Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies
Vol. 9, 1, 2015, 71–85

On the Conceptual History of the Term *Lingua Franca*

Cyril Brosch, Leipzig University

This paper aims to give an outline of the development of the term "Lingua Franca". Initially the proper name of an extinct pidgin, to "Lingua Franca", the term has become a common noun, used with regard to language contact phenomena in general – at first specifically for pidgins and trade languages, but now for all vehicular languages. This broader usage is especially prominent in the field of research known as "English as a lingua franca" (ELF). Using ELF as an example, it is shown that the modern usage is partly inconsistent and can be misleading, as it connects a positive feature of the original Lingua Franca, viz linguistic equality, with a language with native speakers like English, which implies a totally different distribution of power in communicative situations and economic resources in language learning. Against the background of the etymological meaning of "lingua franca" and the competing, less ambiguous term "vehicular language", a new classification system for interlingual contact is proposed. Within it it is argued that "lingua franca communication" should be confined to contexts where no native speakers of the vehicular language being used are involved – whenever the presence or absence can be stated.

Keywords: Lingua Franca, conceptual history, pidgin language, vehicular language, English as a lingua franca

1 Introduction

The term "lingua franca/Lingua Franca"[1] has been subject to a continually changing and inconsistent usage in linguistic and sociological literature. Originally a proper name, designating a now-extinct pidgin of the Mediterranean (as we will see in §2), it subsequently developed into a common noun signifying either pidgins in general (§3) or some or all kinds of vehicular languages, most usually English (§4, §5). Thus when encountering the term today one has to examine the context or look for a definition in order to determine which of these divergent senses is meant: A language of trade? Any vehicular language (a term to be defined in §4)? Or just the language used in those situations where none of the participants share a common language? And what shall we do with the alternative terms available for the common noun usage, such as "pidgin" and "vehicular language"?

Corresponding author's email: cyril.brosch@uni-leipzig.de
ISSN: 1457-9863
Publisher: Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä

http://apples.jyu.fi
http://dx.doi.org/10.17011/apples/2015090104

In order to elucidate these terminological difficulties, this article gives an outline of the conceptual history of the term "L/lingua F/franca" (from now on mostly abbreviated to LF). It concludes with an attempt to define the term and related expressions in a terminologically coherent way, with some critical remarks on its modern use with regard to the emergent field of interest in "English as a lingua franca".

2 The original Lingua Franca

Least problematic is the original name "Lingua Franca", although neither its etymology nor more than a few details of the use and characteristics of the variety it referred to are known. Even though there are some recent monographs dedicated to Lingua Franca[2], the basic statement of Röll (1967: 306) "daß wir über die alte Lingua franca nichts wissen" [that we know nothing about the old Lingua franca] still holds true. A lack of new material on this extinct idiom means that little progress has been made since the first thorough scientific treatise on Lingua Franca by Hugo Schuchardt (1909), the (co-)founder of creolistics.

The original Lingua Franca was a stabilized pidgin, i.e., a contact language developed spontaneously in order to bridge language barriers with a simple grammar and a lexicon confined to the expression of only the notions needed for the communication goals of the participants, often merchants (see e.g. Adler 1977: 12, 14 and generally Arends et al. 1995). It was spoken around the Mediterranean, especially on its southern and probably eastern coast between at least the 14th (probably earlier) and the 19th century AD. It never developed into a creole, i.e. a pidgin which has become the mother tongue of monolinguals, who broaden its scope and capability to all kinds of communication in their society. Because of that Lingua Franca disappeared quickly after its fields of usage were taken over by national languages, especially French. As it was a means of oral communication used to facilitate above all economic activities (including piracy and slavery) between Europeans, Africans and Arabs[3], there are few written attestations of the language. What written attestations do exist were noted mainly by curious travelers who did not speak Lingua Franca themselves, meaning that the scarce material available is often of poor quality. One exception is a dedicated small dictionary and phrase book (see N.N. 1830) intended to prepare members of the French expeditionary forces for the conquest of Algeria in 1830, where LF was seemingly commonly spoken[4]. Notable is also the use of some portions of LF in Molière's 1671 play Le bourgeois gentilhomme, where it is used for reasons of literary effect (act 4, scene 5, see Wood 1971). Jonathan Swift mentions LF as one of the languages used by his fictional traveler Lemuel Gulliver (Gulliver's travels into several remote nations of the world [1726], pt. I, ch. II:

> (…) and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca, but all to no purpose (…)

From these attestations it is clear that Lingua Franca is based mainly on Italian with an admixture of Spanish, Arabic, and Greek vocabulary, unified by a simple morphology (no agreement, little distinction of word classes, no

productive morphological word formation). It is, however, unclear when and where Lingua Franca emerged and where it got its name from. With its Italian foundation and its general association with the medieval nautical empires of Venice and Genoa, Röll (1967) sees the origins of Lingua Franca in the contact between Italian sailors and Greek population groups in the eastern Mediterranean after the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), with later spread to the west. Other authors point to the Levant at the time of the crusades, although there is very little known about LF in the East. According to Schuchardt (1909: 450) Lingua Franca resulted from the mixture of an eastern, Italian-based pidgin with a western, Spanish-based one, which coalesced in the region of Algiers. It is not certain when the name "Lingua Franca" was first used (Vikør 2004: 329), as the early attestations (collected in Foltys 1984: 5) could designate any "Western" (Romance) language. The first mention ascribable with some certainty to the pidgin dates to 1475 (Foltys 1984: 9). Most scholars since Schuchardt (1909: 448), however, agree that the name "Frankish language" was based on the Greek and Arabic pars-pro-toto use of "Frankish" to refer to all romance languages (Arabic *lisān al-faranǧ*, of which Italian/Latin *lingua franca* is a back-translation) and to the people of Western Europe in general. Kahane & Kahane (1976: 25) also refer to the etymological meaning of frank(ish), 'free', but Vikør (2004: 329) is right that "this may be colored by a modern view on the desirability of freedom and equality between languages and their users and this view should not be ascribed to traders from former centuries without the greatest caution".

