology. Habits of communication demand a language that helps people to understand each other, especially when communication partners have different first languages. In recent decades, English¹ has emerged as the most popular and prominent language across national borders and can be regarded as the de facto common language of Europe today. In the preface of her 2011 publication *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*, Seidlhofer notes the controversial situation the English language finds itself in today (Seidlhofer 2011b: ix). English in Europe is stuck between an international role that facilitates cross-border communication, travels, trade, student and work exchange – and a hegemonic role as the language of imperialism, dominance and oppression.

Even though it is an accepted fact by scholars that English plays a global role, English has not managed to gain official status as the intercultural means of communication in the European Union (EU). According to its official website, (europa.eu) the EU is a multi-ethnic and multilingual union and a model peace project, operating along the lines of its motto “united in diversity” (European Union 2019c). In theory, this manifests itself in the EU’s language policy of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, having 24 official languages (European Union 2020c). In practice, the EU follows a language regime that favours some languages over others. Institutions like the European Commission (EC) use three working languages, namely English, French and German (European Commission n.d.-f). In the European Parliament (EP), English serves both as one of the main intermediate languages (relay language) in interpretation and translation (European Parliament. n.d.), as well as the most widely used language. In a YouTube video posted by the EP it is stated that “the majority of original documents are made in English” (European Parliament 2015: 00:01:48 – 00:01:55). The European Central Bank (ECB) has even declared English its official language (European Central Bank 2020).

As a result, there is a discrepancy between the EU’s language policy of multilingualism and linguistic diversity and its practice in reality, in which English is the most widely used language within EU institutions. This mismatch has been explored by many scholars (Ammon

¹In this thesis, Europe is treated as one geopolitical entity. Due to practical constraints, the treatment of key issues will focus on the European Union (EU) only. The terms EU and Europe will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

2006a; Cogo & Jenkins 2010; van Els 2005; Fiedler 2010; Gazzola & Grin 2013; House 2003; Kraus 2008; Kruse & Ammon 2013, 2018; Phillipson 2016; Seidlhofer 2010; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006; Wright 2009). The tensions caused by this discrepancy are intensified by the argument that the expansion of English throughout Europe poses a threat to other languages and cultures – a much debated subject (e.g. Ammon 2006b; Lanvers & Hultgren 2018a, 2018b; Linn 2016; Phillipson 1992, 2008a). Moreover, Brexit has caused and is still causing uncertainty about the future role of English in the EU (see section 2.2.3).

For these reasons it is relevant today to research the role of English in the EU and its conceptualisation within Europe. There is a substantial body of literature that confirms the importance of English in its role as an international language (e.g. Crystal 2003; Graddol 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Saraceni 2015; Schneider 2007; Widdowson 1997). A growing body of literature recognises English in its role as a lingua franca (e.g. House 2003; Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer 2008; Mauranen 2003; Seidlhofer 2001, 2011b). The need to rethink English in today's globalised world has been investigated by a number of authors (e.g. Seidlhofer 2012; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017; Widdowson 1997). A fair amount of literature has been published on the relationship between English and the EU (e.g. Cogo and Jenkins 2010; House 2003; Houwer and Wilton 2011; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Linn 2016; Modiano 2009; Phillipson 2008, 2016; Seidlhofer 2010; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006; Wright 2009).

However, research to date has not yet investigated how English is conceptualised in the context of a scientific journal that focuses on European language policy, like the *European Journal of Language Policy (EJLP)* - a journal funded by the EC. Therefore, the main aim of this thesis is to explore how English is conceptualised in the *EJLP*, how these concepts are related to EU language policy, and what this means in relation to the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). As a result, a review of the *EJLP* was conducted. A set of articles was obtained from a database search of the *EJLP* – once with a set of keywords and once chronologically. The articles were selected according to their relevance to answering the research question. They were then analysed for their conceptualisations of English (conventional concepts of English vs. new ways of thinking about it), their portrayal of EU language policy and the ELF paradigm in a qualitative content analysis. The aim of the empirical part was to explore the dominant conceptualisations of English in relation to EU language policy and the ELF para-

digm. Due to practical constraints, it was not possible to encompass all publications of the *EJLP* that conceptualise English. The number of selected articles had to be reduced according to a set of exclusion and inclusion criteria (see sections 3 and 4).

Section 2 of this thesis presents the theoretical framework for the present study, consisting of three main parts. Section 2.1 explores different ways of thinking about English as a language - providing detailed explanation of traditional denotations, models and concepts of English (section 2.1.1), English as an international language (EIL) (section 2.1.2), and the concept of ELF (section 2.1.3). In section 2.2, the role of English in Europe as a language of hegemony (section 2.2.1), as the most widely spoken language in the EU (section 2.2.2), and as a possible future lingua franca of the EU (section 2.2.3) is examined. Section 2.3 deals with EU language policy: the concepts of multilingualism and linguistic diversity (section 2.3.1) and criticism of them (section 2.3.2) are explored, and the role of English in the EU (section 2.3.3) is considered. In Section 3 the data, the methods of data sampling and data selection as well as the methods of data analysis are introduced. Section 4 is dedicated to the results and the discussion of the qualitative content analysis of the selected articles. First, the results of the database search and the data selection are presented. Then, articles are analysed case-by-case. In section 4.3, a synthesis of results and discussion is presented. Finally, section 5 offers a summary and interpretations of results and an outlook for future research.

2. Conceptualising English in Europe: theoretical framework

In the following section aspects of thinking about English are explored (section 2.1), the history of English in Europe will be examined (section 2.2), and EU language policy, criticisms of it, as well as the role of English within the EU are outlined (section 2.3).

2.1. Thinking about English: from old to new conceptualisations

There are many ways in which the English language can be conceptualised because there is no “one monolithic ‘English’ in Europe” (Seidlhofer et al. 2006: 7). A selection of the most relevant conceptualisations of English will be presented in the following sections. Firstly, old ways of thinking about English will be discussed. One way of conceptualising English is to define it according to its geographical spread (section 2.1.1). The default way of thinking about English has emerged from this model of classification – namely that ‘real’ English is spoken by native speakers (NS) from nations like the United Kingdom (UK) or the United

States of America (USA). This concept of English – also known as English as a native language (ENL) – will later be discussed as the *default mental model* of thinking about English (section 3.3) and will serve to provide one of two categories for the analysis of articles conducted in this thesis (section 4).

Another way of conceptualising English is to define it in relation to its use as a medium of international communication like in the concept of English as an international language (EIL). Even though this concept still connects English to its geographical spread, it consequently is a preliminary stage to the concept of ELF. In turn this represents a new way of thinking about English. The ‘E’ stands for English in its use as an international medium of communication independent of its use as ENL. ELF research has led to a general reconceptualisation of how to think about English and the nature of language. As a result, concepts that come from EIL and ELF research like virtual language (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017a; Widdowson 2017, 2003) or Open Source code (Seidlhofer 2011; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013) are paving the way for further alternative ways of thinking about language. Conceptualising English as ELF will be termed the *alternative mental model* of thinking about English in this thesis (section 3.3) and will serve as the opposing category to the *default mental model* for the article analysis (section 4).

2.1.1. World Englishes

English can be classified according to its spread across specific geographical areas in a model called *World Englishes*, describing “the differences in the ways English is used in different countries” (Kirkpatrick 2007: 27). Regional and national varieties of English around the world have commonly been classified as ENL, English as a Second Language (ESL), or English as a Foreign Language (EFL) (ibid.). ENL equates to English as a First Language (L1) which can be described as “[t]he language first acquired by a child (also called *mother tongue* or *native language*) or preferred in a multilingual situation” (Crystal 1995: 108). ESL is also known as L2: “[a] language which is not a person’s mother tongue, but which is used in order to meet a communicative need” (ibid.). EFL is best described as “English seen in the context of countries where it is not the mother tongue and has no special status [...]” (ibid.).

The most influential classification model for *World Englishes* is the *Three Circle* model by Kachru (1992a). It describes the worldwide spread of English varieties in three concentric circles. Each circle “represent[s] the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the

functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts” (1992a: 356). The Inner Circle includes “the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English”: The US, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand. The Outer Circle includes nations and regions “that have passed through extended periods of colonization”, like India, Singapore, Ghana, or the Philippines. When it comes to language learning these countries use “institutionalized non-native varieties” of English, also known as ESL. The third circle is the Expanding Circle and is defined by the use of English in EFL contexts (ibid.: 356-357). Kachru states that the Inner Circle is a model provider but adds that this is only true in “a very marginal sense” (1992a: 358). Nevertheless, this depiction supports the assumption that speakers belonging to the Expanding Circle will always be subject to the NS norm of speakers coming from the Inner Circle. Even though Kachru’s circle model has been criticised (e.g. Bruthiaux 2003; Widdowson 1997)², it has proven to be useful in discussions of English around the world. The *Three Circle* model makes English plural and “does not suggest that one variety is any better, linguistically speaking, than any other” (Kirkpatrick 2007: 28). Furthermore, it forms the basis for more recent concepts of *World Englishes* like Schneider’s *Dynamic Model* (2007) which describes distinct phases in the evolution of new English varieties, or the classification system devised by Melchers and Shaw (2003).

Conceptualising English as ENL (and ESL and EFL as varieties of ENL) tends to be the default way of thinking about English, which is problematic. It is based on the concepts of standard language ideology and NS authority. Standard language ideology describes the popular belief that the only legitimate form of a language is its standardised form (Milroy 2001: 547). According to Seidlhofer (2011b), the case of Standard English ideology is a special one: English has evolved as the medium of international communication. Therefore, the claim that Standard English (StE) is the only legitimate variety of English would not only apply to English-speaking nations but to all nations in which English is used as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2011b: 42). This would mean that StE in its function as a native language, namely ENL, is the only ‘real’ variety of English and all other types of English are varieties of ENL. According to

² Widdowson (1997) criticises the implications that the idea of the native speaker as the norm provider have for EFL learning – namely that the students’ focus in learning English is to mimic native speakers as authentically as possible (145). Bruthiaux (2003) criticises how the *Three Circle* model simplifies the use of English by basing the categories on historical and geographical aspects. He argues that “the Three Circles concept is a nation-based model that draws on historical events which only partially correlate with current sociolinguistic data” (Bruthiaux 2003: 172). In his eyes, the characterisation of English should not rely on the nationality of the speaker of English but more on the context in which he or she uses the language (ibid.: 175).

Quirk (1990), StE equates to ENL and the varieties of ESL and EFL are simply different versions of the same concept. Furthermore, learners should strive to meet the standard norm of ENL (as in StE). According to Seidlhofer's (2011b: 45) understanding of Quirk's view, StE is the norm that speakers should conform to if they want to communicate successfully, no matter where and in which context the English language is used.

The tripartite model of ENL/ESL/EFL is based on the idea that there is one variety of English that is the correct variety of English – namely the standardised version of ENL. It is tightly connected to the notion that NSs of English hold special authority over the English language. This concept is also known as NS authority and can be described as

a deep-seated assumption that the language remains, and indeed should remain, essentially the same as it has always been: the property and preserve of its NSs, irrespective of who uses it and in what contexts. (Seidlhofer 2011b: 28)

This demonstrates a common belief about language – namely that the English language can be regarded as a property and its owners are English NSs. Seidlhofer addresses the issue of language as a property and the idea of language ownership.³ These presuppose that a language is a fixed and stable construct that does not change over time and does not “get adapted to suit the needs of different kinds of speakers in different contexts” (ibid.: 33).

NSs that are regarded as the owners of a language can also be regarded as the norm-providers of a language and their language usage can be perceived as a model for non-native speakers (NNS). Kachru (1992a) describes the speakers belonging to the Inner Circle as the ‘model providers’, which can be understood as the NS being the norm provider of the English language. In his aforementioned 1990-article, Quirk draws a link between StE and nativeness and implies that the way NSs of English speak is the right way and that non-native students of English can only achieve effective communication “by adopting the patterns of behaviour of a particular sociocultural group of educated ENL users of the language” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 50). Both examples underpin the belief that the perception of ‘real’ English is tied to the idea of StE as well as the concept of the NS as the norm provider of the English language. Seeing English as a system with fixed internal rules (as in StE) and being tied to a particular community of speakers (as the NSs from the UK or the US) is what Saraceni (2015:

³ For a further discussion of these concepts see Saraceni (2015) and Seidlhofer (2011b).

15) calls the default way of thinking about English as a language. It represents a well-established conceptualisation of English and can be termed *the default model of English*.⁴

2.1.2. English as an international language (EIL)

Another concept of English has emerged as a result of the ever-growing role of English as a global language: EIL. Crystal (1995: 108) defines EIL as the “use of English for purposes of international communication [...] especially relevant among professional people who do not have the language as a mother tongue”. Today, it seems out-dated to reduce speakers of EIL to professional domains as English is for example considered the language of the contemporary internet by Graddol (2006). Even though this is only one of many domains in which English is the main medium of communication, English usage on the internet is very democratic: it is used by people of all different ages, professions and nationalities, and for purposes that extend far beyond professional contexts.

In relation to the concept of *World Englishes*, EIL can be regarded as happening “within and across Kachru’s ‘Circles’, for intranational as well as international communication” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4). Nevertheless, Seidlhofer argues that EIL does not fit into one of the circles defined in the *Three Circle* model. She differentiates between a localised variety of EIL that is mainly used by speakers of the Outer Circle and a globalised variety of EIL. The latter is used by speakers across all three circles and is characterised by “continuously negotiated, hybrid ways of speaking” that is not oriented towards a local speaker community but instead represents “de-territorialized speech events” (ibid.: 3-4). The characteristics of localised EIL are congruent with those defined for ELF. Therefore, the discussion of EIL can be regarded as being one of the “forerunners of ELF research” (Seidlhofer 2017: 393).⁵

Understanding English as an international language has a liberating effect on the learners and speakers of English in international contexts: knowledge of English is gradually understood as a basic skill, becomes increasingly appropriated by its international speakers and does not advantage NSs of English.⁶ As the popularity of learning English, due to its status as a medium of international communication, has increased, knowledge of the English language

⁴See also section 3.3. for further discussion on the concept of the *default mental model* of English as one of the two categories for the article analysis presented in section 4.

⁵For a more detailed discussion of ELF see section 2.1.3 further below.

⁶See definition of localised EIL above.

has increasingly been regarded as self-evident within Europe⁷: Graddol (2006: 15) calls it “a near-universal basic skill”.⁸ Similarly, Tomasi (2017: 123) argues that in most European education systems English is not considered a foreign language anymore but simply a basic skill.

Considering English as a basic skill that every EU citizen is expected to have (to some extent) sheds new light on the concept of NS authority and NS privilege. Some critics of the concept of NS authority (see section 2.1.1 above) claim that NSs enjoy more benefits from the global spread of English than NNSs of English (e.g. Ammon 2006a, 2006b; Ammon and Kruse 2013; Grin 2004, Kraus 2008; Phillipson 1992, 2003).⁹ Other scholars argue that the relationship between English and its NSs does not automatically give them more power than NNSs (Saraceni 2015, 2020; Seidlhofer 2001, 2011b; Widdowson 1994, 2003; Wright 2009). The relationship between NSs and their first language is fundamental because it binds them to the community they were born into and at the same time also to a territory (see Saraceni 2015). However, this does not make NSs ‘better’ speakers of their first language or grant them more rights to judge what ‘real’ English is than NNSs of English.

Defining NSs as ‘owners’ of a language and as norm-providers is criticised by researchers. Widdowson (2003: 37) argues that NSs of English do not automatically hold normative power over the English language and he questions the concept of NS authority. Similarly, authors such as Wright (2009) or Seidlhofer (2011b) argue that NSs of English are not automatically better communicators than NNSs of English – especially in international situations. On the contrary, Seidlhofer claims that “it is non-native ELF speakers who often find it easier to use English appropriately in intercultural settings” (2011b: 41).¹⁰ In addition, Ferguson (2015) argues that monolingual NSs of English might experience “a competitive disadvantage and a bar in situations where languages other than English are required” (8).¹¹ A shift in thinking about language ownership can be observed. In his article “The Ownership of English”, Widdowson (1994) identifies a shift in the ownership of English occurring in its use as EIL:

The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such custody of the language, is necessarily to ar-

⁷ See concept of economic determinism in section 2.3.3.

⁸ Graddol (2006: 15) adds that due to this fact the economic advantage of being able to speak English in Europe is gradually ebbing away.

⁹ For a further discussion of this issue see section 2.3.3.

¹⁰ For more details on the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) see section 2.1.3.

¹¹ See also Wright (2009: 105-106).

rest its development and so undermine its international status. It is a matter of considerable pride and satisfaction for NSs of English that their language is an international means of communication. But the point is that it is only international to the extent that it is not their language. It is not a possession which they lease out to others, while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it. (Widdowson 1994: 385)

The ‘other people’ referred to by Widdowson presumably are NNSs of English. They can be considered as the ones who ‘own’ English in international contexts. This shift in language ownership leads to other implications. Once the English language is perceived as a common property, its new owners alter the language according to “their needs and purposes” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 69). The “act of taking something for your own use”, of making something your own, is called appropriation (Cambridge University Press 2020). NNSs that own the English language have appropriated it from its NSs and therefore they no longer need to adhere to NS norms. They can now alter or adapt the language as they wish and as they need.

The idea of language appropriation is freeing and empowering – it ties in with the idea that English is a common good or property and that it presents a universal basic skill. However, it is necessary to remain sceptical about the notion of language ownership in general. The debate about English as the medium of international communication (be it EIL or ELF) should not be overshadowed by the fight over whether NSs or NNSs own the English language. Instead, the debate about English as a global language should focus on the liberating and democratising effects it has when it is regarded as a common property. According to Seidlhofer (2011b: 40-41), it is necessary to differentiate between ENL and ELF in this context: “The ‘E’ in *English as a Native Language* is bound to be something different in kind from the ‘E’ in *English as a Lingua Franca*, and must be acknowledged as such”. She also specifies that once English is appropriated by non-native users it is not simply adopted but also adapted – which makes “*their* English [...] not the same as that of NSs” (ibid.: 64).

EIL can be regarded as a preliminary stage to the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and represents a link between old and new ways of thinking about English. Globalisation has influenced languages considerably and English has certainly also changed as a result. A new, more global form of English has emerged that can no longer be conceptualised as EFL. According to Graddol (2006: 20), the world is in a transitional stage between modernity and postmodernism. This stage creates tensions between old and new ways of thinking. The Eng-

lish language is affected by these tensions and is stuck in paradoxes and contradictions (ibid.: 66).¹² Therefore, the English language has to cater for many different demands, but it cannot do so if it is stuck in old theoretical frameworks. New frameworks need to be developed, reconceptualising English and language in general.

A very common way of perceiving language is either as a socially-detached system or as social practice. In the following table, Saraceni (2015) sums up the most important characteristics of these conceptualisations of language.

