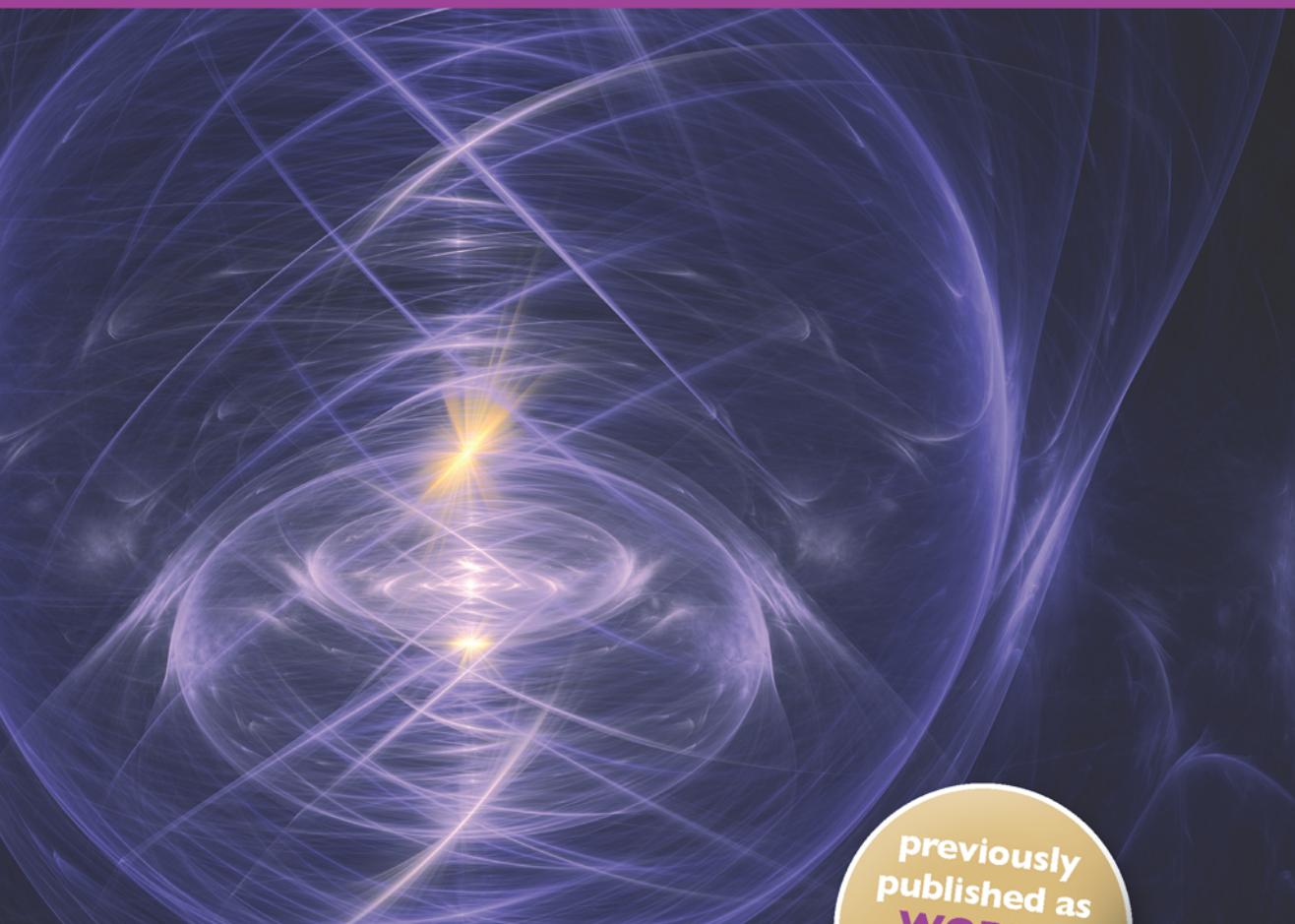


ROUTLEDGE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INTRODUCTIONS



Global Englishes

A RESOURCE BOOK FOR STUDENTS



Jennifer Jenkins

3rd Edition

Previously
published as
**WORLD
ENGLISHES**



GLOBAL ENGLISHES

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Jennifer Jenkins is Professor of Global Englishes and founding director of the Centre for Global Englishes at the University of Southampton.

The accompanying website can be found at
www.routledge.com/cw/jenkins



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GLOBAL ENGLISHES

Third Edition

A resource book for students

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

The Routledge English Language Introductions are ‘flexi-texts’ that you can use to suit your own style of study. The books are divided into four sections:

- A Introduction** – sets out the key concepts for the area of study. The units of this section take you step by step through the foundational terms and ideas, carefully providing you with an initial toolkit for your own study. By the end of the section, you will have a good overview of the whole field.
- B Development** – adds to your knowledge and builds on the key ideas already introduced. Units in this section might also draw together several areas of interest. By the end of this section, you will already have a good and fairly detailed grasp of the field, and will be ready to undertake your own exploration and thinking.
- C Exploration** – provides examples of language data and guides you through your own investigation of the field. The units in this section will be more open-ended and exploratory, and you will be encouraged to try out your ideas and think for yourself, using your newly acquired knowledge.
- D Extension** – offers you the chance to compare your expertise with key readings in the area. These are taken from the work of important writers, and are provided with guidance and questions for your further thought.

You can read this book like a traditional textbook, ‘vertically’ straight through from beginning to end. This will take you comprehensively through the broad field of study. However, the Routledge English Language Introductions have been carefully designed so that you can read them in another dimension, ‘horizontally’ across the numbered units. For example, Units A1, A2, A3, and so on, correspond with Units B1, B2, B3, and with Units C1, C2, C3 and D1, D2, D3, and so on. Reading A5, B5, C5, D5 will take you rapidly from the key concepts of a specific area, to a level of expertise in that precise area, all with a very close focus. You can match your way of reading with the best way that you work.

The Glossarial Index at the end, together with the suggestions for Further Reading that follow Section D, will help to keep you orientated. Each textbook in the series has a supporting website with extra commentary, suggestions, additional material, and support for teachers and students.

Global Englishes

Global Englishes has eight units, each following the above four-part structure. Section A’s units introduce the key topics in Global Englishes from the sixteenth century to the present time and beyond. Section B develops these issues with additional detail and discussion. Section C offers opportunities for further study and your own research

by following the latest works and controversies in the field. Finally, the readings in Section D take up the themes of each of the other three units in their respective sections, and are accompanied by suggestions for further study and discussion.

The eight horizontal strands begin with the historical, social and political context (in units A1, B1, C1, and D1). Strand 2 explores the debates about English today; strand 3 looks at English in the Anglophone world; strand 4 investigates variation across the postcolonial Englishes; strand 5 turns to pidgin and creole languages; strand 6 focuses on English as an international lingua franca; strand 7 takes a closer look at East Asian and European Englishes; and the final strand looks to the future of Englishes in the global context.

Further material and activities can also be found on the website which accompanies the book: www.routledge.com/cw/jenkins

CONTENTS

Contents cross-referenced	x
List of figures and tables	xii
Preface to the third edition	xiii
Acknowledgements	xiv
A Introduction: key topics in global Englishes	1
1 The historical, social, and political context	2
2 Who speaks English today?	10
3 Standard language ideology in the Anglophone world	21
4 Variation across postcolonial Englishes	27
5 Pidgin and creole languages	35
6 English as an international lingua franca	41
7 English in Asia and Europe	45
8 The future of global Englishes	52
B Development: implications and issues	57
1 The legacy of colonialism	58
2 The <i>English Today</i> debate	64
3 Standards across Anglophone space	69
4 ‘Legitimate’ and ‘illegitimate’ offspring of English	80
5 Characteristics of pidgin and creole languages	85
6 The nature of ELF communication	90
7 En route to new standard Englishes	99
8 Possible future scenarios	105
C Exploration: current debates in global Englishes	111
1 Postcolonial Africa and North America	112
2 Teaching and testing global Englishes	120
3 Standards across channels	128
4 ‘Sub’-varieties of English: the example of Singlish	140
5 Creole developments in the UK and US	146
6 ELF and education	155
7 Asian Englishes: focus on India, Hong Kong, and China	161
8 Language killer or language promoter?	172

D Extension: readings in global Englishes	181
1 The discourses of postcolonialism (Alastair Pennycook)	182
2 Who owns English today? (Henry G. Widdowson)	190
3 Is language (still) power in the Inner Circle? (Lesley Milroy, Alfred Lee and Dennis Bloodworth)	197
4 From language to literature (Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o)	206
5 The status of pidgin languages in education (Samuel Atechi)	215
6 The challenge of testing ELF (Jennifer Jenkins and Constant Leung)	223
7 Attitudes to non-native Englishes in China and mainland Europe (Ying Wang and Ulrich Ammon)	230
8 Looking ahead (Alastair Pennycook)	240
Further reading	248
References	251
Glossarial index	272

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UNITS**A****INTRODUCTION***Key topics in GE***B****DEVELOPMENT***Implications and issues***1**

The historical, social, and political context

2

The legacy of colonialism

58

2

Who speaks English today?

10

The *English Today* debate

64

3

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21

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69

4

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80

5

Pidgin and creole languages

35

Characteristics of pidgin and creole languages

85

6

English as an international lingua franca

41

The nature of ELF communication

90

7

English in Asia and Europe

45

En route to new standard Englishes

99

8

The future of global Englishes

52

Possible future scenarios

105

Further reading**References****Glossarial index**

C	EXPLORATION <i>Current debates in GE</i>	D	EXTENSION <i>Readings in GE</i>	UNITS
	Postcolonial Africa and North America 112		The discourses of postcolonialism (Alastair Pennycook) 182	1
	Teaching and testing global Englishes 120		Who owns English today? (Henry G. Widdowson) 190	2
	Standards across channels 128		Is language (still) power in the Inner Circle? (Lesley Milroy, Alfred Lee and Dennis Bloodworth) 197	3
	'Sub'-varieties of English: the example of Singlish 140		From language to literature (Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o) 206	4
	Creole developments in the UK and US 146		The status of pidgin languages in education (Samuel Atechi) 215	5
	ELF and education 155		The challenge of testing ELF (Jennifer Jenkins and Constant Leung) 223	6
	Asian Englishes: focus on India, Hong Kong, and China 161		Attitudes to non-native Englishes in China and mainland Europe (Ying Wang and Ulrich Ammon) 230	7
	Language killer or language promoter? 172		Looking ahead (Alastair Pennycook) 240	8
				Further reading
				References
				Glossarial index

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

A2.1	Strevens's world map of English	12
A2.2	McArthur's Circle of World English	13
A2.3	Kachru's three-circle model of World Englishes	14
A2.4	Modiano's centripetal circles of international English	17
A2.5	Modiano's English as an international language (EIL) illustrated as those features of English which are common to all native and non-native varieties	18
A2.6	Representing the community of English speakers as including a wide range of proficiencies	19
A2.7	Pennycook's 3D transtextual model of English use	20
A2.8	Mahboob's language variation framework	21
A5.1	Pidgin lifespan	37
C3.1	Continuum view of speech and writing	128
C3.2	Typical speech and writing continuum	129
C6.1	Wen's pedagogical framework for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English	157
C8.1	Traditional hierarchy of Englishes	177
C8.2	Reconceptualised hierarchy of Englishes prioritising international use	178

Tables

A1.1	English-speaking territories	3
A1.2	Summary of the two dispersals of English	7
A4.1	Question tags used in outer-circle varieties	32
A7.1	Asian Englishes by region	46
A7.2	Asian Englishes by use	47
B3.1	British English/American English lexical differences	71
C3.1	Characteristics of speech and writing	128
C3.2	Features of typical speech and writing	129

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

As was noted in the preface to the second edition (then *World Englishes*, 2009), this is an immensely fast-moving field. Since then, there have been many further developments, and these meant that the second edition needed not only extensive updating, but also substantial revising. So while the general structure of this new edition remains the same as that of the previous two editions, there have been a number of changes. The most obvious of these is the change in the title. The term ‘World Englishes’ was appropriate for a book focusing on Englishes as nation-bound varieties. However, with the recent massive growth in the use of English as an international lingua franca among people from different nations and first languages, the focus has been adjusted to include newer non-nation-bound developments. The book’s overall focus is therefore better represented by the more inclusive term, ‘Global Englishes’.

In terms of content, the adjustment in focus means that there is now more emphasis on the lingua franca function of English. Hence, there is more material on English in regions where it is learnt for communication with people from outside the region, and therefore on non-postcolonial Asia, and China in particular. The third edition also takes account of the dramatic rise in the use of computer-mediated communication, with more material on trends such as texting and twitter than previously. Finally, four of the eight readings in section D have been replaced with more topical texts.

While the original structure is the same as before, the order of the strands has been altered. Strands 3 and 4 have been reversed. Previously, the book covered the postcolonial Englishes first and mother tongue Englishes second. The purpose was to make the point that in this book, the latter were not considered to have priority over the former. However, this point is now more widely accepted, and there is also plentiful material on postcolonial Englishes in strands 1 and 2. The mother tongue Englishes are therefore now covered in strand 3, and the postcolonial Englishes in strand 4. Pidgin and Creole languages, previously in strand 2, are now positioned more logically after the postcolonial Englishes in strand 5.

Finally, a comment on the approach taken throughout this book. As before, one of its main purposes is to raise readers’ awareness not only of the way English has spread but also of the issues involved in its spread, and of the dramatic speed and nature of developments in the field, particularly in the most recent decades. But rather than presenting the author’s perspective, like the previous editions, the book provides a range of positions on each topic and asks you, the reader, to decide where you stand in the many debates and controversies that unfold in the pages that follow.

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Section A

INTRODUCTION

KEY TOPICS IN GLOBAL ENGLISHES

A1

THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CONTEXT**Introduction to Global Englishes**

In the period between the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and the later years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II in the early part of the twenty-first century, the number of speakers of English increased from a mere five to seven million to possibly as many as two billion. Whereas the English language was spoken in the mid-sixteenth century only by a relatively small group of mother tongue speakers born and bred within the shores of the British Isles, it is now spoken in almost every country of the world, with its majority speakers being those for whom it is not a first language.

Currently, there are approximately seventy-five territories where English is spoken either as a first language (**L1**), or as an official (i.e. **institutionalised**) second language (**L2**) in fields such as government, law, and education. Crystal (2003a, 2012a) lists these territories, along with their approximate numbers of English speakers, in Table A1.1 (those countries where the variety of English spoken is a pidgin or creole are indicated by an asterisk).

The total numbers of L1 and L2 English speakers amount here to 329,140,800 and 430,614,500 respectively, and together these speakers constitute almost a third of the total population of the above territories (2,236,730,000 in total). However, as Crystal (2003a: 68) points out, the L2 total is conservative:

The total of 430 million . . . does not give the whole picture. For many countries, no estimates are available. And in others (notably India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Ghana, Malaysia, Philippines and Tanzania, which had a combined total of over 1,462 million people in 2002) even a small percentage increase in the number of speakers thought to have a reasonable (rather than a fluent) command of English would considerably expand the L2 grand total.

He goes on to point out that whether or not pidgin and creole languages are included, the total number of L2 speakers in these regions is well above the total number of L1 speakers. And in fact, although all three totals (population, L1, L2) have increased since the first edition of Crystal's *English as a Global Language* (1997), the most substantial increase by far is in the number of L2 speakers, which has almost doubled from 235,351,300 in 1997 to over 430 million in 2003. And we should bear in mind that Crystal's figures are likely to have increased still further in the decade or so since the publication of his second edition in 2003.

The total number of L2 speakers is in fact still more remarkable than Crystal's figures suggest. For, as he explains, they take no account of one further, and increasingly important, group of L2 English speakers: those for whom English was never a colonial language and for whom it may have little or no official function within their own country. This group of English speakers, whose proficiency levels range from reasonable to bilingual competence, were originally described as speakers of **English as a Foreign Language (EFL)** to distinguish them from L2 speakers for whom English serves country-internal functions, that is, speakers of **English as a Second Language (ESL)**. Since the mid-1990s, however, it has become increasingly common to

Table A1.1 English-speaking territories (source: Crystal 2003a: 62–65; 2012a: 62–65)

Territory	<i>Usage estimate</i>		<i>Population (2001)</i>
	<i>L1</i>	<i>L2</i>	
American Samoa	2,000	65,000	67,000
Antigua & Barbuda*	66,000	2,000	68,000
Aruba	9,000	35,000	70,000
Australia	14,987,000	3,500,000	18,972,000
Bahamas*	260,000	28,000	298,000
Bangladesh		3,500,000	131,270,000
Barbados*	262,000	13,000	275,000
Belize*	190,000	56,000	256,000
Bermuda	63,000		63,000
Bhutan		75,000	2,000,000
Botswana		630,000	1,586,000
British Virgin Islands*	20,000		20,800
Brunei	10,000	134,000	344,000
Cameroon*		7,700,000	15,900,000
Canada	20,000,000	7,000,000	31,600,000
Cayman Islands	36,000		36,000
Cook Islands	1,000	3,000	21,000
Dominica	3,000	60,000	70,000
Fiji	6,000	170,000	850,000
Gambia*		40,000	1,411,000
Ghana*		1,400,000	19,894,000
Gibraltar	28,000	2,000	31,000
Grenada*	100,000		100,000
Guam	58,000	100,000	160,000
Guyana*	650,000	30,000	700,000
Hong Kong	150,000	2,200,000	7,210,000
India	350,000	200,000,000	1,029,991,000
Ireland	3,750,000	100,000	3,850,000
Jamaica*	2,600,000	50,000	2,665,000
Kenya		2,700,000	30,766,000
Kiribati		23,000	94,000
Lesotho		500,000	2,177,000
Liberia*	600,000	2,500,000	3,226,000
Malawi		540,000	10,548,000
Malaysia	380,000	7,000,000	22,230,000
Malta	13,000	95,000	395,000
Marshall Islands		60,000	70,000
Mauritius	2,000	200,000	1,190,000
Micronesia	4,000	60,000	135,000
Montserrat*	4,000		4,000

Table A1.1 (cont'd)

Territory	Usage estimate		Population (2001)
	L1	L2	
Namibia	14,000	300,000	1,800,000
Nauru	900	10,700	12,000
Nepal		7,000,000	25,300,000
New Zealand	3,700,000	150,000	3,864,000
Nigeria*		60,000,000	126,636,000
Northern Marianas*	5,000	65,000	75,000
Pakistan		17,000,000	145,000,000
Palau	500	18,000	19,000
Papua New Guinea*	150,000	3,000,000	5,000,000
Philippines	20,000	40,000,000	83,000,000
Puerto Rico	100,000	1,840,000	3,937,000
Rwanda		20,000	7,313,000
St Kitts & Nevis*	43,000		43,000
St Lucia*	31,000	40,000	158,000
St Vincent & Grenadines*	114,000		116,000
Samoa	1,000	93,000	180,000
Seychelles	3,000	30,000	80,000
Sierra Leone*	500,000	4,400,000	5,427,000
Singapore	350,000	2,000,000	4,300,000
Solomon Islands*	10,000	165,000	480,000
South Africa	3,700,000	11,000,000	43,586,000
Sri Lanka	10,000	1,900,000	19,400,000
Suriname*	260,000	150,000	434,000
Swaziland		50,000	1,104,000
Tanzania		4,000,000	36,232,000
Tonga		30,000	104,000
Trinidad & Tobago*	1,145,000		1,170,000
Tuvalu		800	11,000
Uganda		2,500,000	23,986,000
United Kingdom	58,190,000	1,500,000	59,648,000
UK Islands (Channel, Man)	227,000		228,000
United States	215,424,000	25,600,000	278,059,000
US Virgin Islands*	98,000	15,000	122,000
Vanuatu*	60,000	120,000	193,000
Zambia	110,000	1,800,000	9,770,000
Zimbabwe	250,000	5,300,000	11,365,000
Other dependencies	20,000	15,000	35,000

find alongside EFL, the use of the term **English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)** or, less often, **English as an International Language (EIL)**. The new term, ELF, reflects the growing trend for English users from, for example, mainland Europe, China, and Brazil, to use English more frequently as a contact language among themselves rather than with native English speakers (the EFL situation). It is impossible to capture the current number of EFL/ELF speakers precisely, because the number is increasing all the time as more and more people in these countries learn English (particularly in China, partly as an outcome of its hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, and potentially in Brazil because of its hosting of the 2016 Games in Rio de Janeiro). Current estimates tend to be around one billion, while Crystal (2008a) suggests that there may now be as many as two billion English speakers in the world as a whole. This would imply well over one billion EFL/ELF users, and also, as Crystal (2012b: 155) points out, that “approximately one in three of the world’s population are now capable of communicating to a useful level in English”.

A theme which recurs throughout this book, and which will therefore be useful to highlight from the start, is that of value judgements of these different Englishes. The negative **attitudes** which persist today towards certain varieties of English have their roots in the past and, especially, in the two dispersals of English (see next section). The British establishment still harbours the view of the superiority of British over American English. For example, in launching the British Council’s English 2000 project in March 1995, Prince Charles was famously reported in the British press as follows:

The Prince of Wales highlighted the threat to “proper” English from the spread of American vernacular yesterday as he launched a campaign to preserve the language as world leader. He described American English as “very corrupting” and emphasised the need to maintain the quality of language, after giving his backing to the British Council’s English 2000 project . . . Speaking after the launch, Prince Charles elaborated on his view of the American influence. “People tend to invent all sorts of nouns and verbs, and make words that shouldn’t be. I think we have to be a bit careful, otherwise the whole thing can get rather a mess.”

(*The Times*, 24 March 1995)

And while the younger members of the UK royal family, like many other young people, may not share Prince Charles’s perspective on American English, negative attitudes towards it undoubtedly persist in the UK, e.g. among some university faculty (see Jenkins 2014).

It should already be clear that there is scope for substantial disagreement as to whether the metamorphosis of *English* into *Global Englishes* is a positive or negative phenomenon. And as can be seen in the reference to attitudes above, the use of English around the world has not proved uncontroversial or even, necessarily, beneficial. One of the purposes of this book, then, is to approach the controversies surrounding Global Englishes from a wide range of perspectives in order to enable readers to draw their own conclusions.

The two dispersals of English

We can speak of the two dispersals, or **diasporas**, of English. The **first diaspora**, initially involving the migration of around 25,000 people from the south and east of England primarily to North America and Australia, resulted in new mother tongue varieties of English. The **second diaspora**, involving the colonisation of Asia and Africa, led, on the other hand, to the development of a number of second language varieties, often referred to as 'New Englishes'. This is to some extent a simplification for it is not always an easy matter to categorise the world's Englishes so neatly (see A3). And, as was noted above, the whole issue has been further complicated since the twentieth century by the dramatic increase in the use of English first as a foreign language and subsequently as an international lingua franca (respectively EFL and ELF).

The first dispersal: English is transported to the 'New World'

The first diaspora involved relatively large-scale migrations of mother tongue English speakers from England, Scotland, and Ireland predominantly to North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The English dialects that travelled with them gradually developed into the American and Antipodean Englishes we know today. The varieties of English spoken in modern North America and Australasia are not identical with the English of their early colonisers, but have altered in response to the changed and changing sociolinguistic contexts in which the migrants found themselves. For example, their vocabulary rapidly expanded through contact with the indigenous Indian, Aboriginal, or Maori populations in the lands which they colonised, to incorporate words such as Amerindian *papoose*, *moccasin*, and *igloo*.

Walter Raleigh's expedition of 1584 to **America** was the earliest from the British Isles to the New World, though it did not result in a permanent settlement. The voyagers landed on the coast of North Carolina near Roanoke Island, but fell into conflict with the native Indian population and then mysteriously disappeared altogether, leaving behind only a palisade and the letters CRO carved on a tree. In 1607, the first permanent colonists arrived and settled in Jamestown, Virginia (named respectively after James I and Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen), to be followed in 1620 by a group of Puritans and others on the *Mayflower*. The latter group landed further north, settling at what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts in New England. Both settlements spread rapidly and attracted further migrants during the years that followed. Because of their different linguistic backgrounds, there were immediately certain differences in the accents of the two groups of settlers. Those in Virginia came mainly from the west of England and brought with them their characteristic rhotic /r/ and voiced /s/ sounds. On the other hand, those who settled in New England were mainly from the east of England, where these features were not a part of the local accent.

During the seventeenth century, English spread to southern parts of America and the Caribbean as a result of the slave trade. Slaves were transported from West Africa and exchanged, on the American coast and in the Caribbean, for sugar and rum. The Englishes that developed among the slaves and between them and their captors were initially contact pidgin languages, but with their use as mother tongues following the birth of the next generation, they developed into creoles. Then, in the eighteenth century, there was large-scale immigration from Northern Ireland, initially to the

*Table A1.2 Summary of the two dispersals of English****The first diaspora****Migrations to N.America, Australia, New Zealand → L1 varieties of English.*

-
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> USA/Canada: | From early 17th century (English), 18th century (North Irish) to USA.
From 17th century, African slaves to South American states and Caribbean Islands.
From 1776 (American Independence) some British settlers to Canada. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Australia: | From 1770 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand: | From 1790s (official colony in 1840) |
-

The second diaspora*Migrations to Africa and Asia → L2 varieties of English.*

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> South Africa: | From 1795. 3 groups of L2 English speakers (Afrikaans/Blacks/from 1860s Indians). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> South Asia: | India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, from 1600 (British East India Company). 1765–1947 British sovereignty in India. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SE Asia and S Pacific: | Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Philippines from late 18th century (Raffles founded Singapore 1819). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Colonial Africa: | West: Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Liberia, from late 15th century (but no major English emigrant settlements → pidgins/creoles).
East: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, from c. 1850. |
-

coastal area around Philadelphia, but quickly moving south and west. After the Declaration of American Independence in 1776, many Loyalists (the British settlers who had supported the British government) left for Canada.

Meanwhile, comparable events were soon to take place in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (see Gordon & Sudbury 2002 on all three). James Cook 'discovered' **Australia** in 1770, landing in modern-day Queensland, and the First Fleet landed in New South Wales in 1788. From then until the ending of transportation in 1852, around 160,000 convicts were transported to Australia from Britain and Ireland, and from the 1820s large numbers of free settlers also began to arrive. The largest proportion of settlers came from London and the south-east, although in the case of the convicts, they were not necessarily born there. Others originated in regions as widely dispersed as, for example, south-west England, Lancashire, Scotland, and Ireland. The result was a situation of **dialect mixing** which was further influenced by the indigenous aboriginal languages.

New Zealand was first settled by European traders in the 1790s, though there was no official colony until after the British-Maori Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Immigrants arrived in three stages: in the 1840s and 1850s from Britain, in the 1860s from Australia and Ireland, and from 1870 to 1885 from the UK, when their number included a considerable proportion of Scots. As in Australia, there was a mixture of dialects, this time subject to a strong Maori influence especially in terms of vocabulary.

Although **South Africa** was colonised by the Dutch from the 1650s, the British did not arrive until 1795 when they annexed the Cape, and did not begin to settle in large numbers until 1820. The majority of Cape settlers originated in southern England, though there were also sizeable groups from Ireland and Scotland. Further settlement occurred in the 1850s in the Natal region, this time from the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. From 1822, when English was declared the official language, it was also learnt as a second language by blacks and Afrikaans speakers (many of whom were mixed race) and, from the 1860s, by Indian immigrants to the territory.

The second dispersal: English is transported to Asia and Africa

The second diaspora took place at various points during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in very different ways and with very different results from those of the first diaspora.

The history of English in Colonial Africa has two distinct patterns depending on whether we are talking about West or East Africa. English in **West Africa** is linked to the slave trade and the development of pidgin and creole languages. From the late fifteenth century onwards, British traders travelled at different times to and from the various coastal territories of West Africa, primarily Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon. However, there was no major British settlement in the area and, instead, English was employed as a lingua franca both among the indigenous population (there being hundreds of local languages), and between these people and the British traders. English has subsequently gained official status in the above five countries, and some of the pidgins and creoles which developed from English contact, such as Krio (Sierra Leone) and Cameroon Pidgin English, are now spoken by large numbers of people, especially as a second language.

East Africa's relationship with English followed a different path. The countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were extensively settled by British colonists from the 1850s on, following the expeditions of a number of explorers, most famously, those of David Livingstone. These six countries became British protectorates or colonies at various points between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with English playing an important role in their major institutions such as government, education, and the law. From the early 1960s, the six countries one after another achieved independence. English remains the official language in Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and (along with Chewa) Malawi and has large numbers of second language speakers in these places, although Swahili is more likely than English to be used as a lingua franca in Uganda, as it is in Kenya and Tanzania.

English was introduced to the sub-continent of **South Asia** (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan) during the second half of the eighteenth century although, as McCrum et al. (2002/2011: 356) point out, “[t]he English have

had a toehold on the Indian subcontinent since the early 1600s, when the newly formed East India Company established settlements in Madras, Calcutta, and later Bombay". The company's influence increased during the eighteenth century and culminated in a period of British sovereignty (known as 'the Raj') in India lasting from 1765 to 1947. A key development was the Macaulay Minute of 1835, which proposed the introduction in India of an English educational system. From that time, English became the language of the Indian education system. Even today, when Hindi is the official language of India, English is an 'associate official language' used alongside Hindi as a neutral lingua franca, and has undergone a process of Indianisation in which it has developed a distinctive national character comparable to that of American and Australian English (see unit C7).

British influence in **Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the South Pacific** began in the late eighteenth century as a result of the seafaring expeditions of James Cook and others. The main territories involved were Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. Papua New Guinea was also, for a short time, a British protectorate (1884 to 1920), and provides one of the world's best examples of an English-based pidgin, **Tok Pisin**.

Stamford Raffles is the name most closely associated with British colonialism in Southeast Asia. An administrator of the British East India Company, he played an important role in the founding of Singapore as part of the British colonial empire in 1819. Other major British centres were founded around the same time in Malaysia (e.g. Penang and Malacca), and Hong Kong was added in 1842. After the Spanish-American War at the end of the nineteenth century, the US was granted sovereignty over the **Philippines**, which, although gaining independence in 1946, has retained a strong American-English influence.

In recent years, the use of English has increased in Singapore and a local variety has begun to emerge. On the other hand, the use of English has declined in **Malaysia** as a result of the adoption of the local language **Malaysian Bahasa** as the national language and medium of education when Malaysia gained independence in 1957. While still obligatory as a subject of study at school, English was regarded as useful only for international communication. Subsequently there was a change of policy, with English-medium education being reintroduced from 2003. And even before this development, the situation was complex with, for example, radio stations using English and Bahasa together for a local audience (Sebba, personal communication). However, since 2013 the Malaysian government has again reverted to Malaysian Bahasa as the medium of instruction (Gill 2012). Nowadays English is also learnt in other countries in neighbouring areas, most notably China, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea, the latter three having even considered the possibility of making English their official second language.

Between 1750 and 1900 the English-speaking settlements of the first and second diasporas all underwent three similar major changes. Up until 1750, as Strevens (1992: 29) has pointed out, the British settlers thought of themselves as "English speakers from Britain who happened to be living overseas". After this time, Strevens continues:

First, the populations of the overseas NS [native speaker] English-speaking settlements greatly increased in size and became states with governments – albeit colonial governments – and with a growing sense of separate identity, which soon

extended to the flavour of the English they used. Second, in the United States first of all, but later in Australia and elsewhere, the colonies began to take their independence from Britain, which greatly reinforced the degree of linguistic difference . . . And third, as the possessions stabilized and prospered, so quite large numbers of people, being non-native speakers of English, had to learn to use the language in order to survive, or to find employment with the governing class.

These Englishes have much in common, through their shared history and their affinity with either British or American English. But there is also much that is unique to each variety, particularly in terms of their accents, but also in their idiomatic uses of vocabulary, their grammars, and their discourse strategies.

Since 1945, most of the remaining colonies have become independent states, with English often being retained in order to provide various internal functions and/or to serve as a lingua franca.

A2**WHO SPEAKS ENGLISH TODAY?****ENL, ESL, EFL and ELF**

The spread of English around the world is often discussed in terms of three distinct groups of users, those who speak English respectively as:

- a native language (ENL)
- a second language (ESL)
- a foreign language (EFL).

When we come to look more closely at the traditional three-way categorisation and, especially when we consider the most influential models and descriptions of English use, we will find that the categories have become fuzzy at the edges and that it is increasingly difficult to classify speakers of English as belonging purely to one of the three. The categorisation also ignores a fourth group of users, namely those who speak English as:

- a lingua franca (ELF).

Speakers of **English as a Lingua Franca**, who use English for intercultural communication, are now arguably the world's largest English-using group (see e.g. Seidlhofer 2011 as well as strand 6 below, where we explore ELF in detail).

The traditional tripartite model nevertheless provides a useful starting point from which we can then move on to the present, more complicated situation.

English as a Native Language (ENL), or English as a mother tongue as it is sometimes called, is the language of those born and raised in one of the countries where English is historically the first language to be spoken. Kachru (1992a: 356) refers to these countries (mainly the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand)

as “the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English”. Their English speakers are thought to number around 360 million. English as a Second Language refers to the language spoken in a large number of territories such as India, Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Singapore, which were once colonised by the English (see A1). These speakers are also thought to number around 360 million, although higher if English-based pidgins and creoles are included.

English as a Foreign Language is the English of those whose countries were never colonised by the British, and for whom English serves little or no purpose within their own borders. Historically, they typically learned the language in order to use it with its native speakers in the US and UK, though this is no longer necessarily the case. The current number of EFL speakers is difficult to assess, and much depends on the level of competence that is used to define such a speaker. If we use a criterion of ‘reasonable competence’ then the number is likely to be around one billion. However, it should be noted that this figure is not uncontroversial, and also that it includes some who could more accurately be described as ELF users (those who use English primarily as a lingua franca with non-native English speakers from other L1s than their own rather than primarily with ENL speakers). On the other hand, if we conflate EFL speakers with all ELF speakers the total may be as many as two billion.

Even before we complicate the issue with the changes that have occurred in the most recent decades, there are already a number of difficulties with the traditional three-way categorisation. McArthur (1998: 43–46) lists six provisos, which I summarise as follows:

1. ENL is not a single variety of English, but differs markedly from one territory to another (e.g. the US and UK), and even from one region to another within a given territory. In addition, the version of English accepted as ‘standard’ differs from one ENL territory to another.
2. Pidgins and creoles do not fit neatly into any one of the three categories. They are spoken in ENL settings, e.g. in parts of the Caribbean, in ESL settings, e.g. in many territories in West Africa, and in EFL settings, e.g. in Nicaragua, Panama, and Surinam in the Americas. And some creoles in the Caribbean are so distinct from standard varieties of English that they are considered by a number of scholars to be different languages altogether.
3. There have always been large groups of ENL speakers living in certain ESL territories, e.g. India and Hong Kong as a result of colonialism.
4. There are also large numbers of ESL speakers living in ENL settings, particularly the US and, to a lesser extent, the UK as a result of immigration.
5. The three categories do not take account of the fact that much of the world is bi- or multilingual, and that English is often spoken within a framework of code-mixing and code-switching. (Note that a distinction used to be made between these two terms, whereas more recently they have tended to be used synonymously and interchangeably, see e.g. Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006: chapter 18).
6. The basic division is between **native speakers** and **non-native speakers** of English, that is, those born to the language and those who learned it through education. The first group has always been considered superior to the second regardless of the quality of the language its members speak. This is becoming an ever more controversial issue and will be taken up in Unit B6.

To the above points can be added three more. Firstly, in a number of so-called ESL countries such as Singapore and Nigeria, some English speakers learn the language either as their L1 or as one of two or more equivalent languages within their bi- or multilingual repertoires. Secondly, there are so-called EFL/ELF countries such as The Netherlands and Scandinavian countries where English is increasingly being used for ***intranational*** (i.e. country internal) purposes rather than purely as a foreign or international language. For example, in such places, English is fast becoming the medium of instruction in tertiary education, while in secondary and even primary education, school subjects are increasingly being taught through English as a means of learning both (see C6). And thirdly, the focus on *users* of English and the linguistic features that identify them as members of specific nation states, whether ENL, ESL, or EFL, has resulted in a neglect of the *uses* of English (Mahboob and Szenes 2010). In other words, similar linguistic resources may be used by speakers of different named varieties of World Englishes within and across the three traditional groupings because of the influence of shared context of use and genre factors as well as the role of intercultural communication more broadly. This third point has particular relevance to ELF communication.

Models and descriptions of the spread of English

The oldest model of the spread of English is that of Strevens. His world map of English (see Figure A2.1), first published in 1980, shows a map of the world on which is superimposed an upside-down tree diagram demonstrating the way in which, since American English became a separate variety from British English, all subsequent Englishes have had affinities with either one or the other.

Later in the 1980s, Kachru, McArthur, and Görlach all proposed circle models of English: Kachru's 'Three circle model of World Englishes' (1985/1988), McArthur's (1987) 'Circle of World English', and Görlach's (1988) 'Circle model of English'. McArthur's and Görlach's models are similar in a number of ways. Görlach's circle (not shown here) places 'International English' at the centre, followed by (moving outwards):

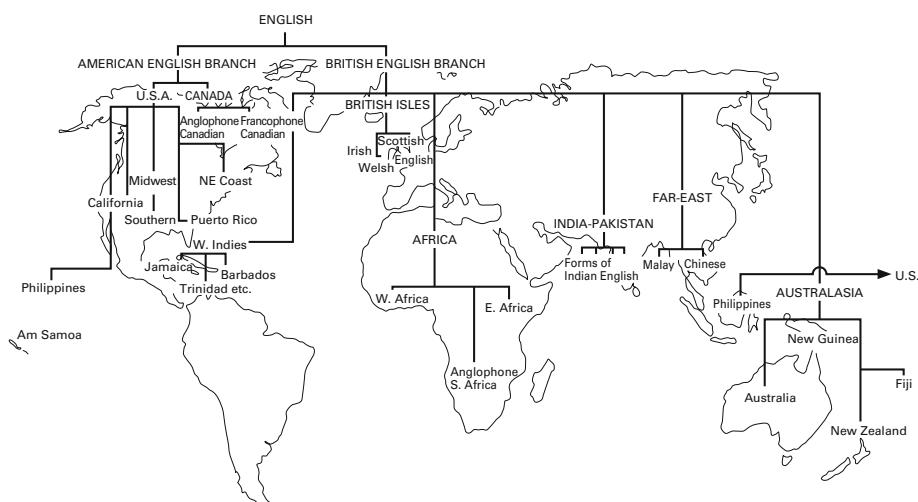


Figure A2.1 Strevens's world map of English (source: Strevens 1992: 33)

regional standard Englishes (African, Antipodean, British Canadian, Caribbean, S. Asian, US), then semi-/sub-regional standard Englishes such as Indian, Irish, Kenyan, Papua New Guinean, then non-standard Englishes such as Aboriginal English, Jamaican English, Yorkshire dialect, and, finally, beyond the outer rim, pidgins and creoles such as Cameroon pidgin English, Kamtok, and the Papua New Guinean Tok Pisin.

McArthur's circle (see Figure A2.2) has at its centre 'World Standard English' which, like Görlich's 'International English' does not exist in an identifiable form at present (if it ever will do, which is questionable). Moving outwards comes next a band of regional varieties including both standard and standardising forms. Beyond these, divided by spokes separating the world into eight regions, is what McArthur (1998: 95) describes as "a crowded (even riotous) fringe of subvarieties such as *Aboriginal English*, *Black English Vernacular* [now known as 'African-American Vernacular English' or 'Ebonics'], *Gullah*, *Jamaican Nation Language*, *Singapore English* and *Ulster Scots*".

However, the most useful and influential model of the spread of English has undoubtedly been that of Kachru (1992a: 356) (see Figure A2.3). In accordance with

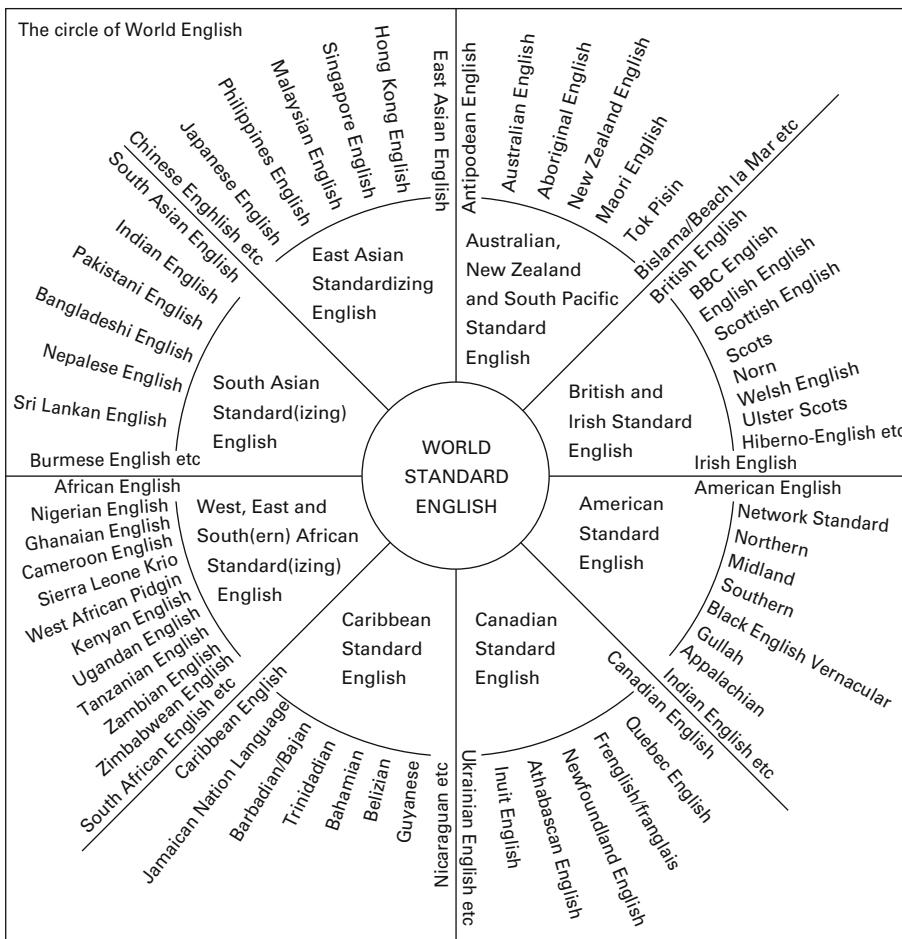


Figure A2.2 McArthur's Circle of World English (source: McArthur 1998: 97)

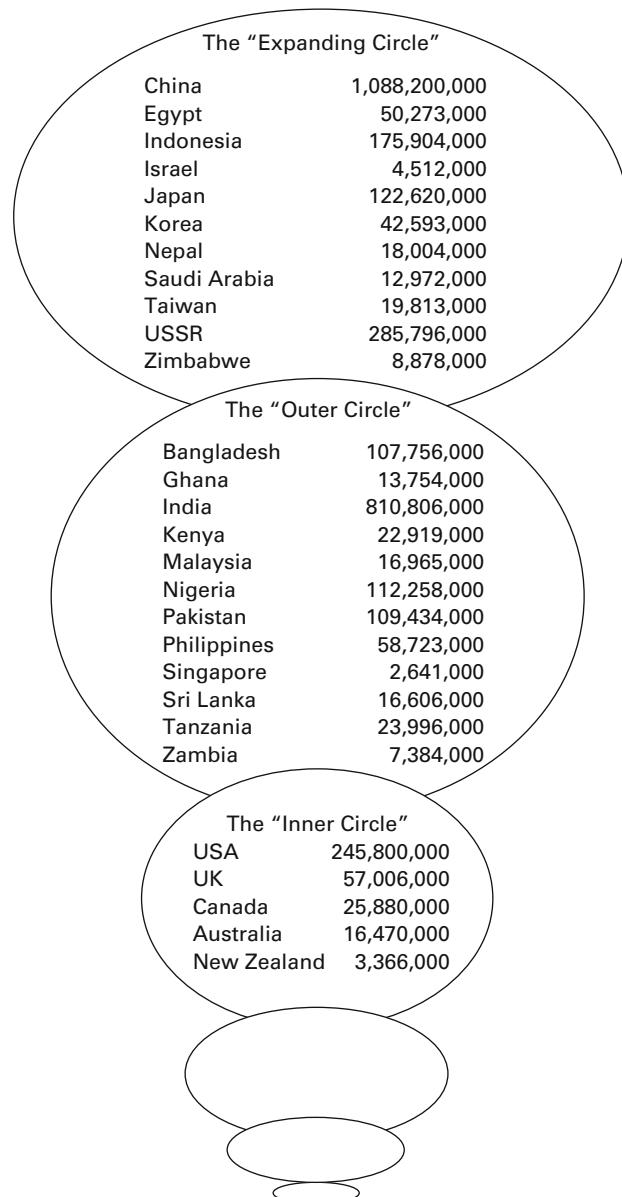


Figure A2.3 Kachru's three-circle model of World Englishes (source: Kachru 1992a: 356)

the three-way categorisation described in the previous section, Kachru divides World Englishes into three concentric circles, the **Inner Circle**, the **Outer Circle**, and the **Expanding Circle**. The three circles “represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts”, as the language travelled from Britain, in the first diaspora to the other ENL countries (together with the UK these constitute the Inner Circle), in the second diaspora to the ESL countries (the Outer Circle), and more recently, in what is sometimes called ‘the

third diaspora', to the EFL countries (the Expanding Circle). The English spoken in the Inner Circle is said to be 'norm-providing', that in the Outer Circle 'norm-developing', and that in the Expanding Circle 'norm-dependent'. Thus, according to this model, the ESL varieties of English have become **institutionalised**, serve country-internal functions, and are developing their own standards. By contrast, the EFL varieties are regarded as 'performance' varieties without any official status and therefore dependent on the standards set by native speakers in the Inner Circle, although Kachru later (2005) suggested that they could be modelled on Outer rather than Inner Circle varieties.

