English as a Lingua Franca, Bilingualism and Multilingualism: How Do These Areas of Studies Relate?

Inglês com Língua Franca, Bilinguismo e Multilinguismo: Como essas áreas se relacionam?

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ABSTRACT: English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is an area of research that has expanded fast and in different ways. It started focusing mainly on form, when still following the principles of Word English research. However, now ELF is understood as a multilingual practice. This new reconceptualization of English as a Lingua Franca positioned ELF within the multilingual framework, but **Which theoretical concept(s) connect ELF, Bilingualism and Multilingualism studies?** To be able to answer this question, a review of literature on bilingualism, and/or multilingualism associated with ELF was carried out using Google Scholar. The search based on this criterion resulted in six articles and the findings show that ELF, in its third phase, considers English as an option of contact language among all other languages available in multilinguals' repertoire, which means that, English in ELF is *one* option not *the* opinion in multilingual practices.

KEYWORDS: English as a Lingua Franca, Bilingualism, Multilingualism.

RESUMO: O Inglês como Língua Franca (ILF) é uma área de pesquisa que se expandiu rapidamente e de diferentes maneiras. Começou a se concentrar principalmente na forma, quando ainda seguia os princípios do World English. No entanto, agora o ILF é entendido como uma prática multilíngue. Essa nova reconceituação do ILF o posicionou dentro da estrutura multilíngue, mas **qual(is) conceito(s) teórico(s) conecta(m) os estudos em ILF, bilinguismo e multilinguismo?** Para poder responder a essa pergunta, foi realizada uma revisão da literatura sobre bilinguismo e/ou multilinguismo associada à ILF usando o Google Scholar que resultou em seis artigos. Os resultados des artigo mostram que o ILF3 considera o inglês como uma opção de idioma de contato entre todos os outros idiomas disponíveis no repertório multilíngue de seu falante, o que significa que o inglês é entendido no ILF como *uma* opção, *não mais como*

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a única opção de língua em práticas multilíngues.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Inglês como Língua Franca, Bilinguismo, Multilinguismo.

INTRODUCTION

Since 2015, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has moved to its third phase and has been repositioned and acknowledged as a multilingual practice (Jenkins, 2015). However, even before this new phase, ELF already presented some aspects of multilingualism in its research, although at that moment, its real importance for ELF was not yet recognized by most of ELF scholars. In this matter, it is possible to cite Canagarajah (2007) as one scholar that has already shed some light onto the importance of multilingualism in ELF. Back in 2007, Canagarajah advocated that multilingualism was at the center of ELF hybrid community and speakers. Yet, despite some mentions to multilingualism found in ELF studies, it was not entirely recognized as its most important feature, and from this fact ELF was in need of a reconceptualization (Jenkins, 2015). The new remodeled concept of ELF put English as one option of contact language among all others available in the multilinguals' repertoire, which means that, "[...] English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen" (Jenkins, 2015, p.73). Now, English is viewed as an option, rather than the only option for intercultural communication, and it can be used, non-used, or even partially used (Jenkins, 2015). In this view, in ELF interactions English is not considered the most important language anymore, which is a response to the criticism that ELF has already received.

Some people seem to think that ELF is controversial on its break with old traditional paradigms such as English as a Foreign Language (Jenkins, 2015), and also Communicative language teaching (henceforth CLT), because these orientations are still towards Standard English (Kohn, 2015) and in ELF the native speaker is not viewed as the norm¹ nor taken as the threshold of what represents 'good language'. And prior any confusion, it is important to say that there is no native speakers of ELF, as ELF is not a

¹In ELF the monolingual English speaker is not the yardstick and the same can be said for bilingualism research where "it does not make sense to use the monolingual norm as the guideline for bilingual proficiency" (Buttler, 2013, p.119)

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system, nor a language on itself, ELF is a way to understanding the English language in use by *multicompetente users* (Blair, 2015, p.91) who might use English in their multilingual communications.

