The Conceptual Relevance of English as *Lingua Franca* in Non-English Speaking Countries: Revisiting History, Policies and Praxis

Sohaib Alam
Department of English, College of Sciences and Humanities in Al Kharj, Prince Sattam bin Abdulaziz University, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

**Abstract**—The present study foregrounds background information on attitudes towards acceptance of English language and educational opportunities in non-English speaking nations from a historical and contemporary viewpoint. The relevance of ELF-informed perspectives in non-ELF-speaking contexts is then discussed, both from an educational and a business/professional standpoint. Using English as a common language globally presents an unprecedented challenge for stakeholders in the 21st century. The paper focuses on the divergent policies related to English language. It investigates several countries’ status, their practitioners, and people's viewpoints regarding the widespread use of the English language and the diversity of societies and cultures. The objective is to investigate how accessible non-native speakers are to newer speakers and alternatives that might work for their working atmosphere to provide some recommendations for them. The purpose is to determine if they are willing to use more modern pedagogical approaches appropriate for their teaching environment and to make recommendations for non-native people’s development programmes. Recent years have seen a rise in interest in studying English as a lingua franca (ELF), which has produced some fascinating findings regarding how non-native speakers of English interact with other non-native speakers.

**Index Terms**—English Lingua Franca (ELF) communication, English Language Teaching (ELT), Standard English (SE)

I. **INTRODUCTION**

Many aspects of ELF can be said to characterize it as a postmodern phenomenon: it can be described as a hybrid, fragmented, contingent, marginal, and indeterminate use of language. There are presently five non-native speakers of English for every native speaker, according to David Crystal, the author of English as a Global Language, in 2003. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), communication, and research are particular interest of present research because they have practical relevance for teaching English (Kobylarek, 2017). Although many native-speaking institutions prioritize English language teaching (ELT), the theoretical and methodological issues are meant to apply to ELT and ELF learning in other educational settings. From the education perspective, current initiatives to support ELF-informed programmes are examined, with a review of their effectiveness and development potential in the future. The present research analyses and assesses instructors' and students' generally cautious, occasionally unfavourable attitudes to ELF-informed proposals for pedagogical reform after providing a brief overview of educational laws and ELT practice.

Native and non-native speakers are the two primary groups that categorize language users. In both theoretical and practical linguistics, this distinction between native and non-native language users has been made. The separation between 'us' and 'the others' that exists in communities that try to create a strong bond among its 'real inhabitants' (i.e., 'us'), prohibiting 'others too' from fully participating in activities and events, is nonetheless very analogous to it (Llurda, 2009). Although many native-speaking institutions prioritize English language teaching (ELT), the theoretical and methodological issues are meant to apply to ELT and ELF pedagogy (Alam et al., 2022) in other educational settings. The research endeavour intends to analyze and evaluate instructors' and students' normally cautious, occasionally unfavourable perspectives towards ideas for pedagogical change motivated by ELF after briefly assessing educational rules and ELT practice. As a result, the model for our English and the cultures we consider when learning English are not always those of the native contexts. According to a pluralistic perspective of English, more than one person may speak the "standard" form of the language. While learning and using the language, teachers and interlocutors may not all be native speakers. The article is hence based on selected interview of pedagogues and uses secondary data review the status of ELF in most native language-speaking countries.

II. **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Kohn (2015), in his detailed research article “Teaching towards ELF competence in the English classroom”, has investigated how to create a common platform for integrated educational solutions by bridging the gap between ELT and ELF. Direction and alignment are provided by a set of communicative-constructivist presumptions regarding the communicative nature of ELF competence, a constructivist understanding of language learning as an individual and
social creation, the importance of speaker contentment as a measurement of communicative progress, and a constructivist reinterpretation of Standard English as a teaching/learning objective. Kohm has outlined a teaching strategy tailored to the needs and goals of ELF communication. The learning objectives are acquiring knowledge and abilities for production, interaction, and comprehension. A particular focus is encouraging students to believe in and tap into their non-native speaker creativity. The essay refers to online environments and materials accessible by various OER initiatives, learning tasks, and activities ideal for ELF practice and growth.