Kachru argues that the implications of this sociolinguistic reality of English use around the world have gone unrecognised, and that attitudes, power, and economics have instead been allowed to dictate English language policy. This situation, he considers, has been facilitated by a number of "fallacies" about the users and uses of English in different cultures around the world. In B2 we will look further at this issue, which developed in the early 1990s into a major debate carried out in the pages of the journal *English Today*.

The three-circle model has been highly influential and contributed greatly to our understanding of the sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English. And many scholars, myself included, use it to this day because it still offers the most convenient framework we have for thinking about different kinds of English use. However, over the past few years a number of World Englishes scholars have identified limitations with the model in its current form. Some of these limitations relate to subsequent changes in the use of English, while others concern any attempt at a three-way categorisation of English uses and users. The main points that have been raised by various scholars (some of which overlap with those raised in respect of the tripartite ENL-ESL-EFL model described above) are the following:

- ❑ The model is based on geography and history rather than on the way speakers currently identify with and use English. Yet some English users in the Outer Circle speak it as their first language (occasionally as their *only* language). Meanwhile an increasing number of speakers in the Expanding Circle use English for a very wide range of purposes including social with native speakers, and even more frequently with other non-native speakers from both their own and different L1s, and both in their home country and abroad. As Mesthrie points out, "[t]he German graduate students I taught in the cold Bavarian winter of 2005 seemed to be *thoroughly at home in English*" (2008: 32, emphasis added). In addition to this, English is increasingly being used as the medium of instruction in both schools and universities in many continental European countries, and more recently in Expanding Circle Asian countries such as China.
- ❑ There is often a grey area between the Inner and Outer Circles: in some Outer Circle countries, English may be the first language learnt for many people, and may be spoken in the home rather than used purely for institutional purposes such as education, law, and government.
- ❑ There is also an increasingly grey area between the Outer and Expanding Circles. Approximately twenty countries are said to be in transition from EFL to ESL status, including Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Denmark, Sudan, Switzerland (Graddol 1997: 11).

- ❑ Many World English speakers grow up bilingual or multilingual, using different languages to fulfil different functions in their daily lives. This makes it difficult to describe any language in their repertoire as L1, L2, L3, and so on.
- ❑ There is a difficulty in using the model to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English. A native speaker may have limited vocabulary and low grammatical competence while the reverse may be true of a non-native speaker. The fact that English is somebody's second or subsequent language does not mean that their competence is, by definition, lower than that of a native speaker. And while the model does not actually imply this, it often seems to be inferred, in part perhaps from the description of Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes as, respectively, 'norm-developing' and 'norm-dependent'.
- ❑ The model implies that the situation is uniform for all countries within a particular circle whereas this is not so. Even within the Inner Circle, countries differ in the amount of **linguistic diversity** they contain (e.g. there is far more diversity in the US than in the UK). In the Outer Circle, countries differ in a number of respects such as whether English is spoken mainly by an élite, as in India, or is more widespread, as in Singapore; or whether it is spoken by a single L1 group leading to one variety of English as in Bangladesh, or by several different L1 groups leading to several varieties of English as in India. Because of this, Bruthiaux argues that the model "conceals more than it reveals and runs the risk of being interpreted as a license to dispense with analytical rigour" (2003: 161).
- ❑ The term 'Inner Circle' implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central to the effort, whereas their worldwide influence is in fact in decline. Note, though, that Kachru did not intend the term 'Inner' to be taken to imply any sense of superiority.

For more details concerning these issues see, for example, Bruthiaux (2003), Canagarajah (1999), Graddol (1997, 2006), Holborow (1999), Kandiah (1998), Kirkpatrick (2007a), Mesthrie (2008), Modiano (1999a), Pennycook (2006, 2007), Seidlhofer (2002), Saraceni (2010), Toolan (1997), Tripathi (1998), and Yano (2001, 2009). Kachru, however, believes that his model has been misinterpreted, and has defended it robustly point by point against the problems listed in the first edition of this book (Jenkins 2003: 17–18), arguing that the model has the capacity to encompass the kinds of sociolinguistic changes observed by his critics (Kachru 2005: 211–220). He concludes that the concerns raised in Jenkins (2003) "are constructed primarily on misrepresentations of the model's characteristics, interpretations and implications" (Kachru 2005: 220). If you have access to Kachru (2005) and to some of the above sources, you may find it useful to read their authors' comments on the three-circle model, then Kachru's (2005) response, in order to help you decide on your own position.

Several scholars have since proposed alternative models and descriptions of the spread of English, sometimes in an attempt to improve on Kachru's model by incorporating more recent developments. Tripathi (1998: 55), for example, argues that the 'third world nations' should be considered as "an independent category that supersedes the distinction of ESL and EFL". Yano's Cylindrical model (2001: 122–124) modifies Kachru's model in order to take account of the fact that many varieties of English in the Outer Circle have become established varieties spoken by people who regard themselves as native speakers with native speaker intuition. He therefore suggests

glossing the Inner Circle as “genetic ENL” and the Outer as “functional ENL”. His model also takes account of the social dialectal concept of **acrolect** (standard) and **basilect** (colloquial) use of English, with the acrolect being used for international communication and for formal and public intranational interaction, and the basilect for informal intranational communication. This is problematic in that it does not allow for the possibility of basilect use in international communication, whereas such use is becoming increasingly common. On the other hand, the attempt to remove any suggestion of a genetic element from the definition of ‘native speaker’ is very welcome. Yano subsequently produced another version of his model, the ‘Three-dimensional cylindrical model’ (see Yano 2009). This incorporates proficiency in four kinds of English: English for General Purposes (EGP), English for Special Purposes (ESP), Intra-regional Standard English (Intra-RSE), and English as an International Language (EIL), with the latter kind described as “the ultimate level of proficiency for cross-regional or international communication” (2009: 216).

Another attempt to adapt Kachru’s model to take account of later developments is that of Modiano (1999a, 1999b). He breaks completely with historical and geographical concerns and bases the first of his two models, ‘The centripetal circles of international English’, on what is mutually comprehensible to the majority of proficient speakers of English, be they native or non-native. The centre is made up of those who are proficient in international English (corresponding to Yano’s EIL). That is, these speakers function well in cross-cultural communication where English is the lingua franca. They are just as likely to be non-native as native speakers of English. The main criterion, other than proficiency itself, is that they have no strong regional accent or dialect. Modiano’s next band consists of those who have proficiency in English as either a first or second language rather than as an international language. In other words, they function well in English with, respectively, other native speakers (with whom they share English as an L1) or other non-native speakers from the same L1 background as themselves. The third circle is made up of learners of English, i.e. those who are not yet proficient in English. Outside this circle is a final band to represent those people who do not know English at all (see Figure A2.4).

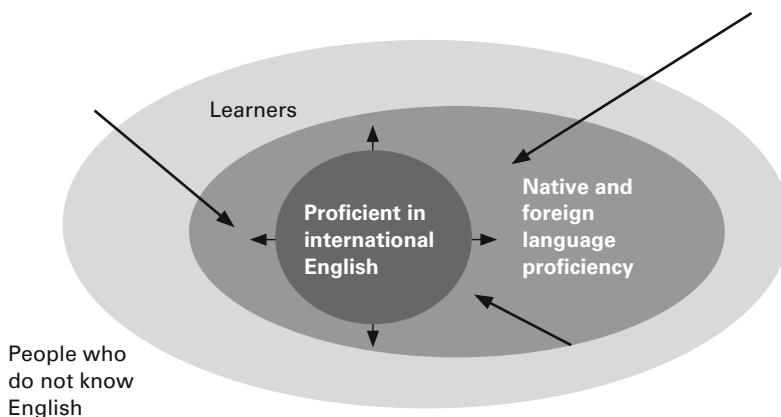


Figure A2.4 Modiano’s centripetal circles of international English (source: Modiano 1999a: 25)

Although it makes good sense to base a modern description of users of English on proficiency and to prioritise the use of English as an international or world language (as McArthur and Görlach had done earlier, and Yano was to do later), there are certain problems with Modiano's model. In particular, where do we draw the line between a strong and non-strong regional accent? Presumably a strong regional accent places its owner in the second circle, thus categorising them as not proficient in international English. But we currently have no sound basis on which to make the decision. And who decides? Again, given that international English is not defined, what does it mean to be proficient in 'international English' other than the rather vague notion of communicating well? Where do we draw the line between proficient and not proficient in international English in the absence of such a definition?

A few months later, Modiano redrafted his idea in response to comments that he had received in reaction to his first model. This time he moves away from intelligibility *per se* to present a model based on features common to all varieties of English. At the centre is EIL (English as an International Language), a core of features that is comprehensible to the majority of native and competent non-native speakers of English (see Figure A2.5). His second circle consists of features that may become internationally common or may fall into obscurity. Modiano's outer area consists of five groups (American English, British English, other major (native) varieties, other (local) varieties, and foreign varieties – which he, however, labels "foreign language speakers"), each with features peculiar to their own speech community that are unlikely to be understood by most members of the other four groups.

There are still problems. For example, the difficulty of determining what goes into his central category remains. In addition, some will find unpalatable the fact that Modiano equates native speakers with "competent" non-natives, implying that all native speakers of English are competent users of English, which is patently untrue. There may also be objections to the designation of the main native varieties as "major" but established Outer Circle varieties such as Indian English (spoken by a larger number than the native English populations of the US and UK combined) as "local".

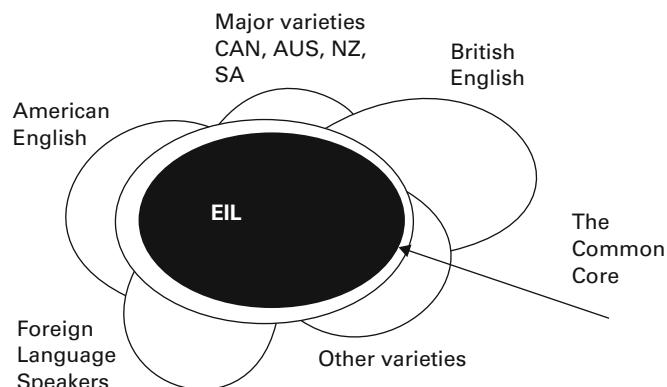


Figure A2.5 Modiano's English as an international language (EIL) illustrated as those features of English which are common to all native and non-native varieties (source: Modiano 1999b: 10)

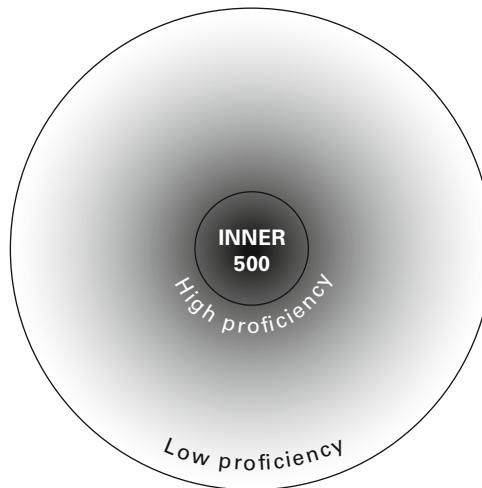


Figure A2.6 Representing the community of English speakers as including a wide range of proficiencies (source: Graddol 2006: 110)

Returning to Kachru's model, Graddol (2006: 110) points out that "Kachru himself has recently proposed that the 'inner circle' is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' regardless of how they learned or use the language". Graddol demonstrates this in Figure A2.6, which he devised according to his interpretation of Kachru's words.

Graddol argues that "[i]n a globalised world [...] there is an increasing need to distinguish between proficiencies in English rather than a speaker's bilingual status" (p. 110). This is similar to Rampton's (1990) notion of 'expertise', which, Rampton argues, is a more appropriate concept for English than that of nativeness (see unit B6 below). Degree of proficiency or expertise is an eminently (and possibly the most) useful way to approach the English of its entirety of speakers nowadays, regardless of where they come from and what other language(s) they speak.

The source for Graddol's presentation of functional nativeness in diagrammatic form was Kachru (2005) (Graddol, personal communication). However, it seems that Graddol's interpretation of the phenomenon of 'functional nativeness' may not be precisely the same as Kachru's. For when Kachru himself discusses functional nativeness (2005: 12, and see also Kachru 1997: 217), he explains it in terms of two variables: "the RANGE and DEPTH of a language in a society" (his capital letters), i.e. the "domains" in which a language is used and "the degree of social penetration of the language". In other words, Kachru seems to be referring to the use of English in a society, and Graddol to the proficiency level of speakers of English within the entire 'community' of English speakers. The two overlap, but are not necessarily identical.

More recently, Canagarajah (in a lecture, 'Developing a model for plurilingual competence', given at Southampton University, England in July 2008) looks afresh at McArthur's circle model and argues that its 'World Standard English' centre is problematic. Canagarajah suggests replacing it with '**Pragmatics**' – strategies of communication (see Canagarajah 2005: xxvi) – leaving the grammar to take care of itself. Still more controversially, as an alternative, he suggests leaving the centre completely

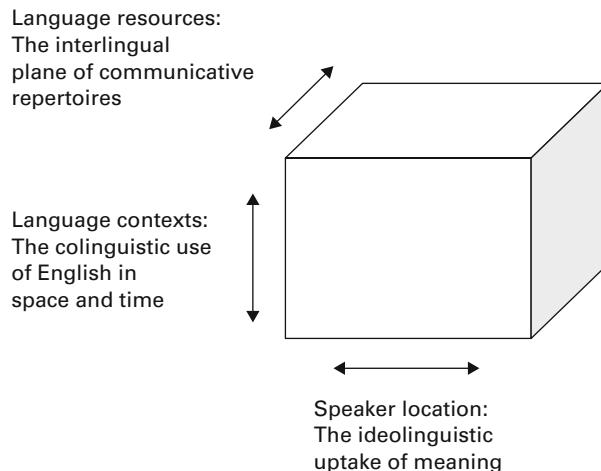


Figure A2.7 Pennycook's 3D transtextual model of English use (source: Pennycook 2009: 204)

empty. Either way, the implication is that it is impossible to capture the variability of English forms used in context around the world within a single term, a conclusion that is particularly consistent with the notion of English as a Lingua Franca (see strand 6).

Like Canagarajah's model, other more recent models of the spread of English move away from a narrower focus on geography, history, nativeness, proficiency, and the like to take greater account of the role of the communication context. Pennycook's (2009) 3D transtextual model of English use (see Figure A2.7) consists of three planes: a higher horizontal plane for "inter/linguistic resources", a vertical one for "who says what to whom where", and a lower horizontal one for "what gets taken from what language use with what investments, ideologies, discourses and beliefs" (2009: 203). His higher surface, which he equates with ELF, includes all uses of English, not only national bounded varieties. His vertical plane is concerned with registers in relation to "actual contextual use" rather than assuming (as Yano's model does) that only the acrolect is available to the Expanding Circle, while the full acrolect-to-basilect range is available to others. Finally, the model's lower surface takes account of the fact that "listeners come with language histories and means of interpretation" (p. 205).

The most recent model we will consider, and which is in press as I write, is Mahboob's Language variation framework (see Figure A2.8). This again comprises three parts, though this time they are continuums rather than planes. The first relates to users of English and concerns the social/geographic distance (global or local) between interlocutors. The second concerns uses of English, i.e. the purpose for which it is being used, with specialised discourse and casual conversation being at opposite ends of the continuum. The third refers to the mode of communication, i.e. spoken, written, and combinations of the two in various forms of virtual interaction. As Mahboob points out, while each is an independent continuum, the three are not mutually exclusive, and provide eight different possible kinds of language variation: local, written, everyday; local oral everyday; local, written, specialised; local, oral, specialised; global, written, everyday, and so on.

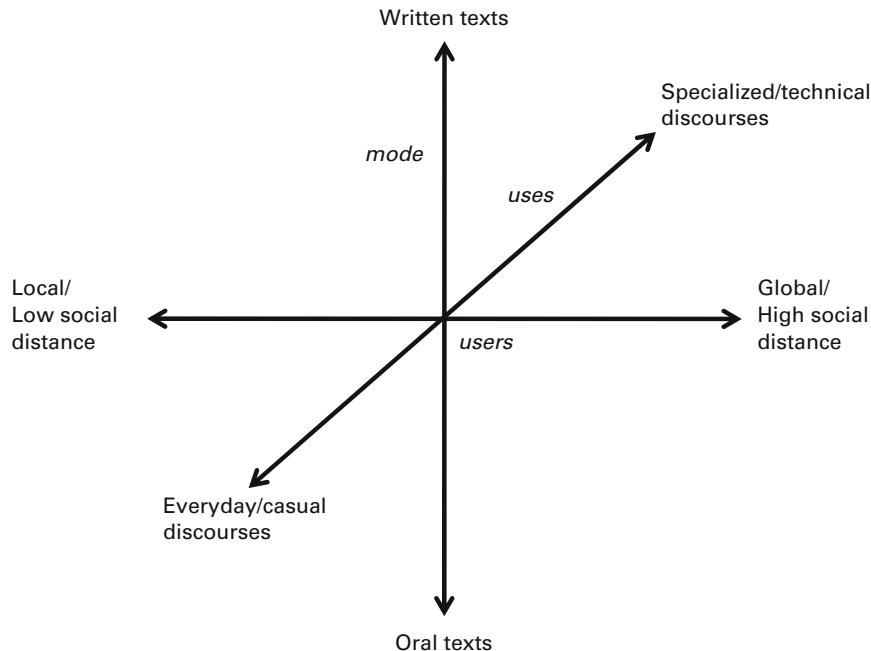


Figure A2.8 Mahboob's language variation framework (source: Mahboob in press)

Before moving on to either B2 or A3 (depending on how you are using this book), you may find it useful to look back over the various models of the spread of English that have been described in A2, rank/evaluate them, and decide which (if any) you find entirely satisfactory. If you don't think any of them is sufficiently comprehensive, you may even want to have a go at designing your own model!

STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

A3

Standard language and language standards

Standard language and language standards are topics that excite an immense amount of controversy both inside and outside the linguistics profession. **Standard language** is the term used for the variety of a language that is considered to be the norm. It is the variety held up as the optimum for educational purposes and used as a yardstick against which other varieties of the language are measured. Being a **prestige variety**, a standard language is spoken by a minority of people within a society, typically those occupying positions of power. In other words, as Milroy (2001: 532) argues, “varieties of language do not actually have prestige in themselves: these varieties acquire prestige when their *speakers* have high prestige”. Not surprisingly, then, as Mesthrie and

Bhatt (2008: 14–15) point out, “standard English has almost come to have a life and power of its own”, with the ideology of standardisation “presenting the standard as the primordial entity from which other dialects deviate” and, in turn, having “important ramifications for the status of new varieties of English that developed . . . beyond the south of England and beyond the British Isles”.

Language standards are the reverse side of the standard language coin. These are the prescriptive language rules which together constitute the standard, and to which all members of a language community are exposed and urged to conform during education, regardless of their local variety. Because a living language is by definition dynamic, these rules are subject to change over time. However, while any specific language change is in progress, it is seen as error by those who favour standard language ideology (general public and language professional alike), and is the subject of much criticism from self-appointed guardians of ‘correct’ usage, who tend to look back to a mythical linguistic ‘Golden Age’, often that of their own childhood. A good example of this phenomenon in respect of English is the Queen’s English Society, which was founded in 1972 and whose aims are “to improve standards of English, to encourage people to know more about our wonderful language, to use it more effectively and to enjoy it more”, as well as “exposing poor English standards” (see <http://queens-english-society.com/>). We will return to the Queen’s English Society in unit D3.

Because language standards seem not to function in the interests of certain groups, especially speakers of New Englishes, Parakrama argues that standards should be made more inclusive:

Language standards are rarely contested, even by those who are engaged in radical and far-reaching social critique. Yet, standards discriminate against those who don’t conform, and language standardisation has systematically worked against the underclass as well as women and minorities . . . The existence of standards, however objectionable, cannot be denied, so the only viable option, politically at any rate, is to work towards broadening the standard to include the greatest variety possible, particularly the ‘uneducated’ arenas of usage which have so far been considered inappropriate, mistaken, even pathological.

(Parakrama 1995: back cover)

Hudson (1996: 32) describes standard languages as “quite abnormal” in their development: “Whereas one thinks of normal language development as taking place in a rather haphazard way, largely below the threshold of consciousness of the speakers, standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society”. Following Haugen (1966) he summarises this process of intervention as going through four stages, selection, codification, elaboration of function, and acceptance.

Selection

This is the most critical stage in the standardising process. It refers to the way in which one variety rather than any other is chosen as the one that will be developed as the standard language. Often, this is an existing variety that already has political and/or economic currency. Modern standard English, for instance, derives from

Mercian, the East Midlands dialect favoured by the educated of London after the Royal Court was established there following the Norman Conquest, and the centre of power had thus moved away from Winchester and its West Saxon dialect (see Crystal 2003b: 29). On the other hand, the process could involve the selection of features from several varieties or even, as in the case of Classical Hebrew in Israel, of a language variety that has no native speakers. Selection is, of course, a social and political process since it is invariably led by those in power, and subsequently reinforces and further promotes their interests over those of speakers of other (by definition ‘non-standard’) varieties.

Codification

Once selection has taken place, the variety chosen to represent the standard has to be ‘fixed’ in grammar books and dictionaries so that those people who wish to use the language ‘correctly’ have access to its standard forms.

Elaboration of function

To fulfil its role, the standard variety has to be capable of performing a wide range of institutional and literary functions particularly, though not exclusively, in government, law, education, science, and literature. At the elaboration stage, then, new lexical items are added and new conventions developed to fill any gaps.

Acceptance

Clearly, unless the relevant population accept the selected variety as their standard and, most probably, their national language, all will have been in vain. In practice, though, since those who make the selection tend to be, or to represent, those who have the right of veto, acceptance is unlikely to be an issue. Those who already lacked political and economic power will continue to do so, with their inferior status in society now being symbolised by their use of an ‘inferior’ language variety: a social, regional, or ethnic dialect. For the time being, the standard variety, as Hudson (1996: 33) says, “serves as a strong unifying force for the state, as a symbol of its independence of other states . . . and as a marker of its difference from other states”. On the other hand, it is quite possible that in times to come, there will be challenges to the ‘accepted’ variety from those both within and outside its users. This is currently the situation with English, as the next two sections will demonstrate.

Finally, as Milroy and Milroy (2012: 23) note, “these hypothetical stages [of standardisation] do not necessarily follow one another in temporal succession”. Some stages may overlap or precede others earlier in the sequence. In addition, while Haugen’s description could be taken to imply that the standardisation process has an end point, this is not so. The on-going nature of the process is most obvious in relation to codification and elaboration, with frequent elaboration of a language in line with its users’ new needs (e.g. technological vocabulary) leading to further codification. In respect of English, Oxford Dictionaries adds approximately 150 million words a month to its central database of English usage examples, and of these, around 1000 are added to Oxford Dictionaries Online (a web-based lexicon of current English) each year. For example, in 2013 the word ‘omnishambles’ (from ‘omni’ meaning ‘all’ and ‘shambles’ meaning ‘confusion’ or ‘mess’) was added, having been coined in 2009 for a television

comedy programme and repeated by the British leader of the Opposition in response to the Government's 2012 budget, while the word 'selfie' (a photograph taken by/of oneself) was declared Britain's word of 2013.

What is standard English?

Standard English is by no means an easy language variety to identify. In the case of languages such as French and Italian, for which academies prescribe the forms that may and may not be codified in their grammars and dictionaries, the standard is evident. Even those people who do not themselves wish to promote it are able, year on year, to ascertain exactly what it is. All is less certain with standard English, not only in terms of its worldwide use (which is the subject of the following section) but also in its Inner Circle contexts.

The following are some of the main definitions of standard English that have been proposed in recent years. They are listed in chronological order of their first appearance in print, although as you will see, those that appear in later editions of the same publication have often not altered. The first, third, and sixth refer specifically to British English whereas the remaining four appear to include all Inner Circle Englishes.

1. The dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching in schools and universities, and heard on radio and television (Hughes and Trudgill 1979, repeated in the second edition, 1996).
2. The variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by 'educated' speakers of the language. It is also, of course, the variety of the language that students of English as a Foreign or Second Language (EFL/ESL) are taught when receiving formal instruction. The term *Standard English* refers to grammar and vocabulary (*dialect*) but not to pronunciation (*accent*). (Trudgill and Hannah 1982, and repeated in the fourth edition, 2002).
3. Standard English can be characterized by saying that it is that set of grammatical and lexical forms which is typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers. It . . . includes the use of colloquial and slang vocabulary as well as swear-words and taboo expressions (Trudgill 1984).
4. [The term] 'Standard English' is potentially misleading for at least two reasons. First, in order to be self-explanatory, it really ought to be called 'the grammar and the core vocabulary of educated usage in English'. That would make plain the fact that it is not the whole of English, and above all, it is not pronunciation that can in any way be labelled 'Standard', but only one part of English: its grammar and vocabulary (Strevens 1985).
5. Since the 1980s, the notion of 'standard' has come to the fore in public debate about the English language . . . We may define the Standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its vocabulary, grammar and orthography) which carries most prestige and is most widely understood. (Crystal 1995, repeated in the second edition, 2003b).
6. Traditionally the medium of the upper and (especially professional) middle class, and by and large of education . . . Although not limited to one accent (most

notably in recent decades), it has been associated since at least the nineteenth century with the accent that, since the 1920s, has been called *Received Pronunciation (RP)*, and with the phrases *the Queen's English*, *the King's English*, *Oxford English*, and *BBC English* (McArthur 2002).

7. The kind of English in which all native speakers learn to read and write although most do not actually speak it (Trudgill and Hannah fifth edition, 2008).

These definitions bear certain similarities. For instance, there is a fair degree of consensus that accent is not involved in standard English, although as McArthur implies, the British general public associate the 'standard' with an RP accent. There is also general agreement that standard English is primarily a case of grammar and vocabulary, and that it is the variety promoted through the education system and, in some definitions, that it is associated with social class. Nevertheless, this does not help us to any great extent if we want to know what it all means in practice. Possibly the best source of information in this respect is an article by Trudgill, the originator of four of the above definitions. In 'Standard English: what it isn't' (1999), Trudgill demonstrates what may be the only feasible way of defining a 'non-academy' standard language such as English. That is, by what it is not:

- It is not a language: it is only one variety of a given English.
- It is not an accent: in Britain it is spoken by 12–15 per cent of the population, of whom 9–12 per cent speak it with a regional accent.
- It is not a style: it can be spoken in formal, neutral and informal styles, respectively:

Father was exceedingly fatigued subsequent to his extensive peregrinations.

Dad was very tired after his lengthy journey.

The old man was bloody knackered after his long trip.

- It is not a register: given that a register is largely a matter of lexis in relation to subject matter (e.g. the register of medicine, of cricket, or of knitting), there is no necessary connection between register and Standard English. Trudgill (1999: 122) provides this example: "There was two eskers what we saw in them U-shaped valleys" to demonstrate "a non-standard English sentence couched in the technical register of physical geography".
- It is not a set of prescriptive rules: it can tolerate certain features which, because many of their rules are grounded in Latin, prescriptive grammarians do not allow. Trudgill (1999: 125) provides these examples: sentence-final prepositions as in "I've bought a new car which I'm very pleased with", and constructions such as "It's me", "He is taller than me".

Trudgill concludes that standard English is a dialect that differs from the other dialects of English in that it has greater prestige, does not have an associated accent, and does not form part of a geographical continuum. In other words, it is purely a **social dialect**. He goes on to point out that while standard English has many features in common with the other dialects of the country in question, there are certain

differences and that these differences do not necessarily indicate the linguistic superiority of the standard forms.

Non-standard Englishes

It is not unusual for all the regional native speaker dialects of English to be lumped together with all the New Englishes (in both standard and non-standard versions) under the label **non-standard**, with the implication that all are inferior. Somewhat surprisingly, even educated Australian English belonged until recently to this category, only joining the ranks of standard English in the 1970s. Up to then, Australian English was evaluated in terms of its closeness to Standard British English (known locally as ‘colonial cringe’), with any distinctively Australian forms being regarded as ‘bad’ English. The first dictionary of Australian English to be edited within Australia’s shores rather than in Britain was only published in 1976. Since then, educated Australians have developed a new confidence in their own identity which has translated linguistically into the celebration of their own ways of speaking and a new reluctance to look back to their British roots and mimic Standard British English.

If it was so difficult for a standard native variety of English to gain acceptance, it should be no surprise that non-standard native varieties and both standard and non-standard non-native varieties have not so far met with similar success. In the case of the non-standard native varieties, lack of acceptance appears to have connections with attitudes towards race in the US and class in the UK. In her discussion of standard American and British English, Milroy argues that people find it easier to identify the non-standard than the standard. She goes on to propose that:

in a sense, the standard [American English] of popular perception is what is left behind when all the non-standard varieties spoken by disparaged persons such as Valley Girls, Hillbillies, Southerners, New Yorkers, African Americans, Asians, Mexican Americans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans are set aside. In Britain, where consciousness of the special status of RP as a class accent is acute, spoken standard English might similarly be described as what is left after we remove from the linguistic bran-tub Estuary English, Brummie, Cockney, Geordie, Scouse, various quaint rural dialects, London Jamaican, transatlantic slang and perhaps even conservative RP as spoken by older members of the upper classes.

(L. Milroy 1999: 174)

While we are on the subject of non-standard Englishes, it is important to note that the New Englishes, in both their standard and non-standard manifestations, tend to be regarded in much the same way as the non-standard Inner Circle varieties. Thus, despite having undergone the processes of standardisation and been codified in grammars and dictionaries, Outer Circle Englishes such as Standard Singapore English and Standard Indian English are still considered non-standard, particularly by outsiders but even by some of their own speakers.

Meanwhile, in several parts of the world including a number of African-English-speaking countries, standardisation processes are currently underway. But again, if and when this has been achieved, they are still unlikely to attract the same prestige as their standard British, American, and Australian counterparts. This is because of

attitudes towards non-native varieties of English, implicit in which is the belief that the New Englishes are the result of a process known as **fossilization**. In other words, the learning of English is said to have ceased (or ‘fossilized’) some way short of target-like competence, with the target being assumed to be either Standard British or Standard American English. Of course, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the idea that the New Englishes should have as their target the standard Englishes of the Inner Circle is of dubious validity. We will return to these issues in strands 4 and 7.

VARIATION ACROSS POSTCOLONIAL ENGLISHES

A4

Outer and Inner Circle Englishes

British English apart, all the other Englishes whether Inner or Outer Circle resulted from one of two diasporas: the first diaspora in the case of the Inner Circle Englishes and the second diaspora in the case of the Outer. Note, though, that the two diasporas overlapped in time, with, for example, the Indian English of the second diaspora preceding the Australian English of the first. The two are sometimes known, respectively as ‘new’ and ‘New’ Englishes, though I have not followed the convention in this third edition. The former group, members of the Inner Circle, consists primarily of North America (the US and Canada), Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The Englishes in these territories developed independently of, and differently from, English in Britain partly because of the original mixtures of dialects and accents among the people who settled in these areas, and partly because of the influence of the languages of the indigenous populations. Nevertheless, because of their direct descent from British English, and because they were spoken as mother tongues, there is a strong element of continuity in the use of these Englishes from pre-colonial days.

On the other hand, the Englishes of the second diaspora, members of the Outer Circle, were and for the most part still are learnt as second languages or as one language within a wider multilingual repertoire of acquisition. This group includes, for example, Indian English, Philippine English, Nigerian English, and Singapore English (the latter increasingly being spoken as a mother tongue). Strand 4 will not be concerned with the kinds of English used by people from the Expanding Circle such as mainland Europe, China, Japan, Korea etc., and Latin America as we will explore their use of English in strand 6 when we consider English as a Lingua Franca.

In strand 3 we tackled the complex issue of standard English in respect of the Inner Circle Englishes. This is not in any way intended to suggest that the Outer Circle varieties should be approached in terms of their differences from a particular native variety rather than in their own right. This point is generally accepted nowadays in terms of the first diaspora Englishes, particularly American English, which is considered in the popular mind and among many English language professionals to be one of the world’s two prestige varieties of English (the other being British English). On the other hand, as was noted in A3, Australian English has only fairly recently begun to lose the negative connotations attached to its differences from British

English. And the situation has not improved even to this extent for many of the Englishes of the Outer Circle, particularly those that have not yet been fully described and codified (see A3 for a discussion of the processes involved in standardisation).

Defining a postcolonial English

There are a large number of varieties of postcolonial English and these are far from uniform in their characteristics and current use. They nevertheless share certain features. According to Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 2–3), a postcolonial English (or a ‘New English’ as they call it) fulfils the following four criteria:

1. It has developed through the education system. This means that it has been taught as a subject and, in many cases, also used as a medium of instruction in regions where languages other than English were the main languages.
2. It has developed in an area where a native variety of English was *not* the language spoken by most of the population.
3. It is used for a range of functions *among* those who speak or write it in the region where it is used.
4. It has become ‘localised’ or ‘**nativised**’ by adopting some language features of its own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words, and expressions.

Another way of looking at a postcolonial English is to consider the status of its norms, and the extent to which its innovative uses of the language are accepted despite their differences from native English norms. Bamgbose (1998: 3–4) outlines five internal factors that can be used to decide on the status of an innovation in English:

1. *the demographic factor*: how many speakers of the acrolect, or standard variety, use it?
2. *the geographical factor*: how widely dispersed is it?
3. *the authoritative factor*: where is its use sanctioned?
4. *codification*: does it appear in reference books such as dictionaries and grammars?
5. *the acceptability factor*: what is the attitude of users and non-users towards it?

Bamgbose points out that of these five, codification and acceptability are the most crucial as, without them, any innovation will be regarded as an error rather than as a legitimate form characteristic of a particular postcolonial variety.

English was initially spoken in Africa and Asia only by the native English-speaking colonisers from Britain and North America. They set up schools to teach first English, and then other subjects through English, in order to provide a local workforce able to communicate in the language. As time went on, and the number of students increased, the English-medium schools began to recruit local non-native teachers. Their English was, inevitably, different from that of their own native speaker teachers and the differences grew still more marked among the children who were taught by non-native speakers. Students were thus exposed to the language for several years during which time they used it for an ever-increasing number of functions. In this way, the postcolonial Englishes evolved into varieties that served a wide or even full range of purposes and, at the same time, developed their own character.

Levels of variation

The main levels on which the Englishes of the two diasporas differ from the English of what Chinua Achebe has described as “its ancestral home”, i.e. Britain, and from each other, are the following: pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary/idiom, and discourse style. Although you should bear in mind that the different varieties of these Englishes are not internally uniform, nevertheless, as with British English, in the vast majority of cases there is sufficient common ground for us to be able to talk about a particular national English, be it Nigerian English, Indian English, American English, or whatever. The following details draw mainly on Platt et al. (1984), supplemented where appropriate with more recent examples and commentary from Kachru and Nelson (2006), Kachru and Smith (2008), Melchers and Shaw (2011), and Trudgill and Hannah (2008).

Pronunciation

Consonant sounds

The dental fricative sounds /θ/ and /ð/ as in the words *thin* and *this* when spoken with a British English **Received Pronunciation (RP)** accent (with the tongue tip vibrating against the upper teeth), are pronounced in various ways by speakers of postcolonial Englishes. For example, speakers of Indian and West Indian Englishes use instead the sounds /t/ and /d/, so that these words are pronounced ‘tin’ and ‘dis’.

On the other hand, speakers of Lankan, Malaysian, Singapore, and many African Englishes often use the sounds /tθ/ and /dð/, so that the same words sound closer to ‘t-thin’ and ‘d-this’. These substitutions would have started life as attempts to produce the perceived ‘correct’ L1 English sound. However once L2-English-speaking teachers began to be employed, the substitutions would have been produced as classroom models and imitated by pupils. Over time, they gradually became regarded as local variants, rather than incorrect attempts to conform, and in many cases are now in the process of being codified.

The same is true of a host of other consonant sounds of which the following are among those most frequently described:

- ❑ /w/ is pronounced as /v/ in Lankan and some Indian Englishes so that ‘wet’ sounds like ‘vet’.
- ❑ The voiceless sounds /p/, /t/, and /k/ are pronounced at the beginnings of words without **aspiration** (a small puff of air) by speakers of Indian, Philippine, Malaysian, and some other postcolonial Englishes, so that they sound to Inner Circle speakers more like their voiced equivalents, /b/, /d/, and /g/ (e.g. the words ‘pin’, ‘tin’, and ‘cap’ sound closer to ‘bin’, ‘din’, and ‘gap’).
- ❑ Consonants at the ends of words tend to be unreleased or replaced with glottal stops in Englishes such as Ghanaian, West Indian, and colloquial Singaporean, so that a word such as ‘cat’ may be pronounced either *ca(t)* with an unreleased final consonant, or *ca'* with a final glottal stop. The word-final **glottal stop** to replace a consonant sound, especially /t/, is also, of course, a feature of some non-standard varieties of British English such as Estuary English and Cockney.

- ❑ Several postcolonial Englishes, including Indian, West African, and Papua New Guinean, use **voiceless** word-final consonants (that is, without vibration of the vocal cords) where RP would have a **voiced** one. Words such as 'feed', 'gave', and 'rob' may thus sound to an outsider as if they end in the consonants -t, -f, and -p, that is, as 'feet', 'gafe' and 'rop'.
- ❑ Clear and dark 'l' (as in 'lip' and 'pill') are not distinguished in most varieties.

Finally, there are two consonant features which occur less widely among these Englishes, although, as you will see in A6, they feature in some of the Englishes of the Expanding Circle:

- ❑ there is a lack of distinction between /r/ and /l/ in Hong Kong, Singapore (of Chinese origin), and some East African Englishes (including Ngũgi's mother tongue, Gĩkũyũ), so that words such as 'red' and 'led' are interchangeable.
- ❑ /ʃ/ is pronounced /s/ by speakers of some East African Englishes, and some (generally less well-educated) speakers of Hong Kong English, so that 'ship' sounds like 'sip'.

Vowel sounds

Vowel sounds vary across the postcolonial Englishes in terms of both their quality and their quantity (i.e. length); in other words, according to how high/low and forward/back the tongue is in the mouth, and the degree to which the lips are rounded or spread (these factors all relate to **vowel quality**), and to how long the sound is actually maintained (this factor relates to **vowel quantity**). Some of the main differences in vowel sounds across the New Englishes are as follows:

- ❑ Many postcolonial Englishes, e.g. Singapore, Indian, and African Englishes, distinguish only minimally if at all between the short and long vowels /ɪ/ and /i:/ as in the RP pronunciation of the words 'sit' and 'seat', tending to pronounce both as /ɪ/. The same is often true of the sounds /ʊ/ and /u:/.
- ❑ Many postcolonial Englishes, e.g. Lankan, Singapore, Indian, Philippine, and Jamaican, pronounce RP /a:/ without length, so that the word 'staff', for example, sounds closer to 'stuff' to an outsider.
- ❑ African Englishes tend to produce the **schwa** sound /ə/ as the full vowel [a] at the ends of words, so that 'matter' is pronounced [mata] where RP would be [matə].
- ❑ Diphthongs have a tendency to be pronounced both shorter and as monophthongs in several postcolonial Englishes including Indian, Lankan, Malaysian, and African. For example, the diphthong /eɪ/ in the RP pronunciation of the word 'take' loses its second element, to become [e:] or the shorter [e] so that it sounds closer to 'tek'. Similarly, in Lankan English the diphthong /əʊ/ in the word 'coat' tends to be pronounced either [o:] (by more educated speakers) or [ɔ] (by less educated) so that, especially in the latter case, it sounds similar to RP 'cot'.
- ❑ The majority of New English varieties are **syllable-timed** (with *all* syllables occurring at regular intervals of time) rather than **stress-timed** (with *stressed* syllables falling at fairly regular intervals), and as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 129) point out, "for these varieties vowel reduction is not as common as in RP and in some of them [ə] is rare".

Grammar

Platt et al. (1984: chapter 4) sum up the main grammatical tendencies of the post-colonial Englishes in referring to people, things and ideas as follows:

- a tendency not to mark nouns for plural
- a tendency to use a specific/non-specific system for nouns rather than a definite/indefinite system, or to use the two systems side by side
- a tendency to change the form of quantifiers
- a tendency not to make a distinction between the third person pronouns *he* and *she*
- a tendency to change the word order within the noun phrase.

The following is a selection from the many examples that Platt et al. (1984) cite for the five categories listed above. In each case, consider what the standard British/American English equivalent would be.

- non-marking of plural forms:
 - up to twelve *year* of schooling (India)
 - and they know all four *dialect* (Jamaica)
 - Pilipino is only one of the *subject* (Philippines)
- specific/non-specific system:

Everyone has <i>car</i> (India) I'm not on <i>scholarship</i> (East Africa) I'm staying in <i>one</i> house with three other (Indian) There! Here got <i>one</i> stall selling soup noodles (Singapore)	} } }	non-specific specific
--	-------------	--------------------------
- quantifiers:
 - Don't eat so *much sweets* (Singapore)
 - Some *few fishermen* may be seen (West Africa)
 - I applied *couple of places* in Australia (India)
- Pronouns:
 - When I first met my husband, *she* was a student (East Africa)
 - My mother, *he* live in kampong (Malaysia; a 'kampong' is a small settlement)
- Word order:
 - A *two-hour exciting* display (Ghana)
 - Dis *two last* years (Papua New Guinea)
 - Ninety over* cheques (Singapore/Malaysia)

Moving on to verbs, these are the main tendencies that Platt et al. (1984: chapter 5) observe in many postcolonial Englishes:

- limited marking of the third person singular present tense form:
 - She *drink* milk (Philippines)
 - Every microcosm *consist* of many cells (India)

Table A4.1 Question tags used in outer-circle varieties (source: Melchers and Shaw 2011: 140)

Tag	Countries used according to Platt et al. (1984) and Schmied (1991)
<i>no?</i>	India, Sri Lanka
<i>isn't it?</i>	India, Sri Lanka, Singapore/Malaysia, East and West Africa
<i>not so?</i>	East and West Africa
<i>is it?</i>	Singapore/Malaysia

- limited marking of verbs for the past tense:
Mandarin, I *learn* it privately (Hong Kong)
My wife she *pass* her Cambridge (Singapore)
- tendency to use an aspect system (which shows whether an action is finished or still going on) rather than a tense system (which shows the time an action takes place):
I *still eat* (= I am/was eating in Malaysian English)
I *have worked* there in 1960 (with use of has/have + past participle to indicate a time in the past in Indian English)
- a tendency to extend the use of be + verb + ing constructions to stative verbs, e.g.:
She *is knowing* her science very well (East African English)
Mohan *is having* two houses (Indian English)
- the formation of different phrasal and prepositional verb constructions:
Her name *cropped* in the conversation (East African English)
I'm going to *voice out* my opinion (West African English)

Finally, a feature common to many of the postcolonial Englishes is the use of a general or undifferentiated question tag form where Inner Circle Englishes would repeat the tense and subject of the preceding statement in their tags. For example, an Inner Circle speaker would say “Harriet will be home soon, won't she?”, whereas a speaker of Lankan might say (as my Sri Lankan neighbour actually did) “Harriet will be home soon, isn't it?”. Melchers and Shaw conveniently summarise the various alternatives in Table A4.1.

As Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 133) point out, “these undifferentiated tags play an important pragmatic role . . . exhibiting how linguistic form is constrained by cultural constraints of politeness”. The general tag, they note, is seen as “non-impositional and mitigating” whereas the canonical tag (the Inner Circle type) is seen as “assertive”.

Vocabulary/idiom

There are several respects in which we could study postcolonial English vocabulary, but we will focus on locally coined words/expressions, borrowings from indigenous languages, and idioms.

Locally coined words/expressions

Coinages most commonly arise in one of two ways: by the addition of a prefix or suffix to an existing (British or indigenous) word, and by compounding, where a local concept is compounded from English items.

Examples of the first kind of coinage are:

stingko	colloquial Singapore English: 'smelly'
spacy	Indian English: 'spacious'
heaty	Singapore/Malaysian English for foods which make the body hot, e.g. the stingko fruit, durian.
teacheress	Indian English: 'female teacher'
jeepney	Philippine English: 'a small bus' (army jeeps having been converted to buses)
enstool	Ghanaian English: 'to install a chief'
destool	Ghanaian English: 'to depose a chief'

Examples of the second kind of coinage are:

peelhead	Jamaican English: 'a bald-headed person'
bushmeat	West African English: 'game'
dry coffee	East African English: 'coffee without milk and sugar'
chewing stick	African English: 'twig chewed at one end to clean one's teeth'
key-bunch	Indian English: 'bunch of keys'
dining leaf	Indian English: 'banana, lotus or other leaf used as a plate'
basket-woman	Lankan English: 'coarsely behaved woman'
high hat	Philippine English: 'a snob'

Borrowings from indigenous languages:

East African English:

chai	'tea'
duka	'shop'
manamba	'labourer'

Indian English:

bandh	'a total strike in an area'
crore	'ten million'
swadeshi	'indigenous, native, home-grown'

Philippine English:

boondock	'mountain'
kundiman	'love song'

Idioms

Platt et al. (1984) distinguish between learners' unsuccessful attempts to use the idioms of native speakers of English, and stabilised postcolonial idioms. They discount the first kind altogether, a policy with which you might or might not agree. However, they cite examples such as Singapore English 'gift of the gap' (for British English 'gift of the gab') and 'in lips and bounce' (for 'in leaps and bounds'), where the variation from the native speaker version is regular on account of pronunciation differences.

Some postcolonial idioms are direct translations from indigenous idioms. For example, Singapore and Malaysian English 'to shake legs' comes from the Malay idiom 'goyang kaki', meaning 'to be idle'. Some are based on native speaker English, e.g. the East African idiom 'to be on the tarmac', meaning 'to be in the process of seeking a new job'. Others combine elements from English with indigenous forms, e.g. the Nigerian 'to put sand in someone's gari', means 'to threaten someone's livelihood' ('gari' being a type of flour). Still other idioms are variations on native speaker ones. For example, the British English idiom 'to have your cake and eat it' becomes, in Singapore English, rather more effectively I would argue, 'to eat your cake and have it'. Presumably this began life as an unsuccessful attempt at the 'correct' British version and gradually became common Singapore usage. Another example from Singapore English is 'to be in hot soup', which has the same meaning as, and blends, the two British English idioms, 'to be in hot water' and 'to be in the soup' (i.e. to be in trouble). This highlights the difficulty in distinguishing between creativity and incorrectness. But it is important to bear in mind that most linguistic innovation begins life as something that is considered an error in the standard form in whichever Circle of English. And the difficulty, as we will see in strand 6, is even greater in relation to the Expanding Circle Englishes.

Discourse style

A feature of several postcolonial Englishes is that they have a more formal character than Inner Circle Englishes. In particular, their vocabulary and grammatical structure are more complex. Indian English, in particular, favours "lengthy constructions, bookish vocabulary and exaggerated forms which make even a formal style appear 'more formal' to a speaker of another variety of English" (Platt et al. 1984: 149). Formality is, of course, a relative construct and, as the previous quotation implies, the language will only seem "bookish" and "exaggerated" to those who habitually use different forms.

Some Indian English stylistic features are logical extensions of British English strategies. For example, 'could' and 'would' are used in Indian English where British English uses 'can' and 'will', as in 'We hope that you could join us' or 'We hope that the Vice-Chancellor would investigate this matter' (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 136). In both these cases, the past tense is used because it is felt to be more tentative and therefore more polite. The same strategy is regularly employed in British English. For example, in an instruction to a non-intimate, if the speaker wishes to appear more polite, he or she is likely to say 'Could you open the door' rather than 'Can you open the door'.

On the other hand, both Indian and African Englishes use a discourse style which cannot be found in Inner Circle Englishes, and here the indigenous culture is at least in part an influence. For example, certain aspects of Indian culture lead to expressions

of thanks, deferential vocabulary, and the use of blessings which would seem redundant or overdone to a speaker of an Inner Circle English: 'I am bubbling with zeal and enthusiasm to serve as a research assistant', or 'I offer myself as a candidate for the post of Research Assistant. Thanking you' (Platt et al. 1984: 150–151).

Another area where postcolonial Englishes differ from those of the Inner Circle is that of greeting and leave-taking. In postcolonial Englishes, these are often direct translations from the indigenous language. Some examples of greetings are:

Lankan English:	So how? (translation from Sinhala)
Nigerian English:	You're enjoying? (translation from Yoruba)
Singaporean/Malaysian English:	Have you eaten already?
West African English:	How? How now?
East African English:	Are you all right?

and of leavetakings:

Lankan English:	I'll go and come
Singaporean/Malaysian English:	Walk slowly ho!

Finally, as is demonstrated by some of the preceding examples, the phenomenon of **code-mixing/code-switching** (using words, phrases, and longer stretches of speech in two or more languages) is characteristic of the speech of bi- and multilingual people. We will return to this phenomenon in unit B7.

PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES

A5

Definitions and development

In an article describing the development of English during the colonial period, Leith (1996) identifies three types of English colony:

In the first type, exemplified by America and Australia, substantial settlement by first-language speakers of English displaced the precolonial population. In the second, typified by Nigeria, sparser colonial settlements maintained the precolonial population in subjection and allowed a proportion of them access to learning English as a second or additional language. There is yet a third type, exemplified by the **Caribbean** islands of Barbados and Jamaica. Here, a precolonial population was *replaced* by new labour from elsewhere, principally West Africa.

(Leith 1996: 181–182)

The first two types of English colony were the theme of A1. In A5 and the rest of strand 5, we move on to look at the third type, whose linguistic consequences, as Leith points out, are the most complex of all: pidgins and creoles.

Until recently, pidgins and creoles were regarded, especially by non-linguists, as inferior, 'bad' languages (and often not as 'languages' at all). In the later years of the twentieth century, linguists working in the field of second language acquisition began to realise what could be discovered about the acquisition of second languages from the way pidgin and creole languages developed; meanwhile linguists working in the field of sociolinguistics began to appreciate the extent to which these languages reflect and promote the lifestyles of their speakers.

Nevertheless, as will be clear from the text on Cameroon Pidgin English in D5, this view is not by any means universal even among linguists themselves. For example, a few years ago, a colleague told our then BA English Language and Communication students on his psycholinguistics course that pidgins are not proper languages a week after I had told the same students on my World Englishes course that they are. Likewise, McArthur quotes from a review in *The Economist* of 11 May 1996 of the psycholinguist Aitchison's 1996 book *The Seeds of Speech*, in which she argues that pidgins are illuminations of linguistic evolution. This is how the (anonymous) reviewer responds:

An examination of Tok Pisin [a variety of pidgin English spoken widely in Papua New Guinea], Ms Aitchison claims, illuminates the general story of linguistic evolution. But her claim is arguably mistaken. Pidgins and creoles do not clarify that story because they do not recapitulate that process. They are, instead, examples of a different process, one that can begin only from an already evolved language. For pidgins are corruptions – in the sense of simplifying adaptations – of existing languages. They offer evidence of degenerative change in existing languages under certain pressures, not of how language evolved . . . [P]idgins [are] simple, clumsy languages incapable of nuance, detail, abstraction and precision.

(McArthur 1998: 161)

This is not at all far from views such as that expressed by a Monsieur Bertrand-Boconde in 1849, a century and a half previously, and by coincidence quoted in an earlier book of Aitchison's:

It is clear that people used to expressing themselves with a rather simple language cannot easily elevate their intelligence to the genius of a European language . . . the varied expressions acquired during so many centuries of civilization dropped their perfection, to adapt to ideas being born and to barbarous forms of language of half-savage peoples.

(Aitchison 1991: 183)

While there is still a fair degree of disagreement among the wider population and even among linguists as to the relative merits of pidgins and creoles, there is close agreement as to basic definitions of these languages. The sociolinguist, Wardhaugh, for example, defines them as follows:

A **pidgin** is a language with no native speakers: it is no one's first language but is a *contact language*. That is, it is the product of a multilingual situation in which those who wish to communicate must find or improvise a simple language system

that will enable them to do so . . . In contrast to a pidgin, a *creole*, is often defined as a pidgin that has become the first language of a new generation of speakers . . . A creole, therefore, is a ‘normal’ language in almost every sense.

(Wardhaugh 2006: 61–63)

A pidgin arises in the first place to fulfil restricted communication needs between people who do not share a common language. This happened in the past mainly (though not exclusively) as a result of European expansion into Africa and Asia during the colonial period, with pidgins arising as a result of contact between speakers of a ‘dominant’ European language and speakers of mutually unintelligible indigenous African and Asian languages.

In the earlier stages of contact, communication tends to be restricted to basic transactions for which a small vocabulary is sufficient and in which there is little need for grammatical **redundancy**. For example, Todd (1990: 2) provides the example of the English phrase ‘the two big newspapers’. Here, the plural marking -s on ‘newspapers’ is redundant, since plurality is established by the word ‘two’. In the French equivalent, ‘les deux grands journaux’, there is still more redundancy (the marking of plurality not only on the word ‘journaux’ but also on ‘les’ and ‘grands’). Cameroon pidgin, on the other hand, eliminates redundancy by rendering the phrase as ‘di tu big pepa’.

In theory, a creole arises when the children of pidgin speakers use their parents’ pidgin language as the mother tongue. In other words, a creole has native speakers. The simple structure of the pidgin is the starting point for the creole, but now that it is being acquired as a first language, its vocabulary expands and its grammar increases in complexity so that it is capable of expressing the entire human experience of its mother tongue speakers. In practice, however, there are pidgin languages, such as Cameroon pidgin and some varieties of Tok Pisin, that have developed in this way without any intervention from child L1 learners.

In multilingual areas where a pidgin is used as a lingua franca for speakers of a number of mutually unintelligible languages, it is likely to develop over time and be used for an increasing number of functions. In this case, the early pidgin goes through a series of stages, becoming progressively more complex over one or two generations. This process is outlined in Type 3 in Figure A5.1. However, **creolisation** (the development of a pidgin into a creole) can occur at any point in a pidgin’s lifespan, as shown in Types 1 and 2.

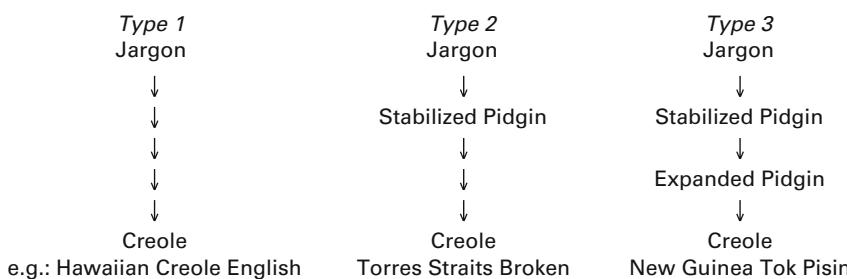


Figure A5.1 Pidgin lifespan (source: Mühlhäusler 1997: 9)

A final stage occurs if the creole continues to move in the direction of the standard dominant language, in other words, to become 'decreolised'. The process of **decreolisation** occurs when a creole comes into extensive contact with the dominant language as is the case, for example, with **African-American Vernacular English** (AAVE, often known nowadays as **Ebonics** – see C5). On the other hand, among younger speakers especially, the decreolized creole may show signs of moving back towards the creole, as is the case with the British-based patois known nowadays as 'Jafaican' (for 'fake Jamaican'), and previously as 'London Jamaican'.

There are several hypotheses as to the origin of the term 'pidgin'. Romaine (1988: 12–13) lists five:

- a Chinese corruption of the English word 'business' as in 'gospidgin man' ('god-business-man') i.e. priest
- a Chinese corruption of the Portuguese word 'ocupaçāo' ('business')
- from the Hebrew word 'pidjom' (meaning 'barter', 'exchange', 'trade')
- from the word 'pidian' (meaning 'people') in Yago, a South American Indian language spoken in an area colonised by Britain
- from the two Chinese characters 'pei' and 'ts'in', meaning 'paying money'.

Aitchison (1991) suggests that these similar terms may have originated independently in different places and then reinforced each other, merging into the term 'pidgin' as we know it. Mühlhäusler (1997), on the other hand, rules out all but the first two as likely origins of the word.

The origins of the term 'creole' are less obscure, although they are nevertheless complex. Many authorities believe that the word comes from the Portuguese word 'criar' meaning 'to nurse, breed, nourish, bring up', itself deriving from the Latin 'creare', meaning 'to create'. According to Holm (2000: 9), "*Crioulo*, with a diminutive suffix, came to mean an African slave born in the New World in Brazilian usage. The word's meaning was then extended to include Europeans born in the New World" and "finally came to refer to the customs and speech of Africans and Europeans born in the New World". And as Mühlhäusler (1997: 6) points out, *crioulo* has acquired further meanings including 'locally-bred, non-indigenous animal'.

Theories of origin

Many theories have been advanced to explain how pidgin and creole languages arose in the first place, and there is still no final agreement. Here there is space for no more than a brief summary of some of the more prominent theories following Todd's (1990) account.

The earliest theory of pidgin origin to be advanced was that of the 'primitive native'. This belief is reflected in the quote from Bertrand-Boconde above. The attitude expressed is clearly naive and no longer taken seriously by the majority of linguists, although it probably still represents the popular view.

Most other theories can be divided into three groups depending on whether they regard pidgins as having a single origin (**monogenesis**) or independent origin (**polygenesis**), or as deriving from universal strategies. Of the theories outlined below, the first two are polygenetic, the third monogenetic, and the final two universal.

1. The independent parallel development theory

According to this theory, pidgins and creoles arose and developed independently, but developed in similar ways because they shared a common linguistic ancestor (European languages and hence an Indo-European origin) and, in the case of the Atlantic Pidgins, they also shared West African languages. In addition, pidgins and creoles were formed in similar social and physical conditions.

2. The nautical jargon theory

This theory is based on the fact that European ships' crews were composed of men from a range of language backgrounds and therefore had to develop a common language in order to communicate with each other. According to the nautical jargon theory, the sailors' lingua franca was then passed on to the African and Asian peoples with whom they came into contact. The nautical jargon formed a nucleus for the various pidgins, which were subsequently expanded in line with their learners' mother tongues. Evidence for this theory is provided by the nautical element in all pidgins and creoles with European lexicons (e.g. the words 'hivim', 'kapsait', and 'haisim' meaning heave, capsize, and hoist).

3. The theory of monogenesis and relexification

According to this theory, all European-based pidgins and creoles derive ultimately from one proto-pidgin source, a Portuguese pidgin that was used in the world's trade routes during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This pidgin is thought to have derived, in turn, from an earlier lingua franca, Sabir, used by the Crusaders and traders in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. It was then, the theory goes, relexified by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. In other words, Portuguese lexis was introduced into Sabir grammar. This Portuguese version of Sabir would then have been used by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century when they sailed along the coast of West Africa, and would have been the first European language acquired by the indigenous population. Subsequently Portuguese influence decreased in the area and the pidgin began to be used increasingly in contact situations in which the dominant language could be English, Spanish, French, or Dutch. Evidence for this theory is provided by the many linguistic similarities, both lexical and syntactic, between present-day Portuguese pidgins and creoles, and pidgins and creoles related to other European languages. For example, all pidgin and creole Englishes have a form of the Portuguese 'saber' meaning 'know' (e.g. 'savi', 'sabi') and of 'pequeno' meaning 'little' or 'offspring' (e.g. 'pikin', 'pikinini').

4. The baby-talk theory

This theory arose because of similarities that were identified between the early speech of children and the forms in certain pidgins, such as the large proportion of content words, the lack of structural words, the lack of morphological change, and the approximation of the standard pronunciation. It was also suggested that speakers of the dominant language, in using what is known as **foreigner talk** (simplified speech) with L2 speakers, themselves promoted the use of this type of speech among the latter.

5. A synthesis

Todd (1990) takes the ‘baby-talk’ theory much further in her proposal of a “synthesis”. She argues that instead of searching for a common origin in the past, we should approach the concept of common origin from a different perspective altogether: by seeking universal patterns of linguistic behaviour in contact situations. In her view, pidgins and creoles are alike because languages and **simplification processes** are alike. She cites as evidence the fact that speakers from different L1s simplify their language in very similar ways, be they children learning their L1, adults learning an L2, and even proficient speakers employing ellipsis (as in informal speech, e.g. ‘Got a light?’; creators of newspaper headlines, e.g. ‘Air crash – fifty dead’, and so on). In particular, Todd argues, these speakers all appear to have an innate ability to simplify by means of redundancy reduction when communication of the message is more critical than the quality of the language used. This suggests to Todd that there are inherent universal constraints on language.

The synthesis approach has the advantage of being able to account for the existence of pidgins in different types of contact situation, and both the independent origin of some pidgins and the related origin of others. This is because in each case people have responded to what Todd calls “an innate behavioural blueprint”. Although it is not possible to prove this theory, given that it focuses on mental properties, Todd provides substantial evidence in its support:

- all children from all L1s go through the same stages in the mastery of speech (babble → intonational patterns of the speech community → individual words → short combinations of words)
- children produce regular patterns across L1s which are not the same as adult norms, e.g. negator + sentence as in ‘No I sit’
- this type of simplified language is used in all speech communities by proficient to less proficient speakers, e.g. by parents to children, native speakers to non-fluent non-native speakers.

The fact that languages are simplified in similar ways suggests that all languages have a **simple register**, but that children swiftly move on from this register because of pressure to conform to the adult version of the language. Children of pidgin speakers, on the other hand, did not have this possibility, since there were no speakers of the non-simple register available to provide input. Hence, these children drew on their **innate bioprogram** (the genetic program for language that all children are believed to be born with and which they adapt to the language they hear around them) to transform the pidgins into creoles with minimum interference from adult language. In other words, this theory is simultaneously monogenetic and polygenetic: monogenetic in that creoles developed from pidgins by means of a single linguistic bioprogram common to all human beings, and polygenetic because of their independent origin in separate locations (see also Sebba 1997: 77–78, 95–97, on universalist approaches to pidgin and creole origins).

The strongest case for a synthesis approach is provided by **Bickerton’s (1981, 1984) Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH)**, based on his study of the development of Hawaiian Creole. However, the LBH is criticised on a number of grounds. For

example, it does not take into account the sociolinguistic realities of creole-acquiring children, who are likely to learn the language of one or both parents in addition to acquiring a creole. They thus grow up bilingual, with their two or more languages affecting each other as they acquire them simultaneously (see Sebba 1997: 176–182).

ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LINGUA FRANCA

A6

Growth of interest in English as a Lingua Franca

In unit A5, we looked at the origin and development of pidgin languages. We turn now to lingua francas, and specifically to English. Although the origin and development of lingua francas are not the same as those of pidgin languages, both serve the purpose of providing a means of communication among people who do not share a first language. Thus, at various times over past centuries, languages such as Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Portuguese have served as lingua francas, and in the case of Arabic and Portuguese still do so today. Meanwhile not only has English itself existed previously as a lingua franca in various parts of the world at different points in its history, but over the past few decades it has become the world's primary lingua franca to an extent that is and has been unprecedented among the others.

Of all the themes covered in this book, English as a Lingua Franca, or ELF, has seen the most dramatic developments in the years following the writing of its first and second editions. For over the past decade or so, there has been an increasing amount of research into ELF, the establishment of an international ELF conference series held in venues around the world, the launch of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* and book series, *Developments in English as a Lingua Franca* (both published by De Gruyter Mouton), a massive number of publications on ELF, as well as a fast growing number of PhD theses (e.g. Baker (2009), Cogo (2007), Dewey (2007a), Hynninen (2013), Kalocsai (2011), Kaur (2008), Kitazawa (2013), Pitzl (2011), Pözl (2005)). In addition, there have been major developments in ELF corpora, in particular, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, or VOICE (see Seidlhofer 2002), the corpus of English in Academic Settings, or ELFA, (see Mauranen 2003), and the Asian Corpus of ELF or ACE (see Kirkpatrick 2010b). Corpora of this kind have made it possible for researchers around the world to explore the ELF phenomenon at all linguistic levels, in different geographical regions (e.g. Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006 on ELF in Europe, Deterding 2013 on ELF in South and East Asia), in a wide range of domains, both professional and social, and in respect of intercultural awareness (e.g. Baker 2012).

While research into communication in which English is used as the common language, or lingua franca, had been conducted since the 1990s (see e.g. Firth 1996, James 2000, Meierkord 1996), the focus of that research was on how, *despite its deficiencies* (when compared with 'correct' English, i.e. ENL), this communication was often successful. ELF research proper is of a different nature. It takes as its starting point a position similar to that held by researchers of Outer Circle Englishes: that just

because a language item differs from the way it is produced by Inner Circle speakers, it cannot be assumed to be an error but may be an example of contingent creativity and adaptation, or even of language contact and change in progress.

In a seminal article published in late 2001, Seidlhofer pointed out that despite the fact that “ELF is the most extensive contemporary use of English worldwide . . . what constitutes a target is still determined with virtually exclusive reference to native-speaker norms”. Thus, there was, she noted, “a conceptual gap” which could only be remedied by according ELF “a central place in description alongside English as a native language” (pp. 133–135). Hence the urgent need for ELF corpora to be collected in addition to corpora of ENL. Although ELF research based on this same premise had already been published (e.g. Jenkins 2000), it was Seidlhofer’s article that acted as a clarion call and from which widespread interest in ELF can be dated.

Indeed, until that point, remarkably little consideration had been given to the implications of ELF, with the few scholars working on it tending to be seen as part of the **World Englishes paradigm**. And to an extent this was true. For both paradigms explore the spread of English beyond its original mother tongue settings, and both are interested in the ways in which the resulting Englishes develop in their own right as expressions of their new users’ identities and do not regard the resulting use of English as deficient by definition. However, World Englishes scholars, regardless of whether their focus is on the postcolonial Englishes (as it mostly is), or on the Englishes of the other two circles, are concerned with relatively fixed “linguistically identifiable, geographically definable” varieties of English (Kachru 1992a: 67). This is not so for ELF researchers, whose concern is with the far more fluid and flexible kinds of English use that transcend geographical boundaries.

A better approach to ELF than the traditional ‘varieties of English’ approach is, therefore, the notion of **similects** (Mauranen 2012: 28–29). As Mauranen points out, in the non-postcolonial (Expanding Circle) countries, speakers normally use their L1 rather than English to communicate with each other, and reserve English for communication with people from different L1s than their own. So although speakers of, say, Finnish, transfer features from their L1 into their English in broadly similar ways (in other words, Finnish people share a similect), there is no traditional community of Finnish English speakers. Instead, their English develops *in parallel* with each other through communication with people from different similects (e.g. Japanese, Spanish), rather than in interaction among themselves. This, in turn, accounts both for what is shared among ELF users from the same L1 such as Finnish, and for what is shared among many ELF users from different L1s such as Finnish, Japanese, and Spanish speakers of English. It also demonstrates how ELF, in common with other lingua francas, is essentially hybrid and plurilingual in nature. We will take this up again in B6 when we look at the nature of ELF. But before we go on to do so, it will be helpful to consider the reasons why English became, and still remains, the world’s primary lingua franca.

Why is English the world’s primary lingua franca?

Crystal (2003b: 107) provides the following reasons. The first two relate more to Outer than Expanding Circle settings, although even this is changing in some respects as English fulfils an increasing number of new functions such as education (see C6) in the Expanding Circle.

 Activity

As you read through the following reasons, consider these two points:

- Which reasons are the most relevant to the setting in which you live?
- Are the scenarios that Crystal outlines still the same as they were in 2003 when his list was published, or are you aware of any changing circumstances in relation to your own and/or other countries?

Historical reasons

Because of the legacy of British or American imperialism, the country's main institutions may carry out their proceedings in English. These include the governing body (e.g. parliament), government agencies, the civil service (at least at senior levels), the law courts, national religious bodies, the schools, and higher educational institutions, along with their related publications (textbooks, proceedings, records, etc.). [As regards historical reasons, see also the reading text in D8, where Pennycook (2010) discusses how a different outcome of the Second World War would have led to a very different global linguistic landscape.]

Internal political reasons

Whether a country has imperial antecedents or not, English may have a role in providing a neutral means of communication between its different ethnic groups as it does, for example, in India. A distinctive local variety of English may also become a symbol of national unity or emerging nationhood. The use of English in newspapers, on radio, or on television, adds a further dimension.

External economic reasons

The USA's dominant economic position acts as a magnet for international business and trade, and organisations wishing to develop international markets are thus under considerable pressure to work with English. The tourist and advertising industries are particularly English-dependent, but any multinational business will wish to establish offices in the major English-speaking countries.

Practical reasons

English is the language of international air traffic control, and is currently developing its role in international maritime, policing, and emergency services. It is the chief language of international business and academic conferences, and the leading language of international tourism.

Intellectual reasons

Most of the scientific, technological, and academic information in the world is expressed in English, and over 80 per cent of all the information stored in electronic retrieval systems is in English (but see A8 for more recent

figures). Closely related to this is the concern to have access to the philosophical, cultural, religious, and literary history of Western Europe, either directly or through the medium of an English translation. In most parts of the world, the only way most people have access to such authors as Goethe or Dante is through English. Latin performed a similar role in Western Europe for over a thousand years.

Entertainment reasons

English is the main language of popular music (particularly hip hop), and permeates popular culture and its associated advertising. It is also the main language of satellite broadcasting, home computers, and video games, as well as of such international illegal activities as pornography and drugs. [To this can be added that recently English has become the lingua franca of the performing arts (Nicoline Vanharskamp, personal communication).]

To the above points made by Crystal we could add *personal advantage/prestige* since, in many cultures, the ability to speak English is perceived as conferring higher status on the speaker.

Crystal also adds a final section ‘Some wrong reasons’. These concern beliefs that English is “inherently a more logical or beautiful language than others, easier to pronounce, simpler in grammatical structure, or larger in vocabulary” (see also the reading in D6 as regards the myth that English has a larger vocabulary than other languages). As Crystal points out, “this kind of reasoning is the consequence of unthinking chauvinism or naïve linguistic thinking”, and it is impossible to compare languages objectively in such ways. English, for example, may have few inflectional endings, but also has very complex syntax, and this has not prevented it from being learned and used around the world. So a third question for you to consider is:

- Why do you think beliefs about the intrinsic linguistic superiority of English persist?

Defining ELF

We begin by considering how to define ELF. In the second edition of this book (p. 143), I defined it as “English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages”. A later and fuller working definition is that of Seidlhofer, according to whom ELF is “*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*” (2011: 7; her italics).

In the early days of ELF research, some scholars argued that ELF communication by definition did not include NESs. However, the majority do nowadays include NESs in their definitions of ELF, arguing simply that when NESs participate in ELF interactions, they should not be seen as experts because their expertise is in ENL rather than ELF communication. Having said that, because of the sheer numbers involved, it is likely that the majority of ELF interactions do in fact take place with no NESs present.

We have already considered the similarities and differences between ELF and World Englishes. Another term that requires distinguishing from ELF, although one entirely lacking in the scholarship that underpins World Englishes, is so-called **Globish**. Whereas ELF is empirically researched, Globish is an arbitrarily simplified version of English based on intuition (see, e.g., Nerrière and Hon, 2009), and not worthy of serious consideration. However, its catchy name means that it has inevitably caught the interest of some in the media (see e.g. McCrum 2010).

Finally, we need to clarify the differences between ELF and **traditional EFL** (English as a Foreign Language). In essence, these differences arise from one basic factor: that EFL communication assumes that NNESs learn English in order to use it with NESs, whereas ELF communication assumes that NNESs learn English in order to use it so as to communicate successfully in **intercultural communication** which may, but often does not, include NESs. Thus, for EFL, native English provides the yardstick against which NNESs' use is measured, and wherever it differs from native use, it is considered to be deficient, the result of L1 'interference' and 'fossilization'. On the other hand, for ELF, successful intercultural communication is the goal, and differences from native English that achieve this are regarded not as deficiencies but as evidence of linguistic adaptability and creativity. In fact, **communication skills** such as the ability to accommodate (see B6) are considered far more relevant to successful ELF communication than the ability to mimic NESs. In this respect, research suggests that it is more often NESs than NNESs who lack such skills in intercultural communication (see C8).

ENGLISH IN ASIA AND EUROPE

A7

Asia and Europe: similarities and differences

In this unit, attention is focused on two large non-Inner Circle regions in which English is spoken: Asia and continental Europe (henceforth 'Europe'). In Expanding Circle Europe, increasing numbers of people are learning and using English, particularly in educational and professional contexts. At the start of the twenty-first century, a number of researchers believed this was causing English in Expanding Circle Europe to develop in the same way as it had previously developed in Outer Circle countries such as India. Some even thought a pan European English variety, **Euro-English**, might be emerging. However, the notion that the use of ELF would lead to sufficient stability for it eventually to be codified has more recently been dismissed in light of subsequent empirical findings of ELF's fluidity and contingent nature (see B6). The search for 'features' of a pan European English, or even of individual European English 'varieties', has therefore largely been abandoned in respect of Europe, and the notion of similects (see A6) is considered more helpful.

The same is also true, though to a far lesser extent, of the Asian Expanding Circle. Researchers such as Wang (2013, and see D6) now talk of 'Chinese ELF' or 'ELF with Chinese characteristics' rather than Chinese (or China) English. By contrast,

in Outer Circle Asia, World Englishes scholars have long identified, described, and in several cases codified, a number of English varieties. And it is perhaps because of Asia's history of research into Outer Circle varieties that a number of scholars researching English in Asia's Expanding Circle continue to approach them as emerging varieties. See e.g. several of the articles in Low and Hashim (2012) and Zhang, Rubdy and Alsagoff (2011).

Regardless of their differences in approach, researchers working in both the World Englishes and ELF paradigms and in both Europe and Asia share their rejection of the notion that English users in and of these places should have to defer to British or American English norms (see D7). A second similarity between English in Asia and in Europe is that both by definition are evolving, albeit differently, within contexts of bi- or multilingualism. This has implications not only for the ways English is used by its majority (bilingual) speakers, but also for the ways in which it is taught and tested (see C2 and D6).

A third similarity is one that Asian and European Englishes share with all non-Inner Circle Englishes whether institutionalised or not. That is, they are "linguistic orphans in search of their parents" (Kachru 1992a: 66). Kachru is referring here to the still widespread – if slowly diminishing – belief that non-native and nativised Englishes are deficient and unacceptable by virtue of the local characteristics they have acquired in the process of being transplanted. Such attitudes can prevent speakers of non-native Englishes and even of nativised varieties from feeling comfortable about their locally influenced English, and instead thinking of themselves as speaking 'bad English'. This issue will be taken up in the readings in D7.

English as an Asian Language

Asian Englishes can be categorised both regionally and functionally. Regionally, they are typically divided into three groupings, although the Southeast and East Asian groups are sometimes categorised together (see Table A7.1).

Table A7.1 Asian Englishes by region

<i>South Asian varieties</i>	<i>Southeast Asian and Pacific varieties</i>	<i>East Asian varieties</i>
Bangladesh	Brunei	China
Bhutan	Cambodia	Hong Kong
India	Fiji	Japan
Maldives	Indonesia	Korea
Nepal	Laos	Taiwan
Pakistan	Malaysia	
Sri Lanka	Myanmar	
	Philippines	
	Singapore	
	Thailand	
	Vietnam	

Table A7.2 Asian Englishes by use

<i>Institutionalised (Outer Circle)</i>	<i>Non-institutionalised (Expanding Circle)</i>
Bangladesh	Cambodia
Bhutan	China
Brunei	Indonesia
Fiji	Japan
Hong Kong	Korea
India	Laos
Malaysia	Maldives
Nepal	Myanmar
Pakistan	Taiwan
Philippines	Thailand
Singapore	Vietnam
Sri Lanka	

Functionally Asian Englishes are divided into two categories, depending on whether they are institutionalised varieties of the Outer Circle or non-institutionalised Englishes of the Expanding Circle (see Table A7.2).

Of the above territories, numbers of L2 English speakers with reasonable competence range from India (200,000,000 million), the Philippines (40 million), and Pakistan (17 million) to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Sri Lanka each with around 2 million, Brunei with only 134,000, and Bhutan with only 75,000 (figures from Crystal 2003a; see A1 above). However, the figures disguise the fact that in some of these areas, the L2 variety of English is spoken by a very large percentage of the total population. For example, almost half of Singaporeans speak L2 English, but this amounts to only two million of a population of 4,300,000. Again, just over two million Hong Kongese speak an L2 variety of English, but they constitute almost a third of the total Hong Kong population. On the other hand, less than a fifth of Indians speak L2 English with reasonable competence, but because the total population is over one billion, the number of L2 Indian English speakers is vast.

The South Asian Englishes (with the exception of the Maldives) belong to the Outer Circle. Indian, Lankan, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi Englishes are often grouped together and known collectively as South Asian English(es) (see Crystal 2003a: 144). Within this group, Indian and Lankan Englishes are the most developed and well documented. At the other extreme, little information is available about the Englishes of Bhutan, the Maldives, and Nepal. Even the weighty tomes, *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (Kirkpatrick 2010a) and *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006) are not able to enlighten us much. In the latter, Bhutan is mentioned in a single sentence and the Maldives not at all. Only Nepal is given an entire (short) paragraph of its own, in which we learn that from 2005 to 2007 an Action Plan in primary education involved the teaching of three languages: Nepali, a local language, and English (Gargesh 2006: 100–101).

These Asian countries have much in common in terms of their history and culture, and in the way the English language is sustained within each one by similar groups of élites to perform similar roles (Kandiah 1991). On the other hand, there are differences. In postcolonial Bangladesh, for example, there has been relatively little interest in English beyond the utilitarian: that of widening access by bringing non-English speakers to a level of competence that will enable them to participate in those ‘modern’ spheres of activity traditionally dominated by the English language and its users. The same was true of Pakistan until recently, when the nation became interested in developing its own distinct variety of English. At present, the indications are that Pakistani English is developing still exonormatively (i.e. according to external norms), with British English as its reference point (Kandiah 1991). However, this may not remain the case for much longer in view of evidence that young educated Pakistani people are increasingly giving up the use of their local language, Urdu, in favour of English.

By contrast, English in India operates well beyond the confines of the practical uses for which it is learnt in Bangladesh and hitherto in Pakistan. This is to a great extent a function of the unifying role it plays as a shared language of communication across a people of diverse mother tongues and, as a result, the way in which it has become bound up with Indian national consciousness and identity. Today Indian English performs a wide range of public and personal functions in a variety which has evolved its own phonological, syntactic, lexical, and discoursal features rather than continuing to defer to those of its British past (see C7).

Like Indian English, Lankan English, too, has acquired a wide range of local functions both public and personal, though for political reasons it has so far not played the same neutral role in communication across speakers of different mother tongues in Sri Lanka as it has in India. In recent years the government has been promoting English as a link language between warring Sinhalese and Tamils, though this policy may not succeed because of differences in orientation towards the learning and use of English across the two ethnic groups (Canagarajah 1999: 82), as well as the fact that English is seen as “a class marker (i.e. as the language of the educated and rich)” (Canagarajah 1999: 72).

Brunei, in common with most of the other Outer Circle territories, is linguistically diverse. Malay is the main language group, with Bahasa Melayu being the official language and Brunei Malay the most widely used. English is the most important non-native language as a result of colonial links with Britain, and plays an important role in education (where a bilingual system is in place), law, and the media. Attitudes to English in the region are positive, with a study carried out in 1993 (Jones 1997) reporting that Bruneians want to study and be proficient in both Malay and English. Code-switching between Malay and English has become common among educated Bruneians. Saxena (2008) points out that Brunei increasingly perceives itself as part of the global economic and political system, and considers learning and using English essential for this purpose.

It thus appears likely that there will be a further shift towards English, with Bruneian Malays, like Malays in Singapore, using English in their homes. In this respect, detailed evidence provided by Deterding and Salbrina (2013) demonstrates that a clearly identifiable variety, Brunei English, has already emerged.

Of Fiji's population of 850,000, just below 20 per cent, or 170,000, speak English as an L2. English is the national language of the territory, and is used in education,

government, and business. As in several other Outer Circle countries, it also serves as the language of communication among Fiji's different ethnic groups. From the limited data so far available, it nevertheless seems that Fiji English has already become a distinctive local variety characterised by a number of features that differ from L1 Englishes (see Siegel 1991).

Moving on to Malaysia, as Pennycook (1994: 217) tells us, "the fortunes of English in Malaysia have waxed and waned and waxed again, and it never seems far from the centre of debate". There are in fact eighty languages spoken in Malaysia, with Malay (*Bahasa Malaysia*) the national language and primary lingua franca across ethnic groups, English the second most important language, and Chinese, Tamil, and other Indian languages used among ethnic communities – the latter two largely in family, social, and religious domains. It is as a result of the success of nationalism and confidence in the stability of *Bahasa Malaysia* as the country's national language that English can once again be promoted in the Malaysian education system. However, because of the previous decline in English use, there is a wide range of proficiency among speakers. The most competent are the English-medium-educated Malaysian élite, and it is this group who will establish norms for Malaysian English and determine the target model for acquisition. Because these English speakers use English within a complex linguistic repertoire in which they engage in frequent code-switching between English and Malay, there is considerable scope for borrowing from Malay into Malaysian English as the variety evolves. The current concern, as in a number of these regions, is to document the developed or developing "standard variety that reflects their national identity as well as ensures international intelligibility", and that in Malaysia is described as "Standard Malaysian English" (Gill 2002: 29).

The English of the Philippines is possibly the most comprehensively researched of all Southeast Asian varieties of English including Singaporean (see Tay 1991, and Bautista, Lourdes and Bolton 2004, a special issue on Philippine English of the journal *World Englishes*). English is the second language of the Philippines, where a bilingual education policy – English and Filipino (based on Tagalog) – was adopted in 1972 and is now in place at all school levels, although Filipino remains the national lingua franca while English serves as the language of wider cross-cultural communication. A distinctive Philippine variety of English has nevertheless been documented since the late 1960s, when idiosyncratic pronunciation and grammatical features began to be considered legitimate varietal characteristics rather than errors. There are considerable differences between the Philippine English of older and younger generations, along with variation in use among proficient English users ranging from informal (with patterned code-mixing known as 'Mix-mix') to establish familiarity and rapport, to standard Philippine English for careful speech and writing (see Tay 1991).

Thus, English is already well ensconced in Asia, if more deeply in some of its regions than others. The greatest need now is for more research into the less well-documented Asian Englishes.

The changing role of English in Europe

Europe is currently home to 234 languages, which, as Seidlhofer (2010) points out, is a low number when compared to that of all other continents except Antarctica.

By contrast, the political and economic union known as the **European Union (EU)** is linguistically rich. When the first edition of this book went to press, eleven EU languages had official status. The number has since grown to twenty-four: Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish, and Swedish. As well as these, approximately sixty other indigenous and non-indigenous languages are spoken within the EU's geographical area. Nevertheless, of all these, just three languages dominate – English, French, and German. Europe has become, in Graddol's (1997: 14) words

a single multilingual area, rather like India, where languages are hierarchically related in status. As in India, there may be many who are monolingual in a regional language, but those who speak one of the 'big' languages will have better access to material success.

By the end of the twentieth century, however, a single one of the three 'big' languages, had become the 'biggest', the de facto European lingua franca: English. And for the time being at least, it seems, those who speak English will have the easiest access to such "material success". Hence, in part, the current popularity of learning English among Europe's young which Cheshire (2002) documents and which recent ELF research is also demonstrating (see strand 6). Conversely, in part because of this development, there is currently a crisis in L2 learning among young British people, which has even led to the closure of some Modern Language departments in UK universities.

Whereas in Asia, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (**ASEAN**), a grouping similar in many ways to the EU, has adopted English more or less uncontroversially as its working language (see Kirkpatrick 2010b), the same is not true of the EU. Here, the ideals of integration and harmonisation conflict with the nation-state mindset of many Europeans, a mindset that, as Seidlhofer (2010) points out, is strongly symbolised by national languages. As a result, she argues, EU language policy tends to be somewhat contradictory, and "informed more by ideology than logic" (2010: 359).

Unlike ASEAN, the EU makes heavy use of translation and interpreting, and enshrines the use of three working languages and multilingualism in its language policy, including the recommendation that all EU members should learn two other foreign languages. House (2001, 2003) considers this hypocritical and ineffective, while Wright (2009) argues that language policy cannot "impose multilingualism from the top down" and "alone will not reverse the trend to use English as a lingua franca". She adds that "[i]f the move to English is halted, it will be because of other, external factors that we cannot yet foresee". On the other hand, many scholars, most vociferously Phillipson (e.g. 2003a, 2006), believe it is critical for all Europeans to learn each other's languages rather than for everyone to learn English.

The problem, as Seidlhofer (2010, 2011) and many ELF researchers see it, relates to how English is conceptualised by the EU. The ideological issue, she believes, would be resolved if the EU conceptualised English not as the native language of British and Irish NESs, but as ELF. It could then be seen as complementary to the other European

languages rather than in competition with them, no longer a potential threat to multilingualism. Moreover, the notion that if a language is dominant, the nation that owns it dominates, would no longer hold. This is because, as we saw in strand 6, ELF is by no means the same kind of English as ENL. In fact the only threat, according to this perspective, would be to Europe's NESs, not only because of their monolingualism, but because of their documented lack of intercultural communication skills and assumptions that the English they speak among themselves is equally appropriate to ELF contexts. Van Parijs (2011) notes that it is when the British and Irish start speaking at EU meetings that the other members reach for their headphones in order to access the simultaneous translation. The problem seems not to arise when it is they who are addressing the others in English. He points out (p. 34) that

Non-native speakers competent enough to satisfy minimal phonetic, grammatical, and lexical conditions are . . . more likely to spontaneously adopt the appropriate style and tempo and to be sensitive to the specific needs of their audience than native [English] speakers who tend either to forget that they are not among their own folk or to sound as if they were addressing half-wits.

As pointed out earlier, in light of more recent empirical ELF research findings, it is unlikely that we will ever be able to talk of a pan European 'variety' of English or of individual European 'varieties'. However, as unit B6 makes clear, the use of English as a lingua franca is leading to a number of linguistic innovations, grammatical, lexical, phonological, and discoursal that distinguish it from ENL, some common among speakers of many L1s, others influenced by the speakers' own L1. While these innovations are fluid, hybrid, and contingent, they have nevertheless been shown empirically to exist, and are likely to feature increasingly in the English used among Europeans, particularly the young even if they are too ephemeral to be pinned down and codified. For example, in terms of hybridity, Cheshire (2002) notes that young Europeans seem to be developing the scope to "express 'emotional' aspects of [their] social identities" by means of phenomena such as code switching and code-mixing (e.g. the use of half-German half-English hybrid compounds such as *Telefon junkie*, *Drogenfreak*, and *Metallfan*, in German youth magazines). And subsequently, Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, and Pitzl (2006) have documented a number of emerging features of Europeans' English that could be seen as identity markers (see B6).

The positioning of English as Europe's de facto (if not the EU's de jure) lingua franca is so recent that it is too soon to be able to say with any certainty whether it will remain so, or exactly how it will develop. It has nevertheless already been shown to be capable of expressing social identity as well as performing a transactional role, in politics, business, and increasingly in higher education. Thus, European English speakers are still, as Berns pointed out some years ago (1995: 10) "in the midst of an exciting, challenging, and creative social and linguistic phase of their history" in which "they have the potential to have significant influence on the spread of English". The situation is, as she puts it, one of "sociolinguistic history-in-the-making" and one that will continue needing to be reviewed regularly as further empirical evidence becomes available.