Table 1: “Two conceptualizations of language” (Saraceni 2015: 15)

system	social practice
s relatively stable, uniform self-contained system	a process in perpetual flux
independent from action	dependent on action
regulated by internal rules	regulated by contextual factors
tied to a particular community	tied to individual situations

When language is regarded as a system, it is perceived as a rigid entity that is connected to a specific community. When language is regarded as a social practice, it is considered fluid and depends both on the context as well as the action involved.¹³ Pennycook (2010: 2) regards language as an activity – as something people do and not as an “abstract entity”. Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2017a) develop this idea by investigating the relationship between language as a system and language as a practice. They introduce concepts such as general lingual capability and virtual language – both relevant for the subsequent definition of ELF.

¹² According to Graddol (2006: 66), “[English] provides the lingua franca essential to the deepening integration of global service-based economies. It facilitates transnational encounters and allows nations, institutions, and individuals in any part of the world, to communicate their world view and identities. Yet it is also the national language of some of the most free-market economies driving economic globalisation, and is often seen as representing particular cultural, economic, and even religious values.” (ibid.).

¹³ It is important to point out that both these conceptualisations are valid and useful to think about language(s) and complement each other in meaningful ways.

2.1.3. English as a lingua franca (ELF)

The concept of ELF represents the forefront of current research on conceptualisations of English and shows the direction for future research on this subject. Seidlhofer (2011b: 7) describes ELF “as any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option”. This definition of English in its global form has become increasingly important in Europe as international communicative settings dominate the daily life of many EU citizens. English has taken on the role of the European “*de facto* ‘extraterritorial’ lingua franca” (Seidlhofer 2010: 355) – or as Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013: 389) state: ELF is “the first truly global lingua franca”. Defining ELF is a complex undertaking because the ELF paradigm challenges well established theoretical frameworks for the study of the English language and of language in general (Hülmbauer, et al. 2008; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Seidlhofer 2010, 2012; Seidlhofer et al. 2006; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017). , The following paragraphs will describe ELF characteristics, issues in defining ELF, implications made by ELF research as well as general criticism of ELF.

It has been shown that ELF cannot be conceptualised within traditional frameworks: it can neither be “pinned down to a specific set of formal forms” (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013: 390-391), nor can it be associated with one particular territory (Seidlhofer 2017). ELF research has found that function dominates form in ELF interaction and that it cannot be defined by a specific set of linguistic forms (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Seidlhofer 2010). Instead, research into ELF has defined it according to its use – namely as a medium for international communication (Hülmbauer et al 2008). International communication aims at successful communication and at achieving communicative purpose (Seidlhofer 2010; Seidlhofer et al. 2006).

Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013) argue that ELF speakers achieve communicative purpose through the process of accommodation: on the one hand by making use of their entire linguistic repertoire (all their plurilingual resources) and on the other hand by showing a high flexibility in their use of the English language. All ELF settings are multilingual settings because the speakers involved in ELF communication come from different lingua-cultural backgrounds (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013: 390). ELF speakers are plurilingual speakers as they know at least two languages (English and their first language/s). In order to communi-

cate successfully with other ELF speakers, they activate all the linguistic resources available to them – making ELF a multilingual mode of communication (ibid.). It can be observed that ELF speakers both exploit all their linguistic resources as well as bend the rules and norms of StE in order to meet their communicative needs (Seidlhofer 2012; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013). ELF speakers appropriate English for their own purposes and English “ceases to be perceived as the property of the ancestral speakers in whose territories it originated” (Seidlhofer 2010: 362). Because ELF speakers are not bound to NS norms in their personal use of English, they are free to fully “exploit the potential of their linguistic repertoire” (Seidlhofer 2012: 403). Consequently, ELF speakers will use loan words or create new words if the intercultural communicative situation demands it, drawing on all the language knowledge they have (ibid.). In sum, ELF is defined by the creative and flexible use of all the speaker’s plurilingual resources in order to meet the communicative needs at hand.

Both aspects of ELF usage mentioned above converge in the concept of virtual language (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017a; Widdowson 2017, 2003). Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2017a: 23) define virtual language as “the communicative use of language that transcends the borders of different languages conventionally associated with separate lingua-cultural communities”. For them, ELF is one example of virtual language use. Virtual language can also be understood as the “inherent meaning making potential” which is used to meet “the variable and ever-changing communicative needs of language users” (ibid.: 29). Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2017a: 33) explain that the multilingual nature of ELF usage should not be understood as a co-existence of competences in various languages, but an example for virtual language use in which a “general lingual capability” underlies all language use.

ELF is often defined in direct comparison with ENL on a formal level – which may portray ELF as being a deficient version or variety of ENL (see Seidlhofer 2011b). As Ferguson (2009: 130) suggests, direct comparison between ENL and ELF could lead to the assumption that ELF is a reduced form of ENL. There are however many scholars who argue against this notion (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Seidlhofer 2011b; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017b). Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006: 24) argue that it is necessary to accept ELF as a valid concept of English in Europe next to ENL. Seidlhofer (2010: 363) continues that if ELF is to function as a common means of communication in Europe it needs to be conceptualised as ELF. If it is considered as ENL, it is conceived as belonging to its NSs and

therefore can be perceived as a threat (ibid.: 366). To establish ELF as a viable concept next to ENL a shift in thinking is necessary.

ELF research has helped to bring about changes in how we conceptualise language but has also shown that a shift in theoretical frameworks still needs to be accomplished in order to fully understand how the concepts of ELF and virtual language are defined. Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013: 389) argue that ELF research helps reconceptualising multilingualism and bilingualism and gives way to new ideas about language. Seidlhofer (2017: 398) states that ELF research helps to understand the nature of language and language use, particularly in international settings. ELF researchers have also come to the conclusion that ELF cannot be defined through isolating distinct lexical features but by the function it has to fulfil (e.g. Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013).

ELF is a controversial concept: it defines English as the language of international communication, a notion that is often equated with dominance and suppression (see sections 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.2.2) and has as such been severely criticised (e.g. Gazzola and Grin 2013; Grin 2004; Modiano 2009; Phillipson 2008). Gazzola and Grin (2013: 95-97) argue that the definition of ELF is too vague and that it is unclear which interactions are ELF interactions or which speakers are ELF speakers. They challenge the idea that conceptualising English as ELF deprives NSs of their privilege of owning English with the argument that nobody owns a language to begin with. Additionally, they criticise the fact that ELF research is focused solely on oral communication and not enough research has been done on written communication. To conclude, they claim that “‘ELF’ means ‘English’, despite attempts to portray it as something different” (ibid.: 97). In general, however, the worldwide spread of English is often linked to the notion of English hegemony (Grin 2004) or considered linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992). As has been mentioned before, ELF scholars argue against the comparison of ELF with “a globally distributed, franchised copy of ENL” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 19). On the contrary, according to Seidlhofer ELF “[...]is being spread, developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough self-regulating stability to be viable for lingua franca communication” (ibid.).

However controversial the concept of ELF may seem, it represents a new way of thinking about English and language in general. It nullifies concepts such as NS authority, StE ideology or language ownership. It creates a new sense of empowerment for English speakers all over

the world. Nevertheless, it is neither easily explained nor easily understood – especially on the basis of previously established theoretical frameworks. ELF can be viewed as a possible answer to the dilemma that the English language is stuck in today, caused by the transitional stage between modernity and postmodernism (Graddol 2006). ELF can be described as a future-oriented phenomenon resulting from the postmodern condition – “a hybrid, fragmented, contingent, marginal, indeterminate use of language” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 73).¹⁴ It is time that new conceptualisations of the English language find their way into mainstream discourses to liberate English from old ideologies like linguistic imperialism and to establish ELF as a valid concept next to ENL/ESL/EFL.

2.2. English in Europe

The expansion of English in Europe is unprecedented, and it is a fact that the English language serves many purposes in Europe today. In many European countries, it plays a significant role, either being the national language or one of the official languages.¹⁵ However, English also is an important language in most nations across Europe, increasingly fulfilling the function of a common European language for international communication (Graddol 2006: 92). In the economic and political union of the EU two member states, Ireland and Malta, named English as one of their official languages upon their admission to the EU (European Union 2020d). Therefore, English not only functions as a lingua franca but also has the status of an official language and a working language of the EU – a status that all languages gain once they are named official language of a member state joining the EU (European Economic Community 1958: 2). Today, English is the most widely spoken language in Europe as well as the most widely learned and the most popular foreign language (see European Commission 2012; European Commission 2018; section 2.3.3). The following paragraphs investigate how English gained its status as the European lingua franca by looking at its historical role, observing its status today and summarising possible implications for the future.

¹⁴ See also Motschenbacher (2016) on English as a postmodern phenomenon.

¹⁵ McArthur (1996: 9) lists the European territories in which English is a significant language as follows: “Belgium, the Channel Islands, Cyprus, Denmark, England (UK), Gibraltar, the Irish Republic, the Isle of Man, Malta, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland (UK), Norway, Scotland (UK), Sweden, Switzerland, Wales (UK)”.

2.2.1. *The past: the expansion of the English language*

Two major historical developments shaped the way the English language expanded across the world and established its status as a lingua franca: the rise of the British Empire and the rise of the USA as a world power. Both the British Empire as well as the USA gained their status by becoming global economic and colonial players, making English “a language that is deeply involved in the interplay of the (re-)establishment of power (im)balances, (in)equality, and national identities” (Saraceni 2020: 635). The expansion of English is often referred to as a ‘spread’: an analogy between the English language and a disease “which destroys all the languages and cultures that it gets close to and infects” (Saraceni 2015: 44).¹⁶ Another common term to describe the expansion of the English language is the term Englishization, meaning that something is made “English in manner or in language” (McArthur 1992a: 360). Tam (2009: viii) describes Englishization as the process of transformation of languages that come into contact with English. Both the term spread and the term Englishization carry a negative connotation as they imply that other languages and cultures are altered by contact with the English language in such a way that English ‘takes over’ and becomes dominant.

The expansion of British territory inevitably entailed the expansion of the English language in the territories of North America, the Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, South Asia, former colonial Africa, South-East Asia and the Pacific (cf. Crystal 2003). This happened in two different ways: either the expansion of the territories occurred via settler colonisation or via exploitation colonisation (Saraceni 2015: 46). According to Saraceni, in settler colonisation ‘new’ lands were ‘discovered’ and occupied. Indigenous populations were “dealt with by the use of violent coercion and genocide” and indigenous languages were replaced by English (ibid.). In exploitation colonisation, territories were occupied with the help of trading companies with the aim to procure “raw materials and cheap labour” (ibid.: 47). The local population and languages were not replaced – English served as “a vehicle of communication between the British and the local ruling classes” (ibid.). Over time, new varieties of English would develop in many of these territories caused by a process of natural adaptation (Saraceni 2020: 635). As Schneider (2011: 51) notes, the process of independence

¹⁶ Saraceni (2015: 43-44) also refers to other metaphors in connection to the English language: English as a movable object, English as a plant, or English as a container. These metaphors describe English as some kind of entity that can arrive, travel, be brought to, be transplanted, or borrowed.

of the former British colonies started in the late 19th century with Canada and in the early 20th century with Australia. During this process English became part of mass education “so that in the long run ties with the former colonial power would be maintained”. These were British efforts to continue establishing the English language across the world. However, as Saraceni (2015: 148) describes, it was the powerful rise of the USA which “not only ensured that the [English] language didn’t decline, but also boosted its importance, especially as the language of international trade, technology and popular culture”.

The expansion of the English language came hand in hand with power imbalances and inequality, with violence, genocide and exploitation. The colonial and imperial powers not only occupied new territory but also “imposed [their] language as the language of the public space and of political power” (Wright 2009: 103). Therefore, the spread of the English language, the Englishization of domains, regions and countries carries many negative connotations which have not been resolved up until today.¹⁷ Critics have drawn a direct link between the expansion of the English language and British and American imperialism. Phillipson (1992) coined the term linguistic imperialism which highlights the relation between the English language and imperialism. He defines linguistic imperialism as

the dominance of English [...] asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. (Phillipson 1992: 47)

Describing the expansion of English as being dominant implies that English is ‘stronger’ than other languages and oppresses them. Phillipson claims that people from the Inner Circle (after Kachru 1992) such as politicians, language educators and academics are the ones maintaining the dominance of English worldwide (Saraceni 2015: 154). Furthermore, Phillipson’s concept of linguistic imperialism is based on linguistic determinism – which means that by conversing in English speakers also express the culture associated with the language (ibid.: 157). Phillipson’s depiction of the spread of English also portrays indigenous people in a passive role “who have English ‘pushed down their throats’” (ibid.: 155). Though criticism of British and American imperialism by Phillipson is legitimate as it illustrates existing imbalances, it also paints a one-sided picture of the global expansion of English and of NNSs of English, which dominates mainstream discourse.

¹⁷ The events causing the Black Lives Matter movement of 2020 could be regarded as one of the latest manifestations of the imbalances and inequality created at the hands of the expansion of the British Empire.

The process of nation-state building in the 20th century played a major role in establishing national languages and is deeply connected to the concepts of English NS authority and the ideology of StE (as described in section 2.1.1). It is the process in which the European nation-states formed – adhering to “one law, one church, one tax regime [and] one military system” (Wright 2009: 98). However, the new nations did not only define themselves by the aforementioned factors but also by a single national language, namely “the language of the power centre” (ibid.). The process of nation-state building shaped the European landscape resulting in “a mosaic of states in Europe, each defining itself as the political expression of a homogeneous people with a single language and culture inhabiting its homeland” (ibid.). Nations were essentially linked to national languages and national territories – a relationship that served as the basis for national identity (Saraceni 2015: 128). This is major reason why the English language remained tied to the UK and its citizens once the British Empire ceased to exist. In the end, the process of nation-state building has led to a national monolingualism that still defines Europe’s nations and their identities today. Most EU member states are associated with one national language – a fact that is also enhanced by the EU’s policy of having new member states define one language as their official language upon entry into the EU (European Economic Community 1958; European Union 2020c).

2.2.2. *The present: English as a threat or an opportunity*

The global expansion of the English language has provoked two strong positions. On the one hand, it presents a threat to other languages and cultures. On the other hand, it serves as an opportunity for exchange in a globalised world. Some authors do not approve of the expansion of the English language throughout Europe – such as Phillipson (1992, 2003, 2008, 2016), Grin (2004), Ammon (2006a, 2006b). Others regard the status of English as a European lingua franca as an opportunity, like Cogo and Jenkins (2010), Fiedler (2010), Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013), Seidlhofer (2010, 2011b), Van Parijs (2011) and Wright (2009).¹⁸ Regardless of the many voices for or against an expansion of the English language in Europe, a common European language could liberate EU citizens and enable communication beyond national borders and linguistic boundaries.

¹⁸ The project *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* by Linn (2016) aims at investigating the role and status of the English language in Europe today and provides a deeper understanding of the issues at hand.

In the section (2.2.1), the negative perception of the expansion of the English language across Europe has been discussed from a historical perspective. However, the notion that the English language is a threat to other languages and cultures still prevails today. Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism (1992) or his depiction of English as a "lingua frankensteinia" (2008) are representative of the idea that the omnipresence of the English language reduces the influence of other languages or even extinguishes them altogether. The influence of languages such as French, German or Spanish in the EU (and particularly in EU institutions) has lessened over the past decades, while in the meantime the English language has increasingly gained importance (Pietiläinen 2011: 11). This is mainly true for larger European languages like the ones mentioned above, which serve as languages of wider communication (Motschenbacher 2016: 62). Conversely, some smaller and minority languages in the EU do not seem to be affected by the expansion of the English language in Europe but have gained importance in accordance with the rise of English and its international use (Pietiläinen 2011: 11).

Another reason why the expansion of the English language in Europe could be seen as a negative development is that it supposedly creates benefits for English NSs. The dominance of English in so many fields of life¹⁹ has raised the fear that NSs of English are gaining advantage over NNSs in these domains. For example, Ammon (2006a: 333) lists advantages for English NSs like "enhanced international communication" and "improved economic contacts abroad". According to Ammon, English-speaking nations have advantages like "improved image of the country abroad", the "spread of the country's culture and values", or a "gain in human capital" (ibid.). Likewise, authors like Kraus (2008) argue that the role of English as ELF and its omnipresence within EU institutions disadvantage EU citizens that are NNSs of English and member states that do not have English as a national language. Ironically, there are also voices that regard the global expansion of the English language and its use as a medium of international communication as a threat to the purity of 'real' English, e.g. Quirk (1990).

Even though the hegemonic view of the English language in Europe is persistent, an alternate view of English as the medium of international communication has emerged. Van

¹⁹ International English has become essential in various domains, such as in education (secondary and tertiary), in academia and science, in banking, on social media and the internet, as far as international relations are concerned, but also in pop-culture, personal communication, travel and tourism.

Parijs (2007: 73) argues that English becomes a “public good” once it is used and perceived as a lingua franca. According to Seidlhofer (2010: 362) this approach still demands a “switch in mindset” in which English in its global use is conceptualised as ELF. Once English is detached from its historical attributes (like NS authority, language hegemony, language ownership) it becomes a vehicle for communication, a tool, a medium, a basic skill (also see discussion of EIL in section 2.1.2 above). Accordingly, it could become a common European language, which would benefit EU institutions, EU member states and EU citizens (Wright 2009: 105).²⁰

EU citizens themselves demonstrate that they appreciate the English language as their medium of international communication – and seize it as a personal opportunity. Today, the English language can be described as the most popular foreign language in the EU: 67% of Europeans think that English is the most useful language next to their first language and 79% of Europeans believe that English is the most useful foreign language that children should learn for their future (European Commission 2012: 3). Furthermore, the *Flash Eurobarometer 466 survey* from 2018 showed that English is “the most frequent language of study” and “the most frequently mentioned second language of study in all [EU] Member States” (European Commission 2018: 15).²¹ The numbers above show that the role of English in Europe is unprecedented. The demand for English language courses has increased as awareness about the potential of English language skills has risen among EU citizens (Wright 2009: 95). Ferguson states that parents and students alike “welcome English language instruction because of the access it affords to varied entertainment media and because of the enhanced socio-economic mobility it appears to promise” (Ferguson 2015: 6). The demand to learn English and use it as a personal language of international communication in Europe is a bottom-up movement that seems to have no overt institutional power behind it.

Another positive effect of the expansion of English is that the use of ELF can be regarded as an addition to multilingualism and gives NNSs of English the opportunity to involve their entire plurilingual knowledge.²² This counters the presumption that the dominant usage of the English language in international contexts poses a threat to other languages and cultures. If ELF is perceived as an addition to multilingualism, it “does not undermine multilingual diver-

²⁰ Also see Cogo and Jenkins (2010).

²¹ For a further discussion of the *Eurobarometer surveys* see section 2.3.3.