The possibility of using ELF in multilingual encounters, plus the necessity of ELF users to be able to monitor each other, in order to negotiate ELF forms that will be appropriate to their purposes², connects ELF as a research area to research on bilingualism and multilingualism. ELF, however, is a recent field that has started to develop as a research area in its own right. Given the potential links between ELF and the more consolidated/developed areas of bilingualism and multilingualism, our purpose in this paper is to show the conceptual connections between these fields. The attempt to understand how ELF relates to bilingualism/multilingualism is important because the body of research carried out in each of these fields, although aparently having different theorical stances, shows many similarities. Uncovering the similatiries and differences between EFL, bilingualism, and multilingualism, and making the connections explicit, may help to show that studies in these areas are actually in a continumm of knowledge with no (clear) separation.

Aiming to do so, our discussion is organized in three sections. In section 1, we presented the method used for collecting articles produced until the year of 2017, which contained the keywords ELF, Bilingualism or Multilingualism in their titles. In section 2 we present, briefly, the main points discussed in each article retrieved on section one, which composed the main body of analysis. In section 3 we present our discussion on the maze of answers found in the six articles and we try to expose the relatedness among these three areas in an attempt to answer our research question. And, in the last section, we present the final remarks of this study.

1. What is produced on ELF with bilingualism or/and multilingualism?

The articles which compose the body analyzed in this research were selected from the platform Google Scholar. In order to select those, it was used as a criterion of selection a combination of three keywords ("English as a Lingua Franca", bilingualism,

^{2&}quot;The speakers are able to monitor each other's language proficiency to determine mutually the appropriate grammar, phonology, lexical range, and pragmatic conventions that would ensure intelligibility" (Canagarajah, 2007, p.925)

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multilingualism). To be selected, the articles should have the phrase *English as a Lingua Franca* + bilingualism or multilingualism in their title and should have been published until 2017 (Figure 1 shows how the filter settings were set on the two filtering processes done using the 'advanced search' filter of Google Scholar).

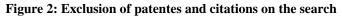
| Figure 1: Advanced search filter | of Google Scholar |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
|----------------------------------|-------------------|

| \times | Advanced search | | | × Advanced search | | Q |
|----------|--|---------------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| | Find articles with all of the words | bilingualism | | Find articles with all of the words | multilingualism | |
| | with the exact phrase | English as a Lingua Franca | | with the exact phrase | English as a Lingua Franca | |
| | with at least one of the words | | | with at least one of the words | | |
| | without the words | | | without the words | | |
| | where my words occur | ◯ anywhere in the article | | where my words occur | ◯ anywhere in the article | |
| | | in the title of the article | | | in the title of the article | |
| | Return articles authored by | e.g., "PJ Hayes" or McCarthy | | Return articles authored by | e.g., "PJ Hayes" or McCarthy | |
| | Return articles published in | | | Return articles published in | | |
| | Return articles dated between | e.g., J Biol Chem or Nature | | Return articles dated between | e.g., J Biol Chem or Nature | |

Figure 1. Filtering results through combinations of keywords. This figure illustrates the method used in the articles selection in the platform Google Scholar.

Source: the author

It was found a total of 13 results and none of these results included titles of articles used in citations or patents (on the left hand side of Google Scholar page patents and citations could be included or not in the search and in *figure 2* it is possible to observe these options were not selected)



| ≡ G <mark>oogle</mark> | Scholar | allintitle: multilingualism "English as a Lingua Franca" | ranca" | | |
|--|---|---|---------------------|--|--|
| Articles | 11 results (0. | 04 sec) | I My profile | | |
| Any time Since 2018 Since 2017 Since 2014 Custom range | J House - Jo In this paper as lingua fran this argumen | s a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? urnal of sociolinguistics, 2003 - Wiley Online Library I argue against the widespread assumption that the English language in its role ca is a serious threat to national languages and to multilingualism . I support I by making a distinction between 'languages for communication'and ed by 781 Related articles All 7 versions | [PDF] academia.edu | | |
| - 2017 Search | J Jenkins - E In the relative being conduc | ning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca nglishes in Practice, 2015 - degruyter.com hy few years since empirical research into English as a Lingua Franca began ted more widely, the field has developed and expanded remarkably, and in In particular, researchers have explored ELF from the perspective of a range of | [PDF] degruyter.com | | |
| Sort by relevance Sort by date | T English a | ed by 128 Related articles All 5 versions s <u>a Lingoffa france in European multilingualism</u> (8 Seidhofer the dynamics of multingualism , 2013 - books google.com | | | |
| include patents include citations Create alert | other langua employed by | r, we investigate the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in interaction with size in linguistically diversified settings and examine the ways in which ELF is plurilingue. European speakers. On the one hand, this concerns the speakers' ed by 29. Related articles | | | |
| Greate alert | English a | s a lingua franca and multilingualism | | | |