A8

THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL ENGLISHES

In this unit, we consider the implications of English having become the language of ‘others’ along with the possibility that within the twenty-first century, it may lose its position as principal world language to one or more of the languages of these ‘others’. In B8, the first of these two themes is developed in a debate as to whether English, if it does remain the major world language, will ultimately fragment into a large number of mutually unintelligible varieties (in effect, languages), or will converge so that differences across groups of speakers are largely eliminated. In C8, the first theme is explored in terms of the extent to which English may either become a killer of other languages or evolve as a common language within a framework of world bilingualism. The strand ends in D8 with an extract from an article by Pennycook in which he considers whether we will ultimately have one, many, or no Englishes.

English as the language of ‘others’

I place ‘others’ in quotation marks to indicate that the term is, of course, culturally loaded and that my usage is ironic here. If English is already numerically the language of these ‘others’ and, as the century proceeds, will become more so, then the centre of gravity of the language is almost certain to shift in the direction of the ‘others’. In the years to come we are very likely to witness increasing claims from English speakers outside the Inner Circle, especially in growing economies such as Brazil, Russia, India, and China, for English language rights of the sort that were discussed particularly in A4, A6 and A7 (see Graddol 2006: 32–33 on ‘the rise of the BRICs’). In the words of Widdowson, there is likely to be a paradigm shift from one of **language distribution** to one of **language spread**:

I would argue that English as an international language is not *distributed*, as a set of established encoded forms, unchanged into different domains of use, but it is *spread* as a virtual language . . . When we talk about the spread of English, then, it is not that the conventionally coded forms and meanings are transmitted into different environments and different surroundings, and taken up and used by different groups of people. It is not a matter of the actual language being distributed but of the virtual language being spread and in the process being variously actualized. The distribution of the actual language implies adoption and conformity. The spread of virtual language implies adaptation and nonconformity. The two processes are quite different.

(Widdowson 1997: 139–140; his italics)

In this new paradigm in which English spreads and adapts according to the linguistic and cultural preferences of its users in the outer and expanding circles, many traditional assumptions about the language will no longer hold. The point is that if English is genuinely to become the language of ‘others’, then these ‘others’ have to be accorded – or perhaps more likely, accord themselves – at least the same English language rights as those claimed by mother tongue speakers. And this includes the right to innovate without every difference from a standard native variety of English automatically

being labelled ‘wrong’. This is by definition what it means for a language to be international – that it spreads and becomes a global lingua franca for the benefit of all, rather than being distributed to facilitate communication with the natives. It remains to be seen whether such a paradigm shift does in fact take place.

The language(s) of ‘others’ as world language(s)

The other potential shift in the linguistic centre of gravity is that English could lose its international role altogether or, at best, come to share it with a number of equals. Although this would not happen purely or even mainly as a result of native speaker resistance to the spread of non-native speaker Englishes and the consequent abandoning of English by large numbers of non-native speakers, the latter could undoubtedly play a part. Because the alternatives to English as a world language are covered in detail in the first reading in D8, we will consider the issue only briefly here, by looking at two main factors: firstly the difficulties inherent in the English language, and secondly the arguments in favour of Spanish as the principal world language.

A piece in the *EL Gazette* in October 2001 (p. 3) under the heading “It’s now official: English is hard” announced: “you can now motivate your students by telling them that English is the hardest European language to learn”. It went on to report a study carried out at the University of Dundee, Scotland, which compared the literacy levels of British primary school children with those from fourteen European countries (Finland, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark). Children with one year’s schooling had been presented with lists of common words in the mother tongue. It was found that all but the native English speakers were able to read 90 per cent of the words correctly, while the British children could only manage 30 per cent. The researchers concluded that the gap between the English-speaking children and those from the other fourteen countries was the result of difficulties intrinsic to the English language. And at a conference of the Spelling Society, held at Coventry University in the UK in June 2008, in which new research by the literacy scholar Marsha Bell was reported, the same point was made again, with English being described as the worst of all the alphabetical languages for children to learn.

Rather than “motivate” learners, such difficulties could, if widely publicised, discourage them from attempting to learn the language at all. The difficulties divide into three main categories: orthographic, phonological, and grammatical. **Spelling difficulties** are of various kinds although all relate to the fact that English orthography can often not be predicted from the way in which a word is pronounced. There are, for example, several ways of pronouncing the sequences ‘ea’ (e.g. as in ‘bead’, ‘head’, ‘bear’, ‘fear’, ‘pearl’), and ‘ough’ (e.g. as in ‘cough’, ‘bough’, ‘tough’, ‘dough’, ‘through’, ‘thorough’). A large number of words contain silent letters, such as those which begin with a silent ‘p’ or ‘k’ (‘psychology’, ‘pneumonia’, ‘pseud’, ‘knife’, ‘know’, etc.), another group which end with silent ‘b’ (‘comb’, ‘thumb’, ‘limb’, ‘climb’, etc.), and a third with a silent medial letter (e.g. ‘whistle’, ‘castle’, ‘fasten’, ‘muscle’). Other problems are doubled consonants (e.g. ‘committee’, ‘accommodation’, ‘occasional’, ‘parallel’), and the spelling of unstressed vowels (e.g. the underlined vowels in ‘woman’, ‘persuade’, ‘condition’, ‘success’, ‘infinity’, all of which are pronounced as schwa in RP and many other, but not all, native accents).

As regards pronunciation, difficulties relate particularly to English vowels. Not only does native English have more vowel phonemes than many other languages (twenty in RP as compared with, for instance, five in Spanish and Italian), but it has a particularly large number of diphthongs (eight in RP) and makes extensive use of the central vowel, schwa, in unstressed syllables regardless of the spelling – as was demonstrated in the previous paragraph. In addition, many accent varieties of English including RP and **General American (GA)** make copious use of weak forms in connected speech. That is, schwa replaces the vowel quality in words such as prepositions ('to', 'of', 'from', etc.), pronouns ('her', 'them', etc.), auxiliaries ('was', 'are', 'has', etc.), articles ('a', 'the'), and the like. There are also several other features of connected speech such as elision (loss of sounds), assimilation (modifications to sounds), and liaison (linking of sounds across words). All these aspects of English pronunciation conspire to make it more difficult both to produce and to understand than the pronunciation of many other languages.

Grammatically, difficulties relate very particularly to verb forms and functions. Firstly, English has a large number of tenses all of which have both simple and continuous aspect (present, past, perfect, past perfect, future, future perfect) and none of which have a straightforward link with time reference. Second, there are many **modal verbs** ('may', 'will', 'can', 'should', 'ought to', etc.) each with its own problems of form and function. Third, one of the most problematic areas for learners of English is that of **multi-word (or phrasal) verbs** such as 'get' ('get up', 'get down', 'get on', 'get off', 'get over', 'get through', etc.) and 'take' ('take up', 'take on', 'take in', 'take off', 'take out', etc.). Each has several meanings both literal and metaphorical, along with complicated rules as to whether the verb and particle can or must be separated for an object, depending on whether the verb is classed as adverbial or prepositional.

Because of these difficulties, it would not be surprising if there was eventually a move to abandon English in favour of an international language with fewer complicating linguistic factors along with a slightly less obvious colonialist discourse attached to it (although see strand 6 for another possibility, i.e. that users of ELF will adapt English to suit their own lingua franca purposes rather than accept that they should acquire and use a native version). Spanish appears to be a major contender, with its simpler pronunciation, spelling and verb systems, and its increasing influence in both the EU and America. As Moreno-Fernández and Otero (2008: 81) point out

The sum of native Spanish speakers and non-native Spanish speakers plus those learning the language gives a total figure of 438.9 million Spanish speakers according to the estimations based on the latest consolidated census information and on other sources such as the Cervantes Institute.

And according to an article in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (14 December 2001, p. 23), "Spanish is . . . the second international language of business as its importance in the United States grows". In Europe, there is a massive increase in demand for Spanish, with the number of people travelling to Spain and sitting Spanish-language examinations rising by 15 per cent a year, according to the Instituto Cervantes (Spain's equivalent of the British Council). In addition, the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Mexico are becoming increasingly popular tourist destinations, while the teaching of

Spanish as a foreign language is spreading to many parts of the world. In this process, it is being “overtly promoted by the Spanish government as part of its aim to strengthen and enhance a pan-Hispanic community across the world” as well as “a desire to consolidate a power bloc with some claim to compete with the overwhelming march of global English” (Mar-Molinero 2006: 82). As Mar-Molinero continues, “[t]he Spanish language learning/teaching industry is thus a flourishing and expanding one” and “whilst smaller in scale, in many senses it resembles the enormous EFL/ELT industry”.

Meanwhile, in the US there were found to be 50.5 million native speakers of Spanish in the 2010 census (see unit C1), making this the second largest L1 group in the US after English, and comprising almost a fifth of the total population. Already non-Hispanic whites are in a minority in California and there are also particularly large numbers of Hispanics in Arizona and Texas. However, it is not only a case of numerical increase: the US Hispanic community appears also to be experiencing “a resurgence of cultural pride and confidence” (*The Guardian*, 8 March 2001, p. 12), while politicians are beginning to pay far greater attention to the Hispanic community’s needs than they have done hitherto. Meanwhile, Latinos such as the Puerto Rican Ricky Martin and Jennifer Lopez have, respectively, topped world pop music charts and won important film awards, and still more recently, the Latin music of artists such as Daddy Yankee, Don Omar, and Molotov has been achieving worldwide popularity (see Mar-Molinero 2008: 39–40).

Further evidence that English may eventually give way to another language as the world’s lingua franca is provided by the internet. As Crystal (2006: 229–231) points out

[The Web] was originally a totally English medium – as was the Internet as a whole, given its US origins. But with the Internet’s globalization, the presence of other languages has steadily risen. In the mid-1990s, a widely quoted figure was that just over 80 per cent of the Net was in English.

However, as he goes on to say,

the estimates for languages other than English have steadily risen since then, with some commentators predicting that before long the Web (and the Internet as a whole) will be predominantly non-English, as communications infrastructure develops in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America.

He also cites a 2004 Global Reach survey which found that 64.8 per cent of a total online population of 801.4 million was in countries where English is not the mother tongue, and notes that Chinese is expected by most sources to become the majority language of internet users. And a few years later, this seems even more probable. In a table showing the top ten internet languages at the start of 2010 (Internet World Stats 2010, in Crystal 2011: 79), although English still has the largest number of internet users (496 million users, 27.5 per cent of all internet users), Chinese is catching up fast (408 million users, 22.6 per cent of all internet users).

The rapid increase in the amount of Chinese on the internet (1,162 per cent growth between 2000 and 2009, as contrasted with English’s 252 per cent growth)

leads Crystal to believe it will soon replace English in the leading position on the internet. On the other hand, Graddol's earlier point that "there remains more English than is proportionate to the first languages of users" (2006: 44) is still true. In other words, a large amount of internet use in English is by NNESs rather than NESs. And we cannot discount the possibility that a sizeable proportion of NNESs may continue to use English on the internet as well as, or instead of, their L1, especially for intercultural communication.

Thus, although it is possible that English-medium internet use has passed its peak, it is by no means certain. Meanwhile, the implications for both the spread and type of English used in other forms of communication are as yet far from clear.

Section B

DEVELOPMENT

IMPLICATIONS AND ISSUES

B1

THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

If you are to gain a full picture of the development of Global Englishes, then the historical facts outlined in A1 cannot be divorced from the social and political contexts in which events took place. Nor can these ‘facts’ be taken at face value, but instead need to be problematised. For colonialism was neither a natural nor a neutral process, but one involving large-scale coercion and displacement, and one that inevitably impacted in major ways on the lives of those whose lands were colonised. Its effects have, in certain respects, lasted well into postcolonial times and may continue to affect people’s lives far into the future. One result of colonialism is thought to be the endangering of many indigenous languages, a theme which will be taken up in C8. Here, in B1, we will consider two other important and related effects of colonialism during the colonial and postcolonial periods: the denigrating of colonised peoples and their loss of identity (though the latter, of course, also has very close links with language loss).

The devaluing of local language and culture

One major legacy of the two diasporas of English is the assumption of the inferiority of the indigenous language, culture, and even character of the colonised, alongside the assumption of the superiority of the colonisers and their language. During the colonial period, this took an extreme form, and it is not uncommon in the literature to find references to the native populations of colonised lands as ‘savages’, to their languages as ‘primitive’, and to their cultures as ‘barbaric’. The following three quotations illustrate this point:

A knowledge of the English tongue and its authors, therefore, appears to hold a place of the first importance in a plan for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Hindoos. The English language will not only prove a more correct medium of giving public instruction to the students, but it will facilitate their progress in useful knowledge. All the Indian languages have been for so many ages the vehicle of every thing in their superstition which is morally debasing or corrupting to the mind, and so much is the grossly impure structure of heathenism wrought into the native languages, that the bare study of them often proves injurious to the mind of the European

(London Missionary Society 1826, quoted in Bailey 1991: 135–136)

Fearful indeed is the impress of degradation which is stamped on the language of the savage, more fearful perhaps even than that which is stamped upon his form. When wholly letting go the truth, when long and greatly sinning against light and conscience, a people has thus gone the downward way, has been scattered off by some violent catastrophe from those regions of the world which are the seats of advance and progress, and driven to its remote isles and further corners, then as one nobler thought, one spiritual idea after another has perished from it, the words also that expressed these have perished too. As one habit of civilization has been let go after another, the words which those habits demanded have dropped as well, first out of use, and then out of memory, and thus after a while have been wholly lost.

(Trench 1891, quoted in Bailey 1991: 278)

Probably everyone would agree that an Englishman would be right in considering his way of looking at the world and at life better than that of the Maori or Hottentot, and no one will object in the abstract to England doing her best to impose her better and higher views on those savages.

(Hobson 1902, quoted in Pennycook 1998: 52)

However, as the following example shows, the same sort of ethos still underlies much of what has been written in supposedly ‘neutral’ language more recently:

To understand the momentous nature of the first English voyages to America, we have to appreciate the forlorn position of these weary travellers in a strange landscape without a single reference point. We have to imagine a world in which all languages were foreign, all communications difficult, and even hazardous . . . Just as the Saxon English, confronted by the Norse languages, adapted their speech, so the settlers of Roanoke, Jamestown, and Plymouth, confronted by the need to communicate with Indians who could not speak a word of English, also adapted theirs.

(McCrum, MacNeil and Cran 2002/2011: 121)

Such disparagement of the non-Anglo (and, especially, non-white) ‘other’ slips in, it seems, even when writers appear to be attempting to produce an unbiased record of events. Note the words used here to describe the colonisers and their situation: “momentous nature”, “forlorn position”, “weary travellers”, “confronted by the need to communicate”, “adapted [their speech]”. Compare these with the references to the indigenous population and their situation: “strange landscape”, “all languages . . . foreign”, “communications difficult, and even hazardous”, “Indians who could not speak a word of English”. Note also the positive light in which the authors speak of the colonisers adapting their first language while presenting as a bland statement of fact, and even then, from the colonisers’ rather than the Indian’s perspective, that the Indians made far greater linguistic adaptations in attempting to speak the language of the colonisers: “One of the first surprises for the Plymouth settlers was the appearance of Indians speaking ‘broken English’” (p. 121).

The same phenomenon can be seen at work in the regular references in McCrum et al. (2002/2011), Crystal (2003a, 2012a), and many other accounts, to the ‘discovery’ of lands, as though these territories were not already populated and home often to large numbers of human beings before the arrival of the colonisers. Likewise, the innocuous word ‘settlers’ is frequently used to describe people who were, in essence, invaders and annexers of lands belonging to others. And given the perspective of colonial times on the native languages of the indigenous populations in the colonised lands (‘impure structure of heathenism’, ‘impress of degradation’ etc.), it is not surprising that when colonised peoples made the effort to communicate in English, their English was denigrated as ‘broken’ and the like. The phenomenon persists to the present day in attitudes towards the English of non-native speakers, and particularly towards their accents (see, for example, Jenkins 2007, Lippi-Green 2012).

In fact it is only in very recent times that L2 varieties of English have been accorded any sort of recognition whatsoever. Some former British colonies have embarked on the massive task of describing, standardising, and codifying their local

English (the so-called ‘New’ Englishes, see A4). Nevertheless, this is only the beginning, as they are still likely to meet resistance when they promote their Englishes as ‘legitimate’ standard varieties internationally. For the prevailing attitude of L1 speakers as well as that of a sizeable majority of L2 speakers is still that ‘good English’ is synonymous with that of educated native speakers born and bred in the United Kingdom or North America. This is an issue that we will examine more closely later on in the book, particularly in the units of strand 6.

It is not surprising that after centuries in which non-Anglophone languages and cultures and local L2 varieties of English have been undermined in this way, a lack of confidence, or ‘linguistic insecurity’, pervades many L2 speakers’ attitudes towards their use of English, even though they now constitute the majority of the world’s English speakers. Medgyes, a fluent bilingual speaker and teacher of English from Hungary, for example, refers several times in his 1998 book to non-native English speakers’ “inferiority complex”, and laments “we suffer from an *inferiority complex* caused by a glaring defect in our knowledge of English. We are in constant distress as we realize how little we know about the language we are supposed to teach” (p. 36).

Activity 

- To what extent do you believe that the attitudes towards certain non-English languages and cultures expressed by the nineteenth and early twentieth century writers above still exist in the second decade of the twenty-first century? What evidence is there for your answer?
- Have you had any personal experience of negative attitudes towards non-native English, whether directly, as an observer, or in something you have read?
- In your view, do non-native speakers of English suffer from an ‘inferiority complex’ over their use of English? Should they do so? Why/why not? How far does your answer depend on whether the speakers come from a country that was or was not once colonised by the British?
- What is your response to the following quotation?

In the days of empire, the natives were the indigenous populations and the term itself implied uncivilized, primitive, barbaric, even cannibalistic . . . With the spread of English around the globe, ‘native’ – in relation to English – has acquired newer, positive connotations. ‘Native speakers’ of English are assumed to be advanced (technologically), civilized, and educated. But as ‘NSs’ lose their linguistic advantage, with English being spoken as an International Language no less – and often a good deal more – effectively by ‘NNs’ . . . and as bilingualism and multilingualism become the accepted world norm, and monolingualism the exception . . . perhaps the word ‘native’ will return to its pejorative usage. Only this time, the opposite group will be on the receiving end.

(Jenkins 2000: 229)

The loss of ethnic identity

A second major legacy of colonialism is the way in which it has led, either directly or indirectly, to the destruction of the ethnic identities of many whose lands were colonised. This is, in part, the consequence of the loss of indigenous languages, since identity and language are often closely interrelated. It also bears strong links with the undermining of the language and culture of colonised peoples that was discussed in the previous section. The situation, nevertheless, is not entirely hopeless. For as the following extract on the crisis among Native American communities demonstrates, it is possible to revive indigenous languages, or **heritage languages** as they are more commonly called today.

If a Child Learns Only the Non-Indian Way of Life, You Have Lost Your Child.

We turn now to the ‘identity crisis’ under way in indigenous communities today – a crisis suggested by the words of the Navajo elder that head this section. If it is indeed the stories, songs and daily interactions in the Native language that convey and transmit sense of place and sense of self, what happens when the language falls out of use?

This is the situation Native American communities now face. Of 175 indigenous languages still spoken in the United States, perhaps twenty are being transmitted to children. Languages in the U.S. Southwest are among the most vital – especially Navajo, Tohono, ‘O’odham, Havasupai, Hopi and Hualapai – with a significant though declining number of child speakers. But by far the largest numbers of indigenous languages are spoken only by the middle-aged or grandparent generations.

Contemporary Native writers such as Ortiz, Momaday, Tapahonso, and others demonstrate that indigenous traditions *can* be represented in English. But Native speakers, particularly those immersed in the oral literature of their people, are quick to say, “Yes, but the text is not the same. There is something missing.” In some cases, it is easy to point to words that lack even an approximate English equivalent. The ‘O’odham *himdag*, for example, is often translated as “culture.” But ‘O’odham speakers say this is only a distant approximation; speakers understand this word to have various levels of complexity. As a consequence, they have taken up the practice of using the ‘O’odham word when speaking about it in English.

This example highlights the fact that human cultures are not interchangeable; the loss of even one language and the cultural knowledge it encodes diminishes us all. Recognizing this, many tribes are actively engaged in language restoration efforts. In California, where fifty indigenous languages are spoken – none as a mother tongue by children – a bold language revitalization movement is under way. “No one feels this impending loss more strongly than the Native Californians themselves,” linguist Leanne Hinton . . . maintains. “Many are making enormous efforts to keep the language and cultural practices alive . . . even as they participate in the cultures and intercultures more recently derived from Europe and elsewhere” . . .

One such effort is the California Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program, in which Native speakers and younger apprentices live and work together over months or years, doing everyday things but communicating through the heritage language. Speakers from ten language groups have thus far been trained, and several apprentices have achieved conversational proficiency. In Hawaii,

language immersion programs have successfully revived Hawaiian in dozens of homes. Language immersion programs also have been instituted on the Navajo Nation, among the Mohawks in New York, Ontario, and Quebec, and in numerous other indigenous communities throughout the United States.

The development of indigenous literacies has accompanied many of these efforts. As in many tribes, among the Hualapai of northwestern Arizona the development of a practical writing system grew out of local initiatives in bilingual education. There is now a significant body of Hualapai literature, including a grammar and dictionary, children's and adolescents' storybooks, poetry, teachers' guides, and anthologies of traditional stories and songs. All of this has raised support for larger, community-wide language maintenance efforts, including tribal sanctions for conducting tribal business in English, and the involvement of children, parents, and grandparents in language revitalization projects.

Literacy in indigenous languages, however, remains primarily restricted to schools, buttressing rather than replacing home- and community-based language transmission. Yet literacy is a powerful symbol of indigenous identity; it valorizes the community and publicly demonstrates the ways in which it is using its language in active and creative ways. By providing new forms for the preservation and transmission of traditional knowledge, indigenous literacy tangibly connects the language with the culture and history of its speakers. Finally, as the Hualapai example shows, indigenous literacy can stimulate other, more diffuse forces for language and culture maintenance. In all of these ways, literacy in indigenous languages is an asset and ally in the struggle to resist linguistic assimilation.

But the fact remains that there is an ever-decreasing pool of Native language speakers. This situation is a direct consequence of the history of colonialism and language repression that indigenous people have, for centuries, endured. Nonetheless, as Darrell Kipp of the Piegan Language Institute pointed out at a recent meeting of indigenous language activists, without their tribal languages, many indigenous communities "will cease to be." The loss of language, he states, "is like throwing away your universe."

(McCarty and Zepeda 1999: 207–208)

It is not only language, but also **place**, which provides people with a sense of identity. This is a song written in 1995 by Dan Hanna, a Havasupai medicine man, describing his native land:

*The land we were given
the land we were given
It is right here
It is right here
Red Rock
Red Rock. . . .*

*Down at the source
A spring will always be there
It is ours
It is ours
Since a long time ago
Since a long time ago. . . .*

(McCarty and Zepeda 1999: 205)

McCarty and Zepeda point out that

What is interesting . . . is the fact that, in many cases, the places identified in the texts have been appropriated by others, disfigured, and even destroyed. Red

Rock – the site to which Dan Hanna refers – is not included within the modern Havasupai reservation and is planned as the location of a uranium mine. Yet Hanna repeats, ‘It is ours, it is ours, since a long time ago, it is ours’.

The authors conclude

It is the stories, the poetry, the prayers, and the songs that continue to fix these places in collective memory, recalling their images, commanding respect, and helping those for whom the narratives are intended to define who they are. Landscape or place sense is no more, or no less, important than language in this process. It is within the places in the stories that the “sense of ourselves” resides.

(McCarty and Zepeda 1999: 205–206)

 **Activity**

- To what extent do you believe it is possible for groups of people to retain their ethnic identity when (a) they are removed from their ethnic homeland and/or (b) they lose the use of their mother tongue?
- How strong a role do you think the written language plays in forming and retaining a sense of ethnic group identity? Does there in fact have to be a written language at all, or is oral communication sufficient? And what about the role of literature: how strong a part does it play in identity formation; and can it continue to promote ethnic identity if it is transmitted only orally or in translation?
- How far do you think that recent opposition in universities in some mainland European countries (e.g. France and Italy) to the use of English as the medium of instruction, and especially as the medium of academic writing, is linked to fears over loss of national identity? (See C6 for more on this issue).
- In the concluding comments to his edited volume, *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Fishman (1999: 448–449) quotes a number of scholars who argue that those who feel more secure about their own identity are more tolerant of other ethnic groups and, at the same time, better placed to be an effective member of a cosmopolitan grouping. He finishes his discussion by quoting Haarmann (1997) on **European identity** as follows:

European identity includes cosmopolitan elements, but cosmopolitanism cannot serve as a simplistic substitute for traditional national identity . . . The recipe for a member of a national community to become a self-confident European lies not in the denial or neglect of his national collective identity . . . Somebody who considers him- or herself to be a cosmopolitan at the cost of national identity will hardly be in a position to appreciate the national components in other people’s identity, and this can only weaken cooperation among Europeans.

(Haarmann 1997: 286)

Do you agree that it is essential to retain one’s own national identity in order to become a “self-confident” member of a larger grouping such as Europe?

B2

THE ENGLISH TODAY DEBATE

With an ever-growing number of people speaking English in an increasing number of regions of the world, it is not surprising that the language is diversifying and 'English' has become 'Englishes'. Local conditions, including the influence of the other languages that English users of the Outer and Expanding Circles speak, are inevitably affecting the English that is evolving in different contexts around the world. Even within the Inner Circle countries, there are differences especially in accent, but also in vocabulary and, to a lesser extent, grammar, as well as input from increasing numbers of immigrants for whom English is not their mother tongue (e.g. there are over three hundred first languages spoken in London). Nevertheless, the standard varieties of English in the countries of the Inner Circle are still widely regarded as 'legitimate' world norms, even if some ENL speakers consider their own country's standard forms superior to those of the other ENL countries.

The situation is rather different for speakers of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles. World English scholars have long argued that the nativised varieties of English in the Outer Circle countries should, in their standard (acrolect) forms, be seen as equal in status to the standard Englishes of the Inner Circle countries, and therefore just as valid as local teaching models. On the other hand, many others still consider differences from British or American standards not to be local innovations but errors and, as such, evidence of the substandard nature of these varieties. In other words, they regard English spoken in the Outer Circle as **interlanguage** (learner language which has not yet reached the target) or **fossilized** language (i.e. language used when learning has ceased short of nativelike competence – see B7). The situation is even more controversial in relation to English speakers in the Expanding Circle, and their position is not helped by the fact that those who argue for the recognition of the postcolonial English varieties have been slow to extend the argument to the Expanding Circle. Because of the major changes currently taking place in the latter region, it forms the topic of the whole of strand 6, while much of what follows here in B2 is concerned mainly, though not exclusively, with Outer Circle Englishes.

Activity 

The controversy over the legitimacy of non-native varieties of English is crystallised in a debate that took place in the pages of the journal *English Today* in the early 1990s. In 1990, the journal published an article by Quirk, 'Language varieties and standard language'. In essence, Quirk's position was that non-native Englishes are inadequately learned versions of 'correct' native English forms and therefore not valid as teaching models. Kachru's strongly worded response, 'Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern' followed in 1991. First, read through these points taken from Quirk's article and decide how far you agree or disagree with him:

Quirk's position: non-native Englishes as deficit

- ❑ The native/non-native distinction is a valid one because research by Coppieters (1987) shows that native and non-native speakers have different intuitions about a language. For example, they differ in their judgements of the grammatical correctness of sentences. This research finding implies “the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language” (pp. 6–7). It also implies that natives and non-natives “have radically different internalizations” of the language, so that it will be unwise to attempt to institutionalise non-native varieties.
- ❑ Learners of English outside Britain come to the language with little or no prior knowledge, and need to learn Standard English in order to “increase their freedom and their career prospects” (note that this is the argument used by Honey 1997 in his book *Language is Power*, see unit D3 below). The teacher’s “duty” therefore is not to question notions of correct and incorrect use, but to teach Standard English (p. 7).
- ❑ There are no institutionalised non-native varieties of English. “Put at its simplest, the argument [for institutionalised varieties of English] is this: many Indians speak English; one can often guess that a person is Indian from the way he or she speaks English; India is a free and independent country as Britain is or as America is. Therefore, just as there is an *American English* . . . so there is an *Indian English* on precisely the same equal footing” (p. 8). But in countries where non-native institutionalised varieties are claimed to exist, those in authority tend to protest that these are merely “an attempt to justify inability to acquire what they persist in seeing as ‘real’ English. . . . No-one should underestimate the problem of teaching English in such countries as India and Nigeria, where the English of the teachers themselves inevitably bears the stamp of locally acquired deviation from the standard language (“You are knowing my father, isn’t it”). The temptation is great to accept the situation and even to justify it in euphemistically sociolinguistic terms” (pp. 8–9).
- ❑ The teaching of English in the countries of the Expanding Circle should not involve any conflict over standards and where it does, is a reflection of “half-baked quackery” that is mainly perpetuated by minimally trained teachers and “academic linguists with little experience of foreign language teaching”. Just because, for example, the use of the phrase “several informations” is intelligible, this is no reason to ignore the incorrect use (vis-à-vis standard native English) of an uncountable noun (p. 9). (See Seidlhofer 2005, who responds to this particular point by arguing that it is in fact Quirk’s view that is “half-baked quackery”, because it is grounded in an out-of-date monolithic view of English that fails to take account of its changing role not only in Outer Circle communities, but also as a lingua franca in the Expanding Circle).

Quirk concludes

If I were a foreign student paying good money in Tokyo or Madrid to be taught English, I would feel cheated by such tolerant pluralism. My goal would be to acquire English precisely because of its power as an instrument of international communication. I would be annoyed at the equivocation over English since it seemed to be unparalleled in the teaching of French, German, Russian, or Chinese.

He recommends that while

it is not easy to eradicate once-fashionable educational theories . . . the effort is worthwhile for those of us who believe that the world needs an international language and that English is the best candidate at present on offer.
(p. 10)

Now read through some of the points Kachru makes in responding to what he describes as Quirk's **deficit linguistics** position.

Kachru's position: non-native Englishes as difference

- ❑ The solution of "constant touch with the native language" does not apply to the institutionalized varieties for more than one reason: first, the practical reason that it is simply not possible for a teacher to be in constant touch with the *native* language given the number of teachers involved, the lack of resources and the overwhelming *non-native* input; second, the functional reason that the users of institutionalized varieties are expected to conform to local norms and speech strategies since English is used for interaction primarily in intranational contexts . . . The natives may have "radically different internalizations [intuitions about grammaticality]" about their L1 but that point is not vital for a rejection of institutionalization. In fact, the arguments for recognizing institutionalization are that non-native users of English have internalizations which are linked to their own multilingual, sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts (p. 5).
- ❑ Quirk seems to perceive the spread of English primarily from the perspective of monolingual societies, and from uncomplicated language policy contexts. The concerns he expresses are far from the realities of multilingual societies, and negate the linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational and pragmatic realities of such societies (p. 6).

Kachru goes on to argue (p. 10) that Quirk's approach is based on at least four false assumptions (see Kachru 1992a: 357–359, where these are presented as "Six Fallacies about the Users and Uses of English"):

1. that in the Outer and Expanding circles . . . English is essentially learnt to interact with the native speakers of the language . . . The reality is that

in its localized varieties, English has become the main vehicle for interaction among its non-native users, with distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds – Indians interacting with Nigerians, Japanese, Sri Lankans, Germans with Singaporeans and so on. The culture-bound localized strategies of, for example, politeness, persuasion and phatic communion transcreated in English are more effective and culturally significant than are the ‘native’ strategies for interaction.

2. that English is essentially learnt as a tool to understand and teach the American or British cultural values, or what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions . . . In culturally and linguistically pluralistic regions of the Outer Circle, English is an important tool to impart local traditions and cultural values.
3. that the international non-native varieties of English are essentially “interlanguages” striving to achieve “native-like” character . . . In reality, the situation is . . . that such institutionalized varieties are varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to more native-like English.
4. that the native speakers of English as teachers, academic administrators and material developers are seriously involved in the global teaching of English, in policy formulation and in determining the channels for the spread of language . . . In proposing language policies for English in the global context, the situation is indeed complex, and there are no easy answers. There is thus a need for a “paradigm shift” . . . [which] entails reconsidering the traditional sacred cows of English . . . I am thinking of concepts such as the “speech community” of English, “ideal speaker-hearer” of English and the “native speaker of English”. In the context of world Englishes, what we actually see is that diversification is a marker of various types of sociolinguistic “messages” . . .

Kachru concludes that what, in Quirk’s terms, would be considered deficient English may, in the global context, “be a matter of difference which is based on vital sociolinguistic realities of identity, creativity and linguistic and cultural contact” (p. 11).

3. Your position

- Whose arguments do you find more convincing, Quirk’s or Kachru’s, and why?
- Consider these comments made by Bamgboşe and de Clerk.

The main question with innovations is the need to decide when an observed feature of language use is indeed an innovation and when it is simply an error. An innovation is seen as an acceptable variant, while an error is simply a mistake, or uneducated usage. If innovations are seen as errors, a non-native variety can never receive any recognition.

(Bamgboşe 1998: 22)

When does a substratal [indigenous] feature assert itself sufficiently to overcome the fear that if deviations are allowed, the rules will be abandoned and chaos will ensue? Is it when speakers use it often enough to silence or exhaust the prescriptors?

(de Klerk 1999: 315)

How can we decide when a non-standard English usage is an error or an innovation? Does it depend entirely on whether the speaker is native or non-native or are there other criteria such as frequency of use, number of users, communication context, and so on? You might find it helpful in making your decision to look back at the most recent models of the spread of English that were presented in A2.

- ❑ What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of a **pluricentric approach** to English, in which there are several global centres, native and non-native, each with its own standard variety of English? For example, how far is the way this enables a variety of English to express the culture of its speakers outweighed by problems such as the threat of the fragmentation of English into mutually unintelligible languages? And if you think this is a realistic fear, what measures could be taken to prevent it from materialising? The World Englishes scholars quoted above are thinking of the Outer Circle. To what extent would a pluricentric approach, as they describe it, be suitable for speakers in the Expanding Circle?
- ❑ Kachru appears to be offended by Quirk's rejection of the distinction between speakers of English in the Outer Circle and those in the Expanding Circle, and the fact that Quirk instead proposes a simple dichotomy between native and non-native speaker of English. In your view, are speakers of L2 Englishes in the Outer Circle 'privileged' over those in the Expanding Circle when it comes to English language rights?
- ❑ Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 208) consider that "[u]ltimately the Kachru-Quirk controversy can only be resolved outside the ivory tower, by the attitudes and actions of parents, pupils, teachers, administrators and the like. Linguistic hegemony power can be contested, but it is seldom dismantled by reason alone". How far do you agree with them?
- ❑ Finally, the *English Today* debate is now well over twenty years old. To what extent do you find in the second decade of the twenty-first century that the same kinds of arguments about non-native (Outer and Expanding Circle) Englishes are still being expressed? Think about both your own first-hand experience and what you have read or heard, for example, in academic publications, ELT materials, and the media.

STANDARDS ACROSS ANGLOPHONE SPACE

B3

Standard English across regions

This section is divided into two parts, both focusing primarily on English spoken in Britain, North America, and Australia, and looking in particular at vocabulary and grammar. The first part is concerned with the similarities and differences across the Englishes designated 'standard' in each of these three regions, while in the second, attention shifts to the similarities and differences across varieties of English within two of the regions, Britain and North America.

Although the differences across the standard native speaker varieties of English are far outweighed by the similarities, each of these three standard Englishes has certain features that characterise it as specifically British, American, or Australian. The most noticeable level of divergence is that of vocabulary, with lexical differences between British and American Englishes far exceeding those between Britain and Australia. In the case of British and **North American English** (US and Canadian English) thousands of words either do not exist at all in one or other variety, or have completely or partially different meanings. The main reasons for this are to some extent obvious. Firstly, the early colonisers needed to name those items for which they did not already have names. They did this by extending the meaning of existing English words, creating new words, or borrowing items from the indigenous population, the **Native Americans**. Examples of words with extended meaning are *corn* (referring to grain in Britain, maize in North America) and *robin* (a small red-breasted warbler in Britain, a large red-breasted thrush in North America). An example of a new creation is *butte* (an isolated hill with a flat top). Examples of borrowing are *moccasin*, *squash*, and *toboggan* (see McCrum et al. 2002/2011). Secondly, developments taking place since North American English separated from British English have led to further divergences between the two varieties. This is particularly true of vocabulary resulting from technological innovation, such as car-related words. For example, North American English has *windshield*, *hood*, and *trunk* for the items that in British English are called *windscreen*, *bonnet*, and *boot*.

Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 87–90) divide **English English** (their preferred term for **Standard British English**) and US English differences into four main categories:

1. Same word, different meaning
2. Same word, additional meaning in one variety
3. Same word, difference in style, connotation, frequency of use
4. Same concept or item, different word



The following is a selection of items from Trudgill and Hannah's lists. Can you place them in the correct categories and explain the difference in British/American use? (NB one word fits two categories). Think about the sorts of communication problems that might arise as a result of these differences. Which category, in your view, has the greatest potential to cause miscommunication between speakers of English from the UK and the US? The key is given in Table B3.1.

faucet	smart	autumn	regular	bathroom
pants	sophomore	to fancy	a queue	spanner
homely	school	surgery	quite (as in quite good)	

Category 1 probably has the greatest potential to cause miscommunication. This is because the difference in meaning may never be appreciated and clarified, and so the miscommunication is more likely to remain unresolved.

The differences between **Australian English** and British English lexis are relatively few in number except at the level of idiomatic language and slang. One source of Australian lexical innovation was initially borrowings into English from the Australian aboriginal languages. These include words such as 'kangaroo' and 'boomerang' which are widely known outside Australia, as well as some which are less well-known, such as *gibber* (a rock), *corroboree* (a large gathering), and *jumbuck* (a sheep). Many are words for the indigenous flora and fauna, e.g. plants such as *calombo*, trees such as *mallee*, and birds such as *kookaburra*. Oddly, although the number of borrowings from aboriginal languages into Australian English was small, these words are now regarded as "quintessentially Australian" (Elmes 2001: 66).

Other Australian English lexical innovations are intra-English in origin, that is, the result of adaptations in form or range of meaning of words already in existence in English English. The following (from Trudgill and Hannah 2008) are examples:

Australian English	English English
to barrack	support
footpath	pavement
picture theatre	cinema
sedan	estate car
gumboots	wellington boots
stroller	push-chair
bludger	loafer, sponger
singlet	vest
station wagon	saloon car
paddock	field

*Table B3.1 British English/American English lexical differences***Category 1: same word, different meaning**

<i>Word</i>	<i>EngEng meaning</i>	<i>USEng meaning</i>
<i>homely</i>	down to earth, domestic	ugly (of people)
<i>pants</i>	underpants	trousers
<i>pavement</i>	footpath, sidewalk	road surface

Category 2a: additional meaning in USEng

<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning in common</i>	<i>Additional meaning in USEng</i>
<i>bathroom</i>	room with bath or shower and sink	room with toilet only
<i>regular</i>	consistent, habitual	average (as in size), normal
<i>school</i>	institution of education at elementary level	all institutions of education including universities

Category 2b: additional meaning in EngEng

<i>Word</i>	<i>Meaning in common</i>	<i>Additional meaning in EngEng</i>
<i>smart</i>	intelligent	well-groomed
<i>surgery</i>	a medical operation or operating room	an office of any doctor

Category 3: same word, difference in style, connotation, frequency of use

<i>Word</i>	<i>EngEng usage</i>	<i>USEng usage</i>
<i>autumn</i>	common; all styles	uncommon; poetic or formal ('fall' used instead)
<i>to fancy</i> (to like, want)	common, informal	uncommon
<i>quite</i>	negative or neutral	positive

Category 4: same concept or item, different word

<i>USEng only</i>	<i>Corresponds to EngEng</i>
<i>faucet</i>	tap
<i>sophomore</i>	second year student
<i>EngEng only</i>	<i>Corresponds to EngEng</i>
<i>queue</i>	line
<i>spanner</i>	monkey wrench

By far the majority of lexical differences across varieties of English are in their colloquial usage, especially in often-ephemeral slang words and phrases. The following are examples of Australian English slang items that are not used in EngEng (from Elmes 2001 and Trudgill and Hannah 2008):

- a dag (an affectionate term meaning an eccentric person)
- a drongo; a galah (a fool)
- an offsider (a partner or companion)
- a sheila (a girl)
- tucker (food)
- crook (ill, angry)
- to bot (to cadge, borrow)
- to front up (to arrive, present oneself somewhere)
- to fine up (to improve – used of weather)
- to shout (to buy something for someone, e.g. a round of drinks)
- to chunder (to vomit)
- hard yakka (hard work)
- to shoot through (to leave)
- a spell (a rest, break)
- a park (a parking space)
- to chyack (to tease)
- a chook (a chicken)
- a chine (a mate)
- to spit the dummy (to lose your temper)
- spiflicated; rotten; full as a boot (drunk)

Activity 

Are you familiar with equivalent slang words and expressions in other (Inner or Outer Circle) varieties of English? For example, British English has words and phrases such as ‘to throw up’ for ‘to vomit’ and ‘wasted’ for ‘drunk’. If you are using this book in a class where students come from a range of English speaking backgrounds, select a number of categories (e.g. drink, money, weather, etc.) and compare slang words and expressions across Englishes for lexical items within these categories. How do you account for any cross-cultural similarities and/or differences that emerge?

Another feature of Australian lexis is the love of abbreviations. There is a tendency among all speakers of English to shorten words, a process known as ‘clipping’, to the extent that the original word may no longer be known to most speakers, e.g. ‘pants’ is an abbreviation of ‘pantaloons’, and ‘bus’ of ‘omnibus’ (see Gramley 2001: 94). However, it seems that Australians engage in clipping more frequently than do speakers of other Englishes. Again, in Australian English more than in other Englishes, the clipped word may then be given a diminutive suffix, especially *-ie* or *-y* but also *-o*.

For example, the word ‘barbecue’ becomes ‘barbie’, the word ‘Australian’ becomes ‘Aussie’, and the word ‘afternoon’ becomes ‘arvo’.

Turning to grammar, the grammatical differences between English English and Australian English are relatively few in number at the level of educated speech and writing and, as Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 24) point out, it is often impossible to tell, unless there is distinctive use of vocabulary, whether a text was written by an Australian or British writer.

The grammatical differences between English English and US English, however, are far more wide-ranging. It is only possible to mention some of the main categories of difference here (see Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 59–82 for details).

Verbs

- ❑ Morphology: differences in past and participle endings, e.g. English English: ‘dived’, ‘sneaked’, ‘got’; US English: ‘dove’, snuk’, ‘gotten’.
- ❑ Auxiliaries: use of epistemic ‘must’: English English uses ‘can’t’ in the negative, e.g. ‘He can’t be in – his car has gone’, whereas US English uses (uncontracted) ‘must not’ (not to be confused with ‘mustn’t’ meaning ‘not be allowed’).

Nouns

- ❑ Greater use of certain noun endings in US English, e.g. -ee (retiree, draftee), -ster (teamster, gamester).
- ❑ Difference in derivational ending, e.g. English English: ‘candidature’, ‘centenary’; US English: ‘candidacy’, ‘centennial’.
- ❑ Greater tendency to use verbs as nouns in US English, e.g. ‘to run down’, ‘to be shut in’, ‘to try out’ become ‘the rundown’, ‘a shut-in’ (‘an invalid’), ‘a try-out’ (‘an audition’).

Adjectives and adverbs

- ❑ The comparative adjective ‘different’ is followed by ‘than’ in US English and by ‘from’ (or more recently, ‘to’) in English English, e.g. ‘This one is different than/from (to) the last one’.
- ❑ The adverbs ‘yet’ and ‘already’ cannot occur with the simple past tense in English English, whereas they can do so in US English. In such cases, English English uses the present perfect tense: US English ‘I didn’t buy one yet’, ‘Did you read it already?'; English English: ‘I haven’t bought one yet’, ‘Have you read it already?’