²² See section 2.1.3 for a detailed discussion of the ELF concept.

sity but actually helps to sustain it [...]” (Hülmbauer et al. 2008: 29). House and Rehbein (2004: 2) define language in multilingual settings “not only as a means and a medium of communication, it is also a highly complex system which enters into a relationship with other languages”. In this conception of ELF, the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of interlocutors in ELF settings play an important role and are not overruled by their use of English as their common means of communication.

The preceding section showed that there are contesting positions in reference to the expansion of English in Europe. These dichotomies demonstrate the transitional stage that the English language has reached: stuck between modernity and postmodernism, language as a system and language as a practice, ENL and English as a medium of international communication. Regardless of these dichotomies, English in its function as a lingua franca in Europe is perceived as beneficial by EU citizens and they approve of and reinforce this development.

2.2.3. *The future: Brexit and English as the European lingua franca*

Although the future of English in Europe cannot be foreseen and is highly controversial, the status of English as a global language and as a lingua franca is undisputed and this will most likely remain so in the near future (e.g. Seidlhofer 2010; Seidlhofer et al. 2006). However, the current political situation creates uncertainty about the future role of English in the EU (Setter 2019). The Brexit process started on 23 June 2016 and ended with the UK exiting the EU on 31 January 2020 (European Union n.d.). It is a unique event in the history of Europe: the UK is the first country to leave the EU since its founding in 1957 (Council of the European Union 2017: 2). Brexit does not only mean that a member country of the EU has left the union, but it also means that most NSs of English have left. This event raises questions about the role and status of English within the EU. The most prominent question is whether English will lose its relevance within the EU after Brexit or whether it will gain more importance and independence once the UK has left the EU.

Several comments by EU officials have suggested that English will lose its status as an official language of the EU. In a press conference on the outcome of UK’s EU membership referendum, Danuta Hübner, the head of the EP’s Constitutional Affairs Committee, commented on the subject that “if we don’t have [the] UK, we don’t have English” (European Parliament EPTV 2016: 15:09:10 – 15: 09: 13). The French politician Robert Ménard was quoted saying that the English language no longer had any legitimacy in Brussels, whereas the French EP

member Jean-Luc Mélenchon stated that English could no longer be the third working language of the EP (Chazan & Brunsden 2016). In 2017, the then president of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker was mentioned that English was gradually losing importance in Europe (Rankin 2017). These comments demonstrate that there are existing anti-English sentiments within EU institutions. They suggest that without the UK being a member of the EU, there is no reason why English should remain an official language within the Union. The hidden agenda of these comments might be to establish the French language as “the most important EU language” once English has lost its status within the EU (Modiano 2017: 316).

These anti-English comments were quickly countered by both the European Commission as well as the EP in order to put the legal situation of English as an official language of the EU into perspective. A statement on behalf of the EC Representation in Ireland was published on the same day as Hübner’s comments mentioned above, saying that English would not lose its legal status as an official language, as it would take a unanimous vote by the Council of Ministers to abolish English as an official EU language within EU institutions (European Commission 2016). In the same vein, the EP stated on their official webpage that the departure of the United Kingdom from the EU would not as such result in the abolition of English as an official language (European Parliament n.d.).²³

Within the academic community there are various positions and opinions about the effects that Brexit will have on the future of English in Europe. Some authors are sceptical about the expansion of English in Europe and argue that the complex EU language situation needs to be resolved by taking all European languages into account (Phillipson 2017) or that the EU principle of multilingualism should remain the only way forward (Deneire 2017). By contrast, some authors support the view that English will retain its status within Europe (Gerritsen 2017; Modiano 2017; Saraceni 2017; Schneider 2017) and that Brexit will weaken the role of English NSs and thus enable a distinct European variety of English to develop (Berns 2017; Modiano 2017). Other authors opine that the weakened influence of NSs will help liberate English in Europe, albeit in its role as ELF (Jenkins 2017; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017; Van Parijs 2019). These positions demonstrate that even though there are many views concerning the effects Brexit will have on the EU language situation, most authors agree that

²³ Even Hübner herself was quoted in 2019 as saying that whether we liked it or not, English had become a lingua franca in the decades following the Second World War, in the world and also in Europe (Read 2019).

English will not lose its importance as the medium of international communication in Europe.

2.3. EU language policy

When investigating the role of English in Europe, it is also necessary to investigate EU language policy. The following section will give an overview of the most important aspects of EU language policy and illustrate the relationship between the EU and the English language in more detail (section 2.3.3). The EU is a supranational union that currently counts 27 member states after the withdrawal of the UK in January 2020 (European Union 2020a). It is gradually enlarging the number of its member countries, with five countries as candidate countries and two more potential candidate countries as of today (ibid.). The size of the EU becomes apparent when considering its population: The EU counts 446 million inhabitants, taking in third place after China and India as the world's largest population (European Union 2020b). It has 24 official languages and claims to have more than 60 indigenous regional or minority languages (European Union 2020c). These numbers show that the EU is a multi-ethnic and multilingual union. Over the years, it has developed a particular language policy: the policy of multilingualism and linguistic diversity (section 2.3.1). Nevertheless, it is not spared issues and challenges caused by this diversity (section 2.3.2). Brexit is the most recent example (European Commission n.d.-b). It was the first time in history of the EU that a member country left the union - an event that unsettled the idea of a strong and stable Union.²⁴ Regardless, the EU remains committed to its motto "united in diversity" (European Union 2019c).

2.3.1. Multilingualism and linguistic diversity

The EU's language policy is defined by the principles of multilingualism and linguistic diversity (European Union 2020c). Every EU citizen has the right to contact EU institutions in one of the 24 official languages and is also entitled to receive a reply in the chosen language – a principle that is enshrined in the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (European Union 2000: 18).²⁵ This reflects the EU's founding principle of multilingualism, which

²⁴ Algeria, Greenland and Saint Barthélemy are countries that have left the EU before Brexit. However, they were not considered member states at the time of their withdrawal (Nationalia 2016).

²⁵ Official and working languages and their use have been defined and specified in *Regulation No. 1* in the year 1958 - the earliest official document that is related to language policy and EU's first legislation (European Economic Community 1958).

is defined by the EC “as the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives” (European Communities 2007: 6). In the final report by the High Level Group on Multilingualism it is also quoted that the term multilingualism encompasses “the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical or geo-political area or political entity” (ibid.).

Another principle of EU’s language policy is linguistic diversity. The EU defines this as “the harmonious co-existence of European languages” as well as “a cornerstone of the European project” (European Commission n.d.-d). Diversity is anchored in EU law – in *Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*: “The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity” (European Union 2000: 13). This principle is presented as the EU’s leading idea and constitutes a great benefit for the Union, since it foregrounds solidarity and acceptance:

[The EU is] not a ‘melting pot’ in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding. (Commission of European Communities 2005: 2)

The melting pot is a metaphor for how different cultures, ethnicities and languages can be united in one single country or union. The USA is often associated with the analogy of “an American melting pot, where peoples of diverse origins have allegedly fused to make a new people” (Palmer 1976: 488). On the other hand, the metaphor of a mosaic – an analogy that is often used to describe Canada – is associated with a country or a union “where ethnic groups have maintained their distinctiveness while functioning as part of the whole” (ibid.). By rejecting the metaphor of melting pot (as in the quote by the EC further above), the EC presumably compares the EU’s linguistic and cultural situation with that of Canada – a community that is made up of diverse elements that are respected for their individuality.

Apart from enabling communication between EU institutions and EU citizens in any chosen official language as well as the protection of EU’s linguistic diversity, the EU’s language policy also focuses on promoting language learning within the Union (European Union 2020c). The EU’s main aim is to enable all EU citizens to communicate in two other languages next to their first languages (ibid.). This aim is based on the *Presidency Conclusion* of the meeting of the European Council in Barcelona in 2002 and marks an important point of departure for

the principles of multilingualism and linguistic diversity in the EU (European Council 2002: 2). In the *Presidency Conclusions* it is stated that “the European Council calls for further action [...] to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particularly by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age” (ibid.: 19). This objective is more commonly known as the Barcelona Objective (Commission of the European Communities 2008: 5). Additionally, in their 2014 conclusions, the European Council invited all EU member states to improve language learning in their countries by instructing students in two more languages apart from the most common language taught in school (European Council 2014: 3). In 2017, the European Council reconfirmed the EU’s commitment to language learning to meet the goal of the Barcelona Objective (European Council 2017: 3).

In 2008, the Barcelona Objective was modified by the Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue.²⁶ They acknowledge that “linguistic diversity is a challenge for Europe, but [...] a rewarding one” – a phrase that is echoed in the title of the publication: *A Rewarding Challenge. How the multiplicity of languages could strengthen Europe* (Maalouf 2008: 3). According to the Group of Intellectuals, it seems tempting to tolerate the practice of having English as the de facto lingua franca of the EU (ibid.: 4). As a result, they provide solutions to tackle the spread of English in the EU. First, they suggest that every European language should have “a substantial group of proficient and highly motivated speakers” in every EU member state (ibid.: 9). Secondly, they introduce the idea of personal adoptive language: a language that functions as an L2 next to the person’s L1 and their language of international communication (ibid.: 10). The Group of Intellectuals update the Barcelona as follows: mother tongue + personal adoptive language + language of international communication. They hope that their approach will help “to overcome the current rivalry between English and the other languages” (ibid.). By describing the relationship between different EU languages as a rivalry (as mentioned in the quote above) the group arguably highlights the competitiveness between the languages of the EU and demonstrate that they regard English as a threat to these other languages.

26 The Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue was set up in 2007 by the European Commission “to advise them on the role multilingualism could play in regard to the intercultural dialogue and the mutual comprehension of the citizens of the European Union” (Maalouf 2008: 2). It includes language and communication experts, writers and philosophers who debated on the future of multilingualism in the EU in three meetings (ibid.).

There are a series of other measures that have been taken by the EU to promote multilingualism and linguistic diversity. In 2005, the EC put forth *A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism* (Commission of the European Communities 2005). In 2008, a strategy was developed to manage challenges caused by globalisation in a communication called *Multilingualism: An Asset for Europe and a shared Commitment* (Commission of the European Communities 2008). To support language learning in Europe, several instruments have been employed: the European Centre of Modern Languages, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), the European Language Label, or the Erasmus+ programme – to name but a few (European Commission n.d.-b). In conclusion, the EU and its institutions make a substantial effort to put the principles of multilingualism and linguistic diversity into practice, even though they acknowledge that English is the de facto lingua franca of the EU.

2.3.2. Criticism and language issues

As outlined in the preceding section, the EU promotes the principle of multilingualism and linguistic diversity. However, this has not been without criticism: it is considered a fact among scholars researching EU language policy that there is a conflict between EU's official policy in theory and actual language practice on the ground (e.g. Ammon 2006a, 2006b; Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Van Els 2005; Fiedler 2010; Gazzola and Grin 2013; House 2003; Kraus 2008; Kruse and Ammon 2013, 2018; Seidlhofer 2010; Seidlhofer et al. 2006; Wright 2009). Some of the most prominent inconsistencies will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Discrepancy No. 1

The EU promotes multilingualism, however, is largely monolingual on a national level. As mentioned, the EC defines multilingualism as “a person's ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area.” (Commission of the European Communities 2005: 3). Regardless, only four EU member states (Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Finland) are officially multilingual – the other 23 EU member states have registered only one official language (European Commission 2005: 1). There are “[co-existences] of different language communities” as mentioned in the quote above – but usually these language communities speak regional or minority languages that do not enjoy

the same rights as official EU languages.²⁷ In sum, the EU promotes supranational multilingualism, which stands in contrast to the member states' lived realities (Motschenbacher 2016; Wright 2009).

Discrepancy No. 2

The EU and its institutions are caught between facilitating unification and the need to respect diversity among member states. The dilemma caused by these two opposing demands on the EU has created different fronts:

one can discern a rough polarization between those who sceptically regard integration as a progressive hollowing out of the sovereignty of the democratic nation-state and those who embrace it instead as an opportunity to disclose new democratic options beyond the nation-state. (Kraus 2008: 1)

Kraus describes that the process of the political unification of Europe has provoked both rejection and approval among people. He refers to the process of the political unification of Europe as European integration – a term that describes “the shift from one form of state – the *nation* state [sic] – to another, the *member* state” (Bickerton 2012: 12). According to Kraus (2008: 1-2), the EU's dilemma resides in the fact that the EU does not have a common political community due to its division into individual nation-states. Political power however, must still be justified by a collective, political community. The EU faces the challenge of realising the project of European integration while according “the greatest possible respect to the political-cultural ‘distinctiveness’ of member states and the sub-state constitutional entities of the EU” (ibid.: 2). This balancing act has significantly shaped EU's language policy as well as actual language use within EU institutions.

Discrepancy No. 3

There is a contrast between multilingualism as a founding principle of the EU and an existing language hierarchy within EU institutions. The need to efficiently communicate EU-wide has resulted in the tendency to use some languages (namely English, French, and German) more frequently in practice than others. According to Kraus (2008: 121), in practice multilingualism remains very selective. One example of this is the use of working languages within EU insti-

²⁷ The rights of regional and minority languages within the EU are defined by the governments of each member state on a national level (European Union 2020c).

tutions. Even though all official EU languages are listed as working languages in *Regulation No. 1* (European Economic Community 1958: 2), there is an official language hierarchy in EU institutions like the EC, the EP, or the ECB. On the EC's official website, it is stated in Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) on Traineeships that "the working/procedural languages of the European Commission are English, French and German" (European Commission n.d.-f). Similarly, the EP uses these three languages as its working languages and argues that it saves time and money if documents are not translated into all EU languages (europarlamentti n.d.). These examples of a language hierarchy within EU institutions reflect the language hierarchy of the most widely spoken foreign languages among Europeans. The *Special Eurobarometer surveys* from 2005, 2006 and 2012 showed that English, French and German are the most widely spoken foreign languages in Europe with English in the lead in all three surveys - at 38% (European Commission 2012: 11). English does not only lead the internal language hierarchy but sometimes serves as the only working language within EU institutions. For example, most original documents by the EP are written in English – as stated in a promotional video of the EP on multilingualism on their official YouTube channel (European Parliament 2015: 00:01:48 – 00:01:55). The ECB has even openly declared English as its official language: in the FAQs on ECB careers on the ECB's official website it is clarified that the ECB's official language is English (European Central Bank 2020). Therefore, "the need for efficient communication across the EU [...] has worked in favour of the use of a single language or lingua franca, namely English" (Ammon and Kruse 2018: 40).

Discrepancy No. 4

Both the EU's translation policy as well as the practice of relay interpreting, illustrate that the EU's enforced multilingualism can hardly be transferred into practice. The proper execution of EU language policy demands an extensive translating and interpreting apparatus. For these matters, the EU has established a translation policy that ensures communication with all official languages. The Directorate General for Translation (DGT) translates for the EC, whereas the other EU institutions have their own translation services (Ammon and Kruse 2013: 16). As mentioned however, not all documents are translated into all official languages of the EU. The EU states several reasons for this practice on their official website: "access to limited numbers of translators and a restricted budget for translation", importance of documents, cost-effectiveness, urgency, technical constraints (European Union 2019b). Similarly,

the practice of interpreting does not happen in all official EU languages. Interpreting in EU institutions has increasingly been conducted as relay interpreting, a process in which English serves as a pivot language: the spoken words are first translated into English and then from this language into other languages (Melchers et al. 2019: 181). Making English the pivot language arguably strengthens its position because “all information will have ‘passed through’ the language” (ibid.). The discrepancy between the EU’s founding principle of multilingualism and its translating and interpreting practice illustrates that it is impossible to translate every text into all the official EU languages and that English increasingly serves as an intermediary language.

Discrepancy No. 5

The inconsistencies within EU language policy facilitate the rise of ELF by non-language related policies such as the Bologna Declaration. This is the main guiding document for the Bologna Process, which aims at unifying higher education systems across Europe, making studying, teaching, and research easier for EU citizens (European Commission n.d.-e). It has increased academic mobility and cooperation across Europe and created a higher comparability between educational systems through standardised assessments (European Commission n.d.-c). However, the Bologna Process not only helped to facilitate student and staff mobility but also led to the rise and expansion of the English language in domains of higher education and academia. According to Ferguson (2015: 5), the Bologna Process encouraged the spread of English and through that subverted European policies aimed at promoting multilingualism and language diversity. Arnó-Macià et al. (2019) support this view. They state that the Bologna Process has not led to increased multilingualism but to the spread of English (ibid.: 237-239). Similarly, authors such as Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b: 5) or Phillipson (2016: 149) agree that even though the Bologna Process does not address language policy directly, the spread of English in the EU is an indirect result of this process.

The EU is aware of all of these discrepancies within its language policy. In the study *Multilingualism: Between Policy Objectives and Implementation* (2008) commissioned by the EP it was concluded that

Multilingualism and linguistic diversity are sometimes conflicting policy agendas. Language learning policy has tended to be influenced by ‘harder’ priorities like economic competitiveness and labour market mobility, and linguistic diversity

policies by ‘softer’ issues like inclusion and human rights. Multilingualism policy has been more highly prioritized than linguistic diversity policy in terms of concrete actions. (European Parliament 2008: iii)

The EP admits that the EU’s founding principles of multilingualism and linguistic diversity contradict each other. In the same study it was also found that the language learning policies of the EU have not led to an increase in language learning among EU citizens as one in five Europeans is actively learning languages (ibid.: iii).

The study also briefly discusses the spread of English and its importance as the European lingua franca, however states that “dominance” of English poses an obstacle to language learning in the EU (ibid.: iv-v). It is also observed that there is uncertainty about how the EU should deal with the spread of English and its role as the European lingua franca (ibid.: iv). This highlights the main dilemma of the EU in handling the rise of the English language in Europe that it has not yet managed to take a clear position on the issue of ELF in the EU. Bearing in mind that this study and its findings date back 2008, it is astounding that EU language policy has not changed since. The EU recognises the importance of English as a European lingua franca but has yet to take firm action regarding this issue.

2.3.3. English and the EU

As was outlined in the preceding sections, English fulfils many roles in the EU. It is an official language, a working language, a foreign language, a pivot language, an intermediary language, and also a lingua franca. Furthermore, it is the EU’s most popular language, most widespread language, and most widely learned and taught language. Even though the ever-growing importance of English within the EU is neglected in its language policy (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Wright 2009), English can be regarded as the de facto lingua franca of the EU (Wright 2009: 94). The findings of three *Special Eurobarometer surveys* (2005, 2006, 2012) support this view. They show that English is the most widely spoken foreign language in Europe, remaining stable at 38% (European Commission 2012: 11). Additionally, the *Flash Eurobarometer 466* from 2018 shows that English has remained the most widely used language of study (38%) – making it the most frequently used second language of study in the EU (European Commission 2018: 15). Furthermore, data from the *Special Eurobarometer survey* 2012 shows that 79% of Europeans regard English as the most useful language that children should learn (European Commission 2012: 3).