With the rise of national languages after the end of the Middle Ages, and especially after the French conquest of the piracy stronghold Algiers in 1830, Lingua Franca faded from use and was apparently lost until the end of the 19th century. Apart from perhaps some Italianisms in Arabic and Greek (which, however, could have come directly from Italian), it has left no traces.

3 From proper name to common noun

At some point in history the proper name Lingua Franca was used innovatively to describe other pidgin languages (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 40–41), but it is not known when this first occurred or who was responsible for this usage. Although there have undoubtedly always been pidgins of varying range and stability used in Europe, e.g. Russenorsk, a mixture of Russian and Norwegian spoken on the Kola peninsula from at least the 18th century up to 1917 (see Neumann 1965 and the article "Russenorsk" in Hammarström et al. 2014), it seems reasonable to assume that the phenomenon of pidgin languages – whether it may be Lingua Franca or pidgins based on the main colonial languages from the 16th century on: English, French, Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch – became known to a wider audience only in modern times, when European countries colonized extensive territories in America, Africa, and Asia. It was therefore probably only at this point that a need arose to refer to such languages, leading to the use of the name of the first of its kind (from a European point of view) as a common noun for the whole class.

Although there is no consistency in the use of capitalization in the literature with regard to the different senses of the term LF, it is highly advisable to use lower-case lingua franca only for the common noun (with indefinite article), viz. the figurative use, leaving upper-case Lingua Franca for the original Mediterranean pidgin, in accordance with the general rules of capitalization in English.

4 Vehicular languages

Later, at a time that is unfortunately also unknown to us, "lingua franca" came to be used as a designation not only for pidgins, but also for vehicular languages, i.e. languages which regularly serve interlingual comprehension, such as English or Arabic today or Aramaic or Latin in past times in certain territories, see e.g. Vikør (2004: 329–332), Meierkord (2006), and Chew (2009: 9–19). The terminus ante quem for this understanding of "lingua franca" is Schuchardt (1909: 448: "jede weit verbreitete Handelssprache" [any trade language of wider diffusion]), but more is not known. Indeed, given the lack of attestations in the secondary literature, it may even be the case that LF was used for vehicular languages from the beginning of its use as a common noun, without a period when it would exclusively designate pidgins. Schuchardt (1909: 448) speculates that the understanding of franca in its etymological meaning 'free' (so 'free language' as "free port" or "free trade") may have had an influence on this development. Of great importance in this regard was certainly also the often cited definition of UNESCO (1953: 46)[5], a very broad one calling LF any language "which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them". This definition is essentially the same as that of a vehicular language.

The equation of "lingua franca" and vehicular language is made by many authors, explicitly e.g. by Kryuchkova (2001: 96), Ammon (2001: 32), and many advocates of English as a lingua franca, for which see details in Section 5. Others, however, seem to see LF as a special case of a vehicular language, cf. European Commission (2011: 8) speaking of "lingua franca as a vehicular language" or Wodak (2011: 229–230) separating the two terms. Unfortunately, neither defines *vehicular language*, leaving the exact demarcation between the notions unclear. Wodak (2011: 229) defines LF simply as "erstens die älteste belegte Pidginsprache […]. Zweitens […] ein allgemeiner Begriff für eine Zweitsprache, die der Kommunikation zwischen SprecherInnen verschiedener Erstsprachen […] dient" ["firstly the oldest attested pidgin language […]. Secondly […] a common expression for a second language serving for the communication of people speaking different first languages"], without clarification how the first led to the second notion. Clearer definitions for some terms are found only in Samarin (1968 661), who depending on the kind of interaction between the interlocutors and status of the languages used distinguishes between lingua franca ("commonly used by people whose native languages are different", following the UNESCO 1953 definition), trade language (not necessarily a "larger" language), contact language (also non-habitually spoken, the most neutral of the terms), international/universal language (of worldwide use, which can be a synonym of LF), and auxiliary language (international planned language like Esperanto). A term missing here is world/global language, which, however, hardly ever appears in scientific discussions and seems to be a rather colloquial expression, meaning roughly a very widespread language (beyond its original homeland). Kryuchkova (2001: 96) calls world languages all the official languages of the UN (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish). The most detailed criteria are given by Haarmann (2001: 421–423): according to him the so called "moderne Weltsprachen" (in contrast to historical ethnic and "artificial" –i.e. planned– world languages) have at least 100 million speakers, both L1 and L2, and are characterized by multiethnicity, official status in countries and international organizations, importance in the world economy and

science, privileged status as foreign languages, and high prestige. This is comparable to the term "supercentral languages" found in de Swaan (2001: 5–6). There is an additional term sometimes used competingly, namely koinē (after Ancient Greek *hè koinè diálektos* 'the common dialect'). Instead of using koinē for a regional lingua franca, one should rather confine its use to designating the outcome of dialect leveling, e.g. among emigrants, cf. Siegel (1993).