The question of whether English as a Native Language (ENL) guidelines should be used in the English Language Teaching (ELT) classroom has come up recently because of the growing use of English as a Lingua Franca, according to Sung (2013) in his research article titled "English as a Lingua Franca and its Implications for English Language Teaching" (ELT). By considering the realities of language teaching and learning, the researcher analyzes the contentious problems surrounding the implications of ELF for ELT in this research. For educational reasons, ELF should not be considered ENL's rival or a substitute. Instead, ENL and ELF can serve distinct but complementary functions in today's ELT.

Aggarwal (1998), in his article "English and India's three-language Formula: an empirical perspective", discusses the results of a sociolinguistic investigation on the attitudes and views of Indian university students about English and their language usage. The study's goal was to get students' input for language policy and planning purposes. The study's primary findings are that students value English, are aware of its prestige, and are motivated to learn it for useful purposes. In addition, they favour English over Hindi as a gateway language and oppose Hindi's teaching in educational establishments. It proves they favour the two-language system over the three-language one in practice. A brief description of India's present and former language policy provides the study's historical context.

Ishikawa (2017), in his research article "Conceptualising English as a global contact language", states that the initial framework of geo-localized Englishes, albeit using a simplified and reified approach, has helped to increase awareness of the diversity of English usage throughout the world and the related creative teaching strategies. The proposed approach of English similes has shown the persistent multilingualism among interactants outside of particular speech groups by serving as a lingua franca amongst various first language (L1) users. However, from the computational complexity standpoint, geo-local communities and interactants' L1s are just a few examples of complicated social networks. Because of this, neither the first nor the second structure can fully capture what transpires during a conversation using the appropriate terminology. The third framework of cross-cultural multi-language attempts to comprehend the whole range of multilingualism, or generally conceptualized trans-language with various "languages," which happens across people, time, and place.

Moreover, it recognizes that cultures transcend national boundaries and that fundamental cultural categories may alter because of cross-cultural interaction (Voloshina et al., 2022). The study conducted by Alam and Usama (2023) asserts the critical aspect of minimizing the writing errors of ESL learners. It is essential because it is connected with English as a lingua franca. One needs to grasp the nuance of language that can be used in real-life situations, and students often need more productive language skills. Alhwamdeh and Alam (2022) elaborate on this aspect to further enrich the idea about teaching during the pandemic, its effectiveness, and problems regarding learners' perspective. The study highlights the problems encountered by the students during lockdowns in pedagogy.

In the realm of teaching EFL (English as a Foreign Language) abroad, Alptekin (1984) demonstrates the existence of two conflicting pedagogical perspectives on the notion in his notable piece "the challenge of Culture: EFL Teaching in non-English-speaking Nations" (p. 15). One is the notion that to educate bilingual and bicultural individuals, English education should be conducted considering the socio-cultural norms and values of an English-speaking society. Most educators who speak native English accord with this concept of maintain the socio-cultural values in pedagogy. The other is backed by the community hosting the English-language teaching, which holds the view that English education should be imparted beyond the nationality-bound contemporary framework to generate bilingual but not necessarily bicultural persons. With a focus on the native English-speaking educator in the larger society, both points of view are presented in this essay in cognitive, emotional, and cultural contexts (Alam, 2022). So, it is advised that competent bilinguals serve as educational role models rather than monolingual and homogeneous native English-speaking learners, in addition to utilizing familiar and pertinent local and global circumstances (instead of situations from the English-speaking society that are unusual and inappropriate).

Moreover, a number of studies are conducted to minimize the hesitation of language teaching and learning in the natural environment, or they provide a scope of using language structure in real classroom settings. Alam et al. (2022) and Alam et al. (2021) describe the practice of Blended learning in the language classroom. It also fosters the problems and issues of BL faced by language teachers across the globe when it comes to real classroom pedagogy. The second study discusses innovative ideas related to drama activities in classroom pedagogy. All the studies discussed align with the present study as they foreground the importance of English language teaching and its need in the 21st century. The study conducted by Alam et al. (2020) also foregrounds the idea of using the drama approach in language classrooms, and they have demonstrated the real-life activities that can be used in classroom pedagogy.

D’ Angelo (2020), in his paper "The Status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and Implications for the Teaching of English in Japan"., where historical and modern additional context on English language attitudes and education in the Japanese setting addressed at the beginning of the research project. The value of ELF-informed perspectives for
III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To highlight the trends of bilingual, multi-linguistic, or trans-lingual and analyzes English as a language's universality and diversity (Berthele, 2016)
- To overview the included and excluded non-English speaking countries following the term ‘English as a lingua franca,’ for communication.
- To find out if English teachers and speakers, whether native or not, benefit from the same intellectual and cultural variation.
- To reflect and emphasized the teaching of English, pedagogy and policies related to it.

