Planning a global *lingua franca*

Benno Lang

"English is recognized as undoubtedly the most important language to learn for the increasingly mobile international community. This is a fact that seems to be irreversible."
(Rahimi & Bagheri 2011, p. 119)

"What is to stop the deadening uniformity of English from devouring the world?"
(Burling 2007, p. 222)

"Can we take the whole language question out of the realm of power relations and solve it in a rational and efficient way?"
(Wells 2005)

"The international language is … a serious and technical problem, which we are going to solve just as well as we are solving the flying problem"
(Ostwald, cited in Jespersen 1910, p. 109)

This paper has been written with the aim of raising the concept of a global *lingua franca*. Firstly it looks at the history of *lingua francas* (*linguae francae*), then discusses English and its current position as a *lingua franca*, and Mandarin as another important language in this era. Following that, it investigates Esperanto, an International Auxiliary Language, which has been created to fulfil the role of a global *lingua franca*. Then it describes an ideal *lingua franca*: its features; suggested mechanisms for its development; and possible means for its promotion.

History

A lingua franca is defined as a kind of language used by speakers who don't share a native language (Mufwene 2013), especially when it is not a native language of either of the parties using it. The term comes from the language called *Lingua Franca*, meaning Frankish tongue, which was a pidgin language with no native speakers, constructed using elements of Romance languages – Italian, in particular – in addition to Arabic, vulgar Greek, and Turkish. It was mainly used by traders around the Mediterranean Sea from the 15th century until the 19th century (Díaz 2008, p. 223). Is is likely that it was conceived much earlier, perhaps in the 11th century (*Italian-Based Pidgins and Lingua Franca* 1975, p. 70).

Lingua francas generally develop in one of two ways: organically, such as with the original Lingua Franca, or by force. For example, Latin was originally promulgated through the military expansion of the Roman empire. From there, it has had an enduring influence, which can be seen in several ways. The Romance languages of today evolved from what was vulgar Latin. Ecclesiastical Latin was developed as the language of the Catholic church, and it wasn't until the 1960s and Vatican II that approved vernacular translations instead began to be used for mass. Latin also became the key language of European academia, and while its importance has declined, it continues to be taught throughout the world. For instance, *Latinitas Sinica*, a centre for Latin language and culture, was opened in Beijing in 2012 (Lane 2012). Meanwhile, Oxford university continues to give orations in

Latin, for example to Aung San Suu Kyi (Davies 2012). Classical Chinese was another historical lingua franca, which saw use in East Asia, and preceded the development of systems such as Korean *Hangul* in 1443, Japanese *Kana* in the 9th century, and the Vietnamese alphabet in the 17th century. During the Golden Age of Islam, Arabic was a lingua franca in which scientific treatises were written, as well as mathematical, philosophical and religious texts (Hajar 2013, p. 43).

English

English presently holds the status of being the main language of international discourse. It is the language of aeronautical communication, with proficiency determined by the Aviation English Test a requirement to work in international aviation (ICAO n.d.). It is the language of maritime communication, with Standard Marine Communication Phrases required knowledge for seafarers (International Maritime Organization 2014). English is "the leading lingua franca of international business" (Evans 2013, p. 227) and of science, the language of over half of the content on the world wide web (W3Techs 2014), and of course the language of the BBC and of Hollywood. Outside the Anglosphere, countries are scrambling to improve their English education to give their countries the best chance of success in this English-dominated world. While Patterson and Huff (1999, p. 445) ask rhetorically, "How could this bastardized form of low German achieve such stature?", the common view is akin to that of Mauranen (2003, p. 513): "This unprecedented spread ... can be traced to British colonialism and later to the economic and political power of the United States". Sasaki (2007, pp. 134-136) shows that even a research field such as Jewish studies, which has historically had substantial publication in Hebrew, is now seeing an influx of English.