Samarin's (1968) fine distinctions mentioned above, however, do not seem to have had a great impact: on the one hand there are still different conceptions found with regard to "lingua franca" (see below), and on the other it remains unclear whether there is a difference between the linguistically transparent but rarely used "vehicular language" and the opaque but frequently used "lingua franca". If indeed there is no distinction, one has to ask which of the two terms for the same notion should be preferred, applying the norms of terminological science. If a distinction should be made, however, the criteria for distinguishing the terms should be explicit. So it would in any case seem reasonable to search for a terminological system which considers also the etymological meaning of the terms and allows for their easy and clear application.

An obvious although seemingly often neglected problem with the equation of lingua franca and vehicular language is the fundamental difference between a pidgin and an ethnic language. The only task of a real pidgin like Lingua Franca is to facilitate interlingual communication and it has to be learned, usually consciously and after childhood, by all communication participants as a second language (L2). For an ethnic/national language, on the other hand, being a vehicular language is only one of its uses. It has native speakers who acquire it unconsciously in their childhood (L1), who will in many cases have a great advantage in comparison to interlocutors with only an L2 knowledge of the language, both in terms of (socio-)linguistic competence[6] and the economic effort required in order to reach such a level of competence.

This problem, which of course is not new to science (cf. Coulmas 1981, especially the contributions of Yngve, Ballmer, van der Geest, and Coulmas; Graddol 2006: 114; Bonfiglio 2010, esp. 8–20, 26–28, 72–83, 187–217 with further literature), will be discussed in a lengthy excursus in the following section with the example of English as an international language. In the past decades the focus has been on this language, since others, such as German or Russian, have lost importance outside their home countries and serve to an ever lesser extent (with regard to number of speakers and interactions, geographical range, and/or use cases) as vehicular languages[7]. Thus it must be remembered that everything that is said in §5 applies in principle to any national language in the role of a lingua franca; English is just the most common and most easily accessible example.

5 English as a lingua franca

Today the expression lingua franca is associated first and foremost with English. Within the last 15–20 years a new field of research, "English as a lingua franca" (ELF), has emerged, leading to hundreds of books, papers, and an own journal dedicated to the phenomena connected to the unprecedented spread of English all over the world in the 20th and 21st centuries. The scholars (or organizations) publishing on this topic often include definitions of their new field, which makes it possible to compare their varying conceptions. The definitions have

been grouped according to their literal meanings. The fact that some scholars appear twice with seemingly contradictory definitions may show an imprecise wording, but a change of mind cannot be excluded in every single case:

a) Most definitions of the lingua franca use of English or other ethnic languages include (at least implicitly) native speakers of English, i.e., according to them English has the role of a lingua franca as long as one of the communication partners is speaking it as a second language. In this group belong the definitions of UNESCO (1953), Samarin (1968), Adler (1977), Gnutzmann (2000) Kryuchkova (2001), Mackey (2001), Vikør (2004), House (2008), Chew (2009), Jenkins (2009), Smit (2010), Backus et al. (2011), European Commission (2011), Wodak (2011), Seidlhofer (2011), and MacKenzie (2013). The following three sources may be used to exemplify this group:

> "[a] contact language [...], which is used by individuals to overcome the challenge of Babelization" (Chew 2009: 1)
>
> "any use of English for communication among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7)
>
> "a vehicular language which allows inter-comprehension among people speaking different mother tongues, as a neutral language or jargon of which nobody can claim ownership, but also as the mother tongue of one of the parties in the exchange" (European Commission 2011: 8)

b) There is, however, an impressive number of definitions to the contrary, which generally exclude native speakers from lingua franca communication. Among these may be counted Samarin (1987), Firth (1990) Dürmüller (1994), Ammon (2001), Clyne (2000), Knapp & Meierkord (2002: 9f.), Meierkord (2007), Prodromou (2008)[8], Janssens et al. (2011: 71), and Kimura (2011). The following examples typify this group:

> "according to the definition of a lingua franca, that language should not, at the same time, be the L1 of any of the language groups in question" (Dürmüller 1994: 62)
>
> "A Lingua Franca is used in inter-cultural communication between two or more people who have different LIs other than the lingua franca" (Clyne 2000: 83)
>
> "all instances of using a language different from the speakers' mother tongues for specific purposes" (Knapp & Meierkord 2002: 9)

One finds, however, exceptions to this kind of definition in the introduction to Sociolinguistica 15 (2001: vii: "LF im engeren Sinn" [in the narrow sense]) and in Ammon (2001: 32) and Smit (2010: 49), where the participation of English native speakers is called a less typical instance of LF communication (similarly Seidlhofer 2011: 146). On the one hand, this shows that there is some awareness of the problem and on the other hand it means that they should be categorized as belonging to group a) above.