Source: the author

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As mentioned above, the two combinations of the three keywords generated a total of 13 results. The combination of the phrase "English as a Lingua Franca" and bilingualism generated only 2 out of the 13 results: 2 articles; and the combination of the phrase "English as a Lingua Franca" and multilingualism generated the other 11 results: 4 articles, 2 chapters of books, 1 article found in an event proceedings book, 1 book title, and 3 master theses. All the 13 results are shown in *table 1*, and for the objective of this study only articles were selected. It was found 6 articles (they are displayed in bold in *table 1*) and a brief presentation of these articles can be seen in the following section.

| | | 14010 11 | All the 13 results from the se | aren on ooogie sen | | |
|---|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|------|
| | English as a | Type of | Title | Authors | Published on | Year |
| | Lingua Franca + | material | | | | |
| 1 | bilingualism | article | English as a lingua | Ian | International | 2011 |
| | | | franca in Europe: | MacKenzie | Journal of | |
| | | | bilingualism and | | Multilingualism. | |
| | | | multicompetence | | 9(1), 83-100 | |
| 2 | bilingualism | article | Creating Global | Jasmin Lilian | GRIN Publishing ³ | 2016 |
| | | | Citizen through | Diab | | |
| | | | Bilingualism and | | | |
| | | | Education. Teaching | | | |
| | | | English as a lingua | | | |
| | | | franca in the Middle | | | |
| | | | East | | | |
| 3 | multilingualism | article | English as a lingua | Juliane House | Journal of | 2003 |
| | | | franca: A threat to | | Sociolinguistics, | |
| | | | multilingualism | | 7(4), 556-578 | |
| 4 | multilingualism | article | Translation at the | Alice Leal | New Voices in | 2016 |
| | | | European Union and | | Translation | |
| | | | English as a Lingua | | Studies, 14, 1-22 | |
| | | | Franca: Can erasing | | | |
| | | | language hierarchy | | | |
| | | | foster | | | |
| | | | multilingualism? | | | |
| 5 | multilingualism | article | English As a Lingua | Yoga Prihatin | Jurnal Penelitian | 2014 |
| | | | Franca; A Threat To | | dan Wacana | |
| | | | Multilingualism | | Pendidikan, 8(1), | |
| | | | | | 117-121 | |
| 6 | multilingualism | article | Repositioning | Jennifer | Englishes in | 2015 |
| | | | English and | Jenkins | Practice, 2(3), 49- | |

Table 1. All the 13 results from the search on Google Scholar

3 GRIN Publishing is a website that authors can upload their studies for free and for downloads the website charges a certain amount of money. The website $\langle \underline{www.grin.com} \rangle$ accepts any kind of study format: thesis, dissertation, articles, and books. Diab's study is an article, and that is the reason why we are including it here even though it is not published in a journal.

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| | | | multilingualism in | | 85 | |
|----|-----------------|---------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------|------|
| | | | English as a Lingua | | | |
| | | | Franca | | | |
| 7 | multilingualism | chapter | English as a lingua | Cornelia | Exploring the | 2013 |
| | | of book | franca in European | Hulmbauer & | Dynamics of | |
| | | | multilingualism | Barbara | Multilingualism: | |
| | | | | Seidlhofer | the DYLAN | |
| | | | | | project, 387-406 | |
| 8 | multilingualism | chapter | English as a Lingua | Barbara | Language | 2017 |
| | | of book | Franca and | Seidlhofer | Awareness and | |
| | | | Multilingualism | | Multilingualism, | |
| | | | | | 391-404 | |
| 9 | multilingualism | chapter | Communication across | Claus | Attitudes towards | 2015 |
| | | of book | Europe. What German | Gnutzmann; | English in Europe: | |
| | | | students think about | Jenny Jakisch; | English in Europe, | |
| | | | multilingualism, | Frank Rabe | v.1, 165-192 | |
| | | | language norm and | | | |
| | | | English as a lingua | | | |
| | | | franca | | | |
| 10 | multilingualism | Event | Multilingualism and | Amy S. | Proceedings of the | 2012 |
| | | proceed | Motivation: The Role | Thompson | 5th International | |
| | | ings | of English as a Lingua | | Conference of | |
| | | | Franca | | English as a Lingua | |
| | | | | | Franca, 375-385 | |
| 11 | multilingualism | master | English as a lingua | Pilar Isabel | TAUJA: | 2016 |
| | | thesis | franca, | Yeste Marco | Repositorio de | |
| | | | monolingualism and | | Trabajos | |
| | | | multilingualism: An | | Académicos de la | |
| | | | overview of these | | Universidad de | |
| | | | concepts and a | | Jaén | |
| | | | proposal for their | | | |
| | | | introduction in the 2nd | | | |
| | | | NCSE English | | | |