Literature discussing English as a lingua franca (ELF) repeatedly refers to the now well established fact that there are far more non-native speakers of English than there are native English speakers, e.g. Jenkins (2006, p. 170), and Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey (2011, p. 283). It is estimated that there are now 2 billion English speakers in the world, with 3 or 4 non-native speakers for every native speaker (Crystal 2008, p. 5-6). Another recurring theme is that of Kachru's Three Circles of English model, with its inner, outer and expanding circles (see e.g. Kachru 1990, p. 4), which seems to be the key model employed in ELF research (see e.g. Baker (2009), Evans (2013), Jenkins (2006), Jenkins, Kogo and Dewey (2011), Mauranen (2003), Rahimi and Bagheri (2011), and Seidlhofer (2009)). The rise of English as a lingua franca, set amongst a range of newly formed and still evolving World Englishes, brings with it a range of problems.

Before delving into the problems inherent in ELF, it is necessary to first examine their underlying causes, the nature of which are expressed rather concisely, if perhaps bluntly, in Burling (2007, p. 209): "English has one serious problem: it is regarded as horribly difficult". Smith (2005, pp. 58-62) identifies four key reasons why English is a poor lingua franca:

1. English is unpronounceable. It is stated that English has 12-14 vowels and 10 diphthongs, compared to Japanese and Spanish, which have 5 vowels. It also has a wide range of consonants, and complex consonant clusters.
2. English is irregular. Providing figures from Stephen Pinker's *Landfall*, Smith states that "about 70% of verb use in everyday speech involves an irregular verb" (Ibid., p. 59). English orthography is described as more daunting, with research showing that native speakers are at a distinct disadvantage in developing literacy (Ibid., pp. 59-60).

3. English is too complex. The complexity of English interrogative forms, with inversion and auxiliary verbs as necessary features, is contrasted with Spanish as an example. Also pointed out are prepositions, inflexible syntax, and phrasal verbs.
4. English is ambiguous. Newspaper headlines such as "Stolen painting found by tree" are discussed, as well as noun qualification, e.g. "public supply chain management information systems" (Ibid., p. 60). A key criticism in this regard is that there are no semantic markers for word types, which greatly affects language learners, translators, and computational linguists.

While Smith mentions irregular plurals (Ibid., p, 60), a related complication is the fact that many languages lack any real sense of plurality. The same is true for articles. English's vast, nuanced vocabulary, filled with borrowings from a whole host of different languages, no doubt also presents a challenge for non-native speakers. In terms of English's irregular orthography, the pronunciation of the following words provide a clear example of the kind of challenge English learners are up against: through; rough; though; cough; ought; plough. The following examples highlight the irregularity of English prepositions, by contrasting their use with that of the Japanese particle *de* (N.B. in these contexts, *de* indicates the means by which something is done).

Japanese	**English**
denwa **de** hanasu	talk **on** the phone
basu **de** iku	go **by** bus
pen **de** kaku	write **in** pen; write **with** a pen

In ELF, some of the key issues revolve around identity, ownership, and power relations. Nero (2009, p. 164) explains that "the role of English is still contested – on the one hand, some see its pervasive presence as linguistic imperialism; on the other hand, many view the language as the ultimate anti-imperialist tool, using it to challenge Western domination … It is not uncommon for both views to be simultaneously held by the same group or individual."

Linguistic imperialism can be seen in the way native English as a Foreign Language (EFL) has been taught. Students have been, and in many cases still are, expected to work towards a norm which is typically based on US or British English, aiming to communicate with native speakers from English speaking countries. However, as has been pointed out, those two countries no longer have the majority of the world's English speakers, and students are learning English as a means of conversing with an international community of English speakers, who all have an equal claim to membership (Jenkins 2002, p. 85). It has been argued that teaching a native speaker pronunciation norm is bound to fail for most students (Ibid., p. 86). In any case, for students who merely want to use English as a vehicular language and will have minimal or possibly no contact with native speakers, native pronunciation is irrelevant. However, certain mispronunciations have been shown to hamper effective ELF communication even in the presence of strong contextual information; the non-native listener trusts what is heard rather than relying on the context of conversation (Ibid., pp. 89-91). The situation is likely worse when listeners are native speakers, as they are less likely to use effective accommodation strategies (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011, pp. 298-299). There doesn't seem to be any easy way to avoid problems with English's complexities.