Figure 1 taken from the 2012 *Special Eurobarometer survey* shows the hierarchy of foreign languages most widely spoken in the EU. Additionally, it illustrates the results of both *Special Eurobarometer surveys* from 2005 and 2012 (European Commission 2012: 11).

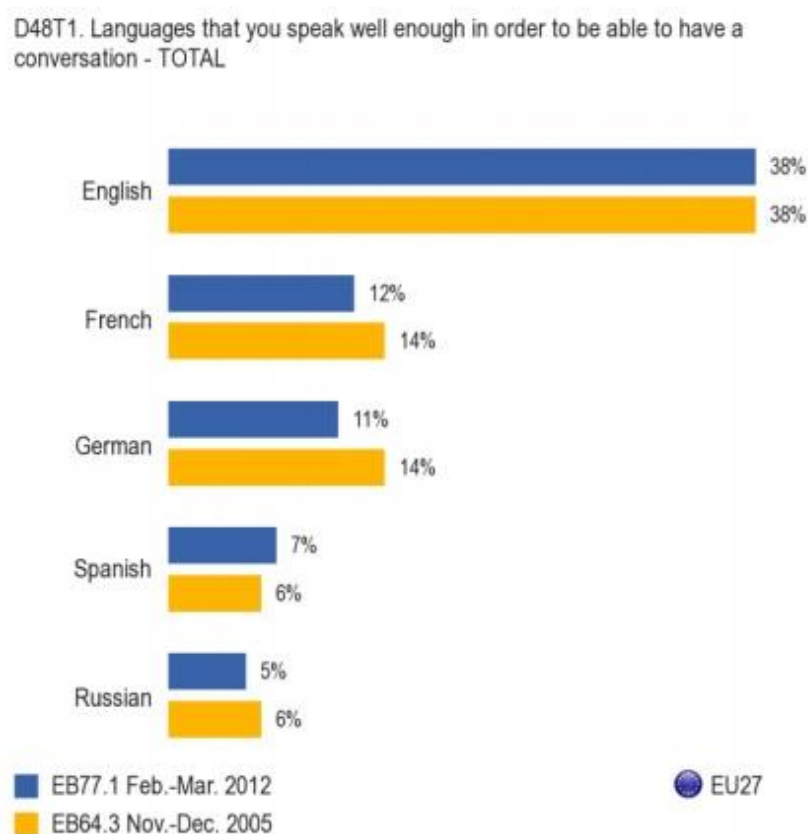


Figure 1: The most widely spoken foreign languages in the EU (European Commission 2012: 11)

It is not surprising that, apart from being the most widely spoken foreign language in the EU, English is also the most taught foreign language in almost all EU member states at all educational levels as reported in the *Eurydice survey* from 2012 on *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* (EACEA 2012: 11).²⁸ The same finding is confirmed in the 2017 *Eurydice Report*: “In almost all European countries, English is the foreign language learnt by most students during primary and secondary education” (European Commission 2017: 13). The 2017 study has found that the numbers are the highest in lower secondary education

²⁸ Eurydice is “a network of 43 national units based in all 38 countries of the Erasmus+ programme” (European Commission 2020). Their task is to publish “descriptions of national education systems, comparative reports devoted to specific topics, indicators and statistics, as well as news and articles related to the field of education” (ibid.).

where “virtually all students (97.3 %) studied English during the entire period of lower secondary education” (ibid.). The significance of English as a foreign language in the EU is also confirmed by data taken from the *Special Eurobarometer survey 2006* in which 77% of EU citizens state “that children should learn English as their first foreign language” (European Commission 2006: 9). In the subsequent survey the number of Europeans who consider English as the most useful language even rose to 79% (European Commission 2012: 12).

The growing relevance of ELF in Europe and in EU institutions has not remained without controversy. As demonstrated in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, there are voices both for and against the use of English as an official lingua franca of the EU. Voices against a possible implementation of English as the official EU lingua franca claim that this would cause linguistic injustice and mainly provide benefit to NSs of English and English-speaking nations (e.g. Ammon 2006a, 2006b; Ammon and Kruse 2013; Grin 2004, Kraus 2008; Phillipson 2003; Van Els 2005). Maalouf (2008: 4-5), a member of the Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue, criticises the idea of English as the official lingua franca of the EU by claiming that other languages would be reduced to symbolic status if English were to be the official EU language. He regards the rise of English in Europe and its use as a lingua franca within the EU as a threat to linguistic diversity, Europe’s identity and its fundamental values (ibid.: 5-8). Furthermore, he states that it would be detrimental to the English language itself if it were named the official European lingua franca (ibid.: 15-16).²⁹

On the other hand, the rise of ELF in the EU has inspired authors like Cogo and Jenkins (2010) or Van Parijs (2011) to consider the need for English to become the official lingua franca of the EU. According to Wright (2009) Europe needs a community of communication and would greatly benefit from English as a European lingua franca. Likewise, Seidlhofer (2010: 356) states that “a common means of communication, both in the institutions of the European Union and in Europe at large” is obviously needed. Even Fiedler (2010), who is very critical of the spread of English in the EU, acknowledges that “the existence of a common language, a global lingua franca, provides a huge advantage to a large number of people” (1). On a different note, Seidlhofer (2011b: x) criticises that the need to reconceptualise English in Europe is neglected. She claims that as long as academics and practitioners are not facing this issue, nothing will change and debates will still involve the advantages or disadvantages of

²⁹ See section 2.2.2 on the fear of impurity of ‘real’ English.

ELF (ibid.). In 2020, ten years after Seidlhofer voiced her criticism, the question of English as the European lingua franca has still not been resolved by EU officials.

There are several theories as to why EU policy is stagnant on the subject of English in Europe. Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 273) argue that the use of English as the EU's lingua franca is secretly accepted because it is not affected by EU law. They describe this approach by the EU as being "laissez-faire" (ibid.). It seems that the EU does not want to get involved in or influence the developments at hand. According to Ammon and Kruse (2013: 26-27), the EU's "practice of gradually expanding the transnational use of English" indicates that English is becoming the general EU lingua franca and that the EU might disguise these developments on purpose by rigidly sticking to the principle of multilingualism and linguistic diversity. This assumption seems reasonable in the light of the EU having failed to adapt their language policy even though the measures it implemented could not increase multilingualism and linguistic diversity in Europe. Ammon and Kruse describe this approach as "the most effective way" to transform the EU

from a union of common issues alone (Eder 2000) to one of a common language and thus a community of communication (Wright 2009) and a common public space (Habermas 2001). (Ammon and Kruse 2013: 27)

This transformation is a fundamental one and will most likely take the EU a much time and effort to accomplish. The EU would need to radically change their language policy of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, which could have consequences on its very fabric.

It seems unlikely that EU member states would readily accept the official introduction of English as the lingua franca of the EU. Therefore, the EU presumably follows the approach of quietly but gradually changing its language situation (laissez-faire) in the hope that the EU public and EU member states will more easily accept English as the EU's lingua franca in the long run. This assumption ties in with the theory of shifting baselines. It describes the phenomenon that the fundamental norms by which we judge what is acceptable are changing because we do not perceive long-term changes in their entirety but only in relation to conditions we ourselves have witnessed (Büllesbach, Cillero and Stolz 2017: 9-10). Even though this remains speculative, it seems that the 'average' EU citizen has already accepted the expansion of English as the common language of international communication within Europe – as demonstrated by the numbers on English as the most widely spoken foreign language,

most widely used language of study and most popular/useful language in the EU (see discussion above).

Within one or two generations the EU will expectedly be able to officially name English its lingua franca. Considering the theory of economic determinism, a switch in mindset will eventually (and inevitably) take place. According to this theory derived from Marx “all social, political and intellectual development is caused by economic changes and [...] even all human action is economically motivated” (Lee and Newby 1983: 100). EU citizens want to learn English and want to use it as their personal language of international communication because they believe it is “the most successful strategy” (Pietiläinen 2011: 12). Parents want their children to be successful and to be able to compete in the European job market. Competence in English is no longer considered an advantage in Europe, rather it has become a self-evident skill. According to Linn (2016: 2), people have simply become so used to English being part of their daily lives that its presence has turned into “a fact of life, a sort of default aspect of living and studying in Europe in the 21st century”. The use of English in international communication in Europe is reality. This development is ongoing and is unlikely to regress. According to Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b: 151), it is a process that is “happening anyway”. The EU’s decision makers presumably try to quietly sit out the question of the EU’s common language (shifting baselines), hoping that the EU language situation will regulate itself without needing official top-down interference (economic determinism).

3. Method

This section describes how the research question of this thesis was answered: How is English conceptualised in the *EJLP* and how are these concepts related to EU language policy? First, the data is introduced: namely articles published in the *EJLP* that deal with English in Europe. Second, the methods of data sampling and selection are presented. Finally, methods of data analysis inspired by qualitative content analysis by Mayring (2014) are described.

3.1. Data and context

The data selected for analysis are articles published in the *European Journal of Language Policy* (*EJLP*) that deal with English in a European context. The journal was accessed via the journal’s website (<https://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/loi/ejlp>). There are several reasons why the *EJLP* was regarded as the most relevant journal from which to sample and

analyse data to answer the research question. Firstly, the *EJLP* is funded by the EC and therefore articles published in this journal address subjects in language policy from an EU perspective. Secondly, the *EJLP* was chosen for data sampling because the present study is limited to articles in journals. These articles are the focus of investigation as journal articles are more up to date than long monographs and authors need to treat their topics in a succinct fashion when writing in this genre.

3.2. Methods of data selection

Material for analysis was selected in the following manner. Firstly, parameters were set. A list of common denotations of English was derived from the literature review presented in section 2. The following keywords were selected for the database search of the *EJLP*:

- *English*
- *English in Europe*
- *English as a native language*, acronym *ENL*
- *English as a second language*, acronym *ESL*
- *English as a foreign language*, acronym *EFL*
- *English as a lingua franca*, acronym *ELF*
- *English as a national language*
- *English as a working language*
- *English as a pivot language*
- *English as a bridge language*
- *Englishization*³⁰

A further parameter was added after an initial database search yielded too many results. The additional selection criterion was that the keywords had to appear in the title or the keyword section of the article as articles were sought in which the role of English in a European context was explicitly addressed. This also limited the number of articles. The date of publication of articles was not a relevant selection criterion as the number of volumes and issues of the *EJLP* is manageable in size. The journal is a semi-annual journal that counts 11 Volumes to date (January 2020), amounting to 22 issues published so far. The manageable number of issues enabled another type of database search - namely a chronological search with the help of the table of contents of each issue. This second type of database search was used as an additional tool to filter relevant articles and to ensure that no relevant articles were missed out in the database search with the pre-selected keywords.

³⁰ The keyword Englishization was added after preliminary sampling – it was shown that articles linked to this keyword also provided distinct conceptualisations of English.

The process of data sampling and data selection took place in three phases: a keyword search of the database, a chronological search of the database (with the help of each issue's table of contents), and a final selection of sampled articles according to their thematic relevance. In this last phase, the title, subtitles in addition to the keyword section were scanned for keywords, thematically related terms or keyword combinations.

3.3. Methods of data analysis

The method of analysis for this thesis is derived from qualitative content analysis. In order to process and analyse data gathered in the sampling procedure, categories for themes and ideas needed to be developed. According to Mayring (2014: 37), categories are “the central elements of all forms of content analysis [and] they are instruments with which the text is worked through”. Initially it was assumed that the set of deductive keywords already used in the database search (see section 3.2) would serve as distinct categories of classification for how authors conceptualise English in the *EJLP*. However, a second set of categories had to be devised after an initial analysis of the articles found that the categories of the first set were not sufficiently clear-cut. The process of category formation will be described in the following paragraphs.

First, the set of keywords presented too many categories for analysis and, secondly, they were not all on the same level of abstraction. The keyword *English* is too broad to serve as a category of analysis. *English in Europe* does not describe a conceptualisation of English at all. *English as a working language*, *English as a pivot language*, and *English as a bridge language* describe functions of English in specific contexts and not distinct conceptualisations of English. *English as a national language* describes English in connection to particular nations and can be partly regarded as belonging to ENL. The term Englishization describes the spread of English (section 2.2.1). The only suitable keywords for category formation are *ENL*, *ESL*, *EFL*, *English as a national language*, and *ELF* – as they describe more clear-cut conceptualisations of English. As a result, the other keywords were discarded from the process of categorisation.

The set of categories for the present study was developed both inductively (using the article analysis as a point of references) as well as deductively (referring back to the theoretical framework of this thesis). In case the level of abstraction is not clear and categories are not distinct enough, Mayring (2014: 81) suggests redefining categories on a different, more gen-

eral level of abstraction. In content analysis, it is valid to develop categories for analysis directly from data but also from literature. Mayring states that categories can be “inductively developed out of the material or deductively crystallized from theory and then assigned to parts of the text” (ibid.: 37). In the case of this thesis, devising categories inductively means making use of an initial article analysis in order to find suitable keywords or concepts in the texts. English was either conceptualised in the context of ENL/ESL/EFL or as ELF in the articles. Therefore, it would seem logical to use these two conceptualisations of English as opposing categories. However, ELF cannot be understood through the same theoretical frameworks as ENL/ESL/EFL (see section 2.1). ELF and ENL are not two opposing categories because they are on different levels of abstraction. ENL is conventionally tied to English-speaking nations and their NSs. Furthermore, it is perceived as a stable system with specific internal rules and norms. ELF on the other hand cannot be defined by a specific set of linguistic forms or by its relation towards a particular territory. It is defined according to its use as a medium for international communication and according to the purpose it serves.

Consequently, categories had to be devised deductively for this thesis, by referring back to the theoretical framework and developing a more distinct differentiation between EFL and ENL. As shown in section 2.1.1, ENL is the default conceptualisation of English and serves as a *mental model*. A mental model is a cognitive representation of external reality “based on [people’s] personal life experiences, perceptions, and understandings of the world” (Jones et al. 2011). Therefore, a mental model of English reflects the way in which people understand what the English language actually is. From now on I will be referring to ENL/ESL/EFL as ENL, since all three concepts are based on the same idea - namely that English is the property of its NSs and English-speaking nations.³¹ It is a common belief that the standard form of a language is the only legitimate form (Milroy 2001: 547). According to Quirk (1990), StE is the one variety of English that should be taught in ENL contexts as well as in EFL and ESL contexts. This makes ESL and EFL simply alternative versions of ENL as learners should strive to meet the standard norm of ENL (StE). An *alternative mental model* can be set against the *default mental model*. This *alternative mental model* may overcome the habitual perception of the English language by detaching it from notions of nation and culture, as the EIL and the

³¹ See discussion in chapter 2.1.1..

ELF concepts represent it (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). Therefore, ELF will serve as the second category – the *alternative mental model* for thinking about English.

Once the set of categories was defined, the article analysis was conducted as described below. The articles from the *EJLP* found to be most relevant to answer the research question were categorised. First, the articles were searched with the keywords that represent the most common denotations of English (the keywords from the database search listed in section 3.2). Scanning the articles for these denotations provided information about how authors conceptualised English. In addition to the keywords, a list of guiding questions helped to filter more detailed information and served as a tool for selection:

Table 2: Guiding questions for qualitative article analysis

- Which knowledge can the article contribute to the topic of this thesis?
- How is English conceptualised?
- How are concepts of English portrayed in this article related to concepts portrayed in other selected articles?
- Which details does the article provide that could help answer the central research question: how is English conceptualised in the *EJLP* and how are these concepts related to EU language policy?
- Is there criticism of the role of English in Europe?
- Which position does the author take up on the topic?
- Which references does the author refer to? Are they relevant for this thesis?
- How is the ELF paradigm acknowledged in this article?
- How does this article deal with the EU and its language policy?

With the help of the questions listed above, an initial article analysis was conducted. Afterwards, the articles were divided into two groups based on the defined categories. It was analysed whether English was conceptualised according to the *default mental model* or the *alternative mental model*. Furthermore, it was investigated how the authors refer to EU language policy and how the role of English in Europe is presented.

4. Analysis of the *EJLP*: results and discussion

The results of data collection and data selection will be presented in section 4.1. An overview will be given of how many articles were found, which articles were selected, what other criteria for inclusion and exclusion were decided upon, what the topic areas of the selected articles were, which keywords yielded the most relevant results and which did not yield any results. In section 4.2 selected articles will be analysed in a case-by-case manner. This approach was chosen to allow space for each author's individual conceptualisation of English and to facilitate readability. In section 4.3 findings will be synthesised and the analysis will be discussed. Furthermore, additional findings and interpretations of the data will be presented to provide a broader view of the issues at hand.

4.1. Results of data collection and data selection

The database search of the *European Journal of Language Policy* resulted in 39 articles. A search of keywords yielded 29 of these articles, while 10 additional articles were added after a chronological search (see section 3.2). The search was conducted in November 2019 and updated in January 2020. The focus of the present study was the conceptualisations of English in Europe and its relation to EU language policy. Therefore, the main criterion for including articles was an explicit European context. Due to practical constraints, articles had to be written in English. The criteria of inclusion and exclusion reduced the number of articles selected for analysis to a total number of 8 – resulting in a relatively small sample. The scope of this study was limited in terms of number of selected articles for the analysis. These articles were selected because they explicitly investigate the role of English in Europe. It is unfortunate that this study could not include more articles that conceptualise English more implicitly. A following study could assess how English is covertly conceptualised in other articles to provide a broader overview of conceptualisations of English in the *EJLP*.

Table 3 gives an overview of articles selected for analysis. The articles are listed in ascending chronological order, including the articles' titles, authors and years of publication, as well as keywords that yielded the articles in the database search.

Table 3: Articles that were included in the research study

Title	Author	Year (volume/issue)	Keywords from database search
"The elephant in the room: language issues in the European Union"	Wright, Sue	2009 (1/2)	English, English as a lingua franca, ELF
"Approaches to fair linguistic communication"	Fiedler, Sabine	2010 (2/1)	English, English in Europe, English as a lingua franca, ELF
"English as a foreign language in the EU: preliminary analysis of the difference in proficiency levels among the member states"	Rubio, Fernando and Lirola, María Martínez	2010 (2/1)	English, English in Europe, English as a foreign language, Englishization
"English as a lingua franca in Europe: a mismatch between policy and practice"	Cogo, Alessia and Jenkins, Jennifer	2010 (2/2)	English, English in Europe, English as a lingua franca, ELF, Englishization
"Public opinion on useful languages in Europe"	Pietiläinen, Jukka	2011 (3/1)	English, English in Europe, English as a foreign language
"The Englishization of European education: foreword"	Lanvers, Ursula and Hultgren, Anna Kristina	2018 (10/1)	English, English in Europe, Englishization
"The Englishization of European education: concluding remarks"	Lanvers, Ursula and Hultgren, Anna Kristina	2018 (10/1)	English, English in Europe, Englishization
"A multilingual background for telecollaboration: practices and policies in European higher education"	Arnó-Macià, Elisabet et al.	2019 (11/2)	English, English as a lingua franca, ELF

The database search using keywords in the *title* or *keyword section* of articles published in the *EJLP* revealed that some keywords yielded more results than others. Most results were derived from the keywords *English*, *English as a lingua franca*, its acronym *ELF*, *English in Europe*, *English as a foreign language*, and *Englishization*. The following keywords did not yield any results: *English as a national language*, *English as a native language*, *ENL*, *English as a second language*, *English as a working language*, *English as a pivot language*, *English as a bridge language*.