Prepositions

- ❑ A few prepositions differ in form in the two varieties, e.g. English English: ‘behind’; US English: ‘in back of’ (‘I put it behind/in back of the shed’).
- ❑ Differences in preposition in specific contexts, particularly in expressions of time, e.g. English English: ‘I haven’t seen him for ages/weeks’, US English ‘I haven’t seen him in ages/weeks’.
- ❑ Clock time: English English ‘twenty to three’, ‘five past eight’; US English: ‘twenty of/till three’, ‘five after eight’.
- ❑ Different uses of ‘in’ and ‘on’, e.g. English English: ‘to live in a street’, ‘to be in a sale’; US English: ‘to be on a street’, ‘to be on sale’ (whereas in English English, ‘on sale’ simply means ‘for sale’ i.e. that an item is available to buy at the usual price).

For a humorous but informative introduction to some of the differences in pronunciation between American English and English English, see the video ‘Tomahto – Tomayto: British and American Pronunciation’ on YouTube, which features the British business English specialist Vicki Hollett and her American husband, at: <http://www.simpleenglishvideos.com/tomahto-tomayto-british-and-american-pron>

Activity

- If you are familiar with British English and either New Zealand English or South African English, which grammatical features would you single out as differing most from English English? In your view, do any of these differences have the same degree of potential for miscommunication as lexical differences do?
- If you are an L1 speaker of any of the Inner Circle Englishes, have you had any personal experience of miscommunication arising from grammatical differences in your own and an interlocutor’s English?
- If you are an L2 speaker of English, which Inner Circle Englishes do you find most and least intelligible? Is grammar and/or lexis the main factor or is something else more important?

Standard English and dialect

The differences between standard and non-standard Inner Circle Englishes receive much comment, with the non-standard Englishes (or ‘dialects’ as they are often called) being stigmatised in so far as they diverge from the variety regarded as the standard. Despite this, and despite the extent of the stigmatising that continues to this day, Trudgill and Chambers regard the grammatical and lexical differences in the regional and social varieties of English spoken by its native speakers as trivial:

The vast majority of native speakers around the world differ linguistically from one another relatively little, with more differentiation in their phonetics and phonology than at other linguistic levels. Most English people, for example, betray their geographical origins much more through their accents than through their vocabulary or grammar. This vast majority speaks mainstream varieties of English, standard or non-standard, which resemble one another quite closely, and which are all reasonably readily mutually intelligible. Differences between these mainstream varieties may be regionally and socially very diagnostic, but they are generally linguistically rather trivial, and where not trivial, quite regular and predictable. Grammatically, in particular, these varieties are very close to standard English.

(Trudgill and Chambers 1991: 2)

In this respect, the linguist Stubbs shows how working class speech in many regions of Britain differs morphosyntactically from Standard British English in only a few ways. These are among the examples he cites:

1. Multiple negation:

I didn't do nothing

2. Ain't as a negative form of be or auxiliary verb have:

I ain't doing it

I ain't got one

3. Never used to refer to a single occasion in the past:

I never done it (Standard British English: *I didn't do it*)

4. Extension of third person -s to first and second person verb forms:

I wants, you wants, he wants

5. Regularisation of be:

We was, you was, they was

6. Regularisation of some irregular verbs:

I draw, I drawed, I have drawed

I go, I went, I have went

I come, I come, I have come

7. Optional -ly on adverbs:

He writes real quick.

8. Unmarked plurality on nouns of measurement after numerals:

twenty year, ten pound

9. Different forms of the relative pronoun:

The man as/what lives here

10. Regularisation of reflexive pronouns:

myself, yourself, hisself, herself; ourselves, yourselves, theirselves

11. Distinction between main and auxiliary verb do:

You done it, did you? (Standard British English: *You did it, did you?*)

(Mitchell 1993, selected from Stubbs 1986)

 Activity

If a speaker uses certain of the above features even once – a double negative, for example – he or she will be ‘diagnosed’ as a speaker of non-standard English. On the other hand, other features, such as the -ly ending on adverbs (no. 7) seem to be slowly dying out of common usage, in this case perhaps by analogy with forms such as ‘fast’ and ‘hard’ that do not take -ly, or because of complications with the adverb forms of adjectives such as ‘friendly’ that already end in -ly. Presumably when sufficient numbers of educated speakers of English have dropped the -ly adverb ending, its omission will no longer be considered a dialect marker and stigmatised. A similar case is no. 8, unmarked plurality, with a number of educated speakers of British English using ‘pound’ singular in phrases such as ‘ten pound’. Do you envisage this happening in the reasonably near future to any other items on Stubbs’s list? If so, do you think that the change will be restricted to the spoken language or that it will eventually find its way into the written standard?

Despite claims that standardness is not an issue in the US to the same extent as it is in Britain (see, for example, Baron 2000: 134–135), the evidence provided by Bonfiglio (2002), Lippi-Green (2012), Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006), and others suggests otherwise. The difference is that attitudes towards standardness in the US are more connected with race rather than class, with the dialects spoken by speakers of Hispanic English and Black English (African-American Vernacular English, or AAVE) being the most highly stigmatised (see unit C5 for more on AAVE).

The following two extracts in which members of the studio audience and telephone callers participate in a screening of the Oprah Winfrey Show demonstrate the way in which the stigmatising of non-standard English in the US is linked to race:

1

2nd caller: Hi, Oprah?

Winfrey: Yes.

2nd caller: I guess what I'd like to say is that what makes me feel that blacks tend to be ignorant is that they fail to see that the word is spelled A-S-K, not A-X. And when they say aksed, it gives the sentence an entirely different meaning. And this is what I feel holds blacks back.

Winfrey: Why does it give it a different meaning if you know that's what they're saying?

2nd caller: But you don't always know that's what they are saying.

2

9th audience member: The problem seems to be that everybody tries to push something down your throat by arrogance. That's not the way to get something done. You could speak your own language, you could have your own way, but don't force someone else to have to suffer and listen to it.

Winfrey: You say what?

10th audience member: Well I'm an accountant and –

Winfrey: Well, wait, wait, let me get back to you. What is causing you to suffer?

9th audience member: Well I think there is a certain way of speaking that has been considered the acceptable way of speaking. And because of that this is the type of language you speak when you're out in the world. If you want to speak Spanish at home that's fine. If you want to speak black with your friends that's fine. But don't insult someone else's ears by making them listen to it.

(both extracts in Milroy and Milroy 2012: 152–153)

Activity 

If you were Oprah Winfrey, how would you have responded to the 2nd caller and 9th audience member?

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006: 131) note that “[d]ialect difference in America is by no means a thing of the past, and there is every indication that the boundaries whose foundations were laid when the first English colonists arrived in Jamestown in 1607 will continue to exist in some form long into the current millennium”. They also point out that the vowel systems that distinguish the northern and southern cities from one other are in the process of diverging further rather than converging, while both are becoming more distinct from the vowel systems of the Midland area.

As with British English dialects, it is only possible to summarise some of the main socially diagnostic grammatical structures. The following items are all taken from Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006: 370–384):

The verb phrase

1. Irregular verbs

The majority of vernaculars in the north and south exhibit the following features:

- past as participle form e.g. ‘I had went down there’
- participle as past form e.g. ‘He seen something out there’
- bare root as past form e.g. ‘She come to my house yesterday’.

Some rural vernaculars in the south may also exhibit this pattern:

- different irregular form: e.g. ‘Something just riz (rose) up right in front of me’.

2. Completive ‘done’

In southern European and African-American (AAVE) vernaculars, the form ‘done’ may mark a completed action or event in a different way from a simple past tense form by emphasising the ‘completedness’ of the action, e.g. ‘I done forgot what you wanted’.

3. Habitual ‘be’

In AAVE as well as in some rural European American varieties, the form ‘be’ occurs in sentences such as ‘She usually be home in the evening’.

4. A-prefixing

In vernacular southern mountain speech as well as in many other rural dialects, an a-prefix may occur on *-ing* forms functioning as verbs or adverbs, e.g. ‘She was a-coming home’, ‘He starts a-laughing’. The a-prefix cannot occur with *-ing* forms that function as nouns or adjectives, and it is also restricted phonologically in that it can only occur on forms whose first syllable is accented. It is also preferred on items that begin with a consonant sound.

5. Double modals

In some southern vernacular varieties, combinations of two modal verbs are widespread, e.g. ‘I might could go there’, ‘You might oughta take it’. They are apparently not particularly stigmatised, perhaps because, as Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (p. 374) note, “they lessen the force of an attitude or obligation conveyed by single modals”.

Adverbs

-ly absence

In southern-based dialects, especially Upper Southern vernacular varieties such as Appalachian and Ozark English, the *-ly* adverb ending is being lost, e.g. ‘They answered wrong’, ‘She enjoyed life awful well’, ‘I come from Virginia original’.

Negation

Multiple negation and ‘ain’t’ are the two major negation features of vernacular varieties of US English.

1. Multiple negation

Almost all vernacular varieties of American English make use of multiple negation of type 1; most southern and restricted northern vernaculars make use of type 2; most southern vernaculars make use of type 3; and restricted southern and AAVE varieties make use of type 4:

Type 1: marking of the negative on the auxiliary verb and the indefinite following the verb, e.g. ‘The man wasn’t saying nothing’.

Type 2: negative marking of an indefinite before the verb phrase and of the auxiliary verb, e.g. ‘Nobody didn’t like the mess’.

Type 3: inversion of the negativised auxiliary verb and the pre-verbal indefinite, e.g. ‘Didn’t nobody like the mess?’

Type 4: multiple negative marking across different clauses, e.g. ‘There wasn’t much that I couldn’t do’ (meaning ‘There wasn’t much that I could do’).

2. ain’t

This item may be used instead of certain standard forms including forms of *be + not*, e.g. ‘She ain’t here now’; forms of *have + not*, e.g. ‘I ain’t seen her in a long time’; and *did + not*, e.g. ‘I ain’t go to school yesterday’.

Pronouns

The first four types of pronominal difference are found in most vernacular dialects of American English, and the fifth is specifically a southern feature:

- ❑ regularisation of reflexive forms by analogy with other possessive pronouns, e.g. ‘He hit hisself on the head’, ‘They shaved theirselves’
- ❑ extension of object forms to coordinate subjects, e.g. ‘Me and him will do it’
- ❑ adoption of a second person plural form: (a) ‘Y’all won the game’ (southern); (b) ‘Youse won the game’ (northern); (c) ‘You’uns won the game’ (used in an area extending from Southern Appalachia to Pittsburgh)
- ❑ Extension of object forms to demonstratives, e.g. ‘Them books are on the shelf’ (note: this is also a common feature of non-standard British English)
- ❑ A special personal dative use of the object pronoun form, e.g. ‘I got me a new car’, ‘We had us a little old dog’.

 Activity

Williams (2007: 402) argues that

[i]n spite of the efforts of linguists to educate the public about the regular, rule-governed nature of NS [non-standard] dialects, the view that such dialects are inferior and full of errors, ‘bad’ or ‘incorrect’ English still prevails, even among some speakers themselves. The role that Standard English has traditionally played in education, literature and in the media on the other hand, means that it is often considered to be a linguistically superior variety and that speakers of SE [standard English] speak ‘good’ or ‘correct’ English.

Williams is referring specifically to the British context. If you are familiar with this context, do you agree with her assessment, and/or does it reflect the situation in any other Inner Circle contexts with which you are familiar?

If you agree with Williams, do you think that the attitudes towards non-standard varieties to which she refers are in some way bound up with attitudes towards their speakers? Before you decide, look again at the extracts from the Oprah Winfrey show above, and then at the following three quotations. To what extent, in your experience, are they typical of the general public’s attitudes towards speakers of non-standard Englishes?

Boys from bad homes come to school with their speech in a state of disease, and we must be unwearied in the task of purification.

(Sampson 1924, quoted in Crowley 2003: 204)

Why should we consider some, usually poorly educated, subculture’s notion of the relationship between sound and meaning? And how could a grammar – any grammar – possibly describe that relationship?

As for “I be,” “you be,” “he be.” etc., which should give us all the heebie-jeebies, these may indeed be comprehensible, but they go against all accepted classical and modern grammars, and are the product not of a language with roots in history but of ignorance of how language works.

(US journalist John Simon speaking of AAVE,
quoted in Pinker 1994: 385)

If you allow standards to slip to the stage where good English is no better than bad English, where people turn up filthy at school . . . all these things tend to cause people to have no standards at all, and once you lose standards then there’s no imperative to stay out of crime.

(Norman Tebbit, a (British) Conservative MP speaking on BBC Radio 4 in 1985, quoted in Cameron 1995: 94)

B4

'LEGITIMATE' AND 'ILLEGITIMATE' OFFSPRING OF ENGLISH**The naming of the New Englishes**

Unit B4 takes its title from an article by the world Englishes scholar Mufwene. In the article, he argues that the way in which postcolonial Englishes are named “has to do more with who have appropriated and speak them than with how they developed and how different they are structurally from each other, hence with how mutually intelligible they are” (Mufwene 1997: 182, and see also Mufwene 2001: chapter 4).

In particular, Mufwene attacks the view of many western linguists that the “legitimate offspring” of the English language are those varieties spoken by descendants of European speakers of English while its “illegitimate offspring” are the varieties spoken by those who are not. In other words, the Englishes of the Inner Circle have the right to be named ‘English’, while those outside this charmed circle forfeit that right. The most extreme group of “illegitimate offspring”, according to this view, Mufwene argues, is that of the English-based pidgins and creoles. These are often classified as separate languages or even, in the case of pidgins, not considered entitled to the name ‘language’ at all. Also disenfranchised are the indigenised Englishes of the Outer Circle. Despite the fact that in many countries they are used for a wide range of social as well as institutional purposes, and have developed their own varietal characteristics (i.e. become nativised), they are to this day still called ‘non-native’ Englishes by western linguists.

Mufwene goes on to argue that the classification of Englishes into ‘legitimate’ and ‘illegitimate’ is based on a mistaken belief about language contact. According to this mistaken belief, a **mother language** gives birth to **daughter languages** without the intervention of any other languages prior to the production of the ‘offspring’, that is, without any language contact. Mufwene points out that **language contact** was in fact a feature of the development of the ‘legitimate’ Englishes, but that this is generally overlooked. For example, Irish and Scots-Irish Englishes were influenced by contact with Gaelic. But because they are spoken almost entirely by communities of native English speakers, they are not termed creoles even in their most non-standard forms, despite the contact involved in their development.

Mufwene provides examples of a range of Englishes past and present, to demonstrate his point that the sharing of an identifiable ancestor does not at all guarantee the intelligibility of a variety: “if mutual intelligibility were such a critical criterion over sharing an identifiable ancestor, there would be more reasons for treating Modern English varieties and creoles as dialects of the same language than for lumping the former together with Old English while excluding creoles” (1997: 190). In the next section, some of the examples used by Mufwene to support his argument are reproduced along with further examples from other sources.



A range of Englishes

As you read through the following extracts, assess how easy it is to make sense of each one and, if you can, identify the time and place in which each one is/was written or spoken. Finally, before you consult the key and discussion that follows the extracts, decide which you consider to be 'legitimate' and which 'illegitimate' Englishes. You will need to think here about the criteria on which to base your decisions, e.g. degree of (evident) contact with other languages, intelligibility and suchlike.

Extract 1

Nu scylun hergan hefænricæs Uard,
 Metudæs mæcti end His modgidanc,
 uerc Uuldfurfadur, sue He uundra gihuæs,
 eci Dryctin, or astelidæ.
 He ærist scop ælda barnum
 heben til hrofe, haleg Scepen.
 Tha middungeard moncynnæs Uard,
 eci Dryctin, æfter tiadæ
 firum foldu, Frea allmectig.

Extract 2

O dronke man, disfigured is thy face,
 Sour is thy breeth, foul artow to embrace,
 And thurgh they dronke nose semeth the soun
 As though thou seydest ay 'Sampsoun, Sampsoun';
 And yet, god wot, Sampsoun drank never no wyn,
 Thou fallest, as it were a stiked swyn.

Extract 3

JR: You trow way . . . trow way wha? En one day, I gone down deh, en talk bout shrimp bin a bite! I bin ondat flat, en I had me line, I done ketch couple a whiting . . . I say, I ga put up da drop net . . . when I look up, duh look from yah to your car deh, I see sompin on da damn side da shoulder comin, like a damn log. I watch um, en when I see him gone down . . .

EL: Hm hm!

JR: En dat tide bin a comin in . . . en dat sucker swim close, closer en closer, den I look en I see dat alligator open e damn mout!

Extract 4

Well, I seen the time you'd buy a farm for . . . five or six hundred . . . Seen farms selling and I young lad.

But when the house is quiet and us alone you never heard such talk that's going on there.

He fell and him crossing the bridge.

Extract 5

Went down there and he's a-holding three dogs in one hand and the coon in the other hand. And they's all a-trying to bite the coon and the coon a-trying to bite Jack and the dogs, and Jack pulled out a sack and it wasn't a dang thing but an old pillow case that Maggie had used, his wife, it was about wore out . . .

Extract 6

Owar ya? Ts goota meecha mai 'tee.
 Naluk. Djarem membah dabrah nai dul? Tintin zluk infu rit'h. Kanyah elpim?
 Dabrah nai dul? Oi, oi! Slaika toljah. Datrai b'gib dabrah nai dul ta'Walker.
 Ewuz anaisgi. Buttiz'h felaz tukahr presh usdjuel. Enefda Arumbayas ket chimdai lavis gutsfa gahtah'z. Nomess in'h!

Extract 7

When it was early in the morning of the next day, I had not palm-wine to drink at all, and throughout that day I felt not so happy as before; I was seriously sat down in my parlour, but when it was the third day that I had no palm-wine at all, all my friends did not come to my house again, they left me there alone, because there was no palm-wine for them to drink.

Extract 8

In the upgrowth o a leid ti haill maturity o lettirs, the staiblischin o an exponent prose is often deimit a determinant stage. A leid may hae a weil-founnit tradeition o hameilt sang, leirit indyte, an ein narratif prose; but wantan a registir condign for academic screivins, hit maun bide be a 'hauf-leid' . . .

Extract 9

A no wahn a ting tu du wid yu bika yu kom . . . lang taym an yu no kom luk for Titi. Hu iz dis, Pap?

Key**Extract 1**

This is Cædmon's Hymn, an early Old English religious poem composed by the poet Cædmon, and dating from 657 to 680. The above version of the text is in a Northumbrian dialect. It has been translated as follows:

Now must we praise the Guardian of heaven,
 The power and conception of the Lord,
 And all His works, as He, eternal Lord,
 Father of glory, started every wonder.
 First He created heaven as a roof,
 The holy Maker, for the sons of men.
 Then the eternal Keeper of mankind

Furnished the earth below, the land for men,
Almighty God and everlasting Lord.

(R. Hamer (ed) 1970, *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*,
London: Faber & Faber, pp. 122–123)

Extract 2

This extract is by the Middle English author, Geoffrey Chaucer. It comes from the 'Pardoner's Tale', one of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (c. 1386–1400), and tells the story of a fraudulent preacher who preaches against avarice, a sin which he himself commits. The section of the tale provided in extract 2 comes from part of the Pardoner's sermon in which he rails against drunkenness (lines 223–228). Its language is clearly considerably closer to modern English than is the Old English example that precedes it, but not necessarily any closer than the creole and postcolonial extracts below.

Extract 3

This conversation comes from Mufwene's field records (1997: 191) gathered in the 1980s. The language exemplified is the creole, Gullah, spoken along the US coast from Florida to South Carolina and the Sea Islands.

Extract 4

This set of extracts is also taken from Mufwene's article (though the original sources are Odlin 1992 and Filppula 1991). They all exemplify spoken Hiberno-English, that is, Irish English. Only the third one may need translating: 'He fell while crossing the bridge'.

Extract 5

This is an example of Appalachian speech from West Virginia in the US. It is from a study carried out by the sociolinguist Walt Wolfram (cited in Crystal 2003b: 315). Appalachian speech is believed to represent a very conservative dialect of American English and therefore to be closer than others to the speech of the original Elizabethan settlers. Despite certain features that are not used in modern English dialects, e.g. the a-prefix with -ing forms, you should find the extract intelligible.

Extract 6

This is another of the examples cited by Mufwene (1997: 193). Once you work out the 'system', you should be able to understand it without translation. If you have not yet managed to do so, read through the translation, return to the original, and all will become clear:

How are you? It's good to meet you, matey.
Now look. Do you remember the brown idol? Tintin's looking for it. Can
you help him?
The brown idol? – It's like I told you. The tribe gave the brown idol to Walker.
He was a nice guy. But his fellows took our precious jewel. And if
the Arumbayas catch him, they'll have his garters. No messing!

The extract is from ‘The Arumbaya language according to Leslie Lonsdale-Cooper and Michael Turner, the translators of Hergé’s *The Adventures of Tintin: The Broken Ear*’ (1975). It is therefore fictional, and as Mufwene points out, “perhaps the only development which one may consider unnatural in settings where English has been appropriated by a foreign group”. He comments that his eight-year-old daughter could not interpret it because she could not recognise any English words. This is because the creators of the language have “segmented the phonetic strings in ways that violate English word boundaries”. Mufwene adds that there are no pidgin or creole languages that restructure English in this way.

Extract 7

This sample (cited in Platt et al. 1984: 179) remains in the realms of literature. This time, it comes from the Nigerian author, Amos Tutuola’s, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*. Tutuola’s English is influenced by his mother tongue, Yoruba (an indigenous Nigerian language), and this comes across in his writing. While exhibiting features not found in the English of native speakers (e.g. “all my friends did not come . . .”), Tutuola’s English should be perfectly intelligible to those who speak other varieties.

Extract 8

These are the opening lines of a journal article on Scots, published in the journal *English World-Wide* in 1981 (cited in Crystal 2003b: 333), and originally presented at the symposium *Our ain lied?* (Our own language?). It is one of the few extracts for which you will probably need a translation. This is how Crystal translates it:

In the development of a language to full maturity of literature, the establishment of an expository prose is often judged a crucial stage. A language may have a well-founded tradition of domestic song, learned poetry, and even narrative prose; but lacking a register suitable for academic writers, it must remain a ‘half-language’.

Extract 9

This extract exemplifies the variety of English spoken by the Miskito Indians on the Miskito coast of Nicaragua. According to McCrum et al. (2002/2011: 219–220) from whom the extract is taken, the Miskito Indians “use a variety of English that has evolved from a unique collision of languages: the speech of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British settlers, their African slaves, the Indians themselves, and later the Spanish-speakers who seized the area at the end of the nineteenth century”. Miskito was isolated from mainstream English for almost 200 years and, as a result, evolved differently from the latter, although it also has features in common both with more standard varieties and with West African pidgins. McCrum et al. translate the extract as follows: “I want nothing to do with you because you have not come for a long time to see Titi. Who is this?”

 Activity

- Try to pick out any features of lexis, grammar, pronunciation or discourse style that characterise the variety in each extract.
- Kachru (1997: 228) distinguishes between *innovation*, *deviation*, and *mistake*. An **innovation** is concerned with creativity, which, as Kachru points out, the gatekeepers of English in the UK have been reluctant to accept even from speakers of English in the other Inner Circle countries, let alone in the countries of the Outer Circle. A **deviation** involves a comparison with another variety, normally one from the Inner Circle, while a **mistake** (or ‘error’) relates to acquisitional deficiency. To what extent would you describe the characteristic features you were able to identify as representing innovations, deviations, or mistakes in the varieties of English concerned?
- Which extracts did you originally decide represented ‘legitimate’ and which ‘illegitimate’ varieties of English? What were your criteria? Did your decision depend to some extent on whether you thought the sample was spoken or written (or a literary representation of speech or writing)? To what extent did your decision depend on the degree of standardness? After reading the key, did you change your mind in any respect? If so, why?

CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES

B5

This unit first takes you through the main formal features of pidgin and creole lexis, pronunciation, and grammar, and then moves on to look at samples of texts serving a range of functions.

Lexis, pronunciation and grammar

Lexis

Generally, pidgin lexis is drawn from the dominant language, usually a European language such as English, French, Portuguese, or Dutch (known as the **lexifier language**), while pidgin grammar is that of the indigenous African or Asian languages. Pidgin lexis is systematic and, like any language, has rules of use, although in the earlier stages of evolution, these rules are simpler. In particular:

- Concepts tend to be encoded in lengthier ways. For example, in Tok Pisin, an English-based pidgin in Papua New Guinea, the word ‘bilong’ (from ‘belong’) means ‘of’, so that ‘papa bilong mi’ means ‘my father’, and ‘haus bilong yu’ means ‘your house’.

- There is extensive use of **reduplication**. This is partly to intensify meaning (e.g. 'tok' means 'talk', whereas 'toktok' means chatter, and 'look' means 'look', whereas 'looklook' means 'stare'), and partly to avoid confusions which could result from phonological similarity (e.g. in some Pacific pidgins, 'sip' means 'ship' whereas 'sipsip' means 'sheep', 'pis' means 'peace' whereas 'pispis' means 'urinate', and in some Atlantic pidgins, 'was' means 'watch' whereas 'waswas' means 'wash'; see Todd (1990: 53) for more examples).

Pronunciation

Pidgins have fewer sounds than those of the corresponding standard language, even at creole stages in their evolution. For example, Tok Pisin has only five vowel sounds [a] [e] [i] [o] [u] and most Caribbean creole speakers twelve, whereas American English (General American) has seventeen and British English (Received Pronunciation) has twenty. This means that in Tok Pisin there is, for example, only one sound /ɪ/ for the two British and American English sounds /ɪ/ as in the word 'dip' and /i:/ as in the word 'deep', and one sound /ɔ:/ for the BrEng sounds /ɔ:/ as in 'work' and /ɔ:/ as in 'walk'.

Moving to consonants, one feature of most pidgins and creoles is the **simplification** of consonant clusters so that, for instance, 'friend' becomes 'fren', 'cold' becomes 'col', and 'salt' becomes 'sol'. Another feature is **conflation**: most Caribbean creole speakers conflate the sounds /t/ with /θ/, /d/ with /ð/, and /tʃ/ with /ʃ/, while Tok Pisin speakers also conflate a number of other consonant sounds including /f/ and /p/, and /s/, /ʃ/, and /tʃ/. The result of this reduced phoneme inventory, even allowing for the effects of reduplication described in the section on lexis, is a much larger number of **homophones** (two words pronounced identically, e.g. 'pear' and 'pair') than exist in British or American English.

Grammar

Some of the main grammatical characteristics of pidgins and creoles are:

- They have few **inflections** in their nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives especially in pidgin phases. For example, nouns are not marked for number or gender and verbs have no tense markers. Pronouns are not distinguished for case, so that most pidgins use 'me' to indicate both 'I' and 'me'. However, Tok Pisin, like many other Melanesian languages, distinguishes between inclusive 'we', 'yumi' referring to the addressee and speaker, and non-inclusive 'we', 'mepela' (literally 'me and fellow') referring to the speaker and others, but not the addressee. The suffix '-fela' or '-pela' is also added to attributive adjectives describing people and things, e.g. 'naispela haus' ('nice house') and 'gutpela meri' ('good woman', 'meri' deriving from 'Mary').
- **Negation** is formed with a simple negative particle, often 'no' for English-based pidgins and 'pa' for French-based. For example, Krio from Sierra Leone uses 'no', as in 'I no tu had', while the French-based Seychelles Creole uses 'pa' as in 'I pa tro difisil'.
- In pidgin phases, **clause structure** is uncomplicated so that, for example, there are no embedded clauses such as relative clauses.

As pidgins develop into creoles, four main types of change take place:

- ❑ People begin to speak them much faster, so that they start employing processes of **assimilation** (changing a sound to become more like the following sound) and **reduction** (removing sounds): Tok Pisin ‘man bilong mi’ (my husband) becomes ‘mamblomi’.
- ❑ Their vocabularies expand:
 - New shorter words are formed alongside phrases: ‘paitman’ develops alongside ‘man bilong pait’ (fighter). Eventually the longer expression dies out.
 - The capacity for word-building develops, e.g. the suffix ‘-im’ is added to adjectives to form verbs as in ‘bik’ (big, large), ‘bikim’ (to enlarge), ‘brait’ (wide), ‘braitim’ (to widen).
 - Technical words are borrowed from standard English.
- ❑ They develop a tense system in their verbs, e.g. ‘bin’ is used to mark past tense and ‘bi’ (from ‘baimbai’) to mark future tense.
- ❑ They develop greater sentence complexity, for example their speakers are able to form relative clauses (Aitchison 1991: 190–191, and see Sebba 1997: 107–133).

Social functions

Extended pidgins and creoles perform a very wide range of **social functions** that go well beyond the original purpose of pidgins to serve as basic contact languages. They are used, for instance, in literature, both oral and written, in education, in the mass media, in advertising, and in the Bible. The important point to note about the scope of pidgins and creoles is that they are, or can easily become, capable of expressing all the needs of their speakers.

 **Activity**

Here are some samples of Tok Pisin translations of an excerpt from Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, The Lord’s Prayer from the Gospel of Matthew in the Bible, and an advert for Colgate toothpaste. In fact, the translation of Mark Antony’s famous speech from *Julius Caesar* was undertaken by a European, Murphy, in 1943 for the specific purpose of demonstrating that pidgins are not inadequate languages. In each case, see how much of the pidgin text you are able to understand before turning to the English versions that follow the Tok Pisin group.

The Tok Pisin versions

1. The Lord’s Prayer in the Tok Pisin Nupela Testamen translation, 1969

Fader bilong mifelo, yu stop long heven – Ol i santuim nem bilong yu –
 Kingdom bilong yu i kam – Ol i hirim tok bilong yu long graund olsem
 long heven. Tude givim mifelo kaikai bilong de – Forgivim rong bilong
 mifelo – olsem mifelo forgivim rong – ol i mekem long mifelo. Yu no
 bringun mifelo long traiim – tekewe samting no gud long mifelo. Amen.

(Mühlhäuser 1997: 329)

2. Excerpt from Julius Caesar

Pren, man bilong Rom, Wantok, harim nau. Mi kam tasol long plantim Kaesar. Mi noken beiten longen. Sopos sampela wok bilong wampela man i stret; sampela i no stret; na man i dai; ol i wailis long wok i no stret tasol. Gutpela wok bilongen i slip; i lus nating long giraun wantaim long Kalopa. Fesin biling yumi man. Maski Kaesar tu, gutpela wok i slip.

(Mühlhäusler 1997: 325)

3. Colgate toothpaste advertisement

Colgate i save strongim tit bilong yu
Lukaut: planti switpela kaikai na lolii
i savi bagarapim tit hariap

(Aitchison 1996: 142, reproduced from *Wantok*,
Tok Pisin newspaper, 1980)

The British English versions

- 1 Our Father in heaven,
may your name be held holy,
your Kingdom come,
your will be done,
on earth as in heaven.
Give us today our daily bread.
And forgive us our debts,
as we have forgiven those who are in debt to us.
And do not put us to the test,
but save us from the evil one.

(*The Jerusalem Bible*, Matthew 6, 9–13)

- 2 Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Caesar.

(*Julius Caesar* Act 1, Scene 2)

- 3 Colgate strengthens your teeth.
Take care. Lots of sugary foods and sweets rot your teeth fast.
(Note: ‘bagarapim’ = the verb ‘to destroy’, from English ‘bugger up’,
and ‘hariap’ = the adverb ‘fast’, from English ‘hurry up’).

 Activity

We finish this section with an example of contemporary Tok Pisin, a news item which appeared in the Papua New Guinean newspaper, *Wantok*, in April 1994:

Ol meri gat bikpela wari yet

Helt na envairomen em bikpela samting ol meri long kantri tude i gat bikpela wari long en.

Bikos dispela tupela samting i save kamap strong long sindaun na laip bilong famili na komyuniti insait long ol ples na kantri.

Long dispela wik, moa long 40 meri bilong Milen Be provins i bung long wanpela woksop long Alotau bilong toktok long hevi bilong helt na envairomen long ol liklik ailan na provins.

Bung i bin stat long Mande na bai pinis long Fraide, Epril 22. Ol opisa bilong Melanesin Envairemen Faundesen wantaim nesenal na provinsal helt opis i stap tu bilong givim toktok insait long dispela worksop.

Before you go on to compare the original with the verbatim and British English versions which follow, see how much of the text you can already understand, and make a note of any features of lexis, grammar, and (by implication) pronunciation that fit into the categories described in the first part of this unit:

All women got big-fellow worry yet

Health and environment him all big-fellow something all woman along country today he got big-fellow worry along him.

Because this-fellow two-fellow something he know come-up strong along sit-down and life belong family and community inside along all place and country.

Along this-fellow week, more along 40 woman belong Milne Bay Province he meet along one-fellow workshop along Alotau belong talk-talk along heavy belong health and environment along all little island and province.

Meeting he been start along Monday and bye(-and-bye) finish along Friday April 22.

All officer belong Melanesian Environment Foundation one-time national and provincial health office he stop too belong give-him talk-talk inside along this-fellow workshop.

Women still have big worries

Health and environment are two of the major things which women in the country today have big concerns about.

Because these two things often have a strong effect on the situation and life of families and communities within villages and in the country.

This week, more than 40 women from Milne Bay Province are meeting in a workshop at Alotau in order to talk about the difficulties of health and environment in the small islands and provinces. The meeting began on Monday and will finish on Friday April 22.

The officers of the Melanesian Environment Foundation together with the national and provincial health office are there too in order to give talks in the workshop.

(Original text and translations from Sebba 1997: 20–21)

B6

THE NATURE OF ELF COMMUNICATION

In A6 we considered how ELF differs conceptually from traditional EFL. In this unit, we look at the forms that have been identified as potential features of ELF but that would be considered errors in EFL. We then explore another even more important characteristic of ELF communication that distinguishes it from EFL (and from any conventional foreign language), that is, its flexibility.

Potential features of ELF

As far as linguistic forms are concerned, the main empirical research findings to date relate to lexicogrammar, pronunciation, and pragmatics. We will briefly explore the first two of these, though for a more detailed account including a lengthy discussion of ELF pragmatics, see Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011).

Lexicogrammatical features

The following features, or what Seidlhofer (2009: 240) has described as “observed regularities”, were originally identified in the VOICE corpus (see A6), and have proved remarkably robust in subsequent ELF corpus research:

- ‘Dropping’ the third person present tense -s
- ‘Confusing’ the relative pronouns *who* and *which*
- ‘Omitting’ definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL
- ‘Failing’ to use correct forms in tag questions (e.g., *isn’t it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn’t they?*)
- Inserting ‘redundant’ prepositions, as in *We have to study about . . .*

- 'Overusing' certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do, have, make, put, take*
- 'Replacing' infinitive-constructions with *that*-clauses, as in *I want that*
- 'Overdoing' explicitness (e.g. *black colour* rather than just *black*).

(adapted from Seidlhofer 2004: 220)

As Seidlhofer points out, these items would all be considered 'deadly grammatical sins' if compared with ENL forms. In fact, they would be described in the very terms used above, e.g. 'failing', 'overusing', 'confusing', and so on. Seidlhofer's scare quotes around such words indicate that they are not relevant to ELF, whose use of language unlike that of EFL, is considered in its own right and not by comparison with certain NESs' (i.e. British and North American) yardsticks. This is not to suggest that these features are (or should be) used consistently, a point to which we will return in considering pronunciation.

Pronunciation features

A number of pronunciation features were found in Jenkins's (2000) ELF research to contribute to mutual intelligibility in ELF communication. They were collectively labelled the 'Lingua Franca Core' ('LFC'), and are summarised as follows:

- all the consonant sounds except voiceless 'th' /θ/, voiced 'th' /ð/, and dark 't' [...]
- vowel length contrasts (e.g. the difference between the vowel sounds in 'pitch' and peach)
- avoidance of **consonant deletion** at the beginnings of words (e.g. the *cri-* in 'crisp'), and only certain deletions intelligible in word-medial and final position (e.g. 'factsheet' as 'facsheet' but not 'fatsheet' or 'facteet'; 'scripts' as 'scrips' but not 'scrits' or 'script');
- on the other hand, the avoidance of consonant clusters by means of the addition of vowels, such as 'film' pronounced [filəm], seems not to be a problem in ELF
- production and placement of **nuclear (tonic) stress** (the major stress in a group of words). For example, in Ian McEwan's novel *Amsterdam*, one character sends a postcard to another, on which he has written 'You deserve to be sacked'. This can be interpreted either as 'You deserve to be **sacked**' (but you have not been) or 'You **deserve** to be sacked' (and you have been)

As with the lexicogrammatical features described above, this is not to suggest that the LFC features are needed *all the time*. Far from it: the LFC research demonstrated that use of these features depends critically on who is talking with whom. Thus, if conversation partners both come from L1s that have, for example, one sound for /r/ and /l/, or use /v/ where other speakers use /w/, it would be counter-productive for them to produce these sounds between themselves (and the empirical data demonstrates that they mostly do not). Rather, use of their shared variant not only enhances intelligibility but also signals solidarity between them. **Accommodation strategies** are crucial in this, and effective pronunciation (as with any other linguistic level) in lingua franca contexts will depend to a considerable extent on the speakers' ability to adjust their English for the mutual benefit of their conversation partners, rather than conforming to any predetermined notions of correctness based on the English of an often absent NES, as is the case with EFL.

The following features of ENL pronunciation were not found in the LFC data to contribute to intelligibility, and did not lead to communication problems when they

were substituted with a feature influenced by the speaker's L1 pronunciation. In some cases they even enhanced intelligibility:

- these three consonant sounds: voiceless 'th' /θ/, voiced 'th' /ð/, and dark 'T' [...] (note that these sounds are also being replaced in some accents of ENL)
 - vowel quality (e.g. in the conversation below, R pronounces the word 'front' as [frɒnt] using the vowel of that in RP 'song', and 'charity' as 'cherity')
 - weak forms** (e.g. the vowel sound in 'to', 'from' and 'of' when replaced with a schwa)
 - other features of connected speech such as **assimilation** (adjusting one sound to become like the next, e.g. 'red paint' to 'reb paint') and **elision** (leaving sounds out, e.g. 'probably' as 'probl'y', 'friendship' as 'frienship')
 - the direction of pitch movements
 - the placement of wordstress, which varies considerably even across L1 Englishes
 - stress-timed rhythm.

Activity

Let us now explore in use some of the linguistic features that have been identified as characteristic of ELF communication. The following is a short piece of ELF data in which two speakers, R (German L1, male) and S (French L1, female) are choosing a picture for the front page of a charity calendar. Read through the dialogue and as you do so, identify the features that make it a successful and collaborative discussion, such as supportive interruptions, positive minimal responses (e.g. “yeah”), repetition of the interlocutor’s words, completion of the interlocutor’s sentence and the like.

1. R: I think on the front xx on the front page should be a picture who-
 2. which animates p-people to er spend money, to the charity
 3. S: yes
 4. R: and I think er yeah maybe=
 5. S: =I think a picture with child
 6. R: Yeah, child are always good to=
 7. S: =Yes
 8. R: to trap people spend money
 9. S: Yes. I think, erm, let me see, erm . . .
 10. R: I don't know . . . but maybe we should er choose a picture who
 11. gives the impression that this child needs needs the money or
 12. S: So I think, then that's my, this one, no
 13. R: Yeah it's quite happy
 14. S: Yeah, she's happy er .. Maybe this one
 15. R: Yeah.
 16. S: He look very sad . . . and he has to carry heavier vase
 17. R: Mm, that's right.
 18. S: Too heavy for him, or . . .
 19. R: Hm hm
 20. S: But also this one, even if he's smiling

21. R: Yeah, that's right . . . And maybe this one can show that the that
22. the chari- er charity can really help
23. S: Uh huh
24. R: and that the charity can er make a smile on a on a chil- on on a
25. child's face
26. S: Yes
27. R: Yeah I think this one would be=
28. S: =A good one
29. R: It would be good

Transcription conventions

- ... long pause
- self-correction
- = latching (where a turn follows the previous turn with no pause or overlap)
- xx unintelligible

Pronunciation features

- Line 2: 'animates' pronounced 'enimates', 'charity' pronounced 'cherity'
 Lines 5 and 6: 'child' pronounced like the first syllable of 'children' in RP
 Lines 8 and 11: first syllable of 'money' pronounced like the preposition 'on' in RP
 Line 13: 'happy' pronounced 'heppy'
 Line 28: 'good' pronounced 'goot'

- ❑ If we were to take parts of this dialogue out of context (e.g. "He look very sad"), it might appear that the speaker has very low proficiency, but in fact both R and S have high proficiency ('Advanced' according to Cambridge ESOL's criteria). How could you demonstrate that such items, when used by Expanding Circle speakers, are not necessarily signs of low proficiency, and should be classified as examples of ELF rather than as errors? To what extent should it depend, for example, on how frequently and systematically they are used, or whether they do/do not cause intelligibility problems? What other criteria would you suggest?
- ❑ Which of the non-ENL features in the above dialogue in your view have the potential to become legitimate features of ELF lexicogrammar and pronunciation? Why not the others?
- ❑ What evidence do you see of accommodation strategies being used?
- ❑ In the final section of the conversation R corrects his pronunciation of 'child' and 'charity'. Why do you think he does so here, and not when he says these words earlier?
- ❑ Finally, what is your opinion of the LFC? Do you think it has any advantages over teaching a native English **Received Pronunciation** or **General American** accent? (see Walker's (2010) application of the LFC for a range of L1 learners of English, and C6 for more general issues relating to ELT pedagogy). Would it be useful or not as a way of teaching English pronunciation in your own setting?

ELF processes and fluidity

We have looked at some of the features that have been observed in ELF interactions. One thing that is particularly striking is how much their evolution has in common with changes that have occurred – and are still occurring – in ENL. English, like any living language, evolves over time through natural processes such as regularisation. For example, the six Old English present tense verb endings from the eighth century have, over the years, been reduced to two endings, -s on the third person singular and zero marking on the others. So we might expect this process to continue and the -s eventually to be replaced with zero as standard, as has in fact already happened in some British and American English social dialects.

Another reason why language evolves in particular ways is physiological. Certain sounds, for example, are more ‘marked’ than others, i.e. less frequent in the world’s languages, mainly because they are more difficult to articulate. An example of a very marked sound is the voiceless dental fricative /θ/. So it would be logical to expect this sound to die out. A further factor is ‘recoverability’. According to the notion of recoverability (Weinberger 1987), ambiguity is far more likely to result from the removal of phonological information than from its addition. This may help explain why native English speakers replace weak forms with strong forms when intelligibility is critical, and why some ENL varieties have no weak forms at all. It may also explain why the addition of vowels did not cause any problems in the ELF pronunciation data, whereas the removal of sounds sometimes did.

Many of the items described above as potential features of ELF have resulted from natural processes similar to those that have been affecting ENL down the ages and, more recently, the Outer Circle Englishes. The difference is that a crucial new factor has entered the equation: language contact on a massive scale among Expanding Circle speakers. This means that on the one hand, there is still the usual contact involved in bilingual creativity. That is, contact between the local language(s) and English, resulting in new local forms such as German speakers’ use of ‘handy’ rather than ENL ‘mobile phone’/‘cell phone’, and ‘shitstorm’ (voted Germany’s 2011 ‘anglicism of the year’) to refer to widespread outrage expressed on the internet, or South Korean speakers’ use of ‘on life’ in preference to ENL ‘alive’ (Shim 1999: 252). But on the other hand, there is now also a vast amount of intercultural communication via ELF, involving Expanding Circle users especially. What seems to be happening, as Lowenberg (2002) demonstrates, is that ELF speakers, through mutual reinforcement arising from contact among them, are accelerating some of the processes already taking place more slowly in ENL. The problem for ELF speakers is that when they innovate in such ways (e.g. by using nouns that are uncountable in ENL as count nouns – ‘informations’, ‘advices’, etc.), the outcome is considered ‘error’ until it has been ‘sanctioned’ by NES use.

Another aspect of ELF, and one that further increases the belief in its substandard nature by those who see English from a traditional, nation-state perspective, is its fluidity. Much of the earlier ELF research was preoccupied with identifying features that characterised this emerging use of English, in the hope of eventually being able to codify it. But as more empirical evidence was collected, it became clear that these features were being used in a highly fluid and flexible manner, and that this could only partly be explained by the notion of language change in progress or by proficiency.