Finally, a not insignificant portion of definitions is fuzzy with regard to the participation/presence of native speakers or does not define the term "lingua franca" at all, e.g. Kahane & Kahane (1976), Meierkord (2006), Jenkins (2007), Firth (2009), Dewey (2009), Seidlhofer (2012), Wilton (2012), Björkman (2013). Compare this to "foreign language of communication" (Jenkins 2007: 2), or Dewey's (2009: 62) more sophisticated but rather obscure definition:

> ELF is then best understood as a dynamic, locally realized enactment of a global resource, best conceptualized not as a uniform set of norms or practices, but as a highly variable, creative expression of linguistic resources which warrants a distinct analytical framework.

As we are dealing with a relatively new specialization, it would be acceptable to simply observe that ELF research has yet to solve many problems and properly lay its foundations. It is therefore questionable to take ELF for granted, as does e.g. Björkman (2013: 28–30). There is in fact a fundamental problem which touches the very base of this academic field and must be considered here, as the definition of lingua franca in my opinion substantially depends on it. As was said above, ethnic and pidgin languages can serve the same purpose, viz. to bridge language barriers, but the balance of power in a communicative act can be tremendously different: by definition the speakers of a pidgin have all learned it with a more or less similar amount of effort and can communicate roughly on the same level, while with an ethnic language a native speaker, who made no conscious effort to acquire the language to a very high degree, will in most cases easily outperform an L2-speaker. The consequences of this with regard to, for instance, political or business negotiations should be clear. Traditional terms like vehicular or contact language take this into account, as they refer simply to the role, but it is not clear how English as a lingua franca has to be understood in this regard: the original Lingua Franca was a more or less neutral, simple, functionally reduced and geographically unbound idiom. Linking English in the form of ELF –which may not necessarily be claimed to be a linguistic variant, but just a communicative function of English– with such a notion should mean either that ELF is significantly different from native speakers' English– which is neither neutral, nor simple, nor limited, nor without home countries – or that ELF is just English used by non-natives. The former case would at least render English a neutral means of communication like Lingua Franca, while the latter would be less apt, misusing the positively connotated function of just communication.

In fact one finds multiple claims from some influential ELF researchers that ELF is not a threat to multilingualism and not unjust linguistically, as it is said to be a culture-free code of communication (Böhringer & Hülmbauer 2010, Seidlhofer 2011, 2012, Hülmbauer 2014) not "owned" (Widdowson 1994, Jenkins 2007) by the native speakers of English any more. These claims, notably supported by few empirical evidence by their authors, currently seem be rather wishful thinking, as is in my opinion sufficiently proven by Fiedler (2010, 2011 with emphasis that ELF communication does exist, but is by no means culture-free) and Gazzola & Grin (2013): ELF is still English, and learners of English still try to achieve native speaker qualities, as the research of Jenkins (2007) herself has shown. On the one hand it is of course laudable to absolve the L2-users of English of the inferior position of a deficient speaker and to valorize their language use, but on the other hand the dogma of a "neutral" ELF has the

consequence of neglecting and playing down the huge difference in effort required by L1 and L2 speakers of English to reach an acceptable level of proficiency in the language – for English native speakers it is still nearly nothing, in comparison to thousands of hours for speakers of other languages. At the same time, in academic publishing, for example, only native, not lingua franca English is accepted, cf. Seidlhofer (2012), Mur-Dueñas (2013). It is not without irony that the reviewer of Chew (2009) reminds of "poor copy editing", meaning non-native English style (Saraceni 2013: 289). A journal not insisting on native-like English is *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, cf. also Gnutzmann & Rabe (2014) on similar newer evolutions.

Of course one cannot make predictions on the further development of English, but for the time being there is no evidence from ELF research that there is some kind of stable lingua franca English different from the traditional English as a foreign language (EFL; cf. also Swan 2012). The linguistic features found in ELF communication, such as the omission of *-s* in the third singular in the present tense of verbs (*he go*) or a new distribution of prepositions (*to study about*), have not yet been proven to be systematic to the point that they would constitute a real norm (instead of mere chance), and more abstract principles like the greater importance of the efficiency of communication than correctness with regard to native speakers' norms are not language-specific. The same misconception of ELF as a stable variety is found in Björkman (2013: 161), who lists differences between ELF communication and EFL learning in order to "prove" their inequality. But as the former concerns real life usage of language competences and the latter organized lessons in order to acquire or strengthen such competences, we are dealing here simply with two totally different situations, so the features compared by Björkman are in no way mutually exclusive (see also Ranta 2009: 85–89 on the differences). Maybe for the obvious difficulties to define a norm of ELF newer papers, e.g. Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer (2013) prefer to speak of so called "modes" of communication instead of "variety" or the like. This rather hampers than advances understanding, as according to them ELF is still "neutral" and "just". But as until the proof of the opposite there is no new "pidgin English"[9] but just English with all the consequences of the vehicular use of a language with native speakers participating in the communication, it is misleading to name the phenomena connected with with it (which of course deserve study) generally after a pidgin – although there may be contexts of use where it is suitable. As the conventional designation is constantly blurring important differences, I therefore plead not to abandon the term "English as a lingua franca", but to confine it to the definition b) above – thus excluding English native speakers. For more general purposes the terminologically better term "English as a vehicular language" could be used and comprise both LF communication according to my narrow definition and situations where English native speakers are present.