The terms English as a lingua franca, its acronym ELF, and Englishization presumably yield that many results because they represent controversial concepts. ELF and its role in Europe

has been highly debated over more than a decade now, with authors conceptualising English as a European lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Seidlhofer et al. 2006; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013), and other authors taking a critical stance on ELF (Ammon 2006; Grin 2004; Kraus 2008; Modiano 2009; Phillipson 1992, 2008). The concept of Englishization is a very current academic topic and of concern to scholars writing about the expansion of English in Europe (section 2.2.1). The term English in Europe shows the geographical positioning of the journal. The term English as a foreign language describes a concept of English that seems to resonate in the context of EU language policy – presumably because it presents one variation of the *default mental model* for conceptualising English (see discussion on ENL below and section 3).

The reason why the term English as a native language (or ENL) did not yield any results in the database search could be the following. ENL is presumably not explicitly addressed in articles published in the *EJLP* as it functions as the dominant or taken for granted conceptualisation of English in the *EJLP*. The term *default mental model* of English was coined in the present research study to denote this conceptualisation of English (see section 3). Presumably, the term English as a native language or the acronym ENL are not addressed explicitly in the titles or the keyword sections of articles published in the *EJLP* as a consequence. The same applies to English as a national language and English as a second language, as these terms all tie in with the taken for granted conceptualisation of English being ENL.

A full discussion of all articles dealing explicitly or implicitly with the conceptualisation of English that were found is beyond the scope of this study. Articles and topic areas listed in this paragraph had to be excluded from the present study because they do not have an explicit European context. These articles either focus on the expansion of English in individual European nations or in a non-European context. The following authors that have published in the *EJLP* write about English in an Asian context: Baker and Jarunthawatchai (2017) on English language policy in Thailand; Otsu (2017) on ELF use in Japan. Other authors have published articles on more specific subjects of language policy in Asian countries: Kirkpatrick (2017) on a general overview of language education policies in ASEAN (Association of South-east Asian Nations) countries; Wang (2017) on language policy in higher education in China. Concepts of English have also been addressed in articles focusing solely on national language policy of particular European countries: Hilmarsson-Dunn (2009) on the impact of English on

language education in Iceland³²; Lanvers (2018) on the Englishization of education in Germany; Lauridsen (2009) on national language policies in the era of globalisation in Denmark. Other authors have focused their research on language policy and the impact that the expansion of English has on national higher education: Blattès (2018) on language policy in French universities; Cabau (2011) on language policy in higher education in Sweden; Hultgren (2018) on the Englishization of Nordic universities; Saarinen and Rontu (2018) on university language policies in Finland. Further research could assess how English is conceptualised in Asian countries by authors publishing in the *EJLP* and how these conceptualisations compare to those observed in Europe. Other research could analyse how the impact that the expansion of English has on international and national education systems is portrayed in the *EJLP*.

4.2. Case-by-case analysis: results and discussion

The following subsections are each dedicated to one article analysis. Firstly, each article is introduced by giving the most important information (title, author, year, keywords that yielded the article, topic area, a short article summary). Secondly, denotations of English presented in the articles are described, including definitions, concepts, or models mentioned by the authors. Based on this, the article is assigned to one of the two categories outlined in section 3 – namely whether it conceptualises English as a *default mental model* or as an *alternative mental model*. Finally, the portrayal of EU language policy is investigated and it is explored how it connects to the role of the English language in the EU. The articles will be analysed in chronological order.

4.2.1. Wright (2009): “The elephant in the room: language issues in the European Union”

This article was published in the second issue of the first volume of the *EJLP* and was found in the keyword database search with the keywords *English*, *English as a lingua franca*, and the acronym *ELF*. The general topic area of the article is *issues in EU language policy*. Wright (2009) addresses inconsistencies between the EU’s language policy and the actual use of languages within the EU. They are discussed in more detail in section 2.3.2. The main focus of Wright’s investigation is the role of ELF in the EU and why it seems to be ignored by EU politicians (ibid.: 93). Wright uses an analogy to describe this issue in the title of the article:

³² Even though Iceland is not a member state of the EU it is both geographically and economically linked to the EU and therefore provides adequate comparative values when it comes to other northern European countries (EFTA n.d.). The same applies to Norway (see Hultgren 2018).

the use of English as the de facto lingua franca of the EU is like “the elephant in the room” that everyone is aware of, but no one wants to talk about. Furthermore, Wright describes the EU’s historical legacies to explain why Europeans (or the EU) think about language the way that they do, and she examines if coming-to-terms with these legacies could help solve current language issues.

Wright (2009) uses the following denotations of English in her article: ELF, English as a working language, EFL, and ESL. ELF is one of the main denotations of English that Wright refers to throughout her article. Wright does not mention ELF in the title of her article, however quotes the terms English and lingua franca in its keywords section. She also uses the term ELF in the abstract of her article when she refers to the “ever greater use of English as a lingua franca” (ibid.: 93). The first time Wright mentions English in the main body of her article, she terms it English as a lingua franca:

Pragmatics use whatever communication strategies they need to obtain their political goals, resulting in a general increase in the use of English as a lingua franca. (Wright 2009: 94)

In this quotation, Wright refers to the increased use of ELF in EU institutions. Wright’s statement can be supported by the following two examples. In a promotional video of the EP it is stated that most of the EP’s original documents are written in English (European Parliament 2015: 00:01:48 – 00:01:55). The ECB has even openly declared English as its official language (European Central Bank 2020).

Apart from referring to English as ELF, Wright also refers to it as a working language of the EU. She acknowledges that its ever-growing dominance as an EU working language causes difficulties for non-English speaking people working in the EP or in other EU institutions (ibid.: 94). As far as language learning in the EU is concerned, Wright refers to English as EFL: “All reports of language learning suggest an increase in English at the expense of the other languages formerly studied as a foreign language (Eurydice 2005; Strudell et al. 2007)” (ibid.: 95).³³ Returning to other denotations of English that Wright refers to in her article, the fol-

³³ As described in section 2.3.3, three *Special Eurobarometer surveys* from 2005, 2006 and 2012 demonstrate that English is the most widely spoken foreign language in Europe, remaining stable at 38% (European Commission 2012: 11). Additionally, the *Flash Eurobarometer 466* from 2018 shows that English has remained the most widely used language of study (38%) and the most frequently used second language of study in the EU (European Commission 2018: 15). In parallel to the increased expansion of English in Europe, other EU languages are less frequently learned and taught in schools and less frequently used in EU institutions (Pietiläinen 2011: 2).

lowing observations have been made. Wright calls English the “first foreign language” of the EU (ibid.). Additionally, she implicitly writes about ENL when she discusses the role of English NSs in the process of establishing ELF as an accepted conceptualisation of English in the EU (ibid.: 112). Elsewhere, Wright uses the term ESL to describe English in Europe (ibid.: 113).

The examples presented above show that Wright acknowledges different ways in which English is used: as a lingua franca, as a working language, as a foreign language, as a native language, and as a second language. However, Wright consequently conceptualises English as ELF and thus in terms of an *alternative mental model*. Not only does she include the terms English as a lingua franca and ELF in the abstract and the keyword section of her article, but ELF is also the first concept of English that Wright refers to in the main body of her text (see above). Furthermore, Wright argues that English, which is used throughout Europe, should be conceptualised as ELF (ibid.: 104). She adds that “English in transnational communication within Europe” needs to be regarded differently than the negatively perceived hegemonic spread of ENL during colonial times (ibid.). At this point, Wright draws a clear line between ELF and ENL in reference to the latter’s historical burden, namely its hegemonic spread as the language of British and American imperialism. This is a historical phenomenon that came hand in hand with power imbalances and inequality, violence, genocide and exploitation. Critics of the global expansion of the English language have stressed the hegemonic character of English in its role as a global language (Ammon 2006a, Grin 2004, Phillipson 1992). This historical burden of the English language is arguably still present and the expansion of the English language still represents linguistic and cultural hegemony today. In this context, the expansion of the English language can also be described as a spread that poses a threat to other languages and cultures (Englishization) but only insofar as the English language is linked to English-speaking nations and is conceptualised as ENL (see section 2.2.1). The alternative is to regard English as a vehicle for communication that is detached from its historic attributes when it is used among international speakers. The concept of ELF supports this new way of thinking about English as it can be regarded as detached from NSs and British or American culture (Seidlhofer 2011b).

Wright (2009: 95) also distinguished between the concepts of ELF, EFL/ESL when she states that EU citizens might learn EFL in school, they in fact use ELF in practice. Wright defines ELF the way established ELF scholars do by referring to its use in international communication

(ibid.: 104). She also refers to the use of ELF on the European mainland (ibid.: 112-113). Furthermore, Wright describes other features of ELF such as its detachment from NS authority (ibid.: 112). Separating the English language from English-speaking nations and their citizens is a process that can be regarded as linguistic appropriation. Once ELF speakers appropriate English for their own purposes, it is no longer a “property of the ancestral speakers in whose territories it originated” (Seidlhofer 2010: 362). As a consequence, ELF speakers are not bound to NS norms in their personal use of English and they are free to fully “exploit the potential of their linguistic repertoire” (Seidlhofer 2012: 403). Elsewhere, Wright gives a short overview of the most important debates on ELF research. On the one hand, she lists scholars that oppose the ELF concept and that regard the spread of English in Europe as a threat (2009: 104). On the other hand, she refers to those scholars that have shaped the research field of ELF and that write in favour of it (ibid.). Even though Wright clearly conceptualises ELF in the manner of ELF scholars, she also calls ELF a new variety of English (ibid.). This stands in contrast with the way authors like Cogo and Jenkins (2010) or Seidlhofer (2011b) define ELF – namely that it is not a variety of English but exists next to old-established concepts of English like ENL/ESL/EFL.

Even though Wright is an advocate of ELF usage in Europe, she also acknowledges that the expansion of English as the language of international communication in the EU can also have negative aspects. At one point, she mentions that non-English speaking political actors find it more difficult to work in EU institutions than English-speakers (2009: 94). As discussed previously, Wright also states that the popularity and usefulness of English has diminished the influence of other EU languages, especially in the sector of language learning (ibid.: 95). Nevertheless, Wright stresses that ELF has already become “the de facto but unacknowledged lingua franca” of the EU (ibid.: 94). Furthermore, ELF can be considered a “general benefit to Europeans”. Once Europeans can dismiss “the legacies from the nation-state era”, the liberating and facilitating effects of English as the EU’s one single lingua franca will unfold (ibid.: 114). The legacies that Wright refers to at this point are those that arose in the process of nation-state building in Europe in which nations were essentially linked to national languages and national territories – a relationship that serves as the basis for national identity today (Saraceni 2015: 128).

In the long run, the process of nation-state building has led to a national monolingualism that still defines Europe's nations and their identities today. Most EU member states are associated with one national language – a fact that is additionally enhanced by the EU's policy of having new member states name one language as their official language upon entry into the EU (European Economic Community 1958; European Union 2020c). This process rigidly links languages to their role as the national languages of EU member states and their citizens. In the case of English this means the following: 'real' English is perceived to be ENL as it is the language of British or US-American national identity. British or USA citizens are English NSs and therefore speak 'real' English and hold NS authority over the English language. This line of thinking presents English language from a one-sided perspective, as has already been discussed in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. It deprives English NNSs of their competence by implying that they can never be as good English speakers as NSs who automatically serve as the benchmark in this equation. Furthermore, this line of thinking carries the intense historical burden of British and American imperialism (Phillipson 1992). Therefore, the English language will always be considered a threat to other languages and cultures in its international use, unless it is detached from the NSs and national territories (Seidlhofer 2011b). As ELF scholars suggest, this can be achieved through conceptualising English as ELF. The English language then has the power to provide a "community of communication" for Europe as its exclusive lingua franca (Wright 2009: 97).

Elsewhere, Wright discusses the relation between ELF, the NS norm and power in Europe. She states that NSs do not provide the norm in ELF conversations and that when regarded from an ELF perspective, "English NSs are not those with most linguistic capital" (2009: 105). This argument ties in with the suggestion that NNSs are more successful communicators in international settings than NSs of English (Seidlhofer 2011b: 41). Furthermore, Wright states that "in the European setting there is no elemental link between centre, power and English" because "the majority of those in positions of authority using English within elite networks are not native English speakers" (2009: 105). The argument made here by Wright supports the idea that ELF is "a distinct manifestation of 'English' not tied to its NSs" (Seidlhofer 2001: 152) and "bereft of collective cultural capital" (House 2003: 560).

Turning to EU language policy, Wright addresses a number of language issues within the EU that refer to the expansion of English. She outlines these issues in detail by describing how

they came into existence and why the EU fails to tackle them. The first issue Wright addresses is that of language inequality within EU institutions. Wright (2009: 94) argues that even though the EU promotes a policy of multilingualism and “strict equality of all the official languages of the member states”, not all languages are treated equally within EU institutions: “only a restricted number of languages are regularly used as working languages”. This relates to a discrepancy No. 3 described in section 2.3.2. There is a contradiction between multilingualism as a founding principle of the EU and an existing language hierarchy within EU institutions. The need to efficiently communicate EU-wide has resulted in the tendency to use some languages (namely English, French, and German) more frequently in practice than others (Ammon and Kruse 2018; Kraus 2008). This becomes apparent in EU institutions like the EC, which openly declares English, French and German as its “working/procedural languages” (European Commission n.d.-f).

Another language issue within the EU that Wright (2009: 96) points to is the fact that the EU does not grant minority languages the same rights as official languages, defying the EU’s founding principle that all languages are equal. This relates to discrepancy No. 1 described in section 2.3.2, that even though the EU promotes multilingualism, it is largely monolingual on a national level. The rights of minority languages within individual EU member states are not defined by the EU but by the governments of each member state on a national level (European Union 2020c).

The next language issue Wright addresses is related to language learning. Wright (2009: 95) criticises that “Europeans are not developing repertoires in a number of ever more diverse foreign languages”, as was the aim of numerous measures taken to promote linguistic diversity within the EU. Regardless of all the efforts taken, English not only remains the most widely taught language in the EU but also the most widely used language in science and academia (ibid.). This demonstrates a failure of the EU to accomplish their goals of active multilingualism and linguistic diversity throughout Europe, especially the aims of the Barcelona Objective, namely that all EU citizens should be able to communicate in “2 languages other than their mother tongue” (European Union 2020c). The numbers of the *Special Eurobarometer surveys* from 2005, 2006 and 2012 as well as from *Flash Eurobarometer 466* from 2018 support this statement. One of the reasons for this development is the fact that the EU indirectly facilitates the rise of ELF by policies like the Bologna Declaration (Arnó-Macià et al.

2019; Ferguson 2015; Lanvers and Hultgren 2018b; Phillipson 2016) – described as discrepancy No. 5 in section 2.3.2. Wright (2009: 95) concludes that the EU fails to acknowledge the fact that English is the first foreign language while undermining its own diversity principles by promoting English as the language of international communication.

Wright also defines reasons for the tense linguistic situation in the EU today: the heritage of the nation-state-building process and the heritage of globalising trends Christianisation, the spread of enlightenment thinking and economic globalisation. As discussed in section 2.2.1, the idea of languages being tied to nations is a legacy of the 19th century that still shapes today's academic and mainstream discourses. According to Wright, EU decision makers fail to tackle these language issues. By implementing the language policy of multilingualism and linguistic diversity top-down, EU institutions try to work against the social current within Europe, being unable to “reverse the trend to use English as a lingua franca” (ibid.: 107). In addition, Wright points to the restricted view of multilingualism in the EU institutions which mainly support the use of English and French – leading to a “language regime with a limited number of lingua francas” (ibid.: 108).³⁴ In the end, Wright offers a solution for these conflicts: on the one hand, she claims that the EU needs a community of communication in which EU citizens are able to communicate in one language (namely ELF) (ibid.: 114-115). ELF could be named the official lingua franca of the EU without creating an unfair situation for NNSs of English if it could be recognised as not being related to specific EU member states or particular nationalities within the EU. As mentioned above, Wright argues that there is no direct link “between centre, power and English” (ibid.: 105). This perspective weakens the argument that English NSs and EU member states having English as an official language would have a greater benefit from ELF being the official lingua franca of the EU than other EU member states or EU citizens. As outlined in section 2.3.3, this point is often introduced to argue against English becoming the official lingua franca of the EU by authors like Ammon (2006b), Ammon and Kruse (2013), Phillipson (2003), Van Els (2005), Van Parijs (2007).

Wright is a fierce critic of EU language policy. Even though Wright's article was published in 2009, Wright's conclusions remain valid in 2020. The discrepancy between actual language use in EU institutions and the EU's official principle of multilingualism and linguistic diversity

³⁴ For further discussion of the use of English as the main working language within the EU and as unofficial lingua franca of the EU see sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 or above.

has not changed over the past ten years. On the contrary, the strategy of abandoning full diversity in favour of only a few working languages (or one unofficial lingua franca) has continued and additionally solidified the role of ELF in the EU (see sections 2.3.2 and 4.3.).

4.2.2. Fiedler (2010): “Approaches to fair linguistic communication”

This article was published in the first issue of the second volume of the *EJLP*. The keywords which yielded the article are *English, English in Europe, English as a lingua franca, ELF*. The general topic area of the article is *issues in EU language policy*. Fiedler discusses the need to tackle the subject of the spread of English in the EU and challenges caused by this development. She outlines five options for fair and democratic communication in the EU: multilingualism/plurilingualism, the method of European Intercomprehension, English as a European lingua franca, Latin as a European lingua franca, and Esperanto as a European lingua franca. Even though she finds the ELF model appealing for ensuring a fairer and more democratic way of communicating in the EU, Fiedler argues for adopting a *planned language* like Esperanto as the most equitable solution to ensure just linguistic communication.³⁵

Fiedler (2010: 1-2) describes English as a global lingua franca, albeit with negative connotations, describing it as hegemonic and dominant. As discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 4.2.1, some authors stress that the role of English as the language of imperialism, dominance and oppression cannot be separated from the global role the English language plays today (Ammon 2006a, Grin 2004, Phillipson 1992). This narrative paints a one-sided picture of the English language as it is based on the idea that there is only one form of English, that of the English-speaking nations – ENL. This point of view not only neglects other forms of English but also reinforces concepts like StE ideology, NS authority, or language ownership. Aspects of ELF, such as its role as the medium of international communication devoid of cultural connotation, as a basic skill or as a common good (see sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3) are disregarded in this narrative.