IV. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Why it is questionable that English has become a worldwide lingua franca or an international language?
- How widespread usage in multiple ways of international economic and cultural connections and spectacular growth of internet communication has made English a ‘Meta-language’?
- Have the policies, practices and acceptance enhanced the flow of English in these non-native countries or not?
- What are the cultural variations of English teachers and speakers, native or non-native?

V. METHODOLOGY

Due to its growing use in South Asian, African, and Latin American countries, the research using reliable secondary sources has concluded that English has already been designated as an ‘international language.’ According to journal publications and academicians' writing, adopting the language in third-world nations or non-native English-speaking countries has shown to be highly challenging. Nevertheless, because it has been referred to as a ‘contact language’ in many reputable research studies, it has benefited those who do not share its common language or its common ethos. A qualitative analysis of more than thirty research publications, including those dealing with non-English speaking nations and their perceptions of English as a universal language, is conducted. The present study's findings are derived based on the inferences and discussions.

VI. CONCEPTUAL CHANGE OVER TIME

The phrase ‘lingua franca,’ frequently employed as the foundation for conceiving, investigating, and teaching ELF, is essential in comprehending ELF and its supported ontological and epistemological assumptions. The phrase was not recently invented, nor was it a brand-new idea. The term ‘lingua franca’ was first used to describe an Italian-Provencal-lexified pidgin containing Arabic, French, and Turkish was a trade language used by early Crusaders and merchants along the eastern Mediterranean coast from the period of the Crusades until the 19th century (MacKenzie, 2014). Greek, Persian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Turkish were among the other languages. A lingua franca is a second language used to communicate between people who speak different mother languages, according to one explanation and conception. This description describes ELF as a language used for interaction between people who do not share the same native tongue or national language and prefer to converse in English (Ricardo et al., 2015). Up until now, ‘mother-tongue’ speakers have not been included in ELF research, which has allowed for a different, less subjective viewpoint on how English is used by most of its speakers. On a conceptual level, this kind of research has already started in the literature of the Global Englishes. Scholars like David Crystal, Henry Widdowson, and Marko Modiano have speculated about what may operate as the uniform interface for English as a global language, emphasizing the significant role that many English dialects continue to play in all communities. Other options have been proposed and projected when considering a future common contact form of English for speakers worldwide, but they lack empirical backing. We anticipate that our research will help shed some light on the issue of how conventional norms support English as ELF (Sharifian, 2009).

ELF is gradually recognized as a learning activity in primary education standards, formal educational programmes, and higher educational levels. As a result, it seems as though ELF pedagogy is progressing into historically “challenging” areas of ELT (Seidlhofer, 2005). However, ELT experts of all levels of experience continue to believe that teaching ELF is primarily about ‘teaching improper English.’ The on-going conflict between ELF and ELT is largely the result of misinterpretations based on unspoken differences in focal interests and crucial conceptualizations in research and instruction (Kohn, 2011). How we think and speak about ELF in the first place significantly impacts how we think and speak about ‘ELF in the English classroom’ (Alam & Al-hawamdeh, 2022). Our pedagogical attention will naturally be on the sounds, words, sentences, and structures that should or should not be taught if we perceive ELF as some type of language or version of English. Because of this, many EFL instructors link ELF and ELF pedagogy to
the instruction of poor English (Jenkins, 2017). The pedagogical task will be regarded as aiding speakers and learners in further developing and employing their own English for purposes of communication under ELF (Alam & Al-Hawamdeh, 2022) circumstances if, on the other hand, we conceptualize ELF as communication. This paves the way for a more nuanced understanding of ‘teaching towards ELF competency.’ Nonetheless, many pedagogical presentations of ELF continue to subtly or overtly reinforce a rather unfavourable attitude towards SE. Thus, the study wants to state unequivocally that there is no inherent incompatibility between SE and ELF.