Further to these issues, the risk that English may disintegrate into a number of mutually unintelligible languages, in a similar manner to Latin's descent into the Romance languages, has been raised as a possibility that warrants caution (Jenkins 2002, p. 86). Caution should also be taken to lessen the threat that English poses to the vitality of smaller European languages (Phillipson 2003, cited in Jenkins 2006, p. 164).

Chinese

Mandarin, or Pǔtōnghuà (普通话) as it is known in China, is the standard variety of Chinese which has been spread as China's lingua franca by Chinese governmental policy since the 20th century. Though estimated numbers vary, it likely has the highest number of native-level speakers of any language on the planet. On top of that, the Chinese economy is growing at a phenomenal rate and, in terms of purchasing power parity, is set to take the number one spot this year (Ranasinghe 2014). The linguistic ties which bind China to Japan, Korea and Vietnam include the past and present use of Chinese characters, and a wide range of Chinese-derived words. Cultural ties include Confucianism, Buddhism, Feng Shui, and so on. Given these facts, it is likely that Mandarin will grow in stature as a regional language used for trade and diplomacy. In fact, the Chinese government has within the last decade established Confucius Institutes in universities across the globe, with the aim of promoting Mandarin and Chinese culture. The possibility of a world in which "let them learn Mandarin" becomes a catchphrase when China becomes the world's biggest economic power (Smith 2005, p. 62) doesn't seem far-fetched, but even if that doesn't eventuate and Mandarin's importance on the global stage remains second to English, it is unlikely to diminish in relevance within Asia, and it may end up becoming a regional lingua franca. It appears that the importance of English within China may already be in decline, with plans to remove English from the *gaokao*, the national college entrance examination (Zhou & Zhou 2013), as well as demote its importance in the final grade from 150 points down to 100 (Wang 2014).

Esperanto and constructed languages

It's true that a complicated natural language could be used as a global lingua franca, such as English with its incomprehensible spelling and grammar, or Chinese with its thousands of characters and difficult tonal pronunciation (e.g. 妈妈骂马吗, māma *mà mǎ ma* "did mother scold the horse?"). In a very real sense, English is already on its way to becoming the global lingua franca. However, it should be very clear to the astute observer, based on the problems raised regarding ELF, that using any such language is far from optimal in terms of efficiency of learning or providing level power relations. Hence, for the human race as a whole, the enforced learning of such a language is a colossal waste of effort, when there are alternatives which have been been specifically crafted to work as auxiliary languages; over 1000 of them (Blanke 2009, p. 251).

Esperanto, meaning 'one who hopes', is one such alternative. It was introduced in 1887 by Ludovic Zamenhof, a Polish ophthalmologist, who set out to create a politically neutral, easily learned language for the world to use. It has a vocabulary influenced by Latin and the Romance languages, with simple grammar, (very close to) phonemic orthography, and regularity unseen in natural languages. Thus far, it is the most successful constructed language. It has a number of users estimated to be between 100,000 and 2 million. There are more Wikipedia articles written in Esperanto than in Danish, Hebrew, Hindi, or Greek; and as of 1997, about 30,000 books had been written in Esperanto (Horvitz 1997). An Esperanto interface is available for many software applications, including Skype and

Firefox, Esperanto is an interface language option on Facebook, and Google Translate includes Esperanto as one of its options. Esperanto has become important enough that the 1985 UNESCO conference invited member states to promote study programs on "the language problem and Esperanto" in schools and universities (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1985, p. 68).

The features that make Esperanto simple include the fact that nouns, adjectives and adverbs are easily spotted by their word endings – respectively o, a, and e. Verbs take a range of endings depending on tense, mood and so on, e.g. i for the infinitive, as for present tense, and u for jussive. Zamenhof crafted Esperanto's orthography with the 'one-letter, one-sound' principle in mind, so that any written word can be pronounced with no effort, and likewise spoken words take no effort to write. Proponents of Esperanto claim that fluency can be achieved with much less time than other languages; the American Esperantist Mike Sloper claimed that it is four times easier to learn than any other language (Horvitz 1997).