In addition to describing ELF as hegemonic and dominant, Fiedler (2010: 1) also defines it as an example of a reduced variant of English in the abstract of her article. Elsewhere, she adds that teaching ELF in schools could be regarded as “English that is defective or has not been sufficiently learned” (ibid.: 9). As a result, she demonstrates that she adheres to ideas of

³⁵ A planned language, also known as *universal language* or *world auxiliary language*, is an artificial language (Fiedler 2010: 12).

standard language ideology. Language purists like Quirk (1990) believe that the standard form of a language is the only legitimate form – which leads to the conclusion that all other forms of this language are illegitimate (Milroy 2001: 547). This contrasts with the way ELF scholars define English in its use as a lingua franca – namely as a concept that exists next to the old-established concepts of ENL, ESL, or EFL (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Seidlhofer 2011b).

Fiedler (2010) conceptualises English in terms of the *default mental model*, even though her argumentation is contradictory at times. On the one hand, she acknowledges the appeal of ELF as an alternative way of thinking about fair communication in Europe (ibid.: 7). On the other hand, she also opposes the idea that ELF is a new way of thinking about English. When writing about the option of acknowledging English as the official lingua franca of the EU, she states that this would be unfair to NNSs of English as “*English as a lingua franca* is still English” (ibid.: 10). Two relevant concepts are presented here. First, Fiedler equates ELF with English in general. Seidlhofer (2011b: 57) describes this line of thinking as “the assumption of the uniformity of English” according to which people believe that “English is English is English” no matter the context. Secondly, Fiedler predicts that establishing ELF as the official EU language would cause a disadvantage to NNSs of English. This is an argument that has been raised by authors like Ammon (2006a), Kraus (2008) or Gazzola and Grin (2013), who perceive ELF as a variety of ENL and argue that the expansion of its global use benefits NSs. In the same vein, Fiedler (2010: 2) states that the dominance of English in Europe inevitably “leads to communicative inequality” and that “[t]he spread of English favours Anglo-American ideas and authors”. By linking Anglo-American culture with English in international settings, Fiedler once more adheres to the notion that the English language is a national language belonging to particular nations like the UK and the US. These examples lead to the conclusion that Fiedler does not approve of ELF as defined by ELF researchers and that she conceptualises English as ENL.

Fiedler takes a critical stance on subjects in EU language policy like the general mismatch between theory and practice, the linguistic hierarchy within EU institutions, as well as the dominant role of English within the EU. When Fiedler (2010: 3) recommends a number of approaches on how to tackle the EU’s language issues, she refers to the discrepancy between the EU’s principle of promoting multilingualism and an existing language hierarchy within EU institutions “with English now at the top”. She supports her argument with a table of the use

of English as the language for initial drafting of EU texts from 1970 to 2006. During that time frame, the number of initial drafts of EU texts written in English has increased from 0% to 72%. French, however, has drastically decreased as a language for initial drafting, falling from 60% to 14% in the same time period (ibid.). Fiedler's observations are supported by Kraus (2008: 121), who argues that the discrepancy between EU's language policy in theory and in practice results in a selective multilingualism. The existing language hierarchy in EU institutions is also supported by data taken from three *Special Eurobarometer surveys* (2005, 2006, 2012; see sections 2.3.2 and 4.2.1). All surveys observe English at the top of this hierarchy. According to Fiedler (2010: 3), the dominance of English as a medium of international communication creates a rivalry with other EU languages and therefore poses a threat.

Elsewhere, Fiedler criticises the proposal of the Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue set up by the EC in 2007. As discussed in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.3, this group suggests a modified version of the Barcelona Objective known as "mother tongue plus two" – namely first language plus language of international communication plus personal adoptive language (Maalouf 2008). Fiedler assumes that Maalouf (2010: 3) means English when he refers to language of international communication. She also states that the group's proposal for EU citizens to learn more foreign languages "will probably be restricted to an elite of the intellectual and gifted few" (ibid.).

Fiedler (2010: 4) also points out that conducting a policy of full multilingualism – which is one of the founding principles of the EU – is simply not realistic. This observation is valid for all major discrepancies within EU language policy as depicted in section 2.3.2. First, the EU praises multilingualism, however the language situation in most of the EU member states is that of national monolingualism (Motschenbacher 2016). Secondly, even though the EU tries hard to show respect for its linguistic diversity, it cannot function without certain aspects of unification (Kraus 2008). This unification could happen through a common language like ELF (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Seidlhofer 2010, 2011b; Van Parijs 2011; Wright 2009). This would, however, undermine the EU's founding principle of multilingualism. Thirdly, practical language use within EU institution suggests that multilingualism is unrealistic in daily work situations. There is an existing language hierarchy among the working languages with German, French and English on top (European Commission n.d.-f). Furthermore, not all documents are translated into all official languages of the EU due to "ac-

cess to limited numbers of translators and a restricted budget for translation”, importance of documents, cost-effectiveness, urgency, as well as technical constraints (European Union 2019b). Additionally, interpretation is increasingly conducted as relay interpreting with English as its main pivot language (Melchers et al. 2019: 181). Fiedler (2010: 16) suggests the only fair solution for the language issues within EU institutions would be an EU lingua franca “that is nobody’s mother tongue”. Even though she does not conceptualise English the way Wright (2009) does, Fiedler’s criticism of EU language policy is similar. The EU’s founding principle of multilingualism and linguistic diversity is impossible to conduct in a fair manner and the preferences towards certain working languages, especially English, are becoming increasingly visible.

4.2.3. Rubio and Lirola (2010): “English as a foreign language in the EU: preliminary analysis of the differences in proficiency levels among the member states”

This article was published in the first issue of the second volume of the *EJLP*. The keywords yielding the article are *English*, *English in Europe*, *English as a foreign language*, and *Englishization*. The topic area in which English is conceptualised in this article is *Language learning in the EU*. In their article, Rubio and Lirola (2010) analyse differences in proficiency levels of English among EU member states and refer their findings to commonly known factors that influence foreign language learning. They suggest that social factors significantly influence language acquisition, with English being no exception (ibid.: 33-34). In their study, they offer an overview of data provided by two *Special Eurobarometer surveys* (2005, 2006) and link them to concepts of language acquisition in order to understand the inequality caused by different proficiency levels of English (ibid.: 25-29).

Rubio and Lirola (2010) refer to the following denotations of English in their article: EFL, English as the main vehicle for international communication, English as a social tool, English as a social practice. They include the term EFL in the title of their article (“English as a foreign language in the EU”) and refer to it in their abstract (ibid.: 23). They acknowledge the status of English in the EU as the most widely known and the most widely spoken language. However, they regard its expansion across Europe as a threat to the goal of the EC – “to make equal opportunities a reality in Europe” – as well as to the unity of the EU in general (ibid.). The global use of English as a threat is also known as Englishization. The term carries a negative connotation as it implies that other languages and cultures are altered through the con-

tact with the English language in such a way that English ‘takes over’ (Saraceni 2020; Tam 2009).³⁶ The term Englishization is also one of the keywords that helped yield the article by Rubio and Lirola (2019) in the database search of the present study.

Furthermore, Rubio and Lirola refer to English and its role in global communication. When explaining why they focus on English in their research study they state the following:

We consider specifically the English language because it is the main vehicle for communication in business, academia, and many other different spheres of social activity in the world [...]. (Rubio and Lirola 2010: 24)

In this quote, they acknowledge the international role English plays throughout the world. English “for purposes of international communication” is commonly known as the concept of EIL (Crystal 1995: 108).³⁷ In EIL, especially in localised EIL described by Seidlhofer (2011b), knowledge of the English language is gradually understood as a basic skill that is appropriated by international speakers and does not advantage NSs. In the quote mentioned above, Rubio and Lirola (2010: 24) also call the English language “the main vehicle for communication”. Elsewhere they describe it as a “social tool” (ibid.: 34). Similarly, Graddol (2006) and Tomasi (2017) compare knowledge of the English language to being “a basic skill”. This view of international English highlights its communicative character and not its historical burden of being a language of imperialism. Elsewhere, Rubio and Lirola (2010: 31) refer to English “as an important social practice”. The idea that language is a social practice is one established way of describing language alongside the idea that language is a system. According to Saraceni (2015) language as a system is a rigid entity with fixed internal rules that is connected to a specific community. Language as a social practice on the other hand is fluid, “regulated by contextual factors” and “tied to individual situations” (ibid.: 15).³⁸

These examples and arguments demonstrate that Rubio and Lirola are uncertain about how to conceptualise English in a way that expresses its status within Europe in 2010. On the one hand, they acknowledge English in its role as EIL – a concept that is regarded as paving the way for ELF research (Seidlhofer 2017). Furthermore, Rubio and Lirola depict English in international settings as a social practice and a vehicle or tool for communication. Describing a language as a social practice is associated with new ways of thinking about English (see Sara-

³⁶ See also section 2.2.1.

³⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the concept of EIL see section 2.1.2.

³⁸ For further discussion on language as a system vs. language as a practice see section 2.1.2.

zeni 2015 and section 2.1.3). The notion of language as a social practice also ties in with how scholars define ELF. According to Seidlhofer (2012) or Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013) ELF users bend rules and norms of StE to meet their communicative needs. In these contexts, the English language is less restricted by rules.

On the other hand, Rubio and Lirola repeatedly refer to English as EFL in their article and discuss its role in foreign language learning in Europe. As shown in section 2.1.1, EFL is a denotation of English that is part of the tripartite model of ENL/ESL/EFL. StE equates to ENL – and the varieties of ESL and EFL are different versions of the same concept. This link is drawn by Quirk (1990) who argues that ESL and EFL are mere versions of ENL and that learners should strive to meet the standard norm of ENL (as in StE). Conceptualising English as ENL (and ESL and EFL as varieties of ENL) can be considered the default way of thinking about English. By referring to English as EFL, Rubio and Lirola adhere to a conventional way of thinking about English. This argument is supported by the fact that Rubio and Lirola (2010: 23) refer to the spread of English as a threat and as a cause for inequalities in the EU. The ‘spread’ and ‘threat’ narrative of the expansion of English in Europe can only be maintained if English is regarded as ENL. Therefore, Rubio and Lirola (2010) predominantly adhere to the *default mental model* of English even though they seem uncertain about how to conceptualise English in Europe.

In their study, Rubio and Lirola investigate why the number of English speakers and the level of proficiency in English vary across the EU. They analyse data provided by two *Special Eurobarometer surveys* from 2005 and 2006 on Europeans and their languages and report that the data portrays an unequal situation as far as language learning is concerned in the EU (26).³⁹ They conclude that “the number of speakers of English as a FL is mostly higher in those countries whose language is of Germanic origin or shares linguistic characteristics with English” (ibid.: 25-26). According to them, the differences in EFL skills emerge because of by linguistic similarities (or lack thereof) between the learners’ L1 and English.

It is not clear whether Rubio and Lirola (2010) blame the EU for “the unequal situation” which the data presents, whereby some EU member countries have more English speakers with higher proficiency levels than others. However, they identify the extensive use of Eng-

³⁹ The subsequent *Special Eurobarometer survey* on Europeans and their languages was published in 2012 by the EC.

lish in the EU as one cause for language inequality (ibid.: 24-25). The only time Rubio and Lirola (2010: 23) directly refer to EU language policy in their article is when they quote from the first European Equal summit in 2007 that was initiated by the EC and the German Presidency of the EU. They criticise that the summit did not mention “the influence that language development entails in the process of social cohesion and the provision of equal opportunities for mobility across the European Union” (ibid.: 24). It is their belief that the spread and use of English causes inequality in Europe and that unless this inequality is directly addressed by EU decision makers “the proper consolidation process of the EU may be at risk” (ibid.: 4). For example, they argue that English language skills influence the labour movements in the EU and as a consequence create “a first- and a second-class EU citizenship” (ibid.: 24). The aforementioned examples show that Rubio and Lirola regard English as a threat and that they see it as the EU’s responsibility to take countermeasures against this trend.

4.2.4. Cogo and Jenkins (2010): “English as a lingua franca in Europe: a mismatch between policy and practice”

This article was published in the second issue of the second volume of the *EJLP*. The keywords which yielded the article are *English, English in Europe, English as a lingua franca, ELF, Englishization*. The topic area of the article is *issues in EU language policy*. In their article, Cogo and Jenkins (2010) outline the phenomenon of ELF in Europe. They provide an overview of ELF theory and describe how the EU deals with English in its role as the European lingua franca – detecting a mismatch between policy and practice. Additionally, they present the results of their research in which they investigated how European students perceive ELF. They conclude by presenting implications of their findings for EU language policy and language learning in the EU.

Cogo and Jenkins (2010) refer to the following denotations of English in their article: ELF, English as the common language of communication in Europe, English as the official language of the EU, English as the working language of the EU, EFL/ESL, ENL, English as a basic skill, and British English. To begin with, they use the term English as a lingua franca in the title of their article as well as in the keywords. They also link the term European ELF in the keyword section of their article (ibid.: 271). In the abstract of their article they call English the de facto lingua franca of the EU and use the term European ELF to refer to English (ibid.). Furthermore, they state that English is “the most widely used lingua franca within Europe

and in many other parts” (ibid.). These examples show that Cogo and Jenkins define English according to the *alternative mental model*.

The following section will explore the way Cogo and Jenkins (2010) define ELF. To begin with, they state that ELF is not a reduced variant of English but an “additionally acquired language system” (ibid.: 275). By doing so they oppose the idea that the standard form of a language is the only legitimate form – which leads to the conclusion that all other forms of this language are illegitimate (Milroy 2001: 547). By contrast, Cogo and Jenkins (2010) are in agreement with a number of ELF researchers (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; Seidlhofer 2011b; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006; Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2017b) who argue that ELF is a valid concept of English in Europe that exists next to the conventional tripartite model of ENL/ESL/EFL. Furthermore, Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 275) define ELF as a hybrid, shaped by language contact evolution. They also say that it serves as an example of accelerated language change (ibid.: 277). According to Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013: 390), ELF users activate all the linguistic resources available to them in order to communicate successfully with other ELF speakers, making it a multilingual mode. Likewise, Cogo and Jenkins (2010) characterise ELF as fluid, flexible and always being negotiated. The variability of ELF usage is its key characteristic and ELF users actively shape it (ibid.: 280). This aspect of ELF has also been discussed by authors like Seidlhofer (2012) and Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013). They observe that ELF speakers both exploit all their linguistic resources and bend the rules and norms of StE to meet their communicative needs.

There are two issues of EU language policy that Cogo and Jenkins (2010) investigate in their article: the EU’s inability to acknowledge English as its official lingua franca as well as the EU’s failed policy of multilingualism. First, Cogo and Jenkins criticise the way the EU treats English in Europe. They state that English is conceptualised as ELF in other parts of the world but denied an official status in the EU (ibid.: 271). In their opinion, EU language policy puts English into “an ambiguous position”: either it is defined as EFL/ESL, or as EIL/a basic skill for international communication (ibid.: 272). This observation mirrors how Rubio and Lirola (2010) conceptualise English in Europe: namely in a contradicting and conflicting manner (see article analysis above – section 4.2.3). Furthermore, Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 273) state that English is the main working language and thus the de facto lingua franca of the EU. This observation coincides with the fact that there is an existing language hierarchy within EU

institutions with English at the top officially and unofficially (described as discrepancy No. 3 in section 2.3.2). Cogo and Jenkins criticise the fact that the EU ignores the role ELF plays in Europe (ibid.: 274). On the contrary, the EU officially associates English with the British English standard, which creates more ambiguity on how English is conceptualised within the EU (ibid.: 288).

The second issue Cogo and Jenkins (2010) criticise is the EU's failed policy of multilingualism. Granting "equal language rights to all member countries" might have worked in the early years of the EU but failed to do so once the number of member countries and official languages started to grow (ibid.: 272). Cogo and Jenkins state that the EU itself has contributed to the expansion of English: ELF usage in EU institutions is not sanctioned but "is a practice which is, for some people, accepted and carried out in EU quarters as well as international and intranational communication" (ibid.: 273). This observation relates to discrepancy No. 5 described in section 2.3.2, that the EU facilitates the rise of ELF by other policies like the Bologna Declaration – thus undermining its own principle of multilingualism and linguistic diversity. According to Ferguson (2015: 5), the Bologna Process encouraged "the spread of English, which subverted European policies aimed at promoting multilingualism and language diversity". Quoting Phillipson (2003), Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 273) consider this approach of the EU towards its own language policy to be "laissez-faire" and claim that this undermines "that same linguistic diversity which the EU officially defends and supports". Similarly, Wright (2009: 95) states that the EU undermines its own language policy by promoting English as the international language of higher education, science and academia. Furthermore, she argues that the system of working languages has indirectly facilitated the rise of English as the lingua franca of EU institutions (ibid.: 108). These arguments suggest that the EU compromises its own language policy by enhancing the use of English in international contexts. As discussed in section 2.3.3, the EU's decision makers are presumably trying to ignore the question of the EU's common language hoping that the EU language situation will regulate itself over time – a phenomenon called shifting baselines (Büllesbach, Cillero and Stolz 2017).

Ultimately, Cogo and Jenkins (2010) regard ELF as an opportunity for the EU. They suggest that the EU should "declare English its official lingua franca, within a policy that embraces multilingualism, promotes multicompetence, and takes developments in ELF into account"

(ibid.: 290). The notion of English being an opportunity for the EU is also discussed in Linn (2016) and Linn et al. (2015) as well as in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. According to Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 288), the English language in its lingua franca usage does not pose a threat to other languages or cultures because it encourages multilingualism and multicompetence. Multilingualism (or plurilingualism) is regarded as a distinct ELF characteristic by other scholars like Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer (2008), Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013), and Seidlhofer (2017) (also see section 2.1.3). Furthermore, Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 273) argue that ELF is not a symbol of national identity. This line of argument is supported by Seidlhofer (2010: 362), who states that when ELF speakers appropriate English for their own purposes English “ceases to be perceived as the property of the ancestral speakers in whose territories it originated”.

4.2.5. Pietiläinen (2011): “Public opinion on useful languages in Europe”

This article was published in the first issue of the third volume of the *EJLP*. The keywords, which yielded the article, are *English*, *English in Europe*, and *English as a foreign language*. The topic areas of the article are *issues in EU language policy* and *language learning in the EU*. In his article, Pietiläinen investigates Europeans’ opinion about which foreign languages are the most useful to learn, by analysing results of five *Eurobarometer surveys*.⁴⁰ Pietiläinen’s (2011: 12) most important finding is that English has drastically increased in popularity over the years and that it is considered the most successful strategy “to learn English because it has the widest communicative potential” from a European perspective. Based on his findings, Pietiläinen suggests that English will continue to remain the most popular foreign language in Europe.