Robust and Weak Variations of Standard English (SE) of Teacher and Students

Introduce the difference between a ‘strong’ and a ‘weak’ version of their SE orientation to better appreciate the professors’ and speakers’ obsessive concentration on SE. The strong version states that learners must carefully adhere to the SE (teaching) standards; However, some variations may be acceptable (especially in communicative techniques), and the closer they are to the norms, the better. This viewpoint is prevalent in ELT circles, even among apparently contemporary and ‘enlightened’ instructors (Jenkins & Leung, 2017). But, on closer examination, it is evident that a strong version conceptualizes language acquisition as some sort of behaviouristic copying and cloning procedure, which is to say that it is something we simply no longer believe in. The weaker version, on the other hand, embraces a social constructivist outlook and instructs educators to use some form of SE as a baseline model for alignment while simultaneously allowing space for their own emotional and cognitive procedures to assist them in creating their own identity of English (using English for their ends). Moreover, the SE edition they focus on is already a product of their original design (Catherine & Davies, 2006).

VII. LEARNING AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS ELF IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Worldwide, there are many more non-native English speakers than native ones. By 2050, there will be 1.2 billion non-native users and 433 million native speakers because of this divergence. Considering this circumstance, instructors must understand that their non-native English speaking (NNES) students may encounter a variety of social or professional settings that call for contact with persons from different nations who are not native English speakers. English language teachers ought to emphasize teaching English as a lingua franca (ELF), which is the use of English among speakers of disparate first languages, for whom English is the communication medium of choice, and frequently the only option,’ according to Fan Gabriel Fang (2016). According to Jenkins (2020), University staff tends to believe that ”standard” British or North American English is the only version of English acceptable in academic environments, according to findings that tracked English language guidelines in higher education worldwide. Jenkins (2020) notes that only a small portion of the staff respondents showed flexibility and readiness to accept the students’ English as valid when it differed from native academic English. The two fields where English predominates over other languages are the scientific and technical ones, and English by itself is currently the world’s preeminent language for scientific and technological communication. Studies focused on learners’ and faculty’s views, opinions, and linguistic ideologies concerning the form of English suited to diverse academic contexts have increased in number within academic ELF literature. The study takes a deeper look at key findings and their consequences to acquire a greater knowledge of the subjects covered by these investigations (Hynninen, 2017). It incorporates the characteristics of a ‘community of inquiry,’ according to Etienne Wenger (1998), including mutual engagement, a collaboratively negotiated enterprise, and a common repertory of negotiable tools. Most ELF users are not mimicking the idealized competence of native speakers, nor are they progressing linearly towards someone else’s goal, as in the SLA notion of an approximation or interlanguage system. Also, they are all bilingual or multilingual.

A change from a strong to a mild Standard English orientation is necessary to create an ELF pedagogical domain in the English classroom (Gadušová et al., 2021). The socio-constructivist re-conceptualization of ELT and instruction in second languages, in general, provides an entirely fresh pedagogical paradigm for various ELF-related training goals and tasks surpassing normativity concerns (Marguerite et al., 2006). Using English as a lingua franca, in the social constructivist’s view, comprises utilizing one’s own English for lingua franca dialogue, observation, consciousness, and output. In the article’s next section, the paper investigated several facets of ELF’s pedagogical and historical policies. Exposure to pedagogically specified samples of authentic ELF communication enables learners to increase their tolerance for other people’s languages and cultures in addition to their own. This is accomplished in conjunction with knowing about ELF’s features, opportunities, and challenges. Construction of the “third space” (Kohn, 2015) requires the perception and management of comprehension issues. Extensive practice should be backed up and complimented by “learning about” activities, like growing awareness. Developing manufacturing skills particular to ELF is the third educational objective. In this context, pragmatic fluency which emphasizes non-native speakers’ linguistic competence and capacities for interpersonal communication—performance-related ploys and speech acts, topic management, turn-taking, speed of speech, and repairs, is highly relevant. The second educational goal is to aid pupils in developing thinking abilities for managing ELF in particular. Emphasis is placed on activities linked to teaching and studying English in the English classroom (Luís et al., 2018).

In conclusion, the constructive social approach emphasizes that language learning is primarily aimed at assisting students in acquiring the linguistic knowledge most appropriate for their individual conversational and collective needs. The students are said to have appropriated the target language for themselves. Language learning can be considered successful in a socially constructive sense when they successfully maintain equilibrium between (a) understanding and
application of linguistic means of personal observation, (b) their requirements for success, and (c) their communicative objectives (Kohn, 2018).