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| | | | classroom | | | |
|----|-----------------|--------|------------------------|-----------|------------------|------|
| 12 | multilingualism | master | Is absolute | Caroline | Ghent University | 2011 |
| | | thesis | multilingualism | Bogaert | | |
| | | | maintainable? The | | | |
| | | | language policy of the | | | |
| | | | European Parliament | | | |
| | | | and the threat of | | | |
| | | | English as a lingua | | | |
| | | | franca | | | |
| 13 | multilingualism | master | The Role of English as | Annamária | University of | 2010 |
| | | thesis | a Lingua Franca in | Tóth | Vienna | |
| | | | European | | | |
| | | | Multilingualism. | | | |
| | | | Perceptions of | | | |
| | | | Exchange Students | | | |

Source: the author

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2. Understanding the discussions presented in each of the six articles selected – a brief overview

From the 13 results, only 6 were articles. Their discussions are going to be presented here briefly, in order to shed some light on some of what has been discussed about "English as a Lingua Franca", bilingualism and/or multilingualism in these studies.

2.1. English as a lingua franca in Europe: bilingualism and multicompetence⁴

In this article MacKenzie (2012) suggests that the linguistic strategies often attributed to English as a lingua franca users is actually of common use to most bilinguals and multilinguals in Europe. Many Europeans are multilinguals and can speak, or at least understand, 3 languages or more. Most Europeans are also ELF users, "[m]any ELF speakers in Europe grew up bilingually, and learned English as a third (or fourth) language" (MacKenzie, 2012, p.92) and because they are able to understand English and other languages they "tend to have a well-developed metalinguistic awareness, which increases with the number of language spoken, and has a catalytic effect on further language acquisition" (MacKenzie, 2012, p.92). The author also brings attention to the fact that English is a Germanic language, with so much Latin and French lexis that English is now considered a "semi-Romance language" (p.86). Taking this semi-Romance language aspect of English, English users should be able to recognize 40% of the lemmas in about 10 national languages⁵. MacKenzie, mainly, advocates in this article that the nature of ELF, plus the similarities found in the European languages, allow European ELF users to make use of their plurilinguistic resources, which is an instantiation of multicompetence in action.

The discussion presented on MacKenzie's article shows that some of the features normally attributed to ELF interactions are common features in daily communication of many Europeans. However, the article also presents that Europeans seem to not recognize the richness of the English they speak as a second, a third or even

⁴ Each title of subsection presented in this section corresponds to the original title of the article (see *table 1*).

⁵The 10 languages cited are: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian

a fourth language, which was called 'Euro-English' by Mollin (2006)⁶ (cited in Mackenzie, 2012). MacKenzie presents that Europeans still desire to achieve the 'native-like English'. In bringing ELF to discuss Europeans' use of English, this article, taking on ELF framework, sets aside the Native-Speaker (NS) as the norm, and recognizes European as users in their own right, celebrating them as ELF users. Not invoking NS as norm changes the understanding of 'Euro-English' from deviant use of the English language to a linguistic aware multicompent use of English.

2.2. Creating Global Citizen through Bilingualism and Education. Teaching English as a lingua franca in the Middle East

Jasmin Diab (2017) discusses the role of global citizens and how this global citizenship can be acquired "through the awareness and engagement about global issues, or through exposure to different cultures and different languages within a local setting" (p.3). She mentions that there is a close relationship between the term *global citizenship* and the notions of *globalization* and *cosmopolitanism*. As she acknowledges that with globalization there was an expansion of English as a lingua franca, she also presents Middle East difficulty to engage into the international community, whilst striving to overcome the sterotypes and stigmatization associated with Western hegemonic views. Diab addresses the fact that "staying monolingual is no longer a viable option, with bilingualism becoming the *sine quo* of global citizenship" (Diab, 2017, p.4) and with this, she focuses on the importance of having English proficiency accompanied by cultural empathy. She concludes pointing out that people are tied socially, culturally, politically and economically to one another across the globe and that educational system should be able to equip students with the necessary for them to reach their Global Citizenship.