Across and even within conversations, fluent ELF users who know the ‘rules’ of standard native English were observed fluctuating frequently between, for example, zero marking and *-s* in the third person singular, ‘advices’ and ‘advice’, and /s/ or /t/ and the dental fricative /θ/. Researchers’ interest therefore shifted from the features themselves to the underlying processes that motivate their use at any specific point in an interaction. More recent ELF research is demonstrating how successful ELF speakers exhibit substantial linguistic variation in their interactions for a range of purposes that include, but transcend, the desire to promote intelligibility among speakers from different L1s, such as the desire to project cultural identity, promote solidarity, and share humour.

Thus, we have on the one hand descriptions of ‘observed regularities’ as well as evidence of distinctive features of Korean, German etc. use of ELF, in other words of Korean, German, etc. similects (see A6). And on the other hand, we have “the inherent fluidity of ELF” (Seidlhofer 2009: 240). ELF scholars believe this fluidity means that ELF cannot be considered a language variety or group of varieties in the traditional sense, and that for ELF, we need to rethink the way we conceptualise ‘language variety’ and ‘speech community’. Seidlhofer (2009) proposes, as an alternative, Wenger’s notion of ‘**communities of practice**’, in which, interactions are “characterised by ‘mutual engagement’ in shared practices, taking part in some jointly negotiated ‘enterprise’, and making use of members’ ‘shared repertoire’” (Wenger 1998: 72 ff.). This approach, it is argued, can account for both any regularities and any variability found across or within specific interactions (e.g. a discussion among an international group of environmentalists or computer scientists) as speakers jointly develop a shared linguistic repertoire appropriate to their specific purposes in the specific interaction. Or, as Hülmbauer puts it, “with their individual backgrounds and resources [they] contribute to a *situational resource pool* which changes as speaker constellations change” (2009: 325; her italics).

In other words, according to this view, a conventional nation-state view of language is not helpful in respect of English when it is used as an international lingua franca. Instead, the argument goes, we need to consider how (mainly non-native) ELF users negotiate and co-construct English, treat it as a shared resource within which they feel at liberty to innovate and accommodate, variably exploit the resources of both English and their L1s, and in so doing, produce forms that are not part of nation-bound ENL (or postcolonial English). Inevitably, then, variability is one of ELF’s defining features. Or, as Seidlhofer puts it, ELF “is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions *as a lingua franca*” (2011: 77).

 **Activity**

How far do you agree with ELF researchers that it is feasible to conceive of ELF as a ‘variable way of using’ English rather than as a traditional English variety or group of varieties? In your view, what kinds of problems does this approach pose for English language teaching?

Native and non-native speakers of English

The nature of ELF presented above, as well as the different communication goals of ELF and EFL that were discussed in A6, call into question the validity for ELF of the NES/NNES distinction. As Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 36) observe, “[t]he distinction between a native and non-native speaker of English – long taken for granted in Linguistics – is being increasingly called into question in World English research”. Mesthrie and Bhatt are referring to the use of ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ in relation to the postcolonial Englishes of the Outer Circle (see A4). However, many scholars working in the field of ELF, and therefore focusing particularly on communication among speakers from the Expanding Circle, have been articulating a similar position to Mesthrie and Bhatt’s for several years.

The point that ELF scholars make is that when English is used by NNESs as an international lingua franca rather than as a traditional foreign language, these speakers ‘own’ their lingua franca. It therefore makes no sense to describe them as ‘non-native’ speakers of it. In other words, while the NES/NNES distinction may be appropriate for English as a *Foreign Language* and for other modern foreign languages (i.e. any second language learnt primarily for communication with its L1 speakers), it is not appropriate for ELF, which is used mainly among L2 speakers of English, often with no L1 English speakers present. Or, to put it another way, as Seidlhofer (2012: 397) points out:

If we conceive of English as a lingua franca . . . this English is not the same place as a native language but, as has often been pointed out, a third place, or even Third Space. And a lingua franca has no native speakers by definition, but all its speakers have to learn how to use it.

Do you agree with Seidlhofer that NESs need ‘to learn how to use’ English as a Lingua Franca, and if so, in which ways?

But when it comes to the terms NES and NNES themselves, Seidlhofer (2011: 6) concludes that she will not use alternative terms or even scare quotes, but will

take them [NES and NNES] to mean very simply what they actually denote (rather than what they have come to connote for many): a native-speaker of English is somebody whose L1 is English, and a non-native speaker of English is somebody who has an L1, or L1s, other than English.

Activity



Do you agree with Seidlhofer that it is possible to use the terms NES and NNES with a purely denotative meaning? Or do you agree with arguments against their use? The following have been suggested. Do you agree with some/all of them? If not, what are your reasons? Most were originally made in relation to speakers of Outer Circle Englishes. Which do you regard as most relevant to ELF?

- ❑ The term ‘native speaker’ perpetuates the view that monolingualism is the world’s norm when, in fact, the majority of people are multilingual, and switch appropriately from one language to another according to the situation.
- ❑ It ignores the fact that because English is often one of several languages available in the repertoires of the multilingual populations of countries such as India, it is often difficult to decide which language is a speaker’s first, second, third and so on.
- ❑ It implies that the most important criterion for language proficiency is order of acquisition, and that only a single language learnt from birth can be fully proficient, whereas for many multilingual people, order of acquisition is irrelevant for proficiency.
- ❑ It fails to recognise that in the Outer and nowadays even the Expanding Circle, English may be spoken regularly in the home as well as for official and/or educational purposes.
- ❑ It promotes the English of the ethnic Anglophone speaker as a reference point against which all other varieties of English should be measured.
- ❑ It is offensive to label as ‘non-native’ those who have learnt English and achieved bilingual status as fluent, proficient (but probably not *ambilingual*) users.
- ❑ The terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ theorise a unidirectional power relationship in which “the ‘native speaker’ community is held to affect the ‘nonnative’ without itself being affected” (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 180). This means that innovations in Outer and especially Expanding Circle Englishes are not likely to be widely accepted until/unless sanctioned by Anglophone use.
- ❑ The previous point in turn encourages a simplistic view of what constitutes error in English language use. It leads, in turn, to deficiencies in the testing of English internationally, because users of English are being measured against an often irrelevant ‘native’ (Anglophone) standard.
- ❑ The perpetuation of the native/non-native distinction causes negative perceptions of and among ‘non-native’ speakers in general and teachers and researchers in particular. It leads to their being refused places on ELT teacher training courses and jobs as teachers, and to limited publication of their work in prestigious ELT and Applied Linguistics journals.
- ❑ Relating to the previous point, the native/non-native dichotomy promotes an image of ‘a knowledgeable, organised, efficient’ native speaker who needs to initiate non-native speaker English teachers and learners into “morally superior notions such as ‘learner-centredness’, ‘learner autonomy’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘genuine language’” (Holliday 2004: 113–114, and see Holliday 2005: 19–20).

Seidlhofer (2011: 6) believes that “the problem will actually resolve itself in that new and appropriate words will emerge”. However, remarkably few alternatives have been suggested to date. Here are the two main proposals:

Firstly, Rampton (1990: 98–99 and in Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997) proposes the use of the term ‘expert’ to describe all accomplished users of English. He argues that expertise has the following advantages over nativeness:

1. Although they often do, experts do not have to feel close to what they know a lot about. Expertise is different from identification.
2. Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate.
3. Expertise is relative. One person’s expert is another person’s fool.
4. Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient.
5. To achieve expertise, one goes through processes of certification, in which one is judged by other people. Their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed. There is also a healthy tradition of challenging ‘experts’.

On the other hand, use of the term ‘expert’ for fluent speakers of English implies the use of ‘non-expert’ to describe less fluent speakers. This, it could be argued, imposes something of the value judgement of the term ‘non-native’. For this and other reasons, I prefer to reconceptualise the issue by turning the traditional terminology upside down and use the following terms:

1. for speakers of English who speak no other language, **monolingual English speaker (MES)**
2. for proficient speakers of English and at least one other language, regardless of the order in which they learned the languages, **bilingual English speaker (BES)**
3. for those who are not bilingual in English but are nevertheless able to speak it at a level of reasonable competence, **non-bilingual English speaker (NBES)**.

These are two advantages of my own reconceptualization (for fuller details, see Jenkins 1996; 2000: 8–10):

1. MES as an epithet is considerably less favourable than BES given that it signals the greater linguistic competence of the BES and the lesser of the MES. Thus, this system of labelling reflects the fact that monolingualism is not the preferable condition – and neither is it the world norm.
2. BES removes the artificial distinction – in an international context – between speakers of L1 and L2 varieties of English. This should, in turn, eventually lead to the end of discrimination against teachers of English on the grounds that they are not ‘native speakers’ of English.

On the other hand, this proposal, too, is not without disadvantages. In particular, there is a problem of what counts as bilingual competence, and where to draw the line between a BES and NBES (and, of course, who should be responsible for drawing it). In fact, because of the arbitrary nature of the distinction, I later decided, in line with McKay (2002), that it would be better to abandon the NBES category altogether.

These issues are still far from being resolved. However, one suggestion (Ayako Suzuki, personal communication) is to replace NBES with ‘Potential BES’, which, while still not solving these problems, at least removes the negative associations of the prefix ‘non’.

 **Activity**

- What do you consider to be the pros and cons of each of these attempts to replace the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ speaker? Do you agree with the advantages and disadvantages already mentioned? Can you think of others? Which of the two approaches do you prefer overall, and why? – and do you prefer the second approach with or without Suzuki’s modification? Alternatively, can you devise another solution?
- If you were made responsible for deciding how to distinguish between Jenkins’s BES/NBES competence or Rampton’s expert and, by implication, non-expert speaker of English, what would your criteria be? Or do you agree with McKay (2002) and Jenkins’s later position that it would be best to abandon the NBES category because of the difficulty in defining the nature of a BES’s proficiency? What about Suzuki’s ‘Potential BES’?

EN ROUTE TO NEW STANDARD ENGLISHES

In Unit B7 we will be looking at the Englishes used by Asian speakers (henceforth ‘Asian Englishes’ for ease of discussion) from both the Outer and Expanding Circles in relation to the codification process (see A3). We will consider the problems they are encountering on the way to achieving fully standardised and codified status and, indeed, in the light of developments in empirical ELF research (see A6, A7), whether conventional codification is even a possible outcome for the Asian Englishes of the Expanding Circle.

As D’Souza (1999: 271) has pointed out, when it comes to the status of a language variety, codification is “the crux of the matter”. Without codification, the non-Inner Circle Englishes will continue to lack prestige not only in the eyes of speakers of ‘accepted’ (i.e. Inner Circle) standard varieties, but also among their own speakers. In order for local classroom models in Asia (and Europe) to be considered acceptable internationally as alternatives to British and American models, it needs to be possible to find their grammatical, lexical, phonological, and discoursal characteristics in respected works of reference such as grammars and dictionaries. Even then, it will be difficult, yet vital, to ensure that learners of Asian Englishes are not “victims of a system that has one *de jure* model but a somewhat different *de facto* one” (D’Souza 1999: 272). That is, that they are not taught local norms that remain unacceptable to

Inner Circle gatekeepers. In this respect, selection is critical, and one of the main tasks for the codifiers of world Englishes in the twenty-first century will be to distinguish between items for local informal use and those which have the ‘right’ to international status.

Codifying Asian Englishes

One of the greatest obstacles to the codifying of Asian Englishes has been the claim of mainstream **second language acquisition (SLA)** scholars in the Inner Circle that these nativised or **indigenised varieties of English (IVEs)** along with the African IVEs of the Outer Circle are ‘interlanguages’. In other words, according to this view they are ‘learner’ languages characterised by ‘errors’ rather than legitimate L2 varieties of English containing forms that happen to differ from forms used in L1 English varieties (see also unit B4). Because this issue is still not resolved, because it has been so hotly debated, and because it has been represented on the IVE ‘side’ largely by speakers of Asian IVEs, we will look at what has been said before moving on to consider codification itself.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1992: 97) discuss the ‘IVE = interlanguage’ claim in terms of the “dangers of an uncritical application of the current SLA paradigm”. They argue that SLA researchers have neglected the IVEs as a result of certain assumptions that underpin their perspective on SLA, chiefly:

1. that the goal of SLA is (or ought to be) native-like competence
2. that the (native speaker) input available to learners is sufficient to allow acquisition of full active competence
3. that the SLA process can be studied without reference to the functions which the L2 will serve for the learner in his/her community
4. that the ‘role’ of the learner’s L1 should be evaluated only in terms of its contribution in ‘interfering’ with and (less often) facilitating the acquisition of L2 structures, with no interest in its contribution to the communicative function involved
5. that the ideal motivation for success in SLA is ‘integrative’, i.e. “one that involves admiration for the native speakers of the language and a desire to become a member of their culture”.

(adapted from Sridhar and Sridhar 1992: 93–94)

However, as Sridhar and Sridhar point out, IVE settings have a very different character from those typical of most SLA research. Firstly, the communicative target is no longer native speakers but other non-native speakers. This, in turn, renders the native speaker norm against which non-native speaker performance is measured in a traditional SLA paradigm irrelevant. Instead, the optimum model of instruction and reference point for performance evaluation derives from IVE norms. Secondly, the input available to learners is an IVE, not a native variety of English. In fact most learners of IVEs have no contact with native-speaker-English and often the latter is barely understandable to them. Thirdly, learners of IVEs go on to use their English in multilingual settings in a distribution comparable to that of the High variety in a diglossic situation (**diglossia** being the use of a ‘high’ variety for some functions and a ‘low’ variety for others). Thus their English does not serve all the functions that it

does in the case of monolingual native English speakers, and nor should it be expected to. Fourthly, the motivation of most IVE learners is instrumental rather than integrative. That is, it is learnt as a result of the desire to achieve some functional goal (e.g. to pass an exam, to participate in a particular field of employment, whether local or international) rather than to identify with the target-language culture. According to a traditional SLA perspective, this should mean a low level of success in acquiring the L2, and yet the opposite is often the case.

Interlanguage (Selinker 1972) is defined during the language learning phase by its instability, in that a learner's interlanguage (IL) is said to pass through a range of intermediate systems between the native and target languages before reaching a point where it stabilises. Because it rarely stabilises in a form identical to that of a native speaker of the language, IL is said to 'fossilize' at the point of stability, with fossilization referring to the remaining non-nativelike features as deficiencies rather than differences. IL thus means one of two things: unstable learner language for those who are still learning or fossilized learner language if learning has ceased. Since most IVEs are stable (to the extent that any bona fide language is stable), the only way SLA can apply the concept 'interlanguage' to IVEs is to claim that competence "in whole groups of individuals" can become fossilized "resulting in the emergence of a new dialect ([such as] Indian English), where fossilized IL competences may be the normal situation" (Selinker 1972). In other words, entire communities' varieties of English are being characterised as 'fossilized IL competences'.

World Englishes scholars (see, for example, Y. Kachru 1994, Sridhar and Sridhar 1986, S. Sridhar 1994) have for many years pointed out that this view of the IVEs is unsatisfactory on account of both the unprincipled way in which it assigns the term 'fossilized', and the failure to take account of the bi- or multilingual context in which IVEs are acquired and used, including the fact that the goal of SLA is by definition bilingualism (see C7 for discussion of the latter issue). As regards the first point, Y. Kachru argues:

The question of why a stable system should be characterized as an IL is not answered. It is also not clear what the difference is between 'stable' and 'fossilized': that which is fossilized is surely unchanging and therefore stable! Additionally, if 'an entirely fossilized IL competence' refers to a community . . . it is difficult to see why it is an IL and why it is 'fossilized'. Presumably American English developed as an IL among a large portion of the immigrant population from the non-English-speaking parts of Europe. Does this mean that American English represents an 'entirely fossilized IL'?

(Y. Kachru 1993: 266)

On the second point, Canagarajah has this to say:

Often the speaker's L1 is considered to be the culprit in creating fossilized items. Furthermore, code-mixed versions of bilingual communication can be stigmatized as fossilized forms that prevent progression towards native-speaker competence. This means that the unilateral movement towards native norms, and the uniform criteria adopted to judge the success of acquisition, ignore the positive contributions

of L1 in the construction of unique communicative modes and English grammars for periphery speakers.

(Canagarajah 1999: 128)

As Y. Kachru (2005: 159) points out, one source of the problem is the confusion of attitudes with sociolinguistic reality: “[t]here are Americans, just as there are Indians or Singaporeans, who think their own variety is not as ‘pure’ or ‘elegant’ as British English . . . That, however, does not lead to questioning the existence of a standard variety of American English, nor should it result in denying the status they deserve to the standard varieties of the Outer Circle”. Brutt-Griffler (2002) adds to the debate by arguing that another source of the problem is SLA scholars’ exclusive focus on individual acquisition of English and hence their ignoring of its acquisition by bilingual speech communities.

The IL debate is not yet fully resolved. Nevertheless, the IVEs, particularly those of several Asian Outer Circle countries, are increasingly being recognised as fully-fledged language varieties, if not yet by the majority of SLA researchers. But even where the derogatory interlanguage label has been removed, there is still the problem of deciding on what is to be included in the standard version of a variety, a decision involving factors and challenges that codifiers of the traditional (Inner Circle) varieties have not hitherto had to face. In particular, codifiers of Asian Englishes are having to establish a novel set of criteria as the basis on which they make their selection, since the native speaker English standard varieties of the US and UK are of minimal relevance in the standard *Asian English* selection process. Instead, local educated varieties are (or should be) the focus of attention. However, in these countries there are often a number of educated varieties each influenced by the mother tongue of its speakers, which means that difficult and sometimes controversial decisions are having to be taken. And these decisions cannot even be tackled yet in a few Asian countries such as Hong Kong (see C7), because of the remaining strength of attachment to native speaker English norms. The issue of the choice of standard in Asia, as Pakir (1997: 175) argues, “can only be resolved when the myth of the Native Speaker Interlocutor has been laid to rest”.

A second major challenge facing codifiers of Asian Englishes is the resolution of the conflict between centripetal forces pulling them inwards towards local needs and centrifugal forces pushing them outwards towards international intelligibility and acceptability. A codified Asian English will need to combine local features that signal its difference from other Englishes and perform the functions required by its *intranational* community, with available modifications to render it intelligible and acceptable to English speakers (primarily non-native, but not forgetting the native English speaker minority) *internationally*. In other words, while for many Expanding Circle speakers, international communication is their primary or even sole use of English, it should not be forgotten that Outer (and Inner) Circle speakers also use English as a Lingua Franca.

This is a mammoth task, one far more complex than that of Inner Circle codifiers, who up to now have worked on the assumption that whatever they deem standard at the national level will also be intelligible and acceptable internationally. Asian-English intranational needs involve, for example, the acceptance of local (Asian)

innovations in English including the standardising in the English lexicon of non-English words for which there is no precise English equivalent. For instance, the Tagalog adjective ‘malambing’ translates very roughly as ‘demonstrative’ or ‘loving’, but there are occasions when neither translation expresses exactly what a Filipino-English speaker wants to say (Bautista 1998). There is, then, a strong case for including such lexical gaps in a dictionary of Philippine English.

Similarly, given that almost all Asian-English speakers are bi- or multilingual and make extensive use of code-switching/code-mixing, it seems logical to include this phenomenon in grammars and dictionaries of Asian Englishes. The following example taken from Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006: 256) comes from the ending of an email to Y. Kachru:

Love to all, I had better sleep and rest my legs as I am the only young *buddhi* here, or my legs will *jawab denge*.

The Hindi elements, *buddhi* and *jawab denge*, mean respectively ‘old woman’ and ‘buckle’, literally ‘give up’. As the authors point out, the majority of the Hindi items embedded in the text do not cover lexical gaps in English. Instead, they are part of a bilingual’s “competence in creative use of language . . . a communicative choice which necessarily draws on linguistic structure as such, but also on the message and the speaker’s intentions” (p. 261). In other words, speakers who have more than one language available to them code-switch/-mix as a matter of choice and for a range of pragmatic and expressive reasons that will be alien to those who are monolingual or have only ever spoken second languages in classroom settings. (See Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006 chapter 18 for further discussion and many more examples.)

Finally, we need to consider the differences between the Englishes of regions that were once colonised by the British, and where English has become an official language used in daily life by large numbers of the population, and regions that do not have a history of British colonisation, whose English users continue to use their L1 for all or most aspects of daily life, and reserve English for use as an international lingua franca. In the latter case, it now seems unlikely that codification, at least in any conventional sense, will ever be feasible. We considered this issue briefly in respect of the entire Expanding Circle in units A6 and B6, and will take it up again in C7 when we explore issues relating to the English of Chinese L1 speakers in more detail.

Turning back to those Asian Englishes that clearly do have the potential for codification, the most comprehensive attempt at codifying them to date is the **Macquarie Regional Asian English Dictionary** co-published with Grolier Publishers in 2000 as the *Grolier International Dictionary: World English in an Asian Context* (see Bolton 2003: 28, 209–211), which documents the Englishes of Southeast and South Asia. Its aim is to meet the needs of English speakers in the region by providing up-to-date coverage of items with international currency along with local words which “though part and parcel of everyday English in the region, have never appeared in a dictionary before” (Butler 1997: 97). In this way the dictionary recognises that Asian-English speakers need English for both international communication and communication at home.

Activity ★

- ❑ As regards local words, the Macquarie Dictionary acknowledges that the Englishes of the Asian region are not monolithic, but “function in their totality, combining a standard dialect in formal and informal register, with a nonstandard and colloquial form” (Butler 1997: 99) – just like the Inner Circle Englishes, in fact. The dictionary does not try to cover all these dialects, but for each Asian variety presents the standard form mainly in its formal style, while including some informal items. All items are selected from a corpus of English in Asia, ASIACORP, which is being collected from texts (e.g. newspapers, fiction, and non-fiction) produced in the respective variety of English and intended for local rather than international use. These are some of the items included in the dictionary. If you are not familiar with the Englishes of Southeast Asia, can you understand any of them?
1. academician
 2. actsy
 3. adobo
 4. aggrupation
 5. aircon
- ❑ One of the most difficult decisions for the dictionary compilers has been to decide whether items are standard informal (and thus candidates for inclusion) or non-standard colloquial (and therefore to be excluded). The following are citations of localisms taken from the corpus material under the heading ‘Social organisation’. Some were accepted by the consultants for Singaporean, Malaysian, and Philippine Englishes while others were discarded, mainly on the basis of the consultants’ intuitions as to the boundary between standard informal and non-standard colloquial. Which do you think they accepted and discarded?

Singaporean/Malaysian English

community centre One of the better seafood places in Sandakan is a restaurant, behind the Community Centre and the long distance Mini bus terminal.

kongsi She could not find domestic work and had to rely on the benevolence of her kongsi, or sorority.

mui tsai By the post war period, girls from as young as four or five years, pledged as mui tsai or bond servants by their parents or guardians were almost certainly no longer being brought in from China.

Philippine English

dalaga It is generally understood that the more difficult it is to invite a dalaga to a feast, the higher she is in the estimation of the community. A feast is considered particularly successful if one or more well-known dalagas are persuaded to attend.

(All examples from Butler 1997: 109)

 **Activity**

- ❑ Now look at the key. If you are an Asian-English speaker, do you agree with the consultants' decisions? And do you think that any items that were rejected for the 2000 dictionary would be acceptable to the consultants now?

Key

1. *noun* an academic
2. *adjective* conceited, proud [ACT + -SY]
3. *noun* a Philippine dish of pork or chicken stew cooked in soy sauce, vinegar and garlic. [Spanish: pickle, sauce]
4. *noun* a group, especially within a political party. [Spanish agrupación]
5. *noun* 1. airconditioning. -*adjective* 2. airconditioned

(Butler 1997: 96–97)

community centre: not selected

kongsi: selected

mui tsai: not selected

dalaga: not selected

The Macquarie Asian English Dictionary clearly represents a critical phase in the evolution of codified Asian Englishes. Relaying a discussion which took place at a conference in Manila in 1996 about who would use the dictionary and for what purposes, Bautista (1998: 64) reports the conclusion that “it would be used by both Filipinos and non-Filipinos – the Filipinos would find evidence that their words have gained legitimacy . . . while the non-Filipinos would use the dictionary to know the meaning of certain local usages”. However, as she points out in relation to Philippine English, but in words that should have resonance for speakers of all postcolonial Asian Englishes, “eventually a full-blown Philippine English Dictionary should be prepared by Filipinos themselves”.

POSSIBLE FUTURE SCENARIOS
Range and complexity of Englishes

In order to capture the range and complexity of all Englishes in the early twenty-first century, Mesthrie and Bhatt use the term ‘English Language Complex’ or ELC (first suggested by McArthur 2003: 56). The ELC, they explain, “may be said to comprise all subtypes distinguishable according to some combination of their history, status, form and functions” as follows:

- a) Metropolitan standards: “the two metropolitan standard varieties, whose formal models are those provided by the radio and television networks based largely in London and US cities like Washington, Los Angeles and (for CNN) Atlanta”.
- b) Colonial standards: the ‘extraterritorial’ Englishes that have developed in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Their standards “were, until recently, not fully accepted within the territories, since the metropolitan standards exerted a counter-influence” but are nowadays “much more prominent as British influence recedes”.
- c) Regional dialects: within the previous two subtypes, varieties that can be identified on the basis of regional variation, with regional differentiation being more evident in the (older) UK and US English settlements than in the other (younger) ones.
- d) Social dialects: within regions, varieties that can be identified on the basis of social class and ethnicity, e.g. Cockney, Estuary English, and RP accents in London.
- e) Pidgin Englishes.
- f) Creole Englishes.
- g) English as a second language (ESL): “varieties that arose in countries where English was introduced in the colonial era in face-to-face communication or (more usually) in the education system in a country in which there is, or had once been, a sizeable number of speakers of English. In ESL countries like Kenya, Sri Lanka and Nigeria English plays a key role internally in education, government and administration”.
- h) English as a foreign language (EFL): “the English used in countries in which its influence has been external, rather than via a body of ‘settlers’”. Mesthrie and Bhatt point out that in places such as China, Europe and Brazil, English “plays a role for mainly *inter*-national rather than *intra*-national purposes”. However, they seem to interpret ‘international’ as referring to communication between speakers from these places and *native English speakers*, i.e. EFL, since they do not distinguish between this type of communication and ELF, in which speakers from these places more typically communicate with *each other* rather than with native English speakers (see strand 6).
- i) Immigrant Englishes: “in the context of migration to an English-dominant country, second-language varieties of English which originate as EFLs may retain some distinctiveness or may merge with the regional English of their territory, depending on a host of social and economic factors. Thus whilst English in Mexico is of the EFL variety, Chicano English of the USA shows greater affinity with general US English . . . though it is still a distinctive variety amongst many speakers”.
- j) Language-shift Englishes: “varieties that develop when English replaces the erstwhile primary language(s) and culture(s) of a community”, although there is “frequently a sense of continuity with the ancestral language(s) and culture(s) in the shifting community”.
- k) Jargon Englishes: unlike a pidgin English, a jargon English contains a great deal of instability and individual variation It may or may not develop into a stable, expanded pidgin as did the Pacific jargon English that became Tok Pisin (see strand 5).
- l) Hybrid Englishes: or ‘bilingual mixed languages’. They “occur in code-mixing in many urban centres where a local language comes into contact with English”, e.g. Hinglish, the Hindi-English hybrid found in north Indian cities.

(Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 3–6, see also Mesthrie 2002: 112–113)

As Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 4–5) point out, groups (a) to (d) are often considered to be ‘special’ because they relate to the ENL or Inner Circle varieties. The other eight groupings of the ELC are, nevertheless, of just as much interest within modern socio-linguistics, and some of them possibly even more so within the field of World Englishes specifically.

Convergence or divergence?

With so many different English language user groups in existence globally and their numbers growing year on year, there is inevitably a concern as to whether English will retain the potential for mutual intelligibility. Increased diversification may be inevitable. As Crystal argues:

The growth in diversity is noticeable at both national and international levels. Nationally, urban dialects are adapting to meet the identity needs of immigrant groups, such as the currently evolving Caribbean Scouse in Liverpool [UK]. With over 300 languages now spoken within London, for example, it would be surprising indeed if several did not produce fresh varieties as they interact with English . . . The linguistic consequences of immigrant diversity have long been noted in cities in the USA, but are now a major feature of contemporary life in the urban centres of most other countries where English is a mother-tongue, notably Australia. At an international level, the evidence is overwhelming of the emergence of a new generation of nonstandard Englishes as the global reach of English extends. . . .

Because no language has ever been spoken by so many people in so many places, it is difficult to predict what will happen to English as a consequence of its global expansion; but increasing variation, extending to the point of mutual unintelligibility, is already apparent in the colloquial speech of local communities . . . such as the code-mixed varieties now found all over the world, and identified by such names as Singlish, Taglish, and Chinglish (McArthur 1998). Nor do current models yet allow for what is going to happen to English in communities where new types of social relationship have linguistic consequences – such as the thousands of children being born to parents who have only English as a foreign language in common, and who find themselves growing up with this kind of English as the norm at home. In such cases, non-native English (presumably including features which would be traditionally considered as learner errors) is being learned as a mother-tongue, and new kinds of nonstandard English must surely be the outcome.

(Crystal 2002: 241–242)

Crystal also cites evidence of increasing diversity in lexis, pronunciation, and grammar to demonstrate that regional distinctiveness is already increasing steadily, and he predicts that the gap between standard and non-standard Englishes will widen further. On the other hand, he points out elsewhere (1997: 134) that talk of the complete fragmentation of English is nothing new. The American Noah Webster predicted as much (in relation to American and British Englishes) in the late eighteenth century, and the British Henry Sweet (in relation to American, British, and Australian Englishes) in the late nineteenth. In Crystall’s view, however, speakers of World Englishes will use their local English dialects in their own countries, but will speak a new form of English,

which he labels **World Standard Spoken English (WSSE)** in international situations (1997: 137). Although it is too early for him to say with certainty how WSSE will evolve, he predicts that American English will be the greatest influence on its development. In other words, Crystal seems to see locally-used Englishes as becoming increasingly divergent while internationally-used Englishes increasingly converge to the point of merging into a single world variety based on American English.

Trudgill (1998) approaches the subject from a rather different perspective. In his view English lexis will increasingly converge and pronunciation will increasingly diverge, while the grammatical situation is as yet unclear. He considers the lexical effect to be the result of the “**Americanisation** of the English language – **homogenisation** in the direction of North American usage” (1998: 31). For, despite the fact that some British English words find their way into American usage, “the general trend does seem to be towards increasingly international use of originally American vocabulary items” (p. 32). Trudgill points out that this trend is easily explained in terms of widespread exposure to the American-English dominated media and film industries around the world: “We learn new words readily and constantly, and it is a simple matter to pick up new items from what one reads, and from what one hears on radio, on television, and at the cinema” (1998: 32). Words cited by Trudgill as once specifically American but now in general use include ‘briefcase’, ‘dessert’, ‘junk’, ‘peanut’, ‘radio’, ‘raincoat’, ‘soft drinks’, and ‘sweater’.

At the grammatical level, on the other hand, Trudgill does not consider developments to be as clear, partly because grammatical change takes place more slowly and is thus more difficult to document. Among the few items which Trudgill presents as potential candidates for the Americanisation of World English grammar are:

- ‘hopefully’ used in American English as a sentence adverbial, as in ‘Hopefully it won’t rain tomorrow’, whereas in standard British English it has traditionally functioned as an adverb of manner (e.g. ‘She watched the door hopefully’)
- ‘have’ used dynamically as in American English ‘Do you have coffee with your breakfast’ compared with standard British English where it has traditionally been used statively in such sentences (e.g. ‘Have you (got) coffee in the cabinet?’).

On the other hand, Trudgill identifies a feature of British English grammar that is filtering through into American use. He labels this item “pro-predication *do*” and gives the example of ‘I don’t know if I’m going to the party tonight, but I might do’, where American speakers have traditionally omitted the final ‘do’, but are now beginning to include it. He concludes that as far as grammar is concerned, “there is no conclusive evidence as to whether convergence/homogenisation or divergence/disintegration” is taking place (Trudgill 1998: 33).

However, the situation appears much clearer in the case of phonology and here, argues Trudgill, the picture which is emerging is one of divergence. For example, **th-fronting**, the substitution of /θ/ and /ð/ with respectively /f/ and /v/ as in ‘think’ pronounced ‘fink’ and ‘brother’ as ‘brover’, is spreading rapidly in both England and New Zealand but not affecting American English. And some phonological changes are moving in opposite directions. For instance, areas of England and New Zealand which have traditionally been **rhotic** (i.e. pronounced the ‘r’ which is followed by a

pause as in ‘far’ or by a consonant sound as in ‘part’) are steadily becoming non-rhotic, while in North America, areas that have been non-rhotic are becoming rhotic.

Trudgill concludes that

English looks set to become increasingly homogenised at the level of lexis, although there is still a long way to go, but at the level of phonology, the dominant national native-speaker varieties of the language are slowly diverging from one another. Since there is still relatively little face-to-face contact, for the vast majority of people, between speakers of American English and Australian English, or between New Zealand English and Irish English, we must expect that this trend will continue for the foreseeable future.

(Trudgill 1998: 35)

Trudgill is concerned here, of course, primarily with the Inner Circle Englishes – the first four members of Mesthrie and Bhatt’s ELC. Apart from a reference to the fact that “English . . . has more non-native than native speakers” (p. 30), he makes no mention of non-Inner Circle Englishes. We could nevertheless infer that if the phonological divergence he predicts is borne out by events, it will affect every English regardless of which type of family member it is. By the same token, if lexical convergence takes place, we could infer that all World Englishes will converge on American English lexis. Or could we? Given the small number of native compared to non-native English speakers, the spread (as opposed to concentration) of English around the globe, the switch from uni-directional (west to east) to transnational cultural flows (Pennycook 2007a), the possibility of new hegemonies of English emerging in countries such as China and India, and the growing recognition that native English speakers may hinder rather than promote international communication (see Graddol 2006, and C8 below), it seems unlikely that any native speaker variety will continue for much longer to exercise such influence over the development of World Englishes. As Graddol (1999: 68) argued some time ago

At one time, the most important question regarding global English seemed to be ‘will US English or British English provide the world model?’ Already that question is looking dated with the emergence of ‘New Englishes’, and dictionaries and grammars that codify new norms.

If there is to be a world model at the lexical or any other linguistic level, the role, surely, will go to one of the other groupings outlined by Mesthrie and Bhatt (see the start of this unit).

Look back at Mesthrie and Bhatt’s twelve groupings of English (at the start of this unit). Which, if any, do you think is/are most likely to exert the greatest influence on the future development of English? Or do you think, instead, that English is likely to fragment into a number of mutually unintelligible varieties?



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Section C

EXPLORATION

CURRENT DEBATES IN
GLOBAL ENGLISHES

C1

POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA AND NORTH AMERICA

Unit C1 presents perspectives from two particular sites of English use: firstly the English Only movement in the US, with its opposition to any form of institutional bilingualism; and secondly English in Africa and the controversy over whether or not its use serves the purposes of the large number of multilingual ethnic Africans.

English Only in the US

In the US census of 1990, 62 million of a total population of 251 million were found to belong to “visible” ethnolinguistic minority groups:

- African: 31 million
- Latin American: 22 million
- Asian: 7 million
- Aboriginal, First Nations: 2 million

(Bourhis & Marshall 1999: 245)

By the time of the 2000 census, these numbers had increased substantially, although the 2000 figures are not directly comparable because of changes in the structure of the groupings (e.g. since 2000, the Latin American group has included Hispanic Whites). The figures below are rounded up or down to the nearest half million, and are followed by their percentage of the total US population in the 2000 census:

- | | | |
|--|--------------|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> African: | 34.5 million | 12.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic or Latino: | 35 million | 12.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian: | 10 million | 3.6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian and Alaskan Native: | 2.5 million | 0.9% |

(US Census Bureau, www.census.gov/population/www.socdemo/race.html)

This upward trend continued over the ten years from 2000 to 2010, with the comparable figures in the 2010 census being as follows:

- | | | |
|--|--------------|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> African: | 39 million | 12.6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic or Latino: | 50.5 million | 16.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian: | 14.5 million | 4.8% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian and Alaskan Native: | 3 million | 0.9% |

(US Census Bureau: www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf)

By the time of the 2010 census, the total US population was just under 309 million. Thus, these four groupings, by then numbering approximately 107 million, made up over a third (34.6 per cent) of the US total. This represents an increase of around 25 million people on 2000, and 45 million on 1990, when the four had constituted just below 25 per cent of the total. Meanwhile, the (Non-Hispanic) White population continued its downward trend from 2000 to 2010, increasing their number over these ten years by only 1.2 per cent, or just over 2 million, thence forming less than two-thirds (63.7 per cent) of the total US population.

In some US states, this development was even more pronounced. For example, in **California**, the proportion of Non-Hispanic Whites had fallen by 2000 to just under half the state's population of 34 million. And by 2010 it had dropped by a further 5.4 per cent and constituted only around 15 million of the total Californian population of just over 37 million. Although California represents one of a few extreme examples, the same general trend was repeated throughout the US, with the 2010 census reporting many states' sizeable increases in those from both Hispanic/Latino and Asian backgrounds in particular, against drops in their numbers of Non-Hispanic Whites.

It is against the backdrop of the increasing number of non-native English speakers in the US that the **English Only movement** or as its members prefer to call it, **US English** or **Official English**, operates (see www.us-english.org/). It has its roots in the late nineteenth century, until when although the languages of supposedly 'inferior' groups (African and Native American) were disparaged (see section B1), multilingualism was tolerated. But at this point, immigrants from southern Europe began to arrive in the US in substantial numbers. These new immigrants were considered to be racially inferior by the northern Europeans who had initially colonised the territory. Theodore Roosevelt's 1907 response to their arrival, as the Milroys note, was "similar to the rhetoric of the contemporary English Only movement":

We have room but for one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house

(quoted in Milroy & Milroy 2012: 157)

In order to safeguard their position, the US government began reversing the policy of allowing education for immigrants to take place in their native languages.

By the early 1920s, nearly three-quarters of the US states were insisting on English as the only language of instruction, a policy that was often executed inhumanely. For example, Native Indian children could be kidnapped from their reservations and families, and forced to live in boarding schools in order to learn the English language and the culture of its mother tongue speakers. These children, as McCarty and Zepeda (1999: 203) point out,

faced a system of militaristic discipline, manual labor, instruction in a trade, and abusive treatment for "reverting" to the mother tongue. Many children fled these conditions only to be rounded up by Indian agents (called "school police" in Navajo) and returned to school.

Tolerance for other languages increased in general through the twentieth century. In 1968, the Bilingual Education Act officially recognised the need for education to be available in immigrants' native languages, albeit as a means of enabling immigrants to progress to English-only education rather than to maintain proficiency in their L1. However, from the late 1960s, when large numbers of people began to arrive in America from developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia, the xenophobia that followed led directly to the establishing of the English Only movement.

In California, the motivation to end bilingual education was especially strong. In 1998, The English Language Education for Children in Public Schools Initiative (more commonly known as Proposition 227) was passed, requiring all children for whom English is not their L1 to be placed in **immersion** programmes for a year and then to be transferred to mainstream education. Given that the language of the environment is English and the aim to subtract rather than add a language (i.e. **subtractive** rather than **additive bilingualism**), it would be more appropriate to describe these programmes as ‘submersion’ (Richard Watts, personal communication). Ferguson (2006: 45), on the other hand, uses the term for “the not uncommon practice” of placing a child immediately in a mainstream classroom with no special language assistance at all. He glosses this practice “sink or swim”.

Despite an abundance of research into SLA (second language acquisition) demonstrating the effectiveness of bilingual education as compared with that of immersion, school officials have worked hard to justify the switch in policy. For example, the Superintendent of Schools in Oceanside, California, Ken Noonan, wrote a paper in the *Washington Post* titled ‘Why we were wrong about bilingual education’, in which he concluded:

Now I am convinced that English immersion does work, and that it should begin on a student’s first day of school . . . Now I believe that using all of the resources of public education to move these students into the English-speaking mainstream early and quickly is far more important than my former romantic notions that preserving the child’s home language should be the ultimate goal of our schools.

Activity

Compare this official’s firm conviction in the superiority of monolingual English-only education (and the underlying ethos that other languages are inferior), with the accounts of some of those bilingual students who actually experienced it. The following is a sample of the 250 language biographies collected by Hinton from Asian American college students at the University of California at Berkeley over a number of years:

1. At the age of ten, my family on my mother’s side immigrated to America and this is where I learned my second language. Going to school made me feel deaf, mute, and blind. I could understand nothing that was going on around me.
2. I didn’t have any friends at all because nobody spoke Chinese. How I longed to go back to Taiwan and to see familiar faces and to hear my native language being spoken.
3. It was two heartless comments from a group of small boys in my “white” neighbourhood for me to want to deny my language let along my culture, as well. How was I to react to a racist comment of “Ching chong chooey”

go back home to where you belong. You can't even speak English right." Sixteen small words which possessed so much strength and contained so much power caused a small naive child to lose her heritage – to lose what made her.

4. I know that I have been extremely fortunate to have been able to learn English so easily, but I have paid a dear price in exchange. I began my English education with the basics, starting in first grade. As a result, I had to end my Chinese education at that time. I have forsaken my own language in order to become "American." I no longer read or write Chinese. I am ashamed and feel as if I am a statistic adding a burden and lowering the status quo of the Asian community as an illiterate of the Chinese language.
5. When some of my classmates began to ridicule and throw racist remarks at Chinese people, I began to distance myself away from Chinese culture. I felt ashamed when my parents spoke to me in Cantonese at a supermarket. I got into heated arguments about why only English should be spoken at home . . . I continuously tried to fit in, even if it meant abandoning culture and identity. I was probably most hostile to my background during those years in junior high.
6. The loss of one's cultural language symbolized the loss of one's cultural identity. Many Asian Americans pride themselves for successfully turning their kids into "complete" Americans who speak English in flawless American accent. In my perspective, this actually is something that they should be ashamed of. Without doubt, fitting oneself into the mainstream is important; yet retaining one's cultural language is not at all trivial. To me, I will try my best to excel both in English and my mother tongue, Cantonese.

(Hinton 1999: 21–30)

Linked to the English Only movement is the **No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act** (2002), which focuses on the needs of disadvantaged children, particularly language minority students. Crucially, the Act links school funding to these children's fluency in the English language, which is assessed annually. The NCLB's approach is therefore deemed by some observers to emphasise immigrant children's learning of English at the expense of their mother tongues, with one scholar commenting informally that it could more accurately be called 'No Child Left Bilingual'. If you are interested in finding out more about the criticisms of NCLB, a useful source is James Crawford's article 'No Child Left Behind: A Diminished Vision of Civil Rights'. This was originally published in *Education Week*, 6 June 2007 and is still available (for a small payment) on his *Language Policy Website & Emporium* at: <http://www.languagepolicy.net/excerpts/diminished.html>. Crawford describes the approach as "a misguided reform" and argues that it has a negative impact on the very language minority students that it was supposedly designed to help.

Activity 

- Bearing in mind the experiences quoted above, along with any relevant language learning experiences of your own, draw up a list of arguments that could be used to oppose the English Only/US English movement. You might like to consult a book on SLA (e.g. Lightbown and Spada 2013 and Mitchell, Myles and Marsden 2013), to read for yourself some of the research findings which demonstrate how L2 learners draw on their knowledge of the L1 in order to tackle the complexities of the L2.

If you have access to people who have learnt English by immersion, prepare a questionnaire to find out about their experiences and their reflections on them. You might want to include questions on some of the issues which Hinton's subjects raise, such as:

- their parents' attitudes
- their feelings/experiences in the classroom
- any experiences of racism
- their rejection (or not) of their L1
- any effect on their L1 (degree of L1 attrition)
- any effect on their communication with older generations
- effects on their identity
- their attitude towards bilingualism.

- If you yourself learnt English by immersion, reflect on the experience and discuss it. With hindsight, to what extent do you think you benefited or otherwise?
- The English Only/US English movement claims that mastery of English by marginalised minority-language speakers is the single most important factor in improving their economic position. According to May (2008: 216), on the other hand,

[a]rguments asserting that English is the key to social mobility, and conversely that its lack is the principal cause of social and economic marginalisation . . . conveniently overlook the central question of the wider *structural* disadvantages facing minority-language speakers.

He goes on to argue that while mastery of English is important, “it is only one variable in the equation”, and points out that “African Americans have been speaking English for two hundred years and yet many still find themselves relegated to urban ghettos”. How far do you agree with English Only, and what other factors do you think may be involved?