In his article Pietiläinen refers to English in the following ways: as EFL, as ELF, as a dominant language, and as a widespread skill. The most common denotation of English used by Pietiläinen is that of English being a foreign language (EFL). Pietiläinen describes English as “the most useful foreign language in the EU” which is also the main finding of his study (ibid. 4).

⁴⁰ At this point it is necessary to note that another survey on “Europeans and their Languages” was conducted in 2012 called *Special Eurobarometer 386* (European Commission 2012). The results paint a similar picture as the 2005 survey – namely that 67 % of Europeans consider English to be the most useful language in Europe (ibid.: 3). English could also retain its lead as the most widely spoken foreign language in the EU (38%) (ibid.: 11). Additionally, the *Flash Eurobarometer 466* from 2018 shows that English has remained the most widely used language of study (38%) and the most frequently used second language of study in the EU (European Commission 2018: 15).

As the focus of his study lies on investigating opinions of foreign languages in the EU, this is also the way he conceptualises English in Europe – namely in the manner of the *default mental model*. According to Quirk (1990), StE is the one variety of English that should be taught in ENL contexts as well as in EFL and ESL contexts. This makes ESL and EFL mere versions of ENL, as learners should strive to meet the standard norm of ENL (StE).

Nevertheless, Pietiläinen (2011: 2) also acknowledges the status of ELF. However, he does not use the established acronym ELF however refers to it as ‘English as a lingua franca’. This could possibly be a way to distance himself from ELF theory. Even though Pietiläinen states that English is the language with “the widest communicative potential” in Europe and that learning it was “the most successful strategy” for Europeans, he remains sceptical of the international influence the English language has (ibid.: 12). At one point, Pietiläinen refers to English as a dominant language (ibid.: 10). He identifies the dominance of English as the reason why “the status of previously important languages such as French and German” has been reduced (ibid.: 2). He also stresses the competitive character of English when he states that “the leading role of English has remained and even grown in the face of its most significant rivals” (ibid.: 11).⁴¹

These examples indicate that Pietiläinen (2011) conceptualises English along the lines of the *default mental model*. However, at the same time as defining English as EFL he also acknowledges the status of English as ELF and its function as a skill for international communication. These are aspects that adhere to the *alternative mental model* of thinking about English – demonstrating Pietiläinen’s ambiguity towards defining the role of English in Europe. This observation confirms the view that English occupies an ambiguous position in Europe today – a statement already made by Cogo and Jenkins (2010).

Pietiläinen (2011) takes a critical stance on several issues of the EU language policy like the Barcelona Objective or language hierarchies within the EU. He criticises the effectiveness of the Barcelona Objective claiming that this idea is “being problematic because the popularity of English has reduced the interest in learning a second foreign language” (ibid.: 1). At the end of his article, Pietiläinen offers an updated version of the Barcelona Objective by drawing the following conclusions from his study:

⁴¹ The narrative of English being a threat to other languages has been used by authors criticising the expansion of English in Europe (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2).

the future languages of preference of Europeans will likely be 1) their mother tongue, 2) English, and 3) a third language chosen on the basis of the language situation in their region, such as a language of a neighbouring country or one which is of personal interest. (Pietiläinen 2011: 12)

Pietiläinen suggests that English will fill the role of the second language in the equation of “mother tongue plus two”. He justifies his updated version of the Barcelona Objective by stating that English has “the widest communicative potential” in Europe (ibid.: 12). As discussed in section 2.3.1, the Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue similarly suggests that the Barcelona Objective should be updated. According to them “mother tongue plus two” should be changed to mother tongue plus language of international communication plus personal adoptive language (Maalouf 2008: 10).⁴² The Group is well aware that most Europeans would probably opt for English when choosing their language of international communication (ibid.: 11), in which they agree with Pietiläinen. The Group however does not regard this interpretation as an equitable outlook for the language situation in the EU. Pietiläinen (2011: 12) on the other hand suggests that this version would be “the most successful strategy” for the future of foreign language learning in the EU. Even though Pietiläinen sees ELF in Europe critically, his suggestion demonstrates a degree of resignation. This resignation might stem from the idea that “all human actions are economically motivated” (Lee and Newby 1983: 100). The underlying theory is called economic determinism and can also be applied to the motivation behind language learning in Europe – which could explain why English has become the most widely used, learned and most popular language in Europe today (see section 2.3.3).

Pietiläinen (2011) also criticises the existing language hierarchy within the EU – corresponding to discrepancies No. 3 and No. 4 discussed in section 2.3.2. He argues that the analysis of the *Eurobarometer surveys* demonstrate an apparent language hierarchy within Europe: English is on top of the most useful languages, followed by French and German that are gradually losing popularity and importance in the EU (ibid.: 1). Pietiläinen’s study has shown that the status of English as the most useful language “is unprecedentedly high” (ibid.: 8). Pietiläinen explains that this status also affects language learning in the EU: the opinions on which languages are the most useful in Europe greatly influence which languages are learned (ibid.). Furthermore, he suggests that English will remain the most spo-

⁴² Also see sections 2.3.1. and 4.1.2.

ken foreign language because it is the most learned foreign language due to its status as the most useful foreign language in the EU. This chain of reasoning is supported by Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b: 150) who claim that education systems in the EU react to the demands of EU citizens towards language learning. Following the theory of economic determinism, education systems react to the dynamics of the market. People want their children to learn English because it has the highest communicative potential in Europe. This brings an economic benefit to English speakers, which in turn increases the demand for English classes. Pietiläinen (2011: 1-2) criticises that even though the EU aims for equality of all official languages this “has often been compromised by the use of a single language – English – for reasons of efficiency and to avoid costly translations”. He points out that the EU does not provide equal rights to all official languages, supporting his view with the example that the number of documents written in English and published by the EC has increased gradually over the years (ibid.: 2). In his eyes, “[i]nformal linguistic practices seem to be undermining the formal principles of the EU” (ibid.).⁴³ With this line of argument Pietiläinen joins critics of EU language policy.

Overall, Pietiläinen is critical of EU language policy as he detects a discrepancy between the EU’s principle of equality for all official languages and the use of English in its role as a lingua franca in EU institutions. Despite his critical view, he adopts the pragmatic position that it is most useful to learn English as the language of international communication in Europe – demonstrating that economic determinism is a force at play in the expansion of ELF in Europe.

4.2.6. Lanvers and Hultgren (2018): “The Englishization of European education”

The following analysis focuses on two articles that are taken as one unit: the foreword (2018a) and the concluding remarks (2018b) of the first issue of the 10th volume of the *EJLP*. The articles were yielded by the keywords *English*, *English in Europe*, and *Englishization*. The topic areas of the articles are *issues in EU language policy* and *education systems in the EU*. Both articles are written by Lanvers and Hultgren and are titled “The Englishization of European education”. They provide the framework for a special issue of the *EJLP* (issue 1/volume 10) focussing on “debates, discourses and attitudes surrounding Englishization of education

⁴³ See Arnó-Macià et al. (2019), Cogo and Jenkins (2010), Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b). For a further discussion of the idea that EU language practice undermines EU language policy see discrepancies No. 3 and No. 4 section 2.3.2.

in some selected EU countries” (2018a: 4). Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a, 2018b) explore the dimensions of Englishization in education in Europe by analysing the contributions made by other authors to this special issue. They observe attitudes towards Englishization in education by investigating attitudes of bottom-up and top-down stakeholders, arguing that “any stakeholder group may show a mix of negative and positive stances towards [it]” (2018b: 147).

In their two articles Lanvers and Hultgren refer to English in Europe in the following ways: as a language of dominance, as a medium of instruction (EMI), as EFL, as the language of higher education, and as a hypercentral language. The view that English is a dominant language is the overall thread running through both articles by Lanvers and Hultgren (2018). In the beginning of the first article they state that:

the global dominance of English (Crystal 2003; de Swaan 2001; Graddol 2006) continues to counter the EU’s 2+1 vision of multilingualism that all Europeans should speak two languages in addition to their first. (Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a: 1)

In this quote, Lanvers and Hultgren refer to English as a language of dominance and describe this instance as the reason for the failure of the Barcelona Objective. By doing so, Lanvers and Hultgren portray English as a threat to other languages – a narrative that can only be created if English is conceptualised as ENL and thus along the lines of the *default mental model* of thinking about English.⁴⁴ Another point that underlines this argument is the fact that Lanvers and Hultgren refer to the global dominance of English as Englishization. They define Englishization as “the adaptation towards English on a number of linguistic levels” but “extend its meaning to include the increasing presence, importance and status of English at all levels in the education domain” (2018a: 1). Lanvers and Hultgren also suggest that this dominance will continue to increase in Europe because “the more people speak a language, the more people will want to learn it” (ibid.: 2). This is similar to the conclusion of Pietiläinen (2011).

Returning to the denotations of English used by Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a) in their article: because the authors investigate attitudes towards Englishization in education in Europe they

⁴⁴ See sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 on the idea of English as a threat as well as the discussion of Pietiläinen’s (2011) article in section 4.2.5 above.

contextualise English as English as a medium of instruction (EMI) as well as EFL (ibid.: 2). EMI is commonly defined as

the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries where the first language of the majority of the population is not English. (Oxford University Department of Education 2020)

Therefore, English becomes a vehicle or a tool.⁴⁵ However, the default way of conceptualising English in the context of EMI is as EFL, which can be described as “English seen in the context of countries where it is not the mother tongue and has no special status [...]” (Crystal 1995: 108). EFL is the default way of conceptualising English in EMI contexts because it is a version of ENL/StE, which – according to Quirk (1990) – is the one variety of English that should be taught in ENL contexts as well as in EFL and ESL contexts.⁴⁶

When presenting the discussion of their findings, Lanvers and Hultgren term English a hypercentral language (2018b: 149). This is a direct reference to De Swaan’s (2001) theory of a global language system in which he describes the connections between language groups. According to De Swaan, English is the only hypercentral language in the world today at the top of the hierarchy of global languages. Additionally, it serves as the pivot of the world language system because it “connects the supercentral languages with one another” (ibid.: 6). This makes English “the language of global communication” (ibid.). In comparison, supercentral languages serve as languages for “long-distance and international communication” (ibid.: 5).⁴⁷ However, English is the only language that potentially connects supercentral languages on a global scale. In relation to foreign language learning, Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b: 149) refer to English as a hypercentral in order to support their finding that the English language is at the top of the language learning hierarchy in the EU. In his theory on foreign language learning De Swaan described the upward direction of language learning as follows:

Apparently, language learning occurs mostly upward, in a ‘centripetal’ mode: people usually prefer to learn a language that is at a higher level in the hierarchy.

⁴⁵ See section 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.

⁴⁶ See section 2.1.1 and 3.3.

⁴⁷ De Swaan (2011: 6) claims that there are twelve supercentral languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. English has the status of a supercentral language in East Africa, South Africa, and the European Union. However, in its global role of international communication it is considered a hypercentral language (ibid.)

This again reinforces the hierarchical nature of the world language system. (De Swaan 2001: 5)

In this quote, De Swaan highlights the role of the language learner as an agent in creating and reinforcing a possible existing global language hierarchy. The power of language learners and their demand to study the hypercentral language English can be related to the theory of economic determinism. Both the theory of language hierarchy and its underlying dynamics (economic determinism) apply to a European setting, as suggested by Lanvers and Hultgren (2018b) as well as by Pietiläinen (2011).

Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a: 1-2) describe English as dominant and as a threat to other languages and argue that the increasing importance of English in education disadvantages other languages. Furthermore, they refer to the expansion of English as Englishization. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a) use Kachru's *Three Circle* model to describe in which nations English poses a threat to other languages and in which it does not:

Unlike in many Outer Circle countries (Kachru 1992), where English often has a more established presence in the educational system, in the Expanding Circle nations of Europe, Englishization might jar with long-standing traditions of teaching other European languages, e.g. German, French and Spanish. (Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a: 2)

Therefore, the dominant role of English in language learning and higher education collides with older traditions of teaching other languages. By referring to the *Three Circle* model, Lanvers and Hultgren adhere to the assumption that speakers of the Inner Circle nations, like the UK or the US, serve as model providers for speakers of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle (see Kachru 1992a).⁴⁸

Nevertheless, Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a: 3) also recognise the paradoxical position of the English language in Europe and state that the Englishization can be viewed as a threat and an opportunity at the same time. On the one hand, they describe English as causing “marginalisation of other languages; first language domain loss and attrition; diglossia; and growing disparities between those who speak English and those who speak it less well” (ibid.: 4). On the other hand, they acknowledge the role of English as a global language which helps to

⁴⁸ For further discussion of Kachru's *Three Circle* model see section 2.1.1.

“increase diversity by enabling individual [sic] of different linguistic, cultural and national backgrounds to come together” (ibid.).⁴⁹

Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a: 19) claim that the Barcelona Objective is threatened by the spread of English in Europe and its global dominance. Additionally, they state that the EU has indirectly facilitated this development by ratifying the Bologna Declaration in 1999 (ibid.: 5). This issue in EU language policy is referred to as discrepancy No. 5 in section 2.3.2. The Bologna Declaration is the main guiding document for the Bologna Process that aims at unifying higher education in Europe. It has been criticised for indirectly promoting the position of English as the lingua franca of higher education and academia and is considered an example for the influence non-language related EU policies can have on the use and expansion of languages within Europe (see Ferguson 2015; Phillipson 2016). In a similar manner, Lanvers and Hultgren (2018a: 5) argue that even though the Bologna Declaration does not mention language or language policy directly, it has a direct effect on the expansion of English because it enabled “the rise of EMI in higher education”.

This observation has also been made by Arnó-Macià et al. (2019) discussed in section 4.2.7 below, as well as by Cogo and Jenkins (2010) and Pietiläinen (2011) already discussed above. Lanvers and Hultgren conclude that the increasing significance and expansion of English in the EU

tends to happen as a result of policies which have nothing to do with language, such as internationalisation policies, research evaluation systems and pressures to publish in high-ranking journal. (Lanvers and Hultgren 2018b: 151)

These policies might not intentionally aim at influencing the language situation in the EU – nevertheless they happen to do so indirectly. The expansion of the English language as the language of international communication in Europe was not officially planned by EU officials and has many critics. Nevertheless, Lanvers and Hultgren could not observe any bottom-up voices against Englishization in education and no strong top-down voices for Englishization (ibid.: 151). They conclude that many stakeholders “view the process of Englishization as ‘happening anyway’” (ibid.). This attitude underlines the argument that the spread of the English language in Europe is driven by the dynamics of economic determinism.

⁴⁹ See also discussion of Cogo and Jenkins (2010) in section 4.2.4 and Pietiläinen (2011) in section 4.2.5 above.

4.2.7. Arnó-Macià et. al. (2019): “A multilingual background for telecollaboration: practices and policies in European higher education”

This article was published in the second issue of the 11th volume of the *EJLP* and was yielded by the keywords *English*, *English as a lingua franca*, and *ELF*. The topic areas of the article are *language learning in the EU* and *language policies at universities*. In their article, Arnó-Macià et al. investigate how telecollaboration projects by the network *Trans-Atlantic and Pacific Project* (TAPP) can be associated with aspects of multilingualism and interculturality described in language policies of the EU and of individual countries (like Belgium, Spain, Italy, France and the US) as well as by the institutions involved in these projects. Furthermore, they investigate what TAPP students think of multilingualism and English and which lessons can be derived from bottom-up practices of TAPP projects. Their aim is to inform policy makers about how to include virtual exchange in internationalised curricula.

In their article, Arnó-Macià et al. (2019) refer to English in the following manner: as ELF and as American or British English. Arnó-Macià et al. conceptualise English along the lines of the *alternative mental model* of English, namely as ELF. In their abstract they describe ELF as being a language skills that is fostered by intercultural collaborations like TAPP projects (ibid.: 235). They also include both the term *English as a lingua franca* as well as the acronym *ELF* in the keyword section below the article’s abstract (ibid.). At the end of their article, Arnó-Macià et al. define English in the TAPP context as follows:

Although the language used in collaborations is mostly English, which may involve a certain linguistic hegemony (Campbell 2005), we concur with House (2003) that ELF is an addition, rather than a threat, to multilingualism, as it is a “language for communication” (vs. “language of identification”). (Arnó-Macià et al. 2019: 250)

Here, they stress the multilingual character of ELF. In the same vein, authors like Cogo and Jenkins (2010), Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013), Hülmbauer et al. (2008) as well as Seidlhofer (2017) describe ELF as a multilingual mode.⁵⁰ Arnó-Macià et al. (2019) also refer to House (2003), who distinguishes between languages on a functional level. Languages can be categorised for communicative purposes or to mark identity. According to House, ELF is a language for communication but does not serve as a language for identification, as there is no identifiable group of ELF speakers that one could refer to (ibid.: 560). She concludes that by

⁵⁰ For a further discussion of ELF being “a multilingual mode” see section 2.1.3.

making this distinction, ELF does not pose a threat to other languages (ibid.: 562). This understanding of ELF takes away the hegemonic connotation of the international spread of English.

The notion that ELF speakers do not have an identifiable group of speakers, as mentioned by House, can be countered by the argument that ELF speakers might not be visible as a group on a large scale. However, on smaller scales they are visible. For example in groups of international students at universities, work colleagues in international companies, expat communities in international settings. Therefore, it is “implausible to suggest that the use of ELF solely serves communicative purposes and is devoid of identification processes” (Motschenbacher 2016: 61). Furthermore, Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013: 397) state “that despite its status as a global resource, locality and habitat play a crucial role in a lingua franca (cf. Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006)”. This understanding of ELF stresses the identity-building character of ELF.

Arnó-Macià et al. (2019: 238-239) claim that when multilingualism and linguistic diversity increases in Europe, “English tends to be used as the lingua franca”. They conclude that an increase in multilingualism simply goes hand in hand with an increase in the use of English (cf. Hultgren et al. 2015). When Arnó-Macià et al. describe the role of English within TAPP projects they define ELF as a language for communication. Furthermore, they define ELF as a working language:

[W]here none of the European students are NSs of English, ELF is added as a working language to the natural multilingualism brought to TAPP exchanges from participants’ backgrounds. (Arnó-Macià et al. 2019: 250)

It is worth mentioning that Arnó-Macià et al. describe ELF as a working language only in cases where none of the European participants in TAPP projects are English NSs. Elsewhere, Arnó-Macià et al. mention the phenomenon of Englishization (ibid.: 238-239). They use the term Englishization differently than Lanvers and Hultgren (2018), who adhere to the notion that to englishize means to make English in manner (see McArthur 1992a).⁵¹ Arnó-Macià et al. (2019: 239) distance themselves from this negative definition of the term by enclosing the term in double quotes and stating that it is a controversial phenomenon. Once Arnó-Macià et al. have established that they conceptualise English as ELF they simply refer to it as Eng-

⁵¹ See section 4.2.6 on the analysis of Lanvers and Hultgren’s article “The Englishization of European education” above as well as section 2.2.1 for a further discussion of the term Englishization.

lish. Whenever they do not explicitly refer to English as ELF they address it as “American English” or “British English” (ibid.: 245). By adding the terms “American” or “British” they demonstrate that they differentiate between English in its role as ENL and English in its role as EFL.