VIII. BACKGROUND ON POLICIES FOR INTRODUCING ENGLISH IN VARIOUS NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE SPEAKING NATIONS

Globalization has an impact on every country in the globe. It increases our awareness of the necessity of the extra essential remark that we also ‘think locally, act worldwide,’ as so eloquently stated in addition to the directive maxim ‘think globally, act globally’ (Auzina, 2018). Language is now viewed as a term that facilitates both interconnection and mobility rather than as a spatial conception of local involvement (in the form of national linguistic and local accents) (in the form of inter-cultural modes) (Sifakis & Sougari, 2003).

A. Case of Japan

This research introduces past and present perceptions towards English and English language education/teaching (hereafter ELT) in the Japanese milieu. The study emphasises how these mind sets could assist us comprehends the English as a Language Franca (henceforth ELF) paradigm. Human interaction and communication could adjust to globalized environments, and Japan has engaged in a framework that boosts language adaptability. When it is realized through global modalities, things demand to be changed in terms of language and must be more mobile for trade, commerce, businesses, and education (Yasemin et al., 2020). Also, it is being employed in a larger range of circumstances with a broader range of objectives, resulting in a deeper range of applications. Yet, empirical evidence indicates that English proficiency is still not widely disseminated in this territory. Only 30% of the people speak English in Japan compared to other countries.

B. Case of China

Foreign language education suffers when political agendas take precedence over educational ones, and it benefits when political agendas align with educational ones. Higher education was only constituted in theory in China from 1966 to 1976. China has almost walled off its frontiers to the outside world. The difference in science and technology between China and other nations, such as Japan and the USA, significantly grew throughout those ten years. Ten years later, observable by the limited opening of its door, the rapid development of other countries and the results of the globalization of the English language appeared to astonish the Chinese leadership. The summit resolved that China should restructure and implement the induction policy as a turning point in its growth and that economic construction should be the primary goal of the entire nation (Hu, 2005). The presence of bilingual Chinese citizens is a need for enacting this approach. Deng Xiaoping demanded that all those who could acquire a foreign language should learn it. As English grew worldwide, Chinese people could only engage with many other nationalities and have access to the most cutting-edge scientific and technological advancements if they spoke English. This fact prompted China to adopt the strategy of teaching English as the primary foreign language (Hu, 2005; Wu, 2001).

C. Indian Scenario

The National Curriculum Framework 2005 and the National Council of Educational Research and Training's position document on the teaching of English (NCERT, 2006) agree that the demand for English derives from several different sources:

'Indians' ambitions for high-quality education and greater participation in domestic and international affairs are symbolized by the language of English today. The degree of the teaching of English has now turned into a political subject in response to public aspirations, rendering the academic debate about the benefits of a very initial exposure irrelevant.'

Language Instruction in Schools: The Three-Language Approach

The Central Advisory Board on Education (CABE), the nation's oldest representative body for learning, began debating incorporating foreign languages in school instruction in the 1940s. This continued until 1960. CABE noted five significant issues that needed attention:

1. The range of languages will be taught at different stages of schooling.
2. The growth of second and third language education.
3. The goal and practicality of English
4. The framework and function of Hindi
5. The spread of knowledge about learning Sanskrit and other minority languages in the classroom.

The national language policy (or strategy) for school instruction, a suggestion made by the National Commission on Education from 1964 to 1966, was incorporated into the national curriculum plans of 1968 and 1986. While including at least three languages in classroom instruction has been deemed viable, numerous publications have expressed concerns about its "unfulfilling" execution (Aggarwal, 1988). India's diversity is reflected in its linguistic diversity. The nation has 1,652 languages, divided among five major language families, according to the 1971 census: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burmanese, and Semito-Hamitic (GOL, 1971). Twenty-two recognized languages are included in the Indian constitution. The country's governance is carried out in 15 languages, 71 languages are spoken on radio, and 87 languages are used in the media (Meganathan, 2011).
D. Turkey, Latvia, and France Are Among the Countries Where English Is Widely Spoken

Scholars have adopted a variety of stances when discussing English language dissemination policies. The diffusion-of-English and linguistic ecology assumptions distinguish between initiatives to challenge the externally eurocentric English language's supremacy and its expansion. Others have questioned this strategy and suggested that local causes and outside influences are also involved in developing the English language. These viewpoints exhort English language instructors and others to consider how the local environment affects the spread of English. The utilization of English in elementary education in France, Turkey, and Latvia is investigated in this research (Hurmerinta et al., 2015). The assessment is based on a study of research on the uptake of English in these three countries and an examination of multiple sources, such as reports from the education department and lists of students enrolled in courses. Notwithstanding certain legislative disparities, the three countries are all making progress in the study of English in elementary school. The end of the research presents findings on how the diffusion-of-English and linguistic ecology standpoints on expanding the English language in local EFL settings were employed (Hande et al., 2007).