6 A conceptual proposal

In order to provide a more in-depth understanding of the concept "lingua franca", we can sketch a new conceptual model in the following lines. As a better, more general term, the already established "vehicular language" as defined in section 4 (any contact language used habitually to bridge language barriers), is proposed as a replacement of the misleading "lingua franca", as it is

semantically clearer, designating the actual function instead of evoking an association with an opaque proper name. The just mentioned "contact language" is the most general term, designating any L2 and including also the use of languages habitually not used as vehicular languages and being in common to interlocutors by chance alone. For example, to correspond with a native speaker of Dutch I once used Polish, which we both happened to speak. Usually Polish is used only by native speakers or immigrants in Poland.

There may still be some blind spots in the definitions or cases which could be classified differently according to additional criteria. For example, according to the definition of Smit (2010: 68), ELF is typically spoken "in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life", which would mean that e.g. immigrants in Sweden communicating in Swedish (see Bolton & Meierkord 2013: 104–109) do not represent a case of LF communication. The concept of typicality mentioned above (§5) could be of use here, hence the most typical LF communication does not only exclude native speakers, but also takes place outside the homeland of the LF in use.

The following graph showing languages according to their uses from general to specific may illustrate the notional dependence:

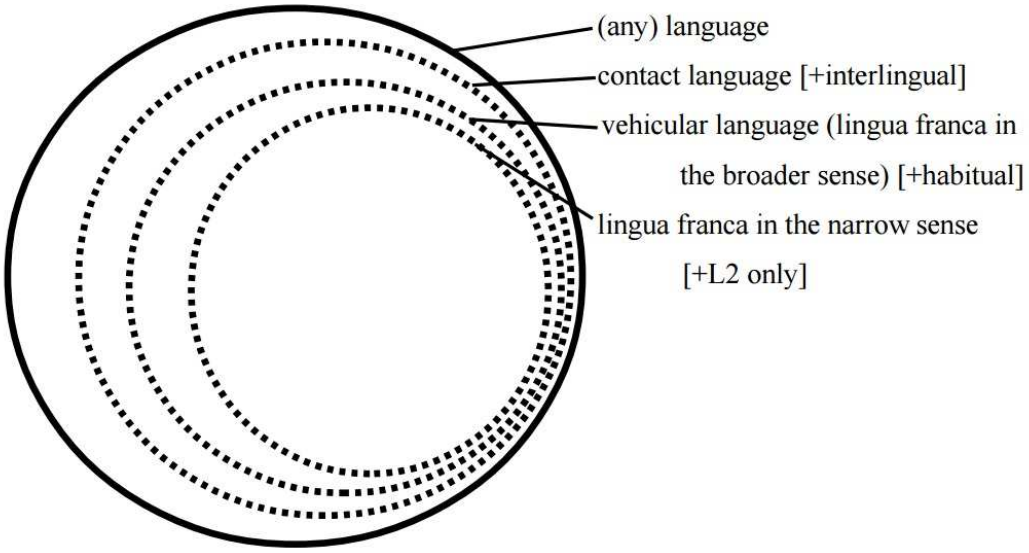

Figure 1. Notional system of language use.

This threefold, exact distinction, which is coincidentally found also in Janssens et al. (2011: 71) could be of use to all studies on language contact, removing some of the terminological confusion found until now.

As the dotted lines show, however, the borders are fuzzy and permeable. On the one hand a language can be on its way from one concentric circle to another (e.g. German is much less used as a LF and vehicular language today than a hundred years ago). On the other hand, it may not always be clear whether native speakers are present or partaking in a communicative act or not. One must also keep in mind that L2 language competence is a differentiated gamut from zero proficiency to perfect mastery. The difference between L1 and L2 speakers, however, is the only reasonably clear border. It would nevertheless be exaggerated to claim it were not permeable, in the sense that L2 speakers

sometimes can reach a native speaker's level and a native speaker can adapt to non-native norms. This is acknowledged by Kachru (2004, apud Graddol 2006: 110), who modified his famous 1985 three-circle-model in order to distinguish between a center of "functional nativeness" (whether from birth or later) and all other more or less proficient speakers. Against this background, and considering the difficulties a change of terminological habits usually faces, the use of "lingua franca" in a broader sense, viz as a synonym for "vehicular language", may still be permissible whenever a clear demarcation is not possible. One could argue that the distinction between L1 and L2 speakers should be remodeled into a distinction of people communicating according to native English norms (using phraseology and cultural allusions assuming that all speakers are fully competent) vs. people trying to communicate in a culturally neutral and linguistically transparent manner. In both cases both L1 and L2 speakers can be present, and they are distinguished not by the inborn status, but by their actual linguistic behavior. This might remind us of the recent ELF research speaking about "modes" (see section 5) and could do more justice to both native and second language speakers. But such an approach should gain a robust empirical foundation, showing in what circumstances and to what extent L1 speakers try to deskill their speech and whether L2 speakers really put more effort into speaking according to the norms when a native speaker is present than when there is none[10].

As much as "vehicular language" is preferable to "lingua franca" in the broader sense, the term "pidgin" seems more appropriate than "lingua franca" for describing this kind of spontaneously developed contact language as defined in section 2. In fact language use seems to have mostly abandoned the term "lingua franca" in the sense of "pidgin" so that some additional semantic burden has been taken away from it. In combination with the consequent use of the proper noun "Lingua Franca" and the common noun "lingua franca", and the confinement of the latter to the narrow sense sketched above, full terminological clarity could be reached.