English in Africa

African English is normally taken to refer to the English spoken in sub-Saharan Africa by the indigenous population. As discussed in A1, the history of English in Africa is complex and has led to the evolution of three distinct strands: West African, East African, and South African Englishes. There is a debate over whether they should employ their own local (**endonormative**) standards or continue to look outside to Britain for (**exonormative**) standards. And there is also little agreement as yet on which items constitute features of the various new African Englishes, and which are simply examples of ‘learnerese’ – incorrectly learned English containing errors (see, for example, de Klerk 1999, Titlestad 1998, and Van der Walt 1997, 2003).

A still more fundamental issue is that of whether the use of English does in fact serve the interests of the indigenous peoples of Africa. In his influential book, *Linguistic Imperialism*, Phillipson (1992: 49) argues that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages”. He believes that the spread of English serves to promote the interests of the British and American ‘Centre’ at the expense of the countries of the ‘Periphery’. On the other hand, Brutt-Griffler argues that linguistic imperialism was not responsible for the spread of English, that “no distinctive ideology existed concerned with spreading English in the colonial dependencies for cultural or linguistic reasons” (2002: 29), and that second language users were themselves agents of its spread.

The rest of this section presents the perspective of a Nigerian linguist, Bisong (1995), to the **linguistic imperialism** claim, followed by a number of counter-arguments including Phillipson’s own response to Bisong. Although his focus is on Nigeria, Bisong believes his arguments have wider relevance, providing insights into the role of English in other African contexts. And while this particular debate took place almost twenty years ago, the same kinds of arguments continue to be raised on both sides, relating not only to Africa but also to other postcolonial regions. This debate is thus a critical one for the future of English both in Africa and beyond.

Bisong asks and answers three questions:

1. Has English succeeded in displacing or replacing other languages in **Nigeria**?

Although English is the official language of Nigeria, it has not succeeded in displacing or replacing any of the indigenous languages. It performs a useful function in a multilingual society and will continue to do so, since no nation can escape its history. But attitudes to the language have changed since colonial times. It is no longer perceived as the Imperial tongue that must be mastered at all costs. Reasons for learning English now are more pragmatic in nature, and run counter to Phillipson’s argument that those who acquire the language in a situation where it plays a dominant role are victims of linguistic imperialism. I would want to maintain that Nigerians are sophisticated enough to know what is in their interest, and that their interest includes the ability to operate with two or more linguistic codes in a multilingual situation. Phillipson’s argument shows a failure to appreciate fully the complexities of this situation.

(Bisong 1995: 131)

2. Has the dominance of English caused Nigerian culture to be undervalued and marginalised?

Because Nigeria is a multicultural society, the Euro-Christian culture embodied in the English language is only one of a number of cultures that function to shape the consciousness of Nigerian people. To maintain that one of the foreign cultures must play a dominant role since the language that embodies it is widely used is again to fail to come to grips with the reality of the situation.

(Bisong 1995: 131)

3. Why did writers like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, all of them literate and fluent in their mother tongues, write in English?

It would be naïve to assume that creative writers like Achebe, Soyinka, and Ngũgĩ chose to write in English because they were victims of Centre linguistic and cultural imperialism. Because of the peculiar history of countries in the Periphery, English has become *one* of the languages available for use by the creative writer. This sociolinguistic reality has to be accepted for what it is. Arguments that carry the implication that the users of this language do not know what is in their interest should not be seen simply as patronizing. They reveal a monolingual failure to grasp the complex nature of a multilingual and multicultural society.

(Bisong 1995: 131)

Activity

- Phillipson (1996) responded to Bisong by taking up four central issues. Consider his counter-arguments to Bisong's claims and decide where you position yourself in this debate.
1. *African multilingualism and stigmatisation*: Phillipson cites evidence showing the degree to which African languages are marginalised in favour of English.
 2. *The Centre and Periphery*: he points out that his 1992 book "does not attribute responsibility for what happens exclusively to people in the Centre", but that local governments, such as that of the newly independent Nigeria, have also played a part in promoting English over local languages in order to "de-emphasize 'ethnicity' and build up a sense of nationhood" (Phillipson 1996: 161–162). He also points out that his approach is not monolingual as he does not recommend replacing English with a single (indigenous) African language in each country.
 3. *Literature*: Phillipson notes that 90 per cent of the African population do not speak English, and therefore do not have access to literature in English. He argues (1996: 164) that writing in English in Africa is a form of elitism and that choosing to write in an African language is "a political choice to reach a particular community and assist it to resist a repressive government".

4. *Language choice at school:* he maintains that parents select English-medium schools because of “the appalling neglect of state schools”, which “generally use the dominant local language as a medium and are starved of funds by politicians who send their children to private English-medium schools” (Phillipson 1996: 165). He then counters Bisong’s claim that three or four hours of exposure to English at school cannot threaten competence in the mother tongue with the argument that “if success in education through the medium of English is the primary route to the upper sections of the education system and positions in the modern sector of the economy, and if the rich wealth of Nigerian oral culture has little place in this scheme of things, then the three or four hours are presumably the most important ones of the day. Parents are doubtless acutely conscious of this” (Phillipson 1996: 166). See C6 for a discussion of similar issues in relation to English medium instruction at tertiary level.
- Bisong claims “no nation can escape its history”. You might choose to disagree with him, as the Sri Lankan scholar, Canagarajah, does implicitly in his book, *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching* (1999). Canagarajah argues, as the title of his book suggests, for a policy of resistance to colonialism as manifested in the present-day teaching of (British) English in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, if you tend to agree with Bisong, then it is important to be clear about which “history” cannot be escaped. For, as Omoniyi points out, before the era of colonialism, African kingdoms such as Zulu, Shona, Yoruba, Berber, Hausa, Igbo, and so on, were in fact monolingual ethnic states. It was only when the African continent was arbitrarily divided up in the nineteenth century that their structure was no longer ethnically determined, so that they were transformed into the multi-ethnic, multilingual African societies of the present day (Omoniyi 1999: 373). At the other extreme, however, there are, today, children of elite families in Nigeria who are being brought up as monolingual speakers of English.
 - Obeng and Adegbija (1999: 365) argue that “infighting and sociopolitical rancor among major language groups have stifled the emergence of bona fide national languages that could be symbols of identity in most African countries. In Nigeria, for instance, although the constitution recognizes Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo as coofficial with English, it is very obvious that the English language performs most official and quasi-national roles. However, being bereft of any Nigerian cultural or ethnic flavoring has made it difficult for English to effectively perform the role of a national language”. And they ask: “If you were asked to advise a sub-Saharan African government on the selection of a national language, would you recommend an African language of wider communication or a European language?” How would *you* answer this, and to what extent does their argument contradict that of Bisong?

- ❑ Bisong cites the authors Achebe, Soyinka and Ngũgĩ in support of his claim. While he is right in respect of Achebe and Soyinka, the same cannot be said of Ngũgĩ, who has written about his own experience of colonialism and, in particular, his enforced learning of English in Kenya with disgust. If you want to pursue this point now, look ahead to the extract from Ngũgĩ in D4. Having read it, how would you respond to Bisong's claim about this author? For a more extreme view, see Ebunlola Adamo (2005), who argues that "the 'imposition' of the English language on the world, Africa, and in particular Nigeria (through the media, information technology, and other means of propaganda, and under the guise of globalization) is a form of linguistic terrorism" (p. 21), and that "The English have terrorized Nigeria with their language for about five centuries" (p. 23). And for a less extreme, but still critical, view of English in Africa, Tanzania more specifically, see Rubagumya (2004), who argues that at present, learning English is both "at the expense of indigenous African languages" and "at the expense of getting a meaningful education" (p. 141).
- ❑ If you want to explore the subject of linguistic imperialism in greater depth, you might like to read Brutt-Griffler's (2002) challenge to Phillipson's (1992) theory and Phillipson's (2003b) critique of her position (both are in the journal *World Englishes*), and decide which position you find more convincing. And for a collected volume of articles by Phillipson that document his (little-changing) position on the spread of English over the past decade or so, see his 2009 book, *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*.

C2**TEACHING AND TESTING GLOBAL ENGLISHES**

The Englishes that are revered and are the goal of teaching and testing in many parts of the world are still native speaker varieties, particularly British and North American. The methodologies and materials that are promoted remain those favoured by the ENL centres, that is, communicative approaches with an emphasis on task based language teaching, learner autonomy, and monolingual (English only) textbooks. The teachers who are most highly sought after are still native speakers of English. And the tests that are taken most seriously continue to measure learners' competence in relation to ENL norms. By contrast, teaching approaches such as translation and memorisation, which are valued in various places outside the Anglophone world, are still largely unvalued within it.

And it seems that at least one major exporter of native English, the British Council, envisages no change of direction in the near future. In the second edition of this course book (2009: 119), I reported its Director of English and Examinations as saying "the star by which we steer our British Council work is our published ambition that 'every teacher and learner of English in the world should have access to

the skills, ideas and materials they require from Britain” (*Guardian Weekly, Learning English Supplement*, 7 March 2008). And this ‘Britain knows best’ ethos remains evident at the time of writing this third edition (2013). For example, on the British Council’s India website, in a section called ‘Why study with the British Council?’ the following is stated:

Teaching is at the heart of our cultural relations work in India. We are a world leader in English language teaching. Our certified teachers help you learn [real] English using a curriculum developed and proven through more than 75 years of experience and in over 110 countries.

(<http://www.britishcouncil.in/english/why-study>)

In other words, even in a country such as India, where English has been spoken for centuries (see A1), the British Council apparently believes that learners of English still need input from its members to enable them to learn the language. Interestingly, sometime between August 2013 when I first read the above text, and December 2013 when I looked at it again, the word “real” had been removed. You may find it helpful to consider both what the British Council had meant by ‘real’ and why they subsequently decided to remove the word.

Unit B2 was concerned with the English language itself and with questions about the legitimacy of its non-native varieties. In this unit we go on to consider issues concerned, firstly, with the teaching and, secondly, with the testing of English.

Teaching English today

Given the fact that native speakers are widely thought to make better teachers of English than non-native speakers, we will start by exploring why this should be so. Is it really the case that the natives by definition make better *teachers*, or simply that they are often better *knowers* of English as a native language? Firstly, two scholars who argue against the ‘native-is-better-teacher’ premise:

[T]eachers of English are required to teach not English as a general linguistic phenomenon but English as a subject – a subject which keeps company with others on the curriculum – history, physics, geography and so on. Now nobody, I think, would suppose that somebody who lived through a particular period of history was especially well qualified to teach it as a subject – that the best teachers of the history of the Second World War, for example, are a diminishing group of octogenarian old soldiers who have actually lived the experience. Similarly, it would surely be odd to argue that the best teachers of the geography of, say, the Austrian alps are Tyrolean shepherds because they have a unique intimacy with the landscape . . . Of course these people have a wealth of intimate experience which can be drawn upon as data, and so they can serve as expert *informants* on certain aspects of the subjects concerned. But this does not make them expert *instructors*.

(Widdowson 1994a: 1.10–1.13)

Widdowson goes on to observe that there has been “persistent confusion” between the phenomenon of ENL and the teaching of English as a second language, and that this confusion has led to the misguided belief that a native English speaker automatically has the expertise to *teach* English. This, he points out, ignores not only

the fact that native speakers of English “are not noted for their ready acquisition of any language other than their own”, but also the need for teachers to have substantial education in language pedagogy. In other words, it is not enough to simply “[s]tart with native speaker ability, add on a little common sense, or perhaps a brief rudimentary training in technique, [and] get hold of a course book”.

Seidlhofer approaches the issue from another perspective, that of the shared experience of non-native teachers of English and their students:

[T]he non-native teacher has been through the process of learning the same language, often through the same L1 ‘filter’, and she knows what it is like to have made the foreign language, in some sense, her own, to have appropriated it for particular purposes. This is an experience which is shared only between non-native teachers and their students. One could say that native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has to be crossed to get there: they themselves have not travelled the same route. Non-native teachers, on the other hand, know the target language as a foreign language. Paradoxically, it is precisely this which is often perceived as a weakness, although it can be understood and drawn upon as an important resource. This shared language learning experience should thus constitute the basis for non-native teachers’ confidence, not for their insecurity.

(Seidlhofer 1999: 238)

Despite the fact that linguists have been making observations of these kinds for many years, there appears to be little change in practice. For, as Kirkpatrick points out, native speaker English teachers are still in great demand around the world:

The demand for native speakers is so high in many places that being a native speaker is the only qualification that many teachers require. Thus native speakers who have no specialist training in English language teaching are routinely employed by schools, institutions and universities all over the world. I know from personal experience that many Chinese universities currently employ native speakers to teach English to a wide range of students and that only a small minority of these teachers have teacher training qualifications. That teachers only need to be native speakers is often explicitly stated in advertisements.

(Kirkpatrick 2007a: 185)

It seems, then, that the position articulated by Nayar towards the end of the last millennium remains an accurate representation of ELT life in the current one:

The discourse of Applied Linguistics as well as the vast amount of supporting material brought out by the ESL/EFL enterprise have created and perpetuated the image of the native speaker as the unquestionable authority of not just language ability but also of expertise in its teaching. Native speaker status is often seen as the *sine qua non*, automatically bestowing authenticity and credibility on a teacher, as an English Language expert or even a teacher trainer. As an initial gate-keeping shibboleth, nativeness can assume primacy over pedagogic expertise or actual language competence in the ELT enterprise.

(Nayar 1998: 287)

Activity

- If you are or have been a learner of English as a second language, or a native or non-native teacher of English to second language learners, to what extent does/did your experience resonate with the comments made above by Kirkpatrick and Nayar?
- This is Kirkpatrick's (2007a: 195) checklist for teachers who wish to work in Outer and Expanding Circle Countries. How far do you agree with it? Would you add or remove any of the criteria? And which of them (if any) do you think could/should be applied to teachers of L2 English learners in Inner Circle countries?

Teachers should

- a) be multilingual and multicultural and ideally know the language of their students and understand the educational, social and cultural contexts in which they are working;
 - b) either be able to provide an appropriate and attainable [i.e. local] model for their students or, if they speak another variety, understand that the local variety is . . . not inferior to their own;
 - c) understand how different varieties of English have developed linguistically, and the ways in which they differ phonologically, lexically, grammatically, rhetorically, and culturally;
 - d) understand how English has developed in specific contexts and how it has spread across the world;
 - e) understand the role(s) of English in the community and how these interrelate with other local languages;
 - f) be able to evaluate ELT materials critically to ensure that these do not, either explicitly or implicitly, promote a particular variety of English or culture at the expense of others;
 - g) be able to evaluate the specific needs of their students and teach towards those needs;
 - h) be prepared to contribute to the extra-curricular life of the institution in which they are working.
- Prepare a short questionnaire to enable you to find out whether people believe native speakers or non-native speakers make better teachers of English, or if they think there is no difference, along with the reasons for their answer. Give the questionnaire to as many people as possible, both native and non-native speakers of English, and, if you can, both students of English and non-students. Analyse your results: what is the consensus? If they favour native speaker teachers, do the reasons they give focus entirely on linguistic competence (e.g. accent, knowledge of grammar and idioms) or do they also refer to teaching ability? What do the responses tell you about attitudes to non-native teachers? How much do these attitudes seem to depend on whether or not the respondent is him/herself a native or non-native speaker? Finally, do you detect among

your non-native speaker respondents any sense of **linguistic insecurity** (a term coined by the sociolinguist Labov to describe how people feel about their language variety when it is constantly denigrated, and their acceptance of the negative stereotyping of their English by the dominant native speaker community)?

- ❑ One conclusion that can be drawn from Kirkpatrick's checklist is the need for prospective teachers of English to be educated extensively about World English varieties and the use of English as a Lingua Franca (see strand 6) and their implications, rather than, as is often the case, receiving a cursory training in British and/or American English (e.g. see Jenkins 2007: 246 in respect of the Cambridge ESOL teacher training programmes). Have a look at the way World Englishes has been introduced into programmes at Portland State University (Brown and Peterson 1997) and/or the Open Cyber University of Korea (Baik and Shim 2002). Both had highly successful outcomes, with students gaining a much increased awareness of the sociolinguistic realities of English, and far more positive attitudes towards non-native Englishes. Do you think an education programme of this kind would have a similar effect on prospective teachers of English in your own context?
- ❑ Kirkpatrick (2007a: 196) argues that “[g]overnments, ministries and employers, particularly those in outer and expanding circle countries, need to recognise the advantages associated with multilingual local teachers who are expert users of English” instead of classifying them as ‘inferior’. He believes that “[i]t is these teachers upon whom governments and institutions should be spending their resources to ensure that they receive training and opportunities for professional development” rather than spending it on importing large numbers of native English teachers. Do you agree with him or do you think there is still a place for native English teachers in Outer and/or Expanding Circle countries?
- ❑ Gray is highly critical of so-called ‘global’ coursebooks (i.e. those produced in Britain and the US, and exported around the world). He argues that “the form cultural content takes is best decided by locals for whom English may have a range of meanings other than those determined for them by British ELT publishers” (2010: 189). He believes that “for change to occur and for coursebooks to become more useful to teachers and students alike, we have to become socio-politically active in making the case for alternative articulations of English to those currently on offer” (2010: 191). Explore one or two ‘global’ coursebooks such as OUP’s *Headway*, CUP’s *Cambridge English*, or Macmillan’s *Global*, and consider the extent to which you agree or disagree with Gray that they project a British perspective that is not appropriate globally (think about both cultural and linguistic content). If you are a teacher or student of English and share Gray’s view of current coursebooks, in what kinds of ways do you think you could be “socio-politically active” in your own part of the world so as to encourage “alternative articulations of English” to become available?

Testing English today

No matter how much effort is put into making English language teaching more appropriate to the contexts of teaching, if the examination boards continue to measure students' success in English against native speaker norms, then little is likely to change. This is because of the well-known fact that tests have a **washback** effect on classroom teaching: that is, the language and skills that are tested in examinations are the ones that teachers choose to teach and learners desire to learn, otherwise they have nothing to show for the efforts they have made.

So far, however, there are few signs that the testing of English is embracing non-native speaker variation and innovation. As Lowenberg (2012: 84) observes,

In the assessment of proficiency . . . the prevailing assumption has long been that the universal target for learning and using English around the world is restricted to the set of norms for Standard English that are accepted and followed by highly educated native speakers of English in the countries of Braj Kachru's Inner Circle.

He goes on to point out that a substantial amount of research over the past three decades has demonstrated that "among the 80% of the world's English users who are non-native speakers of English and live in the countries of Kachru's Outer and Expanding Circles . . . non-native norms for Standard English have been developing into *non-native varieties of English*" (p. 84, his italics). He therefore argues that "awareness of . . . divergence between normative features in non-native varieties of English and corresponding norms in the native-speaker varieties is essential for evaluating proficiency in Standard English in the world context", and that "[i]n order to assess proficiency accurately, examiners must be able to distinguish between *deficiencies* in second language acquisition . . . from varietal *differences* in the speaker's usage" (p. 94, his italics).

Lowenberg (2000, 2002, 2012) provides several examples of uses of English that are considered standard rather than deficient in their local (Outer and/or Expanding Circle) contexts, but which diverge from Inner Circle use and would therefore be regarded as deviant in international tests of English. Among these are:

- ❑ Use of 'would' rather than 'will' in Malaysian and Indian English as in 'We accept the verdict of the Kelantan people and we hope they *would* accept the verdict of the rest of the country'.
- ❑ Use of ENL uncountable nouns as countable in a number of countries including the Philippines, Nigeria, and Malaysia as well as much of the Expanding Circle. For example, 'Thank you for upkeep the *equipments* and facilities provided on this train' and 'West said they used a *digital equipment* that was capable of transmitting both video and still images' (Malaysian English).
- ❑ Prepositional collocations such as 'I live in an apartment *at* Belmont Road' (Singaporean English).
- ❑ Use of prepositions considered redundant in standard British and American English, such as in the phrase 'discuss *about*' which is attested as standard use in several Outer Circle varieties of English such as Nigerian, Malaysian, Zambian, and Singaporean, and also found widely in Expanding Circle Englishes.

The testing of English around the world, then, still reflects very strongly the ‘deficit linguistics’ view that was discussed in unit B2 and gives a clear impression that what is being tested is not proficiency *per se*, but proximity to certain native speaker norms. The difficulty nevertheless remains of establishing precisely which features exemplify difference and which deficiencies. It cannot be assumed that all differences from native speaker norms represent developing varietal norms: they could be errors (but in relation to the L2 norm) or even nonce words (words invented for a specific purpose and used only once). However, as you will see in strand 6, this is a far more complex issue in respect of English in the Expanding Circle, as we cannot talk of Expanding Circle ‘varieties’ in quite the same way as we can talk of Outer Circle varieties. And this in turn raises additional problems for testing.

Activity

- ❑ As regards the Outer Circle, Lowenberg (2000: 81) describes as “almost neo-colonial” the “assumption held by many who design English proficiency tests . . . that the native speakers still should determine the norms for Standard English around the world”. He later (2002: 433–4) extends this position to the Expanding Circle, arguing that items in tests such as TOEIC do not reflect the fact that “normative features in Expanding Circle varieties sometimes diverge from Inner Circle norms”. In his view, the existence of these Expanding Circle norms casts serious doubt on the validity of tests for Expanding Circle countries that are based only on Inner Circle norms. Do you agree with Lowenberg in relation to testing in either or both circles? You may find it useful at this point to look at unit A6, where differences between Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes are discussed.
- ❑ Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006: 131) argue that “The many contexts and norms of world Englishes preclude any simple limitation of ‘correctness’ and make professional test-writers’ tasks more difficult the more they come to understand about world Englishes”. Take a look at some English language tests that are used on a worldwide basis, e.g. TOEIC, TOEFL, IELTS, and any of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge ESOL) tests. Or better still, look at the practice books produced by one of the examination boards, as then you will be able to check the key to find out which answers are considered acceptable. How strictly do their writers limit correctness to native English norms? How far do they demonstrate an awareness of World Englishes by accepting non-native speaker variation of the kind Lowenberg describes and the diverse situation to which Y. Kachru and Nelson refer?
- ❑ Lowenberg (2012) provides examples of the kinds of test items administered to international students at “a major American university”. One example (p. 94) is this:

Mr Smith has modern _____ in his office

- a) a piece of furniture
- b) furnitures
- c) pieces of furnitures
- d) furniture

He points out that many Outer and Expanding Circle speakers would have difficulty in selecting the correct answer, (d), as they would find (b) perfectly acceptable. However, as he notes, if they give incorrect answers such as (b), they “might receive scores underestimating their actual English proficiency and be erroneously forced to enrol in remedial ESL classes, at great expense to their time and financial resources” (p. 95). Do you think it is reasonable to require international students studying in Inner Circle universities to conform to the standard native English of the country? Would your answer be the same for a British student studying in the US or an American student studying in the UK? (See unit B3 on differences between British and American English.)

- ❑ If you live in an Outer or Expanding Circle setting, design a short grammar test that takes account of its local norms. To what extent do you need to break away from Inner Circle norms in order to do this?
- ❑ Kachru (1992a: 361) considers that the only solution to the current inappropriateness of English language teaching and testing around the world is for a ‘paradigm shift’ in which, for example, a clear distinction is made between the use of English in monolingual and multilingual societies, there is mutual exposure to the major native and non-native varieties of English, and while one variety may be the focus of teaching, emphasis is given to the “awareness and functional validity” of the others. Think about ways in which such a paradigm shift could be implemented. For example, how could awareness of a range of non-native varieties of English be raised in ELT classrooms?
- ❑ In a ‘Point and Counterpoint’ debate in *ELT Journal* 60/1, Jenkins argues that “recent changes in both users and uses of English have become so far-reaching that a major rethink of English language teaching goals is called for”, and that “this will first require a substantial overhaul of English language testing, given that teachers and learners alike will be reluctant to embrace any curriculum change that is not reflected in the targets set by the major examination boards” (Jenkins 2006: 43). Taylor responds by arguing in favour of the status quo, claiming, among other things, “[t]he need to acknowledge the expectations and preferences of test-takers and other test users (for example, teachers, parents, employers, admissions officers)”, who currently favour native English norms (Taylor 2006: 58). Which point of view do you agree with? If possible, read the two parts of the debate before you decide. See also D6 for a text on English language testing in relation to the phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca.

C3

STANDARDS ACROSS CHANNELS

In this unit, we explore standard and non-standard English usage across various spoken and written channels both traditional and electronic, focusing mainly though not exclusively on Inner Circle users.

Speech and writing

When people talk about ‘standard English’, they generally have the written channel in mind. However, the inappropriateness of evaluating English speech on the basis of writing has become increasingly apparent with the growth in the past two decades in the number and size of corpora containing authentic speech, such as the BNC (British National Corpus), COBUILD (Collins Birmingham University International Language Database), and CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English).

Baron (2000: 21–22) discusses three different approaches to speech/writing differences, the Opposition View, the Continuum View, and the Cross-over View. According to the **Opposition View**, speech and writing have the dichotomous characteristics as shown in Table C3.1.

Table C3.1 Characteristics of speech and writing (source: Baron 2000)

<i>Writing is:</i>	<i>Speech is:</i>
objective	interpersonal
a monologue	a dialogue
durable	ephemeral
scannable	only linearly accessible
planned	spontaneous
highly structured	loosely structured
syntactically complex	syntactically simple
concerned with past and future	concerned with the present
formal	informal
expository	narrative
argument-oriented	event-oriented
decontextualized	contextualised
abstract	concrete

The Continuum View, on the other hand, looks at speech and writing in real-world contexts and regards them as being located at various points on a continuum, depending on the specific context (see Figure C3.1).



Figure C3.1 Continuum view of speech and writing

The **Cross-over View**, meanwhile, takes into account the fact that “merely because a linguistic message looks as if it’s designed to be spoken or written hardly ensures that will be the medium through which everyone experiences it” (Baron 2000: 22).

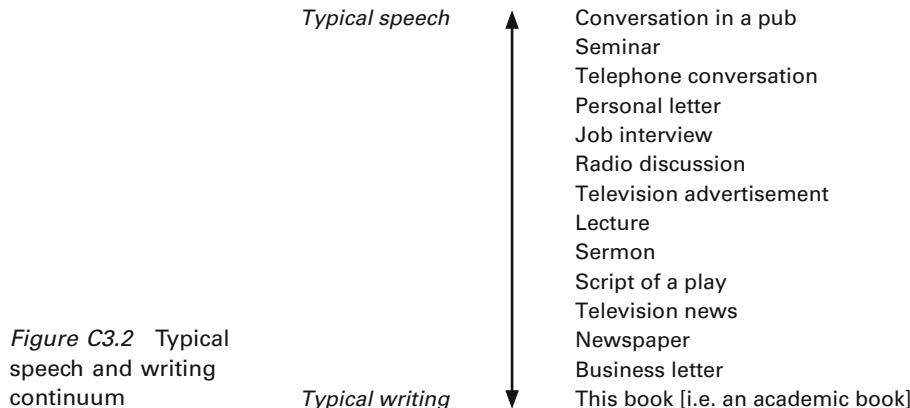
For example, audiobooks make it possible to listen to a book on CD rather than reading the text. And a student who misses a lecture may be able to find the text of the lecture posted on the university's website, although it is now more likely to be available as a podcast or video (and sometimes even available on YouTube for access by people outside the lecturer's institution). Perhaps, with the recent increase in the range of electronic communication types, it is becoming less common for written texts to be listened to, and spoken texts to be read. Can you think of any current examples that support either this hypothesis or the Cross-over View, as well as examples that support or contradict the Opposition View?

Leech, Deuchar and Hoogenraad (1982: 139–140) reconcile the differences in the Opposition and Continuum approaches by talking of '**typical speech**' and '**typical writing**'. They categorise the typical features of the two channels as shown in Table C3.2.

In Table C3.2, non-fluency (5) refers to features that reflect the fact that speech tends to be unprepared and therefore includes phenomena such as hesitations, false starts, grammatical blends, and unfinished sentences. **Monitoring features** (6) and **interaction features** (7) relate to the dialogic nature of speech. Speakers monitor the effect their speech is having on their addressee(s) with words and phrases such as 'well', 'I mean', 'sort of', and 'you know', and they use interaction features to invite participation, particularly by means of second-person pronouns, questions, and imperatives. By characterising typical speech and writing in this way, Leech et al. are then able to demonstrate how these operate on a continuum rather than in direct opposition (see Figure C3.2).

Table C3.2 Features of typical speech and writing (source: Leech et al. 1982: 139–140)

<i>Typical speech</i>	<i>Typical writing</i>
1. Inexplicitness	Explicitness
2. Lack of clear sentence boundaries	Clear sentence boundaries
3. Simple structure	More complex structure
4. Repetitiveness	Non-repetitiveness
5. Normal non-fluency	Fluency
6. Monitoring features	No monitoring features
7. Interaction features	No interaction features
8. Features reflecting informality	Features reflecting formality



Activity 

Do you agree with the order in which Leech et al. position the speech/writing contexts on their continuum? If not, what changes do you suggest? Do you think any of your changes result from the fact that their continuum dates from 1982? Why might this be so? And where on the continuum would you place the following digital communication types: email, chat room conversation, text message, Skype conversation, twitter exchange, post on Facebook, blog entry, podcast, wiki? Are any of these items difficult to place? If so, is it because they do not fit in comfortably with more conventional categories of communication (e.g. contributions to a chat room conversation are actually written rather than spoken)? Or is it because they could go in more than one position, and if so, what does this depend on? We will return to the subject of digital forms of communication later in this unit.

Here is a transcribed conversation (from Crystal and Davy 1975, reproduced in Leech et al. 1982). Speaker A, a mother, is describing the family holiday to speaker B. Look back to Leech et al.'s lists of features of typical speech and typical writing and see how many of them are exemplified in the transcript. For example, inexplicability (1) occurs in lines 8/9 ('and all this'), non-fluency (5) occurs in line 4 ('er'), and monitoring (6) in line 1 ('sort of'). Because this is a transcript, there is no punctuation, but vertical lines are used to indicate units of intonation (**tone units** or '**word groups**') and dashes to indicate pauses. The items in round brackets in A's turn are B's responses to her.

B:	so what how did you map out your day you had your breakfast in the kitchen	1 2
A:	we have our breakfast [laughs] in the kitchen – and then we sort of did what we liked and er got ready to go out (m) we usually went out quite soon after	3 4 5
	that – erm the children were always up at the crack of	6
	dawn (m) with the farmer – and they went in the	7
	milking sheds and helped him feed the pigs and all	8
	this you know we didn't see the children – and er	9
	then we used to go out we – we had super weather -	10
	absolutely super – and so we went to a beach usually	11
	for er but by about four o'clock it we were hot and we	12
	had to come off the beach (m m) – so we'd generally	13
	go for a tea somewhere just in case supper was delayed	14
	you know [laughs] and then we'd get back and	15
	the children would go straight back on to the farm . . .	16

Now imagine that you are speaker A and that you are describing your farm holiday, not in a conversation, but in an email letter to a friend. Retain as much of the information provided in A's speech as possible. Then compare your written version with the spoken original and see

how many differences there are to illustrate Leech et al.'s distinctions between typical speech and typical writing. Are there any other differences that are not covered in their lists of speech/writing characteristics? And how far can any similarities between the spoken original and your written version be accounted for by the fact that conversations and personal letters are fairly close together at the 'Typical speech' end of their continuum?

This is Leech et al.'s (1982: 141–142) own version of the imaginary letter. What are the main similarities to/differences from yours? How many of these relate to the fact that theirs is over thirty years old and/or that theirs is a traditional letter and yours an email?

Dear B,

I thought I would write and tell you about our summer holiday, which we spent on a farm.

Every day, the children were up at the crack of dawn with the farmer. They went to the milking sheds with him and helped him feed the pigs, so that we barely saw them at all.

Then we would have our breakfast in the kitchen. After breakfast, we usually did what we liked for a short while, and then went out. We had absolutely super weather, and so we usually went to a beach. But by about four o'clock we were hot and had to come off the beach. Then we'd generally go and have tea somewhere just in case supper was delayed. When we got back, the children would go straight back on the farm . . .

- ❑ Finally, the original recording is around forty years old and the imaginary letter around thirty years old. Which spoken and/or written features do you think would nowadays be produced differently in British English by (a) someone of a similar age to the speaker/hypothetical writer (about 40), and (b) someone in their late teens or early twenties?

Since the late 1980s, computerised database **corpora** have been demonstrating in increasing detail the ways in which speech operates according to its own grammatical rules, with writing tending "to reflect earlier norms while speech commonly embodies innovation" (Baron 2000: 95). The work of Carter and McCarthy for CANCODE, for example, has provided useful evidence of the **grammar of spoken (British) English**. These are some of the phenomena they found in their data (see e.g. Carter and McCarthy 1995). Try to identify the feature of spoken English exemplified in each set of examples before reading on for the technical names and details:

- 1 a Jamie, normally you put him in his cot and he's. . . .
 - b That chap over there, he said it was okay. . . .
 - c The women in the audience, they all shouted.

- 2** a 'Cos otherwise they tend to go cold don't they pasta
 b They do, I suppose, take up a lot of time, don't they, kids?
 c It's not actually very good is it that wine?
- 3** A What's the matter?
 B Got an awful cold.
 A Just seen Paco.
 B Did he say anything?
 A Nothing.
 B Interesting isn't it?
- 4** a Why I rang you was that I needed to check something.
 b Where we always go wrong is that we forget it's a one-way street.
 c What fascinates me with that is the way it's rolled.

Brief notes

1. Heads (or 'left dislocation')

Heads are nouns or noun phrases that are brought to the front of a clause to identify them for the listener as the most important part of the message. They are then repeated with a pronoun in the clause that follows. In the above examples, the heads are (a) 'Jamie', (b) 'That chap over there', and (c) 'The women in the audience'.

2. Tails (or 'reinforcement')

Tails parallel heads by repeating the subject of the preceding clause in order to amplify and reinforce what has been said. They thus tend to serve an affective function by showing the speaker's attitude towards his or her subject. The tails in the above examples are (a) 'pasta', (b) 'kids', and (c) 'that wine'.

3. Ellipsis

Ellipsis simply means omission. It refers specifically to the omission of items in a grammatical structure which go unnoticed in speech but which would be required in a written text. The items that are omitted are those that are retrievable from either the immediate situation or from the surrounding text (i.e. the 'cotext'). In the example dialogue, the ellipted items are: I've (got an awful cold); I've (just seen Paco); He said (nothing); It's (interesting, isn't it?).

4. Word order

Word order varies considerably across speech and writing. One area in which this is particularly so is that of reported speech. The examples above all demonstrate **wh-clefting**, which CANCODE has shown to be far more widespread in spoken than in written English. These *wh*- clauses are brought to the front of the clause often, as with heads, for emphasis, though they can also serve to contradict an anticipated response. The *wh*-clefts in the above examples are: 'Why I rang you', 'Where we always go wrong', and 'What fascinates me with that'.

Can you think of further examples of the grammar of speech? One fairly recent phenomenon, for instance, is the use of quotative *like* as in 'I walked into the house

and it was like “Where have you been all day?”’. Around a decade ago, quotative *like* was used only by younger speakers of English, but over the years since then, has been adopted by older age groups, demonstrating the relative speed with which speech innovations spread through the speech community.

Electronically mediated communication

Since the end of the twentieth century, the most notable development in the way people communicate has undoubtedly been the rapid rise in the invention and use of digital means of communication. And because English is currently the world’s primary global language, it has probably been affected by the digital phenomenon even more than other languages have. Following Baron (2008), I use **EMC (electronically-mediated communication)** as a cover term for all types of digital communication including those mentioned earlier in this unit, and no doubt by the time this book is published, further types will already have been devised.

Crystal (2011) points out that “[t]he language of the Internet cannot be identified with either spoken language or written language, even though it shares some features with both” (p. 32). This, he points out, is because “the electronic medium constrains and facilitates human strategies of communication in unprecedented ways” among which are “limited message size, message lag, and lack of simultaneous feedback” on the constraint side, and “hypertext links, emoticons, and the opportunities provided by multiple conversations and multiply authored texts” on the facilitation side (pp. 32–33). He goes on to cite Herring’s (2007) division of potential EMC design features into ‘technological’ and ‘social’. The first set includes items such as synchronicity (whether or not the activity takes place in real time), length (the number of characters permitted in a single message), and persistence (how long a message remains on the system after being received). The second set includes variables such as participant characteristics, topic and purpose of the message, language norms recognised by the participants (e.g. use of non-standard spellings and abbreviations), and code (i.e. which language varieties are used, and is the communication spoken or written?). We start with the oldest EMC technology, email (1970s), then turn to text messaging on mobile phones (1990s), and finally consider a more recent technology, twitter (2000s).

E-mail

Bearing in mind the points made above about the effects on EMC of the medium’s constraints and facilitations, look at the following examples of authentic emails (all sent to me), and identify any features that are typical of written and spoken English (see above, this unit) as well as any features that occur in neither, and seem to you to be specific to EMC:

1 Jenny

Just had a quick read through. I think we have done a decent job in addressing the issues raised by the reviewers.

Let’s go for it.

[first name]

2 They wont b ready till the 30th im afraid dont really want let her go b4 then. But yes sure ur welcome to come and view and ppaya deposit to secure her
[my reply omitted]

That wuld b fine like I said deposit secures kitten. Ur welcome to come anytime this week tomoz is my best day if I am honest with u. Heres my number [mobile number] if u need to ring me.

[my reply omitted]

Thats gr8 c u then.

3 Thank you. It's a nice clip. I like the end. We got back from New York this morning – C had to go for a meeting, so I got an air fare for my birthday and celebrated with my almost twin who is married to an old friend of C's – so I found your card waiting in my post – and love it. The New Yorker does do great cat cards. Hope we meet soon, when your deadlines have subsided.

Rx

4 Hi All,

We are really suffering from the rain over here in [country]! Hope you are all drier than we are.

I am working with a copy-editor (she's younger than me) on my forthcoming book and she has commented that *hence* and *thus* are archaic. The book is a teacher-training book addressed to teachers, not to academics, but it has bits of academic content. I am astonished that these words have lapsed into archaicisms while I wasn't paying attention. But is she right? What do you think?

[first name]

5 Hello

I'm [first name, family name]

I just wanted to update you. I received my visa and student accommodation assignment last week and have made my travel arrangements. I am due to arrive in [city] on 21st Sep.

I am eagerly looking forward to beginning the program and am excited to work with you.

Sincerely

[first name]

6 Hi JJ,

yes I got both msgs (and sorry your English she be so bad because you're a NS!!) The attachmts came through too, but I've deleted them. They don't seem to be sth you want to keep on your computer/flash drive!

Have a good week!

B

7 Dear Professor Jenkins,

Thank you very much for your kind assistance. The pertinent materials will be couriered to your office at due course.

Yours sincerely,

(first name, family name)

8 It might be worth bearing in mind that (in spite of what Metrical Phonologists and others might claim) it is not universally accepted that “knowing the stress pattern” is necessary for recognizing English words. There’s a good (and short) review of the question by James McQueen and Anne Cutler in W. Hardcastle and J. Laver ‘The Handbook of Phonetic Sciences’ (Blackwell, 1997), pp. 579–582. On p. 580 they say “... stress information does not facilitate human word recognition.” I find the section on Prosodic Information in their chapter (Cognitive Processes in Speech Perception) very useful reading for my final year students.

[first name]

Despite the fact that emails make use of conventions drawn from both speech and writing, there is, as Baron (2000: 193) notes, “evidence for an increasingly oral basis to written language” in emailing. She outlines the linguistic profile of email as follows:

- *Social dynamics* (predominantly like writing):
 - interlocutors are physically separated
 - physical separation fosters personal disclosure and helps level the conversational playing field
- *Format* (mixed) writing and speech:
 - like writing, email is durable
 - like speech, email is typically unedited
- *Grammar*:
 - LEXICON: predominantly like speech,
 - heavy use of first- and second-person pronouns
 - SYNTAX: (mixed) writing and speech
 - like writing, email has high type/token ration, high use of adverbial subordinate clauses, high use of disjunctions
 - like speech, email commonly uses present tense, contractions
- *Style* (predominantly like speech):
 - low level of formality
 - expression of emotion not always self-monitored (flaming)

(Baron 2000: 251)

Baron concludes that “email is largely speech by other means”. Nevertheless, just as with speech (and writing), there will always be differences in email style depending on who is emailing whom, and on the age, sex, and L1 of the emailer. Younger emailers, for example, tend to use fewer apostrophes and contractions and more features of mobile phone texting (see the next activity below). Can you tell which of the above emails came from younger and which from older people? Four were sent recently and four a few years ago. Again, can you tell which are which? Where this is difficult, think about what other factors are involved than either recency or the age of the sender.

Four of the eight messages came from emailers for whom English is not their L1. Although in one case (5), you might assume that the reference to a visa identifies the emailer as a non-native English speaker, there are also native English speaking groups who are required to obtain visas to study in the UK. So are you able to decide

whether emailer 5 is one or other purely on linguistic grounds? And how about the other seven emailers? If this is difficult, perhaps, as Baron argues, “email is beginning to develop a group of ‘native users’ who are learning email as a primary and distinct avenue for creating many types of messages, rather than transferring to email prior assumptions from face-to-face speech or traditional writing” (p. 258). And if so, it may be that differences across native and non-native Englishes are being lost in the process.

Activity


If you are a regular emailer yourself or you have (permitted!) access to someone else's emails, gather a sample of approximately ten emails received from different kinds of sources and analyse their features. If you find differences in these from the features in the eight messages sent to me, how do you account for these differences? Could they be connected to the emailers' ages, sex, first languages, professional status, type of email list subscribed to, or something else?

Text messages

Most readers will be familiar with the use of **texting** (originally Short Message Service, or SMS), the sending of short written messages from one mobile phone to another. Some items in the emails quoted above are typical of texting, e.g. “m8” for ‘mate’ and “sth” for ‘something’. Examples of text messages from Crystal (2008b: 19) include:

U 2. Glad journey OK. x
 what R U sayin?
 Landed safely. On way to town. xxx
 c u in 5 min x
 what tim does th trn gt in?
 let me know if u want me 2 pick u up
 U miss me? ;)
 i'll be there by 7
 we've just had a drink with Jon!!!!

Another common texting symbol that does not appear in any of the above examples is the use of @ to mean ‘at’, either individually or as part of a longer word such as ‘atlas’.

Text messages also make use of **emoticons**, i.e. symbols whose meaning is communicated by their shape. Examples include:

- :) happy, pleasure
- :)) very happy (with further)) added to indicate still greater happiness)
- ;-) wink
- :-(unhappy, displeasure
- :-@ shocked, screaming

There are, of course, many other emoticons than these few, and not only are their number constantly being added to, but the meaning of existing emoticons may

also change over time. Note, too, that if an item used as part of an emoticon is also used as a word or part of a word, it serves completely different functions across the two. An example of this is the character @ which signifies both ‘at’ and (part of) ‘screaming’.

Activity 

- ❑ Look again at the above examples of text messages. How similar do you find them? And how similar are they to the emails shown earlier? What factors (both social and technical) do you think account for any differences among the nine text messages, and between them and the emails?
- ❑ Crystal argues that people text because it is easy and fun, and that it is “the latest manifestation of the human ability to be linguistically creative and to adapt language to suit the demands of diverse settings” (2008b: 175). He also points out (2011) that the use of abbreviations, phonetic spellings (e.g. ‘wot’ for ‘what’), and omission of letters (e.g. ‘msg’ for ‘message’) is not a recent phenomenon, while initialised phrases (e.g. ‘IOU’ for ‘I owe you’), and single letters, numerals, and symbols in place of words or parts of words are centuries old. And although texting provides a space for individual creativity, it is also logical and systematic. That is, we can understand the texts we receive because the sender retains the key information (thus, for example, the word ‘message’ would not become ‘mea’ in a text). In other words, texting involves not only creativity but also linguistic knowledge and skill.

However, some people, language professionals as well as non-professionals, see things rather differently. For them, texting is harmful both to the English language and to children’s developing literacy (although there is no empirical evidence to suggest either). For example, Crystal (2008b: 13) quotes from an article in *The Guardian* newspaper in which texting was described as “bleak, bald, sad shorthand” that “masks dyslexia, poor spelling and mental laziness” and is “penmanship for illiterates”. What is your view of the positive and/or negative effects of texting, and why? Do you see any connections between negative attitudes towards texting and similar attitudes towards non-standard varieties of English such as Ebonics (see B3) and Singlish (see C4)?