However, despite over 120 years of its existence and continual promotion, Esperanto has barely made any progress towards its stated aim of being an international auxiliary language. Apart from Esperantist organisations, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any international organisation which uses Esperanto for communication between parties who don't share a mutual first language. To attempt to understand why this is the case, some criticisms of the language should be addressed.

The first criticism is that for an international language, Esperanto is far too Eurocentric. This can be seen in its vocabulary, morphology and grammar. For example, the word *bovino* "cow" contains elements from Romance (*bov* "cattle") and Germanic (*in* feminine suffix) languages. An investigation found that "Esperanto is indeed more European in character than many of its advocates would have it, but probably less so than many of its opponents would have predicted" (Parkvall 2010, p. 72). Even so, it would be difficult to argue that European learners of Esperanto don't have at least an initial advantage against their compatriots from other parts of the world, if only due to the European cognates in the roots of its vocabulary. European languages, which make up a mere 3.4% of the world's languages (Baker 1998, p. 351, cited in Christiansen 2006, p. 21), seem to be a poor base for the vocabulary of an international language. But it seems that Eurocentricity, while not in keeping with the ideals of the language, pragmatically may not be that much of an issue; Lins (2008, p. 47) argues that "outside Europe and the Americas, nowhere has Esperanto spread as much as it has in East Asia".

Another common criticism is of Esperanto's orthography, which uses the letter c as Slavic languages do (producing a ts sound), and also includes the circumflexed letters ĉ, ĝ, ĥ, ĵ, and ŝ, which are not seen in any natural languages, and prevent immediate readability. Jespersen (1910, p. 111) argued two points: writing circumflexes by hand is cumbersome; and typing in Esperanto would require special typewriters. The latter has been only partially resolved by computers and smartphones, where users must install a special software keyboard which allows the circumflexed letters to be entered. Also, software programs must support newer and more international character encodings such as UTF-8, instead of traditionally common sets such as ISO Latin 1 (ISO-8859-1), and users must choose appropriate fonts which contain the circumflexed characters. The only alternative is to use the less aesthetically pleasing and less readable method – typing the relevant unadorned letter, followed by an x or h, e.g. *gxi* instead of *ĝi* "it".

Esperanto's phonology can be difficult for speakers of languages without certain consonants, such as ĵ and ĥ (IPA: ʒ and x, respectively), and others like f and v. Most vexing are consonant clusters, which are quite common, such as those seen in *kvar* "four" and *kvin* "five". One of the worst of these is *scienco* (st͡sient͡so) "science". One can easily imagine a spelling which would be easier to pronounce, roughly based on the pronunciation in other languages, e.g. *sajnso* (English), *sionso* (French), *ŝenco* (Italian), or *ŝentio* (Latin).

In addition, perhaps due to its age, Esperanto suffers from an inbuilt form of sexism, with most nouns being male by default, unless the feminine suffix *in* is added. For example *patro* "father" becomes *patrino* "mother", *knabo* "boy" becomes *knabino* "girl". This is not to say that such ideas are not present in natural languages, e.g. *man* and *woman* in English, but that such pitfalls should and easily could be avoided in a constructed language.

Criticisms also exist regarding the language's grammar. An example from the Esperanto learning website lernu.net (18.2 in the *bildoj kaj demandoj* "pictures and questions" series) is *Ana fotas grandajn kaj nigrajn hundojn* "Anna photographs (is photographing) large, black dogs", where the adjectives *granda* "large" and *nigra* "black" have the plural suffix j and the object suffix n attached, in agreement with the object noun *hundo* "dog" which has both suffixes. Other languages such as Japanese, Mandarin, and Korean function with almost no concept of plurals, and many languages have no object marker. These and adjective-noun agreement seem to be unnecessarily complex and hence should not exist in a language which is designed to be simpler than natural languages.