7 Conclusion

It has been shown that the term "lingua franca/Lingua Franca" has three different meanings: a) a proper name *Lingua Franca* as an extinct pidgin in the Mediterranean region, b) a common noun *lingua franca* as any pidgin (probably outdated now considering the usual term pidgin), and c) a common noun *lingua franca* as any additional language used habitually to facilitate communication between people with different first languages.

Exploring the use of the term LF on the example of the new field of research "English as a lingua franca", it was argued that the expansion of the term LF to situations where the language (this holds true for all ethnic languages) is spoken natively by some of the participants in a communicative interaction is misleading, however not always avoidable.

An alternative conceptual model has been proposed, which helps to clear up the terminological confusion by differentiating between "lingua franca" and "vehicular language" (and others), whenever such a differentiation is feasible. It provides a comprehensive terminological framework for future research, enabling the clear labeling of communicative situations and preventing the

obscuring of important differences, such as the possible impact of native speakers, an important factor with regard to linguistic justice.

Acknowledgements

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement No. 613344 (Project MIME). I express my thanks to both anonymous reviewers for the thorough discussion of an earlier version of this paper and to the participants of the workshop on lingua francas in Amsterdam on March 9th, 2015, to whom I could present my ideas. I am also very thankful to James McElvenny for the thorough correction of the text, originally composed in "vehicular English".

Endnotes

[1] There is no uniform use of small vs. capital letters. The admissible plural forms are *linguæ francæ* (Latin), *lingue franche* (Italian), or *lingua francas*. In this paper I will use the native English plural.
[2] See especially Wansbrough (1996), Cifoletti (1989, 2004), and Dakhlia (2008). For an older bibliography, see Reinecke et al. (1975: 70–72). For a comprehensive collection of all attestations of LF, see Foltys (1984). Materials available on the Internet (not all of them trustworthy) have been collected by Corré (2005).
[3] A totally different position, on which I will not comment further, is held by Aslanov (2014). According to him LF above all was used as an inter-romance pidgin, and only to a lesser extent in contact with speakers of other languages.
[4] In the book LF is called for some reason "pétit mauresque". Another alternative name for LF, *Sabir* (LF for 'to know'), is used mainly in French, and also as a designation for any pidgin. It may have come from the first words in LF in Molière's 1671 play mentioned above: "Se ti sabir, Ti respondir. Se non sabir, Tazir, tazir."
[5] It should however be kept in mind that the document is dealing mainly with the right of education in one's native language and hence is trying to demarcate vernacular from vehicular languages.
[6] Cf. Crystal (2003: 16), and see especially Knapp (2002) for an example of how native speakers (or L2-speakers with a very high linguistic level) use their advantage in competence in competitive situations in order to outdo L2-speakers, although LF communication is usually said to be characterized by a high grade of co-operativeness (see Knapp & Meierkord 2002: 16–18). In fact there are cases of the opposite phenomenon, e.g. "meetings sometimes go more smoothly when no native speakers are present" (Graddol 2006: 115), but this most often puts all communications participants at a disadvantage, not only the native speakers (for such special cases see e.g. Fixman 1990).
[7] On German as a LF, see Ammon (2001, 2015); on Russian, Kryuchkova (2001) and for a compilation of regional lingua francas Vikør (2004: 333–334). On the specifics of communication in Esperanto, compared with English, see Fiedler (2005).
[8] Prodromou (2008) usefully distinguishes between ELF (without native speakers) und EIL (with NS).

[9] Furthermore, until now the attempts to create simplified variants of English like Caterpillar Fundamental English (see Schubert 2011: 53–54) or the slightly pidginized Global English/Globish (see Fischer 2012 for two concepts) have always failed. Among the reasons for this was that it was not possible for the native speakers of English to confine themselves to the grammatical restrictions and refrain from idiomatic usage. With this background in mind one should very critically evaluate some overly enthusiastic claims of ELF research in order not to establish an embellished opinion of the real costs and subsequent problems of linguistic injustice caused by the vehicular use of an ethnic language like English (I stress again that there would be no difference if it were German or Chinese).

[10] My own experience from scientific conferences cannot confirm such assumptions, but I don't want to exclude such a possibility in more informal situations.

References

Adler, M. 1977. *Pidgins, creoles and lingua francas: A sociolinguistic study*. Hamburg: Buske.

Ammon, U. 2001. Deutsch als Lingua franca in Europa. *Sociolinguistica* 15, 32–41.

Ammon, U. 2015. *Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Arends, J., P. Muysken, & N. Smith, (eds.). 1995. *Pidgins and Creoles: an introduction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Aslanov, C. 2014. Lingua Franca in the Western Mediterranean: Between myth and reality. In J. Besters-Dilger, C. Dermarkar, S. Pfänder, A. Rabus (eds.), *Congruence in contact-induced language change: Language families, typological resemblance, and perceived similarities*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 122–136.

Backus, A., L. Marácz, & ten Thije. 2011. A toolkit for multilingual communication in Europe: Dealing with linguistic diversity. In Jørgensen, J. (ed.), *A toolkit for transnational communication in Europe* (Copenhagen studies in bilingualism 64). Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Humanities, 5–24.

Björkman, B. 2013. *English as an academic lingua franca: An investigation of form and communicative effectiveness* (Developments in English as a Lingua Franca 3). Berlin: De Gruyter.