Diab's discussion reinforces the fact that English is a global language which makes possible for anyone, whose L1 is or is not English, to communicate in a global scale (this *mobility* is a common understanding in ELF discussions). However, what is different in this article is the mention of Middle East difficulties in entering the international community, while also conveying an idea that Middle East might have

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⁶ Mollin, S. (2006). Euro-English: Assessing variety status. Tubingen: Gunther Narr.

some hegemonic views that might be advocating to stay monolingual. This article also exposes the importance of becoming a Global Cititzen and that education system plays an important role on this. This article seems to present that Middle East fights a desire to keep their identity, and might have been having a hard time accepting that speaking English does not position any problem to other languages. ELF studies recognize the importance of its users identities and cultures, and celebrates how all this can make ELF communications richier, which alligns with her desire for the understanding that "language must be accompanied with cultural empathy" (Diab, 2017, p.5)

2.3. Translation at the European Union and English as a Lingua Franca: Can erasing language hierarchy foster multilingualism?

In Leal (2016), it is possible to observe the tension, in terms of language, that exists in the European Union (henceforth EU). Whereas EU supports many projects that promote multilingualism, and although all their documents should be translated in all official languages, the translation of their official documents is actively done only in 3 language: English, German and French, being English the more common language in use.

The "EU has 28 members countries and 24 official languages" (Leal, 2016, p.3), nevertheless, despite of all 24 languages having official status within the EU, only 3 of them are mostly used. This situation reinforces debates about linguistic hierarchy and their contradicted defense of multilingualism, based on the EU position, Leal (2016) concludes that "the EU has avoided linguistic tension by not concretely addressing it" (p.12).

Leal exposes in her paper a multifaced use of different languages in EU official documents, yet she points 3 languages as being the most common used: English, French and German, with English being more commonly used of all. She presents the use of English as being a way of saving EU' time and resources since it is spoken by almost everyone. With English being the language chosen most of the time, the author posits the English language as having a dominance in EU translations and points out that it should be perceived as "inescapable developments over which we have no influence" (Lealm 2016, p. 19).

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English is the current lingua franca, and accepting it does not need to mean recognizing English as something privileged. It is just a matter of how it became the most accessible language to all, as part of some of the *inescapable developments* that Leal mentions in her paper.

2.4. English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism

In this article, Juliane House (2003) defends the idea that English as a lingua Franca is not a threat to multilingualism exposing the distinction of "languages for communication" and "languages for identification". House advocates that "ELF can be regarded as a language for communication, that is, a useful instrument for making oneself understood in international encounters" (p.559) which means that ELF is unlikely to be considered a language of identification by ELF users, so the use of ELF is not something that would interfere or determine ones identity. In her paper she positions ELF as a language that functions in conjunction with other languages, such as L1s and local languages. She also pinpoints that speakers use "ELF for instrumental purposes [that] does not necessarily displace national or local languages, as they are used for different purposes" (p.560).

Besides presenting this difference between "languages for communication" and "languages for identification", she brings findings of three projects ("Communicating in English as a lingua franca", "Covert translation" and "English as a medium of instruction in German universities"), carried out at Hamburg University, to support that English is not a killer of languages, on the contrary, it is "a 'co-language' functioning not against, but in conjunction with local languages" (Fishman, 1997: 329ff. as cited in House, 2003, p.574).

In this paper, House exposes a common criticism that ELF receives, that it might be a threat to intimate varieties of language of its users, be them local, regional or national. In ELF communications, English is not to be perceived as an *imperial language*, with a prestigious status over the other ones as it is part of its users repetoire as *one more tool* in multilingualism. In short, this paper advocates for a positive view of English as a língua franca in which celebrates the richness use of ELF with all the *'otherness'* that compose this multilingual use of English.