Arnó-Macià et al. also evaluate the EU’s language policy. They refer to the Barcelona Objective, the Bologna Declaration, as well as European language policies and university policies. When they cite the Barcelona Objective, they list the instruments that resulted from it: the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) and the *European Language Portfolio* (ibid.: 237). Furthermore, they acknowledge the tensions that arise between the aim to promote multilingualism and the expansion of English in the EU. They argue that even though the use of ELF can be regarded as linguistic hegemony, they believe it is an addition to the EU’s aim to promote multilingualism (ibid.: 238). Furthermore, they describe the transformation of the European higher education landscape that is associated with the Bologna Declaration. The increased demand in comparability, transferability and mobility has led both to an increased multilingualism in the EU as well as producing more English speakers (ibid.: 237-239). This issue has been observed by other authors publishing in the *EJLP* (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Pietiläinen 2011; Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a, 2018b) - also see a further discussion of discrepancy No. 5 in section 2.3.2. In relation to their own research, Arnó-Macià et al. (2019: 249) state that TAPP projects adhere to the European language and university policies and that virtual and intercultural exchange, as provided by telecollaborations like the TAPP projects, are gaining importance in the EU (ibid.: 236). According to them, there is also another relation between TAPP exchanges and EU language policy: telecollaboration exchanges emphasise both multilingualism and the use of ELF. As a result, they coincide with the EU policy of promoting multilingualism and interculturality (ibid.: 239).

4.3. Synthesis of results and discussion

The main aim of this study was to identify conceptualisations of English in articles published in a scientific journal focusing on European language policy, namely the *EJLP*. The research question of this paper both sought to determine how English is conceptualised in the *EJLP* and how these concepts are connected to EU language policy and the ELF paradigm. The research question was answered by conducting a qualitative content analysis of selected articles (section 4.2), employing two sets of categories (section 3.3). The results of this analy-

sis were presented in a case-by-case analysis in section 4.2 above – which also included case-by-case discussion of the results. In section 4.3, findings will be synthesised and the analysis will be discussed. Furthermore, additional findings and interpretation will be presented. Table 5 provides a condensed overview of results about the conceptualisations of English and the portrayal of EU language policy in the selected articles.

Table 4: Overview of conceptualisations of English and portrayal of EU language policy in the selected articles

Author (Year)	Conceptualisations of English		Portrayal of EU language policy
Wright, Sue (2009)	ELF	<i>alternative mental model</i>	- criticism of language use in EU institutions - goal of Barcelona Objective is not met - offering a possible solution/ alternative approach
Fiedler, Sabine (2010)	ENL	<i>default mental model</i>	- criticism of language use in EU institutions - failure of full multilingualism policy - offering a possible solution/ alternative approach
Rubio, Fernando and Lirola, María Martínez (2010)	EFL, EIL (and aspects of ELF)	<i>default mental model</i>	- criticism of unequal language situation in the EU - difference in language skills create first- and second-class EU citizenships
Cogo, Alessia and Jenkins, Jennifer (2010)	ELF	<i>alternative mental model</i>	- criticism of EU language policy: a mismatch between policy and practice - placing English in an ambiguous position - failure of full multilingualism policy - inability to acknowledge ELF - offering a possible solution/ alternative approach
Pietiläinen, Jukka (2011)	EFL (also ELF)	<i>default mental model</i> (not clear-cut)	- failure of full multilingualism policy - offering a possible solution/ alternative approach

Lanvers, Ursula and Hultgren, Anna Kristina (2018a, 2018b)	EFL (also ELF)	<i>default mental model</i>	- English threatens EU's vision for linguistic diversity - EU policies indirectly enable expansion of English - EU policies present opposing forces
Arnó-Macià, Elisabet et al. (2019)	ELF	<i>alternative mental model</i>	- EU policies present opposing forces - offering a possible solution/ alternative approach

Finding No. 1: The predominant conceptualisation of English in the *EJLP* is EFL/ENL

As illustrated in table 5 above, EFL is the most-commonly used conceptualisation of English in the selected articles published in the *EJLP*. As described in sections 2.1.1 and 3.3, EFL can be regarded as a variation of ENL and both are considered the *default mental model* of English for the purpose of this study. This means that the taken-for-granted conceptualisation of English by authors publishing in the *EJLP* is ENL. Nevertheless, English was conceptualised as ELF (and *alternative mental model*) in three out of eight articles selected for analysis.

There are several possible explanations for this result. On the one hand, it may be explained by the fact that English (as in ENL users, EFL learners and ELF users taken together) is the most widely spread language in Europe and its use has increased over the years (sections 2.2.2 and 2.3.3). On the other hand, the first article selected for this analysis by Wright (2009) presumably initiated more critical analysis of EU policy and of the role of English within the EU. Looking at the articles' years of publication suggests a confirmation of this assumption. Five out of eight articles were published between the years 2009 and 2011. Pietiläinen (2011) and Cogo and Jenkins (2011) directly cite Wright's 2009-article. Fielder (2010) cites other publications by Wright. This indicates an increased interest in the concept of ELF and its role within the EU as objects of investigation in research studies during this particular time period.

Finding No. 2: English is the language of international communication in Europe

The second finding was that the authors of all articles acknowledge the role of English as the language of international communication in Europe. For the purpose of greater transparency, the ways authors have referred to English in this role they are collated and listed here:

- English as the lingua franca of the EU (Wright 2009: 93; Cogo and Jenkins 2010: 271, Arnó-Macià et al. 2019: 238)
- English as a common language and a global lingua franca (Fiedler 2010: 1)
- English as the main vehicle for communication in Europe (Rubio and Lirola 2010: 24)
- English as the language of international and intranational communication (Cogo and Jenkins 2010: 274)
- English as the most likely language of communication between nationals of different European states (Pietiläinen 2011: 3)
- English as the language of cross-lingual and cross-national communication (Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a: 4)

Even though all authors agree on the importance of English as medium of international communication, not everyone has the same attitude towards it. There are two strong positions on the expansion of English as global language in Europe: either it is regarded as an opportunity for EU citizens (Arnó-Macià et al. 2019; Cogo and Jenkins 2010) or as a threat to other EU languages and cultures (Rubio and Lirola 2010). The majority of the authors agree that the expansion of English can result in both benefits and disadvantages for EU citizens (Wright 2009; Fiedler 2010; Pietiläinen 2011; Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a).

Finding No. 3: The role of English in Europe is ambiguous

In the following paragraph, the most prominent comments about the disadvantages and the advantages of the expansion of English in the EU mentioned in the selected articles are listed. The first list contains comments about the disadvantages caused by the expansion of English in the EU:

1. It makes it difficult for non-English speaking citizens to compete on the job market (to find a job or continue doing the job they already have) (Rubio and Lirola 2010: 24; Wright 2009: 94).

2. It reduces the importance of other formerly influential languages like French or German (Fiedler 2010: 2; Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a: 2; Pietiläinen 2011: 2; Wright 2009: 95).
3. It produces a communicative inequality (Fiedler 2010: 2, Rubio and Lirola 2010: 23).
4. It favours Anglo-American ideas and authors (Fiedler 2010: 2).
5. It threatens the EU's vision of multilingualism and linguistic diversity (Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a: 1; Pietiläinen 2011: 1; Rubio and Lirola 2010: 24-25).

The second list gives examples of comments made about benefits attributed to the expansion of English in the EU:

1. It fulfils the need for a community of communication (Wright 2009: 93).
2. It enables relation and exchange beyond national borders (Wright 2009: 114).
3. It provides a common European language (Fiedler 2010: 1; Cogo and Jenkins 2010: 271).
4. It provides the widest communicative potential in Europe (Pietiläinen 2011: 12).
5. It facilitates cross-lingual and cross-national communication (Lanver and Hultgren 2018a: 4).
6. It facilitates exchange between people with different first languages, nationalities or cultures and therefore increases diversity (ibid.).
7. It enables international collaborations across countries and cultures (Arnó-Macià et al. 2019).

The above-mentioned opinions illustrate the multi-faceted functions that are assigned to the English language in Europe. English finds itself in an ambiguous position: Is the spread of English an opportunity for Europe or a threat to the European community? This question demonstrates the love-hate relationship between 'Europe' and 'English' (also see section 2.2.2).

Finding No. 4: EU language policy is ambiguous

Most authors detect discrepancies within EU language policy and are critical towards them. One of these discrepancies is a mismatch between EU language policy in theory and the way it is put into practice. Cogo and Jenkins (2010), Fiedler (2010), and Wright (2009) state that the EU's official aim of full multilingualism and linguistic diversity is not put into practice but

undermined by a language hierarchy in EU institutions with English at the top. This is regarded as causing language inequality within the EU (Fiedler 2010; Rubio and Lirola 2010). Other authors criticise the EU's inability to acknowledge the role of English as its de facto lingua franca (Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Wright 2009).

Another discrepancy detected by authors publishing in the *EJLP* is that the EU indirectly facilitates the spread and use of ELF by the system of working languages in EU institutions or the effects of the Bologna Declaration. The Bologna Declaration is said to have increased the use of English as medium of international communication in higher education and academia across Europe even though it is not a language-related policy (Arnó-Macià et al. 2019; Lanvers and Hultgren 2018a).⁵²

Several authors publishing in the *EJLP* have provided solutions for the aforementioned issues. Cogo and Jenkins (2010) and Wright (2009) argue that English should be acknowledged as the official lingua franca of the EU. In a similar manner, Arnó-Macià et al. (2019: 238) point out that English should be considered a valuable addition to EU's policy of multilingualism. Pietiläinen (2011: 12) draws a more tentative conclusion by suggesting that English will most likely become a fixed variable in the equation of "mother tongue plus two". In an entirely different vein, Fiedler (2010: 16) suggests that the only way to enable fair international communication within the EU is implementing "a language that is nobody's mother tongue".

To conclude, the study has found that English is either conceptualised as ENL/EFL/ESL or as ELF, relating to the concepts of the *default mental model* and the *alternative mental model*. There are some authors that conceptualise English in an ambiguous manner like Pietiläinen (2011) and Lanvers and Hultgren (2018). It seems possible that these ambiguous conceptualisations demonstrate a general confusion and uncertainty about how to define and characterise English in the EU today. English in Europe is indeed in an "ambiguous position" – as pointed out by Cogo and Jenkins (2010: 272). This idea is supported by Graddol in 2006, who argued that the world was in a transitional stage and therefore was experiencing a confusing time – which is still the case today (in the year 2020). English finds itself in a paradoxical situation and in order to tackle the challenges that the English languages faces today, new ways of thinking about language have emerged or still have to be developed (see sections

⁵² See also discussion on Bologna Declaration in section 2.3.2.

2.1.2 and 2.1.3). The EU contributes to the ambiguous and paradoxical position of English in Europe. The EU's language situation is shaped by contradicting policies and a mismatch between language policy in theory and in practice – demonstrating its indecision on the potential role of English as the de facto lingua franca of the EU.

5. Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis was to determine the most dominant conceptualisations of English and their relation to EU language policy and the ELF paradigm in articles published in the *EJLP*. Even though the sample size of this study was relatively small, results show that English plays an ambiguous role in Europe. On the one hand, the most common way of conceptualising English is in the manner of ENL/EFL. This was defined as the *default mental model* of English for the purpose of this thesis as it represents the old-established way of thinking about English (in relation to particular nations and NSs).⁵³ On the other hand, it was also shown that an increasing number of authors publishing in the *EJLP* acknowledge English as ELF. This was defined as an *alternative mental model* of English for the purpose of this thesis because it represents a new way of thinking about English (plurilingual, virtual language use with the aim to communicate successfully in international settings).

Even though the role of English in Europe is ambiguous, all authors of the selected articles published in the *EJLP* recognise the significance of English as the most widely spread language in Europe and the role it plays as a medium of international communication. Opinions differ whether the spread of English is an opportunity for or a threat to the European community. Most authors agree that there is a mismatch in EU's language policy and that it neither adequately reflects the current situation of the EU, nor sufficiently caters for the needs of EU citizens living in a globalised and constantly changing world. People seem to be torn between the need to adapt to the changes globalisation brings with it and the historic legacy of the 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, it could be observed that new ways of thinking about English are emerging but have not yet been fully established. The concept of ELF as an *alternative mental model* is still rejected by many authors and often there is confusion about the way it is conceptualised.

⁵³ It was shown that EFL and ESL can be used interchangeably with ENL, since all three concern themselves with English in connection to Anglo-American cultures. See sections 2.1.1 and 3.3.

The question arises why the EU does not adapt to the changes happening and why it does not openly address the language issues at hand. The goal of the Barcelona Objective from 2002 could not be achieved to date and is unlikely to be achieved in the future. As shown in section 2.3, English is the most widely learned and used language in the EU and the number of other languages learned by EU citizens has not increased in recent years. It is not clear why the EU continues to support the aim of “mother tongue plus two”, even though past efforts for realisation of this have not succeeded. On the contrary, in 2017 the European Council has reconfirmed the EU’s commitment to enhance language learning of at least two other European languages next to people’s L1 (European Council 2017: 3). The EU’s decision makers quietly try to ignore the question of the EU’s common language, hoping that the EU language situation will regulate itself over time. As all human action is economically motivated (economic determinism) and learning English seems to be the most successful strategy for international communication in Europe, establishing English as *lingua franca* in the EU will happen anyway in the long run.

The present study has attempted to shed some light on how English in Europe is conceptualised in a particularly relevant journal, how authors perceive of EU language policy in relation to the spread of English and that new ways of thinking are being established and are indeed necessary. A subject not addressed in the study is whether English is conceptualised differently in non-European contexts and how the spread of English and EU language policy is perceived on the national level of individual EU member states. Therefore, a future study could assess the differences in conceptualising English in Asian and European contexts or in national and global contexts. How and why new and alternative ways of thinking about English emerge and how they might help to settle the confusing transitional stage the world is experiencing today could also be explored in more detail. This conclusion was written shortly before the pandemic outbreak of COVID-19 across Europe and the rest of the world. The first lockdown (restrictions of movement and gatherings) in Austria came into effect on March 16th 2020. This transitional stage for our society mentioned above is becoming increasingly apparent during the worldwide coronavirus pandemic. Other intriguing questions for further research on the issue of English in Europe would be the following: how does this transitional stage unfold in the light of the coronavirus pandemic, and what influence does it have on the use of English as an international means of communication EU-wide? What role does the accelerated digital shift caused by restrictions of movement play in this transitional stage?

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7. Appendix

Abstract

English serves many purposes in Europe today: *English as a Native Language* (ENL), *English as a Foreign Language* (EFL), as an official and working language of the EU, and as the language of international communication. These are conflicting at times. The aim of this thesis is to determine the most dominant conceptualisations of English in Europe and their relation to EU language policy and the theory of *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). Data was gathered in a review of the *European Journal of Language Policy* (EJLP). The research question was answered with a qualitative content analysis of selected articles. The results indicate that the most common way of conceptualising English is in the manner of *English as a Native Language* (ENL) or *English as a Foreign Language* (EFL). This was defined as *the default mental model of English*, representing the previously established way of thinking about English. On the other hand, an increasing number of authors publishing in the *EJLP* acknowledge English as ELF. It was defined the *alternative mental model of English*, showing a new way of thinking about English. Even though the role of English in Europe is ambiguous, all authors of the selected articles published in the *EJLP* recognize the significance of English as the most widely spread language in Europe and the role it plays as a medium of international communication. Opinions differ whether the spread of English is an opportunity for Europe or a threat to the European community, demonstrating the love-hate relationship between ‘Europe’ and ‘English’. Most authors agree that there is a mismatch in EU’s language policy and that it neither adequately reflects the current situation of the EU, nor sufficiently caters for the needs of EU citizens living in a globalised and constantly changing world.

Zusammenfassung

Englisch erfüllt heute in Europa eine Vielzahl an Funktionen. Es ist Landessprache (ENL), Fremdsprache (EFL), Amts- und Arbeitssprache der EU, sowie die Sprache der internationalen Kommunikation. Diese Funktionen stehen oftmals in Widerspruch zueinander. Das Ziel dieser Diplomarbeit ist es, die vorherrschenden Konzeptualisierungen des Englischen in Europa zu erforschen und eine Verbindung zur Sprachenpolitik der EU sowie zu dem Forschungsfeld *Englisch als Lingua Franca* (ELF) herzustellen. Mittels einer Literaturrecherche des Fachmagazins *European Journal of Language Policy* (EJLP) wurden die Daten für die vorliegende Studie erhoben. Die Forschungsfrage lautete: Welche Konzeptualisierungen des Englischen werden im *EJLP* dargestellt und in welchem Bezug stehen diese zur Sprachenpolitik der EU? Um diese Frage zu beantworten wurde eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse an ausgewählten Artikeln aus dem *EJLP* durchgeführt. Die Ergebnisse weisen darauf hin, dass Englisch am häufigsten als Landes- oder Fremdsprache dargestellt wird. Diese Art der Konzeptualisierung wurde als gedankliches Standardmodell der englischen Sprache definiert. Zusätzlich hat sich ein alternatives Denkmodell der englischen Sprache gezeigt, welches unter dem Begriff ELF bekannt ist. Obwohl die Rolle von Englisch innerhalb Europas nicht eindeutig ist, erkennen alle AutorInnen der ausgewählten Artikel aus dem *EJLP* die Bedeutung des Englischen als die am weitesten verbreitete Sprache in Europa an und betonen die Rolle, die es als Medium der internationalen Kommunikation spielt. Es gibt unterschiedliche Meinungen darüber, ob die Verbreitung des Englischen eine Chance für Europa oder eine Bedrohung für die europäische Gemeinschaft darstellt. Dieser Umstand symbolisiert eine Form von Hassliebe zwischen Europa und der englischen Sprache. Die meisten AutorInnen der ausgewählten Artikel aus dem *EJLP* sind sich einig, dass es eine Diskrepanz in der Sprachenpolitik der EU gibt und diese weder die aktuelle Situation der EU angemessen widerspiegelt noch die Bedürfnisse der EU-Bürger in einer globalisierten und sich ständig verändernden Welt ausreichend berücksichtigt.