Bolton, K. & Ch. Meierkord. 2013. English in contemporary Sweden: perceptions, policies, and narrated practices. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, 93–117.

Bonfiglio, T. P. 2010. *Mother Tongues and Nations. The Invention of the Native Speaker*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Böhringer, H. & C. Hülmbauer. 2010. Englisch als Lingua Franca im Kontext der europäischen Mehrsprachigkeit. In C. Hülmbauer, E. Vetter & H. Böhringer (eds.), *Mehrsprachigkeit aus der Perspektive zweier EU-Projekte: DYLAN meets LINEE*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 171–189.

Chew, P. 2009. *Emergent lingua francas and world orders: The politics and place of English as a world language*. New York: Routledge.

Cifoletti, G. 1989. *La Lingua Franca Mediterranea*. Padua: Unipress.

Cifoletti, G. 2004. *La lingua franca barbaresca* (Lingue, culture e testi 7). Roma: Il Calamo.

Clyne, M. 2000. Lingua Franca and ethnolects in Europe and beyond. *Sociolinguistica* 14, 83–89.

Corré, A. 2005. *A glossary of Lingua Franca*. [Retrieved October 25, 2014]. Available at https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/corre/www/franca/go.html

Coulmas, F. 1981. *A festschrift for native speaker*. The Hague: Mouton.

Crystal, D. 2003. *English as a global language*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: University Press.

Dakhlia, J. 2008. *Lingua franca: Histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*. Arles: Actes Sud.

de Swaan, A. 2001. *Words of the world: the global language system*. Malden: John Wiley & Sons.

Dewey, M. 2009. English as a lingua franca: Heightened variability and theoretical implications. In A. Mauranen & E. Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and findings*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 60–83.

Dürmüller, U. 1994. Multilingual talk or English only? The Swiss experience. *Sociolinguistica* 8, 44–64.

European Commission 2011. *Lingua franca: Chimera or reality?* Studies on translation and multilingualism 1/2011. European Commission: Directorate-General for Translation.

Fiedler, S. 2005. „English as a *Lingua Franca*" (Zum Modell eines nichtmuttersprachlichen Englisch im Vergleich zum Esperanto). In D. Blanke (ed.), *Internationale Plansprachen – Entwicklung und Vergleich: Beiträge der 14. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik e.V., 5.-7. November 2004 in Berlin* (Interlinguistische Informationen, supplements 12). Berlin: Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik, 9–21.

Fiedler, S. 2010. The English-as-a-lingua-franca approach: Linguistic fair play? *Language Problems & Language Planning* 34, 201–221.

Fiedler, S. 2011. English as a lingua franca – a native-culture-free code? Language of communication vs. language of identification. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies* 5, 79–97.

Firth, A. 1990. 'Lingua franca' negotiations: Towards an interactional approach. *World Englishes* 9, 269–280.

Firth, A. 2009. The *lingua franca* factor. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6, 147–170.

Fischer, R.-J. 2012: Globisch – ein neues Reduktionsmodell des Englischen. In C. Brosch & S. Fiedler (eds.), *Fachkommunikation – interlinguistische Aspekte. Beiträge der 21. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik e.V., 18. – 20. November 2011 in Berlin* (Interlinguistische Informationen, Beiheft 19). Berlin: Gesellschaft für Interlinguistik, 51–60.

Fixman, C. S. 1990. The Foreign Language Needs of U.S.-Based Corporations. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 511, 25–46.

Foltys, Ch. 1984. Die Belege der Lingua Franca. *Neue Romania* 1, 1–37.

Gazzola, M. & F. Grin 2013. Is ELF more effective and fair than translation? An evaluation of the EU's multilingual regime. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 23, 93–107.

Gnutzmann, C. 2000. Englisch als globale lingua franca: Funktion und Entwicklung – Fragen des Lehrens und Lernens – Lernziel „Mehrsprachigkeit". *Fremdsprachen lehren und lernen* 29, 23–36.

Gnutzmann, C. & F. Rabe 2014. ‚Das ist das Problem, das hinzukriegen, dass es so klingt, als hätt' es ein Native Speaker geschrieben'. Wissenschaftliches Schreiben und Publizieren in der Fremdsprache Englisch. *Fachsprache / International Journal of LSP* 1–2/2014, 31–52.

Graddol, D. 2006. *English Next. Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a Foreign Language'*. British Council.

Haarmann, H. 2001. *Kleines Lexikon der Sprachen: Von Albanisch bis Zulu*. München: Beck.

Hammarström, H., R. Forkel, M. Haspelmath, & S. Nordhoff. 2014. *Glottolog* 2.3. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. [Retrieved October 30, 2014]. Available at http://glottolog.org

House, J. 2008. English as lingua franca in Europe today. In G. Extra & D. Gorter (eds.), *Multilingual Europe: Facts and policies* (Contributions to the sociology of language 96). Berlin: de Gruyter, 63–85.

Hülmbauer, C. 2014. A matter of reception: ELF and LaRa compared. *Applied Linguistics Review* 5, 273–295.

Hülmbauer, C. & B. Seidlhofer. 2013. English as a lingua franca in European multilingualism. In A.-C. Berthoud, F. Grin, & G. Lüdi (eds.), *Exploring the dynamics of multilingualism. The DYLAN project*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 387–406.