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2.5. English As a Lingua Franca; A Threat To Multilingualism

Prihatin (2014) takes a different stance on how to perceive the use of ELF in communications as for her, multilingualism, through the learning of a lingua franca or a national language, can endanger some minority languages. She illustrates that multilingualism can be a result of various facts, such as historical, political, religious or economic movements, as also because of foreign language education. According to her, "multilingualism usually implies English and other languages" (Prihatin, 2014, p.118), and here is the point in her article where English is cited as being a lingua franca which she points out to be a possible result of *language imperialism*.

Although she seems to advocate against the spread of multilingualism especially through the use of English as a lingua franca, Prihatin also presents some other authors to advocate that "the spread of a single language of communication [in this case ELF] does not need to affect the existence of languages of identification" (Knapp cited in Prihatin, 2014, p.119). In her conclusions, she points out that English is the most common language in the educational system worldwide, because it is tied to the globalization and modernization. However, it should not take over the other languages. She advocates for the retention of local languages and even recommends some principles to do so such as: 1) have the educational system use local language or mother tongue as a medium of instruction, 2) delay the exposition to English until later years of primary school, and 3) learn ELF aiming to "multilingual *performance* and *proficiency*, not an idealized native-like *proficiency*"⁷ (p. 120, *my italics*).

This article dissonates from the studies aforementioned, because it shows a slightly inclination against the spread of multilingualism. This paper brings into the discussion on multilingualism aspects of the spread of ELF and its relation to coloniaslism. Although, this paper presents some countarguments showing that multiligualism, mainly through the use of ELF, might not mean any endagerment to minority languages, it leaves an impression that it might be advocating against the use of English worldwide, somehow.

⁷ The italics were used to inform that this is the original spelling used in the article and that it was maintained in the citation.

2.6. Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca

This article, by Jenkins, represents her first movement to include ELF within the multilingualism framework (being it the third ELF phase). In this paper, she presents all the three phases of ELF with ELF 1 being the development of what researchers called the *Lingua Franca Core* and ELF 2 consisted of a redefinition of ELF. In ELF second phase the main focus changing to ELF speakers' use of forms and the concept of Communities of Practices, instead of the, at the moment, traditional view of varietyoriented speech community.

In ELF third phase, ELF 3, Jenkins indicates some advancements made by other ELF scholars, using their findings to help her build up a justification to why ELF should take into account multilingualism. And based on the advancements made on the field, she wrote, "ELF is a multilingual practice, and research should start from this premise and explore how ELF's multilingualism is enacted in different kinds of interactions" (Jenkins, 2015, p.63). In this article, Jenkins inaugurates ELF 3, which moved away from viewing "ELF as *the* framework to [ELF viewing] ELF *within* a framework of multilingualism" (p.77, *her italics*).

This article represents the debut of ELF as being understood as beloging to the framework of multilingualism, not the other way around. As already mentioned in the reviews presented here, ELF was always cited as a multilingual use of English by multilingual speakers. However, it is in this article that an official call for the necessity of ELF to be understood *within* the multilingualism framework is made. And with this new understanding the new term 'English as a Multilingua Franca'⁸ was launched.

3. Discussion - The relatedness of ELF, bilingualism and multilingualism

It is possible to say that phases one and two of ELF, known as ELF 1 and ELF 2, had very little relation to Bilingualism and/or Multilingualism. While ELF 1 studies were mostly focused on identifying ELF features such as *pronunciation and*

⁸Jenkins (2015) recognizes that scholars might not change the term "English as a língua franca" for "English as a Multilingua franca" because all the chaos that would be changing conference, journal, book names. However, this new notion should be noticed and considered in new writings embedded in ELF theory.

lexicogrammar, ELF 2 presented some advancements towards multilingualism, when compared to ELF 1, especially when it took into account the use that ELF users make of "their multi-faceted multilingual repertoires in a fashion motivated by the communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction" (Seidlhofer, 2009b, p.242). In ELF 2 is possible to observe minor changes toward multilingualism, because instead of looking only at pronunciation, researchers began to understand that they should give attention to more aspects of ELF communications such as the *accommodation* made on each interaction among ELF users. In this phase (ELF 2) it was also clear the *inclusion of both non-native speakers (NNS) and native speaker (NS)* in intercultural communication where ELF takes part⁹, Seidlhofer (2011, p.81 cited in Kohn, 2015, p.52) states that "[i]n ELF situations, speakers of any kind of English, from EFL, ENL, and ESL contexts, need to adjust to the requirements of intercultural communication".