Further criticisms apply both to Esperanto and all other constructed languages. The first of these is that they are an insult to real languages which form a key part of our identities. Esperanto is viewed as "a threat to beauty: neutral, antiseptic, soulless" (Okrent 2009, p. 112). Israel Cohen similarly denigrated Esperanto for being mechanistic, lacking in history, and crucially lacking in spirit; in contrast, he praised Hebrew (the revival of which started close to the beginning of the dissemination of Esperanto) for being the opposite – natural, steeped in history, and being "the very expression of spirit" (Halperin 2012, p. 24).

The second is the perception of a lack of utility, due to a lack of speakers, even though in the case of Esperanto, there are of course plenty of people using the language to talk to people from other linguacultural backgrounds. This is a chicken and egg problem; utility is unlikely to be perceived before there are speakers, and speakers are unlikely to exist before utility can be perceived. Right now there are no doubt many critics who say 'Why not just use English?', but if the power and influence of China grows and Mandarin takes over some of English's role as a lingua franca, at least within parts of Asia, are they likely to say 'Why not just use Mandarin?' What happens if English divides into several descendent languages which are not mutually intelligible? Then will they perhaps look for another solution?

An ideal lingua franca

If Esperanto has failed thus far to achieve its main aim of acting as an international auxiliary language, could the creation of a new auxlang (auxiliary language) which avoids its main linguistic problems, and is simpler to learn and pronounce for most of the world's people, be more effective?

Key innovations in simplicity and regularity of language can likely be found in a variety of constructed languages, which ought to be investigated. Ido, for instance, is an offshoot of Esperanto which attempted to remodel some of its more frequently criticised features. Sona and Toki Pona are both built on a small number of roots (375 and 120, respectively) not derived purely from European languages. Lojban incorporates elements of Láadan and strives to improve the clarity of expression of both logic and emotion. While Interlingua's development involved linguists and scientists, its purpose of creating an easily comprehensible, naturalistic interlanguage based on European languages, in particular Romance languages, is at odds with the idea of producing a simple, regular auxlang for global use, and hence it is unlikely to offer many ideas for the proposed new language.

Natural languages which are said to display innovative means of simplifying grammatical usage should also be investigated. Submissions regarding these should be sought from a wide range of linguists across the globe.

Overall, the fine details of such a language are beyond the scope of this essay, but at least the core concepts envisaged by the author can be presented:

1. The language should have an orthography which is as close to phonemic as possible. Hence, there should be no digraphs, and no letters should be used to represent more than one sound, as c does in English, for example.

2. There should be no new orthographical symbols. This is to ensure that the language is transmittable without special character encodings, keyboards, and so on, as well as to make it as easy to learn as possible. Hence, the Latin alphabet with no diacritics should be used.

3. The consonants employed in the language must exist in most, if not all, of the world's major languages. This is due to the fact that "consonant sounds [prove] to be the greatest barrier to phonological intelligibility" (Jenkins 2002, p. 94). It is suggested that sounds are to be excluded if they do not exist in any language which is spoken natively by 10% of the world's population, or in the most popular languages whose speakers make up 70% of the world's population. These figures are approximations and will require further study. The vowels used should be the 5 exact vowels a, e, i, o, and u exactly as they are in the IPA; matching vowel use seen in various languages such as Spanish, Japanese, Indonesian, and Italian. Jenkins (2002, p. 85) highlighted the irony in EFL of allowing native English speakers to retain their accent, while forcing non-native speakers to lose theirs and acquire either a Received Pronunciation or Standard American accent. With the proposed small set of consonants and vowels, speakers of the language should be able to retain their native accents, and hence their linguacultural identities, and still be clearly understood.

4. Word classes must be immediately identifiable, like Esperanto's are meant to be. There must be no exceptions (unlike Esperanto's numbers, prepositions and conjuctions, for instance).

5. The base vocabulary of the language should be a small set of roots.

6. For the purpose of neutrality, other languages are to be equally favoured. That is to say that either no loanwords are to be used (i.e. the language should be *a priori*), or loanwords should be fairly and evenly imported from a variety of different languages, with no central focus on either geographic location or language family.

7. Minimal grammatical features should be employed. For example:

   1. There are to be no plurals, for reasons outlined above. Quantities can be expressed through numbers or approximate terms (e.g. some, several, many).