Janssens, R,. V. Mamadouh, & L. Marácz. 2011. Languages of regional communication (*ReLan*) in Europe: three case studies and a research agenda. In J. Jørgensen (ed.), *A toolkit for transnational communication in Europe* (Copenhagen studies in bilingualism 64). Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Humanities, 69–97.

Jenkins, J. 2007. *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*. Oxford: University Press.

Jenkins, J. 2009. English as a lingua franca: Interpretations and attitudes.*World Englishes* 28, 200–207.

Kahane, H. & R. Kahane. 1976. Lingua franca: The story of a term. *Romance Philology* 30, 25–41.

Kachru, B. B. 2004. *Asian Englishes: beyond the canon*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Kimura, G. 2011. Eine Typologie interlingualer Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten. In C. Brosch & S. Fiedler (eds.), *Florilegium Interlinguisticum. Festschrift für Detlev Blanke zum 70. Geburtstag*. Frankfurt (Main) et al.: Lang, 29–46.

Knapp, K. 2002. The fading out of the non-native speaker: Native speaker dominance in lingua-franca situations. In K. Knapp & Ch. Meierkord (eds.). *Lingua Franca communication*. Frankfurt (Main): Lang, 217–244.

Knapp, K. & Ch. Meierkord. 2002. Approaching lingua franca communication. In K. Knapp & Ch. Meierkord (eds.). *Lingua franca communication*. Frankfurt (Main): Lang, 9–28.

Kryuchkova, T. 2001. Russian as intermediary language in Europe. *Sociolinguistica* 15, 96–119.

Mackey, W. 2001. Conflicting languages in a united Europe. *Sociolinguistica* 15, 32–41.

MacKenzie, I. 2013. *English as a lingua franca: Theorizing and teaching English*. London: Routledge.

Meierkord, Ch. 2006. Lingua franca communication past and present. *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177, 9–30. (special issue "The sociolinguistics of lingua franca communication: Standardisation and self-regulation", ed. by Ch. Meierkord)

Meierkord, Ch. 2007. Lingua franca communication in multiethnic contexts. In H. Kotthoff & H. Spencer-Oatey (eds.), *Handbook of intercultural communication*. Berlin et al.: de Gruyter, 199–218.

Mur-Dueñas, P. 2013. Spanish scholars' research article publishing process in English-medium journals: English used as a lingua franca? *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2, 315–340.

Neumann, G. 1965. Russennorwegisch und Pidginenglisch: Beobachtungen zum Bau von Behelfssprachen. *Nachrichten der Gießener Hochschulgesellschaft* 34, 219–232.

N.N. 1830. *Dictionnaire de la langue franque au petit mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire de mots arabes les plus usuels: à l'usage des français en Afrique*. Marseilles.

Prodromou, L. 2008. *English as a lingua franca: A corpus-based analysis*. London: Continuum.

Ranta, Elina. 2009. Syntactic features in spoken ELF – Learner language or spoken grammar? In A. Mauranen & E. Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and findings*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 84–106.

Reinecke, J., S. Tsuzaki, D. DeCamp, I. Hancock, & R. Wood 1975. *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (oceanic linguistics special publications 14). University of Hawai'i: University Press.

Röll, W. 1967. Zur Lingua Franca. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 83, 306–313.

Samarin, W. 1968. Lingua francas of the world. In J. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton, 660-672.

Samarin, W. 1987. Lingua Franca. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, & K. Mattheier (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An International handbook of the science of language and society* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 3.1), vol. 1,. Berlin: de Gruyter, 371–374.

Saraceni, M. 2013. Review of Chew (2009). *World Englishes* 32, 287–289.

Schubert, K. 2011. Zum bewussten Eingreifen in die Sprache. In C. Brosch & S. Fiedler (eds.), *Florilegium Interlinguisticum: Festschrift für Detlev Blanke zum 70. Geburtstag*. Frankfurt (Main): Lang, 47–60.
Schuchardt, H. 1909. Die Lingua franca. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33, 441–461.
Seidlhofer, B. 2011. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Seidlhofer, B. 2012. Anglophone-centric attitudes and the globalization of English. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1, 393–407.
Siegel, J. 1993. Introduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99, 5–8. (special issue "Koines and Koineization", ed. by J. Siegel)
Smit, U. 2010. *English as a lingua franca in higher education* (Trends in Applied Linguistics 2). Berlin: De Gruyter.
Swan, M. 2012. ELF and EFL: Are they really different? *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1, 379–389.
UNESCO. 1953. *The use of vernacular languages in education*. Paris: UNESCO.
Vikør, L. 2004. *Lingua franca and international language.* In U. Ammon (ed.), *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 3.1), vol. 1, 2nd ed.. Berlin: De Gruyter, 328–335.
Wansbrough, J. 1996. *Lingua franca in the mediterranean*. Richmond: Curzon Press.
Widdowson, H. 1994. The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 28, 377–389.
Wilton, A. 2012. The monster and the zombie: English as a lingua franca and the Latin analogy. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1, 337–361.
Wodak, R. 2011. Lingua Franca. In F. Kreff, E.-M. Knoll, & A. Gingrich (eds.), *Lexikon der Globalisierung*. Bielefeld: transcript, 229–232.
Wood, R. 1971. The Lingua Franca in Molière's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme. *University of South Florida Language Quarterly* 10, 2–6.

Received December 20, 2014
Revision received May 5, 2015
Accepted May 27, 2015