In short, ELF 2 major change was when research moved away from the study of features of "different ELFs varieties" (related to World Englishes research) to start considering ELF as a contact language¹⁰ among different L2 speakers with its fluidity and negotiation based on the varied multilingual repertoires (Jenkins, 2015)¹¹, within its own right, and being characterized by its main features such as "negotiability, variability in terms of speaker proficiency, and openness to an integration of forms of other languages" (House, 2003, p.557).

ELF research then moves to ELF 3, when there is a new re-conceptualization in which, "all relate in one way or another to the increasingly diverse *multilingual nature of ELF* communication" (Jenkins, 2015, p.58, *my italics*). The major change in understanding on ELF 3 is that it does not only consider that "ELF *is* a multilingual practice" (Jenkins, 2015, p.63) as it also considers English *as one option among many others* available on multilinguals repertoires. The major break of ELF 3 is that English

⁹Although the majority of ELF researchers consider ELF users people to whom English is not a L1, but a communicative medium of choice, it does not exclude native speakers of English to participate in ELF communication (see Jenkins, 2015).

¹⁰Prihatin's article discusses ELF as a *language of communication*, not a *language of identification*. In this article, she provides a short descriptive view on the spread of multilingualism and ELF (See Prihatin, 2014).

¹¹This change positioned ELF as something to be studied on itself, and marked a departure from World Englishes literature, separating ELF from *Kachru's Outer and Expanding Circles*, which meant that no longer the native speaker was the norm, in addition to it, ELF2 assumed that NS could be included in ELF communications, as well.

is an option among many others, not *the* only option on multilinguals' encounters, while it also acknowledges that English might not even be the first additional language of its users. This change emplaces ELF outside of *its bubble*¹² because ELF starts being

theorized within a framework of multilingualism rather than vice versa, [this way] the theory would be better able to account for these kinds of communications in terms both of what is said, when and why, and of the possible influence of 'knowing' (but no necessarily using) English on the speakers and their interactions (Jenkins, 2015, p.66)

Jenkins, in her work from 2015, took a huge step, she positioned ELF 3 "within multilingualism, rather than the current view, at the time, which understood multilingualism as an aspect of ELF. In other words, what I am [actually, what she is] talking about could be called English as a Multilingua Franca" (p.73).

Positioning English as a Multilingua Franca was the missing part to complete the link between ELF and multilingualism. There were already so many similarities between these two areas, even before re-conceptualizing ELF within the multilingualism framework, that this change had soon to be made. For example, House (2003) defined ELF as being something different from an interlanguage, with the difference relying on the fact that, there are no foreign norm, system, errors or nonerrors within ELF. Another example can be seen in MacKenzi (2012), who also said that "ELF users are not trying to emulate the idealised competence of native speakers (Nss), or moving, in a more or less linear progression, towards someone else's target, as in the second language acquisition (SLA) concept of an interlanguage" $(p.83)^{13}$. Bearing this in mind, it is understandable that interlanguage is not an adequate concept to be applied when talking about ELF users. Instead, people should use the concept of multicompetence (House, 2003). Bilingualism and multilingualism studies also advocates that bilinguals/multilinguals are not to be compared to monolinguals because, to start with, their minds (multilinguals'/bilinguals' comparing to monolinguals') function differently (Jessner, 2017).

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¹²Jenkins (2015) mentions that this idea of ELF bubble appeared in a workshop at King's College London when a staff participant mentioned that ELF research acknowledges the multilingual character of ELF, but at the same time ignores other languages, which meant that until ELF 2, multilingualism was quite put aside when observing/studying ELF communication's features.

¹³Besides the fact that native speakers of English are not the norm for ELF, there will never be such a thing as ELF natives (ELF communications occur and differ from one another all the time), and 2) why emulate somebody when you are already considered as as competent, as a "legitimate language user"?