2. No object markers will be used. Instead, there will be a single syntax. Iwasaki (2003) has shown that both L1 and L2 learners have difficulty understanding non-canonical OSV syntax in Japanese, despite obvious markers for object and subject.

3. Tenses will not be used. Time can be expressed through definite terms like 'yesterday', or through approximate terms like 'a while ago'.

8. The language must be planned in a strict fashion, to prevent dialects which would prevent it from properly functioning as an auxlang. The planning is to be done by a committee which is small, to prevent excessive delays in decision making; and has an odd number of members, to help prevent voting stalemates.

9. Like quality software, the language must go through alpha and beta testing before its public release, including verifying that its phonology, orthography, and grammar are all easy to learn and use. The testers should be adults from a wide range of linguistic backgrounds, and preferably should not already be multilingual or even bilingual. It is likely that many of the problems which exist in Esperanto could have been solved through reforms before propagation began. Instead, useful reforms were voted against, as users "saw the requests for changes as disrespectful heresy" (Okrent 2009, p. 108).

10. The initial development and testing of the language will be done using a private database accessed via the web. Each text will be stored as an ordered collection of code points. In this manner, obsolete words can be updated by overwriting the word definition.

Propagation *ex nihilo*

If the methods above were to produce a simpler, more regular language than previous auxlangs, then the next challenge, in all likelihood greater than the first, would be its propagation: how could the whole world be convinced to talk together in one simple, politically neutral language?

There are similarities between the propagation of an auxlang and other major language planning projects. For example, the revival or revitalisation of a natural language, such as Hebrew, Maori, Kaurna or Welsh; or the spread of a standardised lingua franca like Bahasa Indonesia. No doubt some lessons can be learned by paying close attention to the successes and failures of such movements.

However, there are some key differences. At the beginning of the process, an auxlang has no speakers and no community, whereas a natural language is likely to have a community with historical ties, with some members who may partially understand or even speak the language. An auxlang has to create a culture and identity from scratch, whereas a natural language will often have both, to some degree. An auxlang needs to spread among diverse groups of people, whereas the spread of a natural language will be focused on a particular cultural or ethnic group. An auxlang's speaker community can thus be thought of as a "self-elected diaspora" (Becker 2006, p. 270), with its speakers typically spread far and wide, having little chance for auxiliary use in face to face communication, save for conferences and other major events.

Given these differences, in an age where "The Digital Revolution has not marginalized small languages but rather given them new chances" (van Dijk 2009, p. 247), it is likely that the best way to spread an auxlang is through "talknology" (Zuckermann & Monaghan 2012, p. 124-125). The following resources would be highly desired for the learning and promotion of the language, which precedes the existence of a community of practice: a dictionary, with pictures and example sentences, with

translations into the world's major languages, allowing users to submit translations into further languages; a collection of literature ranging from extremely simple picture books to translations of religious texts and classics of world literature, each with the ability for a user to click on any word to view its entry in the dictionary; forums and chat rooms for online discussion; a pen-pal request service; and a calendar to advertise physical meetings of enthusiasts. Of course, "collaborative resources such as Wikipedia hold the promise and potential to become powerful tools" for minor languages (Baxter 2009, p. 76), and hence a Wikipedia would also be a necessity. Other useful tools would include: learning and memorisation games; a news service; a grammar checker; and an online store selling merchandise to help popularise the language and the idea behind it.

With an abundance of well-developed resources in place, grassroots networks could be developed through learning institutions such as schools and universities. International exchanges could be facilitated on the basis of sports, hobbies, research, and so on.

Government support would certainly be welcome, such as the 1912 decree which made Esperanto an optional subject for teachers in training in China (Duiker 1977, pp. 61-62, cited in Lins 2008, p. 49), but it hasn't been particularly widespread for Esperanto, and is thus unlikely to be forthcoming for any new auxlang. If a significant number of speakers (five million, for instance) was reached, then it may be useful to start petitioning international organisations such as the EU, UN, and ASEAN for formal recognition and their use and promotion of the language.