The phenomenon of ELF emerged because of more generalized globalization trends that have impacted many facets of our daily existence. Instead of being organized in secure units, these domains are increasingly integrated into intricate multidirectional systems (Ajmal et al., 2021). Due to the elasticity of political and socio-cultural borders, centre-periphery paradigms no longer accurately represent how people communicate. But, there were additional elements that supported the development of English. Asking individuals to acquire three languages made sense when German dominated research, English was crucial to the economy, and French had a significant cultural impact. Japanese scientists are still trilingual. Nevertheless, with real globalization, there are also readers from China, Japan, Russia, India, and other countries. It became increasingly challenging to mandate that everyone master three languages with readers from various nations. Given this, even without other external forces, expanding the worldwide research community beyond Europe would have required a common language to work in (Bjorkman, 2011).

IX. FINDINGS

The major source of the pedagogic divide between ELT and ELF is found to be varying opinions and assessments of the instructional role of Standard English. Without a doubt, it is growing globally. There is no doubt that English is now regarded as a universal language supported by the study. The preferred term, however, is ‘English as a lingua franca,’ despite the terms ‘English as an agent of cross-cultural interaction communication’ and, in particular and more current significance, ‘English as an international language,’ also being used when English is utilized as the means of communication among people with varying native-speaking histories across lingua-cultural boundaries. Its lingua franca cross-cultural communication is the most well-liked and often employed. Although it frequently serves as the default option in settings, particularly when people are not familiar with one another, it varies from other intercultural modes that generally require debate before being used: In the first decade of the twenty-first century, English is not just a worldwide language; it is the global language. This study concludes that English is being moulded by its non-native speakers at least equally as much as by its native speakers because of its widespread usage internationally; however, thus far tended to be rejected. This has created a rather contradictory situation: On the one hand, English is an unfamiliar tongue for most of its users, and the language is not used by any native speakers in most spoken encounters. On the other hand, there is still a propensity for native speakers to be seen as the guardians of the correct language. A deeper knowledge of the nature of ELF is being gained because of this slowly building body of research, which is necessary for making informed decisions, particularly in language policy and instruction (Karpińska, 2016).

X. CONCLUSION

English emerged as the Meta speech of the global language system throughout the 20th century. Because of the incredible number of language users who know it, English is the most frequently spoken language, even though Hindi and Mandarin have (possibly) more native speakers than it does. This has nothing to do with the English language's intrinsic virtues; rather, it is entirely unsuitable for use as a global language due to its sound and spelling. Surprisingly, modalities like ELF may sustain speaker and resource constellations and the specific realities or linguistic micro-forms they eventually adopt. In addition to the stability that such modes must have to function as effective communication tools in the first place, these modes are realistic and attainable by the concepts of flexibility and perseverance required for them to operate on an international level, that is, across a broad spectrum of circumstances. So, ELF must be seen as a global and globalized language usage from this perspective. However, it is directly linked to knowledge transfer and the interchangeability of ideas and emotions. Moreover, the English language and its wide acceptance are directly linked to employability as the world is connected through various means of technology. It is the outcome of the distinct historical background of the English-speaking nations as well as shared assumptions and forecasts regarding the language choices that aspirants worldwide will undertake. Hence, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is a global phenomenon. However, it must be emphasized that language descriptions obviously cannot define what must be taught and learned for specific purposes and in specific settings—they give crucial but insufficient information for what will always be pedagogical judgements.
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Sohaib Alam is currently working as an Assistant Professor of English at the Department of English, College of Science and Humanities in Alkhari, Prince Sattam bin Abdulaziz University, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He holds a PhD in English Language Teaching (ELT) from Aligarh Muslim University, India. His areas of interest are Applied Linguistics, Pragmatics, Teaching Methods, Blended Learning, and Pedagogic Theory. He has presented papers at national and international conferences and published research articles and papers in Scopus and Web of Science-indexed journals. He has been teaching English for over four years. (Email: s.alam@psau.edu.sa)