When talking about multicompetence, it is important to have in mind that a bilingual¹⁴ speaker "is a human communicator who has developed communicative competence in two languages in order to be able to cope with the communicative needs of everyday life" (Jessner, 2017, p. 164). In other words, bilinguals have "a distinctive state of mind, unlike a final stage of knowledge like the native monolinguals' competence" (House, 2003, p.558) because

a multicompetent speaker's knowledge of his or her second language is typically not identical to that of a NS, while the L2 will also have an effect on the multicompetent speaker's L1, which will thus differ from that of a monolingual. This because bilinguals – after a certain threshold is reached – have conjoined system with a partially integrated mental lexicon¹⁵ (MacKenzie, 2012, p.85).

This means that "[s]taying monolingual is no longer a viable option, with bilingualism becoming the *sine quo* of global citizenship" (Diab, 2017, p.4). Multilinguals have a bigger repertoire to rely on than monolinguals, and this can also be said for the repertoire used in their L1. Being multilingual brings advantages to people's own L1, when compared to their L1 monolingual counterpart, such as "development of reading skills in their L1, written composition of essays in the L1, general diversified mental skills, analogical thinking (reasoning) and creativity" (Franceschini, 2011, p.349) and the list goes on and on, and this is probably true for "Multilingual ELF users" and 'Monolingual ELF users"¹⁶ (Jenkins, 2015, p.74), as well (although studies on this will have to be conducted to confirm this hypothesis).

Considering the studies already conducted and reviewed in this paper, it is possible to conclude that bilingualism and multilingualism studies relate to ELF studies. It is also possible to observe that ELF studies present some direct concern with fostering

¹⁴Bilingual and multilingual as bilingualism and multilingualism will be used in the discussion section as interchangeable terms.

¹⁵This *conjoined system with partially integrated mental lexicon* cited in MacKenzie (2012) means that bilingual's mental lexicon has a common underlying proficiency, a set of skills and implicit metalinguistic knowledge that bilinguals/multilinguals can drawn upon when working in any language because this skills and knowledge build onto one unique Central Operating System. See Baker (2008) for more explanation on this concept and its limitation.

¹⁶Jenkins (2015) proposed that instead of using the term NNES/NES ELF users, we could probably use "ELF-using monolinguals and ELF-using multilinguals" (p.74) if the emphasis was to be on the them being users of ELF, or we could use "multilingual ELF users and monolingual ELF users" (idem.) if the emphasis was to be on them speaking ELF only, or speaking ELF and any other language(s). Note that "idem" is not used in APA.

multilingualism, recognizing the richness of ELF communications, because of multilinguals' diverse repertoire (Leal, 2016; Jenkins, 2015; MacKenzie, 2012; House, 2003), recognizing their intercultural competence (as mentioned in Diab, 2017) and their cultural empathy, as also recognizing ELF speakers as users on their own right.

The majority of the studies reviewed here also tackled on the issue that having English as a lingua franca does not need to mean exclusion of other laguanges of ELF users and "ELF research needs to take a more nuanced account of this development in its orientation" (Jenkins, 2015, p. 59). ELF reaseach has moved steadly in this direction since ELF 3, so concerns for the globally use of English diminishing or killing minority languages, as demonstrated in Prihatin (2014), are opposite to what ELF new studies propose and advocate for.

Final remarks

In the reconceptualization of ELF, in its third phase, English started to be understood as one language available in the potential mix to be used in intercultural encounters, which in other words means that, it is now considered as *one* resource, as opposed to *the* resource, *among all* available in the multilinguals' repertoire. This new understanding represents the major connection between ELF, bilingualism and multilingualism.

ELF3 represents a huge turn on how ELF communications are characterized, because before it, although scholars already mentioned multilingual aspects in ELF, ELF was seen within its own framework, and the multilingualism in it was taken for granted. However, with the reconceptualization that happened n ELF3, it started being seen within the multilingualism framework (Jenkins, 2015), not the other way around, so, now English in ELF should be understood as a Multilingua Franca.

All these changes might imply that ELF's features, once studied on their own, should be studied based on multilingualism findings as well. ELF features and findings may also have to be compared to what multilingualism scholars have already done in order to be understood in depth; aspects as metalinguistic awareness, fluidity and negotiation, often observed in ELF communications may now also be based on multilingualism studies in order to be more fully understood as being part of the varied repertoire that multilinguals have.

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ELF in its third phase represents a huge step, because now ELF field is within a bigger field (multilingualism), so in order for ELF research to advance even more, scholars should accept that ELF is a multilingual practice from its core, and as one, both fields of studies could be better aligned.

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