Perhaps the most important factors in developing an auxlang project into a living language, as has been done with Esperanto, are the recognition and treatment of language as a social phenomenon, and the emphasis on the humanistic ideal – the language being a tool to help "the brotherhood of humanity" (Blanke 2009, p. 256).

Conclusion

The common view that Esperanto is a failure has some merit, in that it has not achieved its original goal of being used as an auxiliary language in, for example, business and politics. However, outside of these arenas, the view is unfounded; Esperanto has persisted and grown despite two world wars, repression from the totalitarian governments of Nazi Germany and the USSR (Lins 1988, cited in Pietiläinen 2005, p. 272), and the encroachment of English across the globe. Esperanto's body of literature proves that it is adequate for any functional use. A new, simpler auxiliary language without a Eurocentric base vocabulary, pursuing a similar goal of improving humanity, with sustained international effort behind its propagation, should surely be able to achieve more. If not, we'll just have to wait until the universal translator (Kaku 2011, pp. 47-49) becomes a reality. Microsoft (Fried 2014) and others such as Word Lens, recently acquired by Google (Allan 2014) seem to be making at least some progress in that regard. In the meantime, there's always Esperanto. The language may indeed have some flaws, but the idea is certainly one to which humanity should both hope and toil.

References

Allan, Patrick 2014, *Word Lens, The Real-Time Translation App, Is Now Free*, Lifehacker Australia, viewed 24 May 2014, <http://www.lifehacker.com.au/2014/05/word-lens-the-real-time-translation-app-is-now-free/>

Baxter, Robert Neal 2009, 'New technologies and terminological pressure in lesser-used languages', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 60-80.

Becker, Ulrich 2006, 'Publishing for a diaspora: The development of publishing in the international Esperanto movement', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 269-301.

Blanke, Detlev 2009, 'Causes of the relative success of Esperanto', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 251-266.

Burling, Robbins 2007, 'The Lingua franca cycle: implications for language shift, language change, and language classification', Anthropological Linguistics, vol. 49, no. 3/4, pp. 207-234.

Christiansen, Pia Vanting 2006, 'Language policy in the European Union: European/English/Elite/Equal/Esperanto Union?', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 21-44.

Davies, Caroline 2012, 'Aung San Suu Kyi's struggle commemorated with honorary Oxford degree', *The Guardian*, viewed 23 April 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/20/oxford-aung-san-suu-kyi-honorary-degree>.

Díaz, Eva Martínez 2008, 'An Approach to the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean', *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, viewed 23 April 2014, <http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/9/q9_223.pdf>.

Dijk, Ziko van 2009, 'Wikipedia and lesser-resourced languages', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 234-250.

Evans, Stephen 2013, 'Perspectives on the Use of English as a Business Lingua Franca in Hong Kong', *Journal of Business Communication* , vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 227-252.

Fried, Ina 2014, 'Microsoft's Skype "Star Trek" Language Translator Takes on Tower of Babel', *Re/code*, viewed 28 May 2014, <http://recode.net/2014/05/27/microsofts-skype-star-trek-language-translator-takes-on-tower-of-babel/>.

Hajar, Rachel 2013, 'The Air of History Part III', *Heart Views*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 43-46.

Halperin, Liora R 2012, 'Modern Hebrew, Esperanto, and the Quest for a Universal Language', *Jewish Social Studies,* vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 1-33.

Horvitz, Leslie Alan 1997, 'Advocates of Esperanto continue to lobby for their lingua franca', *Insight on the News*, vol. 13, no. 36, p. 42

ICAO n.d., *About ICAO AELTS*, ICAO AELTS, viewed 27 May 2014, <https://www4.icao.int/aelts/Home/About>.

International Maritime Organization 2014, *Standard Marine Communication Phrases*, International Maritime Organization, viewed 27 May 2014, <http://www.imo.org/OurWork/Safety/Navigation/Pages/StandardMarineCommunicationPhrases.aspx>.

Italian-Based Pidgins and Lingua Franca 1975, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, no. 14, pp. 70-72.

Iwasaki, Noriko 2003, 'L2 Acquisition of Japanese: Knowledge and Use of Case Particles in SOV and OSV Sentences', in Simin Karimi, *Word Order and Scrambling*, Wiley Online Library, viewed 9 June 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/>, pp. 273-300.

Jenkins, Jennifer 2002, 'A Sociolinguistically Based, Empirically Researched Pronunciation Syllabus for English as an International Language', *Applied Linguistics, vol.* 23, no. 1, pp. 83-103.

Jenkins, Jennifer 2006, 'Perspectives on Teaching World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 157-181.

Jenkins, Jennifer, Cogo, Alessia & Dewey, Martin 2011 'Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca', *Language Teaching*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 281-315.

Jespersen, Otto 1910, 'International Language', *Science*, vol. 31, no. 786, pp. 109-112.

Kaku, Michio 2011, *Physics of the future*, Doubleday, New York.

Lane, Bernard 2012, 'Interest in Latin fuels a revival', *The Australian*, viewed 27 May 2014, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/interest-in-latin-fuels-a-revival/story-e6frgcjx-1226511697217>.

Lins, Ulrich 2008, 'Esperanto as language and idea in China and Japan', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 47-60.

Mauranen, Anna 2003, The Corpus of English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings, TESOL Quarterly, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 513-527.

Mufwene, Salikoko Sangol 2013, 'lingua franca', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, viewd 24 May 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/Ebchecked/topic/342377/lingua-franca>.

Nero, Shondel 2009, 'B. Kachru: Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 163-172.

Okrent, Arika 2009, *In the land of invented languages*, Spiegel & Grau, New York.

Parkvall, Mikael 2010, 'How European is Esperanto? A typological study', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 63-79.

Patterson, Robert & Huff, Stanley M 1999, 'The Decline and Fall of Esperanto: Lessons for Standards Committees', *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association*, vol. 6, no. 6, pp. 444-446.

Pietiläinen, Jukka 2005, 'Current trends in literary production in Esperanto', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 271-285.

Rahimi, Forough & Bagheri, Mohammad Sadegh 2011, 'On the Status of English as a "Lingua Franca": An EFL Academic Context Survey', *Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 118-122.

Ranasinghe, Dhara 2014, 'China to overtake US economy; India trumps Japan', *CNBC*, viewed 9 June 2014, <http://www.cnbc.com/id/101626562>.

Sasaki, Tsuguya 2007, 'The place of Modern Hebrew as a lingua franca of Jewish studies', *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 131-141.

Seidlhofer, Barbara 2009, 'Common ground and different realities: world Englishes and English as a lingua franca', *World Englishes*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 236-245.

Smith, Ross 2005, 'Global English: gift or curse?', *English Today*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 56-62.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1985, 'Records of the General Conference, Twenty-third Session, Sofia, 8 October to 9 November 1985, Volume 1: Resolutions', viewed 29 April 2014, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000684/068427e.pdf>.

W3Techs 2014, *Usage Statistics of Content Languages for Websites, June 2014*, W3Techs, viewed 11 June 2014, <http://w3techs.com/technologies/overview/content_language/all>.

Wang, Fan 2014, 'Plan to ditch English test draws concern', *China News Service*, viewed 22 May 2014, <http://www.ecns.cn/2014/05-19/114557.shtml>.

Wells, John C 2005, 'Esperanto: a joke or a serious option?', *University College London*, viewed 29 April 2014, <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/esperanto_joke.htm>.

Zhou, Ziheng & Zhou, Yueqin 2013, 'Removing English from Gaokao shows cultural confidence', *People's Daily Online*, viewed 22 May 2014, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/203691/8483051.html>.

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad & Monaghan, Paul 2012, 'Revival linguistics and the new media: Talknology in the service of the Barngarla language reclamation', *Academia.edu*, viewed 8 June 2014, <http://adelaide.academia.edu/Zuckermann/Papers/1971557/Revival_Linguistics_and_the_New_Media_Talknology_in_the_service_of_the_Barngarla_Language_Reclamation>.