- ❑ An amusing but informative TV discussion of texting by David Crystal, first broadcast on the BBC programme ‘It’s only a Theory’ on 13 October 2009, is available on YouTube at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h79V_qUp91M

Twitter

Whereas text messages can use up to 160 characters, **tweets** have a maximum of 140 (excluding the further 20 reserved for the tweeter’s name and associated symbols). Even so, Crystal (2011) observes that tweeters (like texters) do not seem to make full use of their character allowance.

In order to explore the language of tweets, Crystal (2011: 45–48) entered the term ‘language’ into Twitter Search and collected a corpus of 200 tweets from different authors. He analysed these in respect of their content, grammar, and pragmatics. In terms of content issues, despite not using the 140 characters available to them, the tweeters demonstrated the pressure they were under to keep to the maximum by making use of a number of shortening techniques including contractions, logograms such as & for ‘and’, abbreviations, ellipsis (e.g. omitting the subject ‘I’), and avoidance of non-crucial words and punctuation.

Turning to grammatical issues, Crystal found the following features in his dataset:

1. series of sentential fragments such as:
you can but you won't get a job – instead talk about work/life balance – same issue business bullshit language:
2. minor sentences such as ‘yeah’, ‘wow’, ‘hey’
3. major (complete) sentences such as:
I can't help but be amazed how my classmate can communicate with sign language. its truly remarkable
4. semantic threads, i.e. ongoing monologues or dialogues, over half of which contained a cohesive marker e.g. a conjunction ('and', 'but', 'cos'), a connecting adverb ('so', 'well', 'as well', 'also'), a response, or a clarification (e.g. 'I meant')
5. average sentence length was 7.1 words, with some entries displaying considerable degree of complexity and they thus “refute the claim made by critics of this output that Twitter forces a simple syntax on its users”.

In terms of pragmatic issues, the largest category in Crystal’s sample was observations and opinions. The next largest group was advertising. Third was a group whose purpose was “the building or breaking of rapport, or the creating or maintaining of a social atmosphere” (p. 50). In addition, a small number were responses to the questions ‘What are you doing?’ or ‘What’s happening?’ Finally, there were a number of unclear cases where a tweet had more than one function. Crystal (p. 51) provides the following example:

I am in language arts so boring:/ [a combination of What doing + Opinion]

Activity

- The following are some of the tweets that I found by entering the term ‘Global Englishes’ into Twitter Search. Can you identify any of the content, grammatical, and pragmatic features that Crystal found in his tweets? How do you account for any differences? Could they relate, for example, to the three-year gap between Crystal’s tweets and mine, and/or to the fact that most of mine relate to the academic study of the subject Global Englishes? And how similar or different are these tweets to both the text messages and emails presented above?

English is a de facto global language, can't argue with that, but that makes native speakers' "Englishes" relative

It's the last day of our INSET for A level English Language teachers. Today, I cover phonetics & global Englishes. :D

If you're a rhet-comp scholar, it's worth joining #wexmooc for the Global Englishes discuss forum alone. SO popular!

I like the course already! Concept of "global Englishes" is quite interesting.

The British Council hosted a talk about global Englishes:
<http://globalenglishlive.modstreaming.com/> This is what I study currently. It's fascinating!

Global Englishes course I did for an entire semester, pretty much summarized in one article: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20332763> . . .

Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows: No description available
<http://amzn.to/Va2TL4>

Launch day Centre for Global Englishes <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/cge/> @unisouthampton J Jenkins promises controversy in her inaug lect at 6pm

Anyone interested in attending this – Global Englishes 1 day conference (Uni of Southampton), the speaker list is ace!

Suggestions for intro article/chap (20-30pp) on AAVE (socio)? 3rd yr course on Global Englishes. Already have Wolfram'07, Lang/Ling Compass.

- ❑ Find the following examples: an extract from your recent academic writing, a piece of your own informal (non-electronic) writing, and an email, text message, and tweet that you have sent recently (or whichever of these types of EMC you engage in if not all three). In addition make a recording of yourself in conversation and transcribe one to two minutes of it. Compare and contrast the language used across the different channels. What conclusions are you able to reach in relation to your own use of these various mediums? If you are not a native English speaker, are you aware of any differences in the ways native English speakers use any of these mediums compared with your own ways?
- ❑ Finally, thinking back to the traditional forms of English communication discussed in the earlier parts of strand 3, to what extent do you believe EMC is changing the way we communicate? Do our EMC interactions tend to be, for example, shorter and/or faster and/or more frequent? Are they different from traditional speech and writing in other ways? And do you think EMC is having any impact on the development of the English language itself? If so, what evidence do you have of new linguistic features (words, grammatical usage, style, and so on) that have entered the English language or traditional features that are in decline or even been lost as a result of EMC?

C4

'SUB'-VARIETIES OF ENGLISH: THE EXAMPLE OF SINGLISH

In this unit, we explore Singlish, a variety of English that is stigmatised by many, including some linguists, as an inferior version of the related standard variety, Standard Singapore English. To sociolinguists, on the other hand, Singlish is regarded as a *non*-rather than a *sub*-standard English.

The variety popularly called Singlish by Singaporeans and others, though more often known by linguists as **Colloquial Singapore English (CSE)**, differs in certain respects from the related standard variety, **Standard Singapore English (SSE)**. However, as Deterding (2007: 6) points out, it is not clear whether these two varieties “exist along a continuum” (Deterding’s preferred explanation, with frequency of occurrence of non-standard features as the main distinction between them), or whether “a diglossic situation exists between them, involving a clear switch between two styles of speech”. Either way, as you will see in the third example below, young people are often able to move easily from one to the other. And regardless of how Singlish is explained, the issue of whether it should be banned has been exercising the minds of educationalists, government officials, and journalists alike for a number of years. Some are concerned that the use of Singlish among the young is likely to affect their literacy (note that in C3 we saw similar fears in respect of British children’s literacy in relation to their use of texting). Another fear is that if young people grow up speaking only Singlish, they will not be able to speak an internationally acceptable or understandable form of English, something which many Singaporeans regard as crucial to the continuing success of a country with a total population of a little over four million.

Gupta (1999: 62) defines Singlish as a contact variety rather than a “semi-institutionalised codemix variety” such as Spanglish or Hindlish. She argues that “the Sing- of Singlish is Singapore, not a language” and that “the main difference from StdE [standard English] is syntactic, and the lexis is dominated by English”. She adds that “it is Singapore Colloquial English (sic) which is the most usual ENL of those who learn English at home”.

The forms of Singlish**Activity**

The following utterances (from Gupta, 1994: 71–72) are by a four-year-old child who is pleading with her mother to go and see a Care Bear film. She believes that in order to see the film, they must first buy a Care Bear (a toy bear) and that this will only be feasible if they attend a church near where the film is being shown.

Mummy, you must buy Care Bear first leh.
Then you got ticket go and see.
You didn’t buy Care Bear hor, then ah, you cannot.
Can to the church there.
Church there got Care Bear cartoon.
Tomorrow then go lah.

Tomorrow go church lah.
Sunday then go lah.

- ❑ Try to describe some of the linguistic features of Singlish based only on this evidence.

The second example, also from Gupta (1999: 62) also features a child, this time one of almost six years old, who is a native speaker of English. The conversation is between Gupta herself (AG) and the child (R). They are looking at a photograph of a crowd of people in a performance:

R Then this is the Jesus son.
AG Jesus's son!
R No, this is Jesus son.
[1 sec]
Hah?
AG Jesus son?
R Yah
AG Jesus didn't have any children.
R That one – ah – because ah, like us hor, /is/ Jesus daughter and son ah.
Acting only lah.

- ❑ What can you add to your list of Singlish features from this extra evidence?

The third example comes from Pakir (1995: 7). In this school, while Mandarin is the normal language used by the girls for informal interaction, in this particular class they regularly use English even informally. Here, the girls are engaged in group-work. The formality level has dropped from the standard spoken English that tends to characterise these students' speech, and as Pakir points out, their language includes a number of colloquial features.

S1 On the way to Damascus, saw bright lights, heard Jesus . . .
Conversation with Jesus, Jesus gives him instructions . . .
S3 Got instructions. Can lah.
S1 OK, so what . . . Then Saul is blinded, right?
S2 He was instructed to go into the city; but he was going into the city anyway!
S1 Ya woh.
S3 Saul was baffled. Mystified. He heard the sound but did not see anyone.
S2 But "... did not see anyone" indicates that Saul must have seen something.
S3 He saw a bright light!
S2 Sorry, I'm sorry. So cheem.
(cheem = Hokkien, meaning 'deep')

- ❑ Once again, identify features which seem to you to signal Singlish usage, then compare your notes with the following account.

Grammar

The following is adapted from the list of grammatical features of CSE offered by Bautista and Gonzalez (2006: 135), which they obtained from Alsagoff and Ho (1998). Wherever possible, the features are illustrated with authentic data from Deterding (2007) ('D'), and elsewhere with constructed examples from Alsagoff and Ho ('AH'):

Features associated with the verb

- past tense not morphologically marked: 'She eat here yesterday' (AH: 137)
- present tense with no -s suffix: 'nowadays she . . . she look after my niece and nephews' (D: 45)
- copula dropped to describe states: 'This coffee house very cheap' (AH: 139), 'the young ones . . . all all right also lah' (D: 52)
- adverbials such as *already* preferred to morphological marking of aspect: 'My baby speak already' (AH: 140), 'the rest of them um . . . um already completed their studying' (D: 52)

Features associated with the noun

- non-count nouns treated as count: 'I bought a lot of furnitures from IKEA' (D: 42), 'reading some fictions' (D: 43)
- indefinite article dropped: 'yah, sat on elephant's back' (D: 109)
- relative clause with different word order and *one*: 'That boy pinch my sister one very naughty' (AH: 147)

Features of sentence structure

- subject and sometimes object dropping: 'so in the end . . . didn't try out the rides so initially want to take the ferris wheel' (D: 58), 'Every year, must buy for Chinese New Year' (AH: 147)
- conjunction dropping: 'so only tried one or two dishes, didn't really do much cooking' (D: 107)
- use of *or not* in questions: 'You can eat pork or not?' (AH: 150)
- use of *is it?* tag question: 'he think I want to listen to his story is it?' (D: 56)
- use of pragmatic particles *lah* (often to create solidarity), and *ah* (to mark off the topic or to indicate that more is to follow): 'shopping-wise, nothing much to buy there lah' (D: 69), 'which subject ah . . . I guess I have no preference now' (D: 72)

Pronunciation

The following pronunciation items are from Deterding (2007):

- Avoidance of the sounds [θ] and [ð]. In initial positions [t] and [d] are often used, so that e.g. 'thing' is pronounced 'ting', and 'then' is pronounced 'den'. In final positions, [f] is often used instead of [θ] and [ð] so that 'birth' is 'birf' and 'with' is 'wif'.
- Replacement of final plosive (stop) consonants i.e. [p] [t] [k], but especially [t] and [k] with a glottal stop [?], so that 'quite' is pronounced [kwaI?] and 'not' is [nç?].

- ❑ Less distinction between long and short vowels than in many other accents of English with typically long vowels being shortened and diphthongs being pronounced as monophthongs, e.g. ‘taught’ as [tç?], ‘staff’ as ‘stuff’, ‘days’ as [des], and ‘know’ as [no].
- ❑ Rhythm very syllable timed, sometimes described as having a ‘staccato effect’.
- ❑ Because of the evenly timed rhythm, words often have equal stress on their syllables, but in some words that have an audible stress pattern, this may differ from the pattern in other English varieties, e.g. ‘biographies’ as **biographies**, ‘opportunity’ as **opportunity**, ‘colleague’ as **colleague**.

Lexis

These lexical items are from Deterding (2007) ('D'), supplemented with some from Brown (1999)('B'):

- ❑ Borrowings: many words from the other Singaporean languages are borrowed into English, e.g. ‘kiasu’ (fear of losing out, from Hokkien), ‘chim’ (profound, Hokkien), ‘makan’ (to eat, Malay), ‘kampung’ (rural village, Malay), ‘pasar malam’ (night market, Malay), ‘siau’ (crazy, Hokkien), ‘buaya’ (womaniser, lit. ‘crocodile’, Malay), ‘ulu’ (rustic, unsophisticated, Malay), ‘rojak’ (all mixed together, Malay), ‘obiang’ (vulgar, tasteless dressing or display of wealth, origin unclear).
- ❑ Shifted meaning: e.g. ‘bring’ is used where ‘take’ is more common in other varieties, and ‘stay’ is used to mean ‘long-term residence’: ‘my dad will have to help up . . . by erm bringing my niece to school in the morning’ (D: 80), ‘my grandmother, my aunt and uncle also stay next door’ (D: 81).
- ❑ Tendency to extend the grammatical functions of verbs to adjectives and of nouns to verbs, e.g. the verb ‘blur’ is an adjective meaning ‘confused’ as in ‘You so blur like sotong’ (where ‘sotong’ is the Malay for ‘squid’). [Note that ‘blur’ with this meaning has an entry in the *Encarta Dictionary*.]
- ❑ Idiomatic forms peculiar to Singlish, e.g. ‘love letters’ (flaky, tube-shaped biscuits): ‘I would bake pineapple tarts and love letters for my neighbours’ (B: 133), ‘havoc’ (wild and unruly): ‘young women today are more havoc’ (B: 103), ‘4-D’ (four digit, a form of gambling): ‘a major illegal 4-D syndicate’ (B: 88).

The politics of Singlish

As mentioned earlier, the use of Singlish is causing concern among some members of Singapore society, particularly the government. Their concern led, in 2000, to the launch of the ‘Speak Good English Movement’ (SGEM), the main purpose of which has been to promote the use of standard English and discourage the use of Singlish. According to the official view, Singlish is ‘not English’ but “English corrupted by Singaporeans . . . broken, ungrammatical English sprinkled with words and phrases from local dialects and Malay which English speakers outside Singapore have difficulties in understanding” (quoted in Rubdy 2001: 348). In other words, the prime motivation behind the SGEM is an economic imperative: the need for Singaporeans to maintain international intelligibility in English in order to be able to compete in the world’s financial markets rather than develop “[their] own type of pidgin English . . . which the rest of the world will find quaint but incomprehensible” (Prime Minister Goh

Chok Tong, quoted in Rubdy 2001: 345). And as Alsagoff (2012) points out, the Singapore government continues to take this position, with a recent version of the English Language Syllabus (2010) still emphasising the need for children to develop an “internationally acceptable” English and the importance of accurate grammar and pronunciation in this. She goes on to note:

Although an internationally acceptable English could ostensibly have referred to an endonormative one, viz Standard Singapore English, it is significant that the term “Singapore English” continues to be absent from official policy documents, indicating that the standard is seen as exonormative.

(Alsagoff 2012: 149–150)

Meanwhile, she adds, expatriate teachers of English continue to be imported “to ensure that there are good role models of British English in the schools” (p. 150).

Sociolinguists see Singlish rather differently from the way the Singapore government sees it. Schneider (2007) observes that concerns about falling standards of English are a common feature of many emergent postcolonial Englishes. And Mugglestone (2003) reports that worries over pronunciation have been expressed at various times in Britain during the past 300 years – yet I doubt any reader of this book, whether in favour of Singlish or not, would recommend a return to the British English current during the reign of King George I (1714–1727).

As Rubdy points out, Singlish has become a symbol of cultural identity and social cohesion for many Singaporeans. She notes that “[i]n recent years, an increasing number of young and middle-aged Singaporeans have begun to accept and even expect the use of vernacular English in the in-group” (2001: 345). Rubdy accepts on the one hand, that a language has to have an economic basis in order to survive, but argues on the other, that

while realizing that Singlish is the glue that binds Singaporeans into a distinct group that can be identified as a unique speech community in its own right, what is clear is that the authorities would rather Singaporeans used a different ‘brand’ of glue – one that is closer to either British or American Standard English.

(Rubdy 2001: 352)

Wee (2002) takes great exception to the Singapore government’s insistence on linking English with its Inner Circle users and their English norms. He argues that Singaporeans have ownership of their English, and that they therefore have the right to determine their own English norms. And Wee (2005) takes things even further with his contention that the Singapore government’s SGEM, which, like others, he sees as an attempt to eliminate Singlish completely, is not only an example of linguistic discrimination but, more seriously, a breach of linguistic human rights.

Both Rubdy (2001) and Deterding (2007) believe the Singapore government may well be successful in eliminating Singlish. They compare the SGEM with the Speak Mandarin Campaign, also launched for economic reasons (communication

with China). As Deterding (2007: 91) notes, the Speak Mandarin Campaign “has been extraordinarily successful, to the extent that Mandarin Chinese, a language that almost nobody in Singapore spoke as a home language thirty years ago, is now the common language among young Chinese Singaporeans”. He ponders whether the SGEM will meet with equal success, and suggests that, on the basis of the Speak Mandarin Campaign and also the government’s success in non-linguistic areas (e.g. persuading people to flush public toilets and not to chew gum), “it is quite possible that the popular use of Singlish will indeed be eliminated”. On the other hand, maybe Singaporeans nowadays have become less willing to follow government exhortations, and Alsagoff (2012: 151) sees “potential problems . . . ahead if Singapore refuses to embrace and manage the development of its own brand of English”. She points out that English is now a lingua franca for many Singaporeans, so that “the interesting question for Singapore’s future will be ‘Which English?’” (p 152). We shall see.

Activity 

- To what extent do you believe that the use of Singlish is a potential threat to Singapore’s economy and the financial stability of its population? Or do you believe that Singlish can operate harmlessly alongside SSE?
- Either way, do you agree with the view that financial considerations are so vital that they should always influence language policy, or do you believe that cultural factors should take precedence? What is your rationale?
- Why do you think Singlish attracts such negative attitudes to the extent that it is regarded as “broken”, “ungrammatical”, even “corrupt”? Do you see anything in common between attitudes towards Singlish and those towards AAVE in the US (see units B3 and C5) or Estuary English (roughly a less ‘substandard’ version of Cockney in London and surrounding areas) in the UK? Look back to the quote about AAVE in the final activity of B3, and at the following media quotes about Estuary English (from Maidment 1994) while you consider this issue:

It is not an accent . . . just lazy speaking that grates on the ear and is an extremely bad example to our children.

The spread of Estuary English can only be described as horrifying. We are plagued with idiots on radio and television who speak English like the dregs of humanity.

God forbid that it becomes standard English. Are standards not meant to be upheld? We must not slip into slovenliness because of a lack of respect for the language. Ours is a lovely language, a rich language, which has a huge vocabulary. We have to safeguard it.

It is slobsspeak, limp and flaccid: the mouths uttering it deserve to be stuffed with broken glass.

C5

CREOLE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UK AND US

The examples of pidgin English in unit B5 were taken mainly from the Pacific pidgin, Tok Pisin. In C5, we focus on two contemporary varieties of English that originated in the Atlantic in the creoles of West Africa and the Caribbean: London Jamaican (more recently called ‘Multicultural London English’ and ‘Jafaican’), and African-American Vernacular English (also known as ‘African-American Black English’ and ‘Ebonics’).

London Jamaican

Over the past couple of decades, interest has grown in this London creole, or **patois** (also **patwa**), as it is often called by its users, although they may also refer to it as ‘Black Talk’, ‘Nation Language’, and ‘Black Slang’ (Sebba 2007). It was originally known in academic circles (and sometimes still is) as London Jamaican, reflecting the strong Jamaican influence on the working class speech of many young Londoners regardless of their own first language and ethnicity. More recently, though, the term ‘**Jafaican**’ (roughly, ‘fake Jamaican’) has taken over in the media where it probably originated (Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox and Torgerson 2011). Meanwhile, some scholars now prefer ‘Multicultural London English’ as better reflecting the more recent and wider range of linguistic influences involved since the term London Jamaican was first coined. For though the variety still borrows most heavily from Jamaican creole, it also contains elements of Panjabi, Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, Kurdish, Turkish, and other languages (Harris 2008).

As Sebba (2007: 279) points out, “Jamaican Creole emerged as the ‘heritage language’ used among the second generation [of migrants from the Caribbean], even those whose parents were *not* Jamaican Creole speakers” and is “used as a symbol of group identity by ‘Black British’ children and adolescents – as well as by some White adolescents in friendship groups with Black peers” (see Rampton 1995/2005 on the use of minority language varieties by members of ethnic outgroups, a phenomenon known as **language crossing**). For its Black British speakers, then, Jamaican Creole reflects the process of recreolisation, where a creole that has moved further along the Creole Continuum in the direction of the standard language, shifts back towards earlier creole forms (see Romaine 1988: 188–203, Sebba 1997: 225–227, 233, Todd 1990: 61–65).

The (re)emergence of pidgins and creoles as well as varieties such as MLE are thus part of the wider phenomenon of **super-diversity** which, itself, has arisen from the increase in migration resulting from globalisation, and led to widespread mixing and meshing of linguistic resources. This more recent process contrasts with pre-globalisation adherence to relatively stable, bounded language varieties. It means, in turn, that increasingly we are seeing the emergence of plurilingual linguistic forms at the intersection of two or more language communities (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), of which Multilingual London English (henceforth MLE) is a good example. MLE is spoken, as its name suggests, in the London area. But having emerged in the London region as a relatively uniform variety regardless of the ethnicities of its users, it has spread further afield, primarily to other English inner city areas.

Research into MLE is young, and up to now there have been relatively few academic publications describing its nature. Meanwhile, the principal influence on MLE's make-up is still considered to be Jamaican Creole rather than Panjabi, Turkish, Kurdish, and the like. So while not forgetting that "the concept of London Jamaican now looks too narrow to encompass the linguistic ethnographic realities we see on the ground in London" and beyond (Roxy Harris, personal communication), in the section that follows I focus on the Jamaican Creole elements of MLE. And in doing so, I continue to use the term 'London Jamaican' where my sources do so. Readers interested in exploring MLE further will find a detailed analysis of two of its features in Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox and Torgerson (2011), as well as a list of their other papers and publications (including some made available in pdf) on the website of their research project, 'Multicultural London English: the emergence, acquisition and diffusion of a new variety' (Economic and Social Research Council, 2007–2010) at: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-062-23-0814/read>.

Jamaican Creole influences on MLE

Since most speakers of Jamaican Creole are also fluent in British English, they do not need creole for communicative functions and use it, rather, as a powerful marker of group identity. It serves this function even for speakers who have limited fluency in creole, and who are only able to smatter their conversation with token creole features such as stereotypical Creole words and pronunciations (Sebba 2007: 281). In other words, as Sebba goes on to say, "Creole in the London context is a speech style, defined by the participants of an interaction in contrast with 'English', and marked by a selection of salient 'non-English' features". He points out the cultural attraction that Creole holds for its speakers and its value as a "non-legitimated variety", arguing that this accounts for the fact that London Jamaican focuses on Jamaican Creole instead of the many other mother tongue creoles of its speakers, and adding that "it is often not learnt in the family home, but at school and from the peer group" (1997: 233).

The most comprehensive account of London Jamaican is that of Sebba (1993). He examines in detail the features of **Jamaican Creole** in Britain and shows how the speech code-switches between London Jamaican and **London English (Cockney)**. In this section, some of the details are also taken from a master's dissertation by Graham (2000). Graham was convinced that the patois of the black youth living in her part of Brixton (South London) differed in striking ways from the London English of the local white youth, and that these black adolescents were engaging in acts of identity by looking to their Jamaican roots for some aspects of their speech style. She set out to find out precisely which features of Jamaican Creole they did and did not adopt.

Jamaican Creole grammatical features in the London Jamaican data:

- ❑ interchangeable use of pronouns, e.g. 'mi' and 'I' both used for 'I' and 'me'; 'im', 'i' both used for he, she, it, him, her, its, his, hers, its
- ❑ use of present tense for both present and past, e.g. 'an I se' meaning 'and I said'
- ❑ elimination of tense suffixes -s, -ed, -t and participle endings -ing

- ed, -en, -t, e.g. 'yu bret stink' for 'your breath stinks'
- negation with 'no', often with phonological changes, as in 'no bret stink' for standard English 'my breath doesn't stink'.

Jamaican Creole phonological features in the London Jamaican data:

- substitution of /θ/ and /ð/ with /t/ and /d/ e.g. 'bret' for 'breath' and 'dis' for 'this' (whereas speakers of London English substitute these sounds with /f/ and /v/)
- labialisation when the sound /b/ is followed by certain vowels, e.g. 'boys' is pronounced 'bwoys'
- dropping of word-final consonants, e.g. 'bulleh' for 'bullet'
- realisation of the vowel sounds /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ as /a:/ so that 'cloth' becomes 'klaat'
- lack of weak vowels especially schwa, so that, e.g. the word 'rapper' is pronounced [rapa] rather than [rapə] and the article 'the' is regularly pronounced [da] and [di].

Jamaican Creole lexical features in the London Jamaican data:

- Graham quotes from Hewitt (1986: 129–130) including 'mash-up' ('destroy'), 'picky-picky' ('frizzy', of hair), and 'duppy' ('ghost'). However, she repeats Hewitt's (1986) caution that words of Jamaican Creole origin may also be used by speakers from other groups including whites and non-Caribbean blacks.
- Examples in Graham's own data include the taboo Jamaican Creole words 'bomb-klaat' ('toilet paper') and 'blodklaat' ('sanitary towel').

Features of the London Jamaican data which are also markers of London English but *do not* occur in Jamaican Creole are as follows:

- the glottal stop (represented by ?), e.g. 'ghetto' pronounced [ge?o] and 'gotta' as [go?a]
- vocalisation of dark T (the RP /l/ sound when it is followed by a pause or a consonant) e.g. 'bill' as 'biw', and 'help' as 'hewp', whereas in Jamaican Creole, this 'T' is pronounced as clear T (the RP 'l' sound when it is followed by a vowel)
- substitution of /θ/ and /ð/ with /f/ and /v/ alongside /t/ and /d/.

These are some other features of Jamaican Creole (from Sebba 1993). The first two also occur in London Jamaican, but the third and fourth do not:

- lack of inversion in question forms, as in 'im did phone you?'
- absence of the copula, as in 'dis party well rude'
- the addition of the sound /h/ to the beginnings of words which start with vowel sounds e.g. 'accent' pronounced 'haccent'.
- use of the suffix 'dem' added to a noun to indicate plurality, e.g. 'man-dem' meaning 'men', or a large quantity as in 'kaan-dem' ('a lot of corn').

Activity

- How do you account for the fact that London Jamaican speakers have in their repertoires features of both London English and Jamaican Creole? Can you see any reason for their selection of features in each case? For example, why do they use the London English glottal stop? Why do they not use Jamaican Creole /h/ before a vowel? If they are engaging in acts of identity, how fluid is this identity?
- If you speak MLE yourself, or know speakers of MLE, can you identify any borrowings in your/their speech from varieties other than Jamaican Creole and London English, such as Panjabi, Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, Kurdish, and Turkish?
- If you have access to adolescent speakers of Black English, ask them questions based on the features set out above to find out whether they think they use (or do not use):
 - the linguistic items identified above as being exclusive to London Jamaican
 - those items identified as featuring also in London English
 - other features not mentioned

If possible, record the speakers talking to each other to see how far their intuitions agree with what they do in practice.

- If you do not have access to young speakers of Black English, you could devise a similar small-scale research project for another adolescent group that you have identified as speaking a variety of English which differs in interesting ways from that of their local peer group.
- Sebba (2007: 292) observes that the trend for crossing into Black speech has increased over the past few years, and describes how the White British comedian, Sacha Baron Cohen, in the role of the spoof chat-show host, Ali G (a stereotype of a white British suburban male from Staines, SE England), uses a number of Creole-based London Jamaican features in his speech. Sebba argues that the popularity of Ali G “demonstrates that Creole has made its mark on the consciousness of speakers of British English” and this “suggests that even if Creole is largely relinquished as a main medium of communication in the Caribbean in succeeding generations, it will continue to exist as a language of youth and adolescence, well beyond the confines of its original ethnic roots”. How far do you agree?

Ebonics

Pandey (2000: 1) notes that “[f]or many Americans, the variety referred to as ‘Ebonics’ or **African-American Vernacular English [AAVE]** is simply ‘improper speech’ that they neither respect nor recognize”. Wolfram (2006: 328) points out that despite the popular use of the term Ebonics, many linguists prefer AAVE “because of the strong emotional reactions and racist parodies sometimes engendered by the use of the term Ebonics” (see unit B3 for examples of racist attitudes towards speakers of AAVE on the Oprah Winfrey Show). Other terms in fairly common use are BE (Black Vernacular English), and BE (Black English).

Wolfram (2006: 330) lists a number of distinguishing features of AAVE. These include:

- habitual *be* for intermittent activity, e.g. *Sometimes my ears be itching*.
- absence of copula for contracted forms of *is* and *are*, e.g. *She nice*.
- present tense, third-person -*s* absence, e.g. *She walk*.
- ain’t* for *didn’t*, e.g. *He ain’t do it*.
- reduction of final consonant clusters when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. *lif’ up* for *lift up*.
- use of [f] and [v] for final *th*, e.g. *toof* for *tooth*, *smoov* for *smooth*.

Some of these features occur in other stigmatised varieties of British and American English (see B3). But as Wolfram points out, the uniqueness of AAVE lies “in the particular combination of structures that make up the dialect”, and to this day, there is still no agreement about how Ebonics developed. It is, nevertheless, “a distinct, robust, and stable socio-ethnic dialect of English that is maintaining itself”, and whose “growing sense of linguistic solidarity and identity among African Americans” is unifying the dialect across different localities, while its “everyday uses of language . . . encompass the full range of communicative functions” (Wolfram 2006: 340). See also Wikipedia, which has a particularly informative entry on the origins, features, social context, educational and other issues relating to AAVE at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_American_Vernacular_English

But we turn now to a major controversy about this variety, the ‘Ebonics debate’, which exploded in the mid-1990s. While there has been significant scholarship since the original debate, particularly by John Rickford and John Baugh, issues around equal educational access and opportunity remain as salient now as they were at the time of the debate (Maggie Hawkins, personal communication).

The Ebonics debate

On 18 December 1996, the School Board in Oakland, California, passed a resolution regarding its policy in relation to the language skills of African-American pupils. Despite the various attempts that had been made by the Board up until that point, these pupils had continued to exhibit far higher levels of illiteracy than their peer group. The Board decided on a novel approach: to treat African-American pupils in the same way that they had treated Asians and Hispanics. In other words, they proposed teaching them Standard English through their ‘mother tongue’, African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), also commonly known as **Ebonics** (from ‘ebony’ and

'phonics'). As the pupils' English skills improved, the teaching of other subjects through the medium of English would then be phased in.

The Oakland Board's resolution included the following claims:

- Many African-Americans speak Ebonics.
- Ebonics is not a debased dialect or jargon but a valid linguistic system influenced by the West and Niger-Congo languages spoken by their ancestors.
- African Language Systems are genetically based.
- Ebonics could and should be used as a medium for the children who were being failed by the current education system.
- Funds would be set aside for the devising and implementing of a teaching program in Ebonics.

(Todd 1997: 13–14)

There was an immediate and highly polarised outcry. These are some of the responses (taken from McArthur 1998: 217–219):

From the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 December 1996

Tatum Willoughby, a fifth-grade student at Prescott Elementary on Campbell Street in West Oakland, used to cry because she had trouble 'speaking the right language,' as she calls it. The bright African American child tried hard to translate the phrases and words she uses at home – black English – into the standard English her teacher said would help her excel. But after months of being taught through a program that recognizes that African American children may come into the classroom using Ebonics . . . Tatum reads her essays with pride. Occasionally, the 10-year-old slips into black English, such as saying 'dis' for 'this.' But she quickly corrects herself. 'Most people won't understand you if you speak (black English)', Tatum said.

(front page: Thaai Walker and Nanette Asimov)

I think it's tragic. Here we have young black kids who are incapable in far too many cases of negotiating even the most basic transactions in our society because of their inability to communicate . . . We're going to legitimize what they're doing. To me it's just ass backwards.

(editorial section: quoted comment by Ward Connerly,
a University of California regent)

If people are not willing to accept ebonics as a second language, then they should at least accept that African American students are not achieving at the level they need to, and we need to do something about that.

(editorial section: quoted comment by Alan Young, director of state and federal programs, Oakland school board)

Editor – I am absolutely thrilled at the Oakland school district's choice of ebonics as the language of choice in the classroom. I expect that very shortly we will see New York punks being taught in Brooklonics, Georgia rednecks in Ya'allonics, Valley

girls in Bimbonics, chronic nerds in Siliconics and farm boys in Rubiconics. But what most of us need to keep up with the bureaucrats is a thorough understanding of Moronics.

(letter section: Richard Ogar of Berkeley)

Editor – The real goal of those backing this move is multiculturalism, as opposed to the melting pot society which is what made this nation so successful. If the U.S. is to remain a leading economic and social force as we enter the 21st century, we must not allow the PC crowd to have its way in imposing multiculturalism on the nation. The action of the Oakland school board does a tremendous disservice to black students, and I hope it is soundly rebuked by higher authorities, without whose funding it cannot succeed.

(letter section: from Jack D. Bernal in San Francisco)

From *The Oakland Tribune*, 21 December 1996

The [board's] report offers sound goals – African-American students will become proficient in reading, speaking and writing standard English. It recommends greater involvement of parents and incentives for teachers who tackle these challenges. The Ebonics approach would presumably make African-American students eligible for state and federal bilingual funds, giving the district more resources to provide additional help for them. District officials deny the approach is a strategy to get more funding. There's nothing wrong with looking for additional ways to help a population that is struggling in the public school system. But making non-standard English a language undermines the very goals the board has embraced. It sends a wrong and confusing message to students. If what they are speaking is a language, what's the urgency of learning another language?

(front page: Brenda Payton)

From *The International Herald Tribune*, 24–25 December 1996

The Reverend Jesse Jackson said Sunday that the school board in Oakland, California, was both foolish and insulting to black students throughout the United States when it declared that many of its black students speak a language distinct from traditional English . . . 'I understand the attempt to reach out to these children, but this is an unacceptable surrender, borderlining on disgrace,' he said. 'It's teaching down to our children' . . . Mr Jackson said the Oakland board had become a laughingstock, and he urged its members to reverse their decision.

('Jesse Jackson Ridicules Acceptance of Black English', by Neil A. Lewis)

From *The New York Times*, 26 December 1996

To the Editor: The California State Board of Education endorsed ebonics in 1991, and the State Department of Education has financed research institutes and conferences that have studied the subject exclusively. I spoke at two such conferences this year alone. Oakland's school board is not the first district to apply this policy. Los Angeles and San Diego have used it for years . . . Those like the

Rev. Jesse Jackson, who seek the quick headline will find themselves out of step with the legitimate demands for cutting-edge education.

(letter by John W. Templeton, Executive Editor, Aspire Books, San Francisco)

From *The New York Times*, 14 January 1997

Hoping to quell the uproar set off by its resolution to treat black English as a second language in its classrooms, the Oakland school board will scratch part of a plan that suggested it would offer instruction in the tongue that some linguists call ebonics, school officials said today. After almost a month of national debate and a weekend of sometimes tense meetings here, the Oakland schools task force that introduced the black English policy . . . produced a new resolution on Sunday that calls only for the recognition of language differences among black students in order to improve their proficiency in English. 'The debate is over,' the head of the task force, Sylvester Hodges, said. 'We are hoping that people will understand that and will join us.' . . . The many writers, educators and politicians who have attacked the school board's original plan have tended to agree that the issue is perhaps more about the symbolism than the specifics of what black children in Oakland might be taught.

('Oakland Scratches Plan To Teach Black English', by Tim Golden)

From *The Economist* (UK) 4 January, 1997

The school board thought it might help if the slang these children used at home were recognized as a distinct primary language, separate from English, and if teachers showed respect for this language and used it in the classroom, as a means to bridge the gap between standard English and the speech of the ghetto . . . The quasi-language in question has been christened 'Ebonics', a lumpy blend of 'ebony' and 'phonics'. Supporters of Ebonics say it derives from the structures of Niger-Congo African languages and marks the persistent legacy of slavery. Other linguistic scholars note that some usages have appeared only recently, as the ghettos have become more isolated from mainstream American life.

Activity 

- ❑ Todd (1997: 16) says "the Oakland debate revealed more about the attitudes of the partakers than it did about Ebonics or about educational problems". What do you think she means? How do you account for the fact that opposition to the resolution was expressed by members of both the black population and the conservative white population?
- ❑ Which side, if either, do you support, and why?
- ❑ How does the Oakland Board's approach to the education of its black students fit in with the ethos of the English Only movement that you looked at in unit C1?

- ❑ Why do you think so much importance, not to mention emotional investment, is attached to the variety of English used for educational purposes? You may like to read the article on pidgin English in Cameroon (in unit D5) before you think about this issue.
- ❑ Next, a challenge for those of you who would like to examine the Ebonics debate in detail. In her introduction to a symposium on the Ebonics debate in the journal *World Englishes* 19/1, Pandey (2000: 4) asks:
 1. Why should discussions on world Englishes focus on Ebonics?
 2. What language(s) are monodialectal speakers of Ebonics speaker of? Are they 'native speakers' of English? What is their first language or 'mother tongue'?
 3. What prompted the Oakland School Board's resolution on Ebonics and its subsequent modification? Was it altered by the same Board members who worded the initial resolution?
 4. What lessons can be gleaned from a focus on the Ebonics debate?

Pandey recommends that students read through the six articles that form the Ebonics symposium in order to find answers to these questions and to stimulate discussion. If you are studying this book in class and have access to the journal *World Englishes*, you might like to divide the six articles among yourselves and then return to the four questions above to compare notes.

- ❑ Maggie Hawkins, full professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and an expert in languages and literacies, makes the following observation:

We know that these speakers are marginalized in society and in schools, and now that we've acknowledged AAVE as a fully-fledged dialect it hasn't made a difference. So the attention to it, except among some predominantly black scholars, has waned, but the rates of, say, school success for African American BE (Black English) speakers hasn't improved.

(personal communication)

In your opinion what reason(s) might account for this lack of improvement?

- ❑ In the first half of C5 we looked at Multilingual London English and noted that its influence is spreading beyond both those with Jamaican backgrounds and those based in the London area, and that it is even being emulated by young middle class British people despite the contempt of those of a more conservative mindset. By contrast, I am aware of no evidence that AAVE is being taken up by Americans who do not share the ethnolinguistic background of AAVE's speakers. Instead, it seems to be heavily stigmatized throughout the US, which, to my knowledge, has no AAVE-imitating equivalent of the UK's Ali G. Why do you think this is so?

ELF AND EDUCATION

C6

As we saw in units A6 and B6, there has been both a considerable amount of theorising about the nature of ELF and a substantial amount of empirical ELF data collected over the past ten to twenty years. By contrast, very little has so far been said about its pedagogical implications. ELF researchers, it seems, are reticent about drawing conclusions from their findings for the teaching of English, and regularly argue that pedagogical decisions should be left to ELT professionals. Meanwhile, the professionals themselves have so far not shown much inclination to move towards ELF-informed teaching. Wen (2012: 373) believes there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, “traditional native-speaker based concepts of EFL have been so deeply rooted and it takes time for them to be changed”. Secondly, “some teachers, although they are in support of ELF conceptually, do not know what to do”. Although she is thinking particularly of ELT in China, she believes that what she says applies to many other countries where all the ELT materials are based on traditional EFL, and where teachers, above all, have to help their students pass tests based on native English models.

On the other hand, while far less research has been conducted into the use of English as medium of instruction (EMI) in the teaching of academic subjects in tertiary education, researchers have more to say – perhaps because this time they are, themselves, teaching professionals as well as ELF researchers. In this unit we will explore both these types of education in respect of ELF, firstly, English language teaching and secondly, EMI.

English language teaching

Starting with English language teaching, a number of ELF scholars have been observing for some years that there is a mismatch between the kinds of English that are taught to NNESSs at all educational levels, and the kinds of English they need and use in their lives outside the classroom, i.e. primarily as a lingua franca to communicate with NNESSs from other L1s. Ranta (2010), for example, typically observes that in Finland, the English language curriculum “from the 1940s to the present day” has focused on “the native-speaker ideal” (p. 159). From the 1960s, curricula began to refer to the international usefulness and lingua franca function of English. But so far, this has not led to any changes in pedagogy, and English “continues to be taught from the native-speaker perspective in Finland” (p. 161). The only pedagogic development has been that American English was introduced in the 1970s and given equal status with British English from 1985.

On the other hand, a survey that Ranta conducted among secondary school students and teachers revealed the students’ awareness of the lingua franca role of English, their experience of using it as such, their confidence in their own way of using English, and their belief that the importance of ELF would grow. Even in the teachers, Ranta found

a nascent awareness of ELF-related ideas and approaches among the Finnish teachers of English (younger teachers in particular), as they saw the value of non-native visitors to their classes, welcomed non-native models in the media, and pointed to the lingua franca use and many different varieties of English in their open-ended answers.

(Ranta 2010: 174)

She also notes that the teachers in her survey felt constrained by the need to orient their teaching to the native English that would bring her students success in their final examination. They nevertheless believe that the examination is “outdated, and does not meet the present-day requirements of [English] language use”, and would prefer to “practise more ‘real world’ skills in class” (p. 174).

Activity

- The situation that Ranta describes is typical of many other parts of the Expanding Circle as well as of ELT in the Anglophone world. If you are, or have been, an L2 learner or (NNES or NES) teacher of English at any educational level and in any setting(s), how far does it match your own experience?
- Although, as noted above, ELF researchers have been reluctant to make specific proposals for how ELF might be approached in the classroom, there have been a number of tentative suggestions for ELF approaches. The following are summaries of three sets of suggestions. Look through them and decide:
 - a) Which (if any) of the individual suggestions do you particularly like or dislike?
 - b) What (if any) do you think are their advantages and/or disadvantages as compared with traditional ELT?
 - c) How far (if at all) would they be suitable for the classroom where you learn or learned and/or teach English?
 - d) If you are or were an L2 learner of English, how would you respond if your teacher followed any of these suggestions?
 - e) If you are an English teacher, how (if at all) would you adapt them for your own local purposes? How far would your adaptations be from choice or from government/institutional constraints?

Cogo and Dewey 2012

The implications of ELF for current pedagogic practices are that teachers need to:

- incorporate the global diversity of English into the curriculum rather than focusing exclusively on native English.
- not focus heavily on areas that are problematic for L2 learners, e.g. when to use ‘in’, ‘at’, and ‘on’, and on items that idiosyncratic in ENL, e.g. the past tense to express politeness.
- avoid focusing on typical language ‘errors’ without considering the socio-linguistic realities of the teaching/learning context.
- focus on effective communication rather than grammatical and lexical accuracy according to ENL and on sounding ‘nativelike’.
- develop learners’ ability to use English in a flexible way so that they are able to accommodate to diverse interlocutors and promote successful intercultural communication.

(2012: 169–183)

Seidlhofer 2011

From an ELF perspective, English teaching would take into account the following:

- ❑ conformity to ENL norms is not a necessary requirement for communication.
- ❑ language that has been imperfectly learnt from a conventional point of view can be put to communicative use.
- ❑ teachers can therefore set realistic objectives that are attainable and more closely correspond to the needs of the majority of users of English, i.e. users of ELF.
- ❑ this means focusing on communicative function and evaluating forms in terms of their functional effectiveness rather than their closeness to native English norms.
- ❑ it does not mean that descriptions of ELF should directly determine what language is taught – this should remain a local decision.

(2011: 196–198)

Wen 2012

Most recently, Wen has “made some initial efforts in proposing a pedagogical framework for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English” (2012: 373). Her framework has two dimensions, one relating to views about what language is, the other to views about teaching it. Within the two dimensions, Wen proposes that English is analysed and taught linguistically, culturally, and pragmatically (see Figure C6.1). According to Wen’s framework, learners would not be expected to simply replicate what they were taught, but to “use it as a means for developing effective communication strategies related to their own cultural reality”.

View about language		View about teaching	
<u>Three components</u>		<u>What is to be taught</u>	<u>What is to be achieved</u>
Linguistic	→	Native varieties Non-native varieties Localized features	→ Effective communication skills
Cultural	→	Target lang. cultures Non-native cultures Learners' own culture	→ Intercultural competence
Pragmatic communicative	→	Universal com. rules Target lang. com. rules Rules of other non-natives	→ Abilities to generate appropriate communicative rules and strategies

Figure C6.1 A pedagogical framework for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English (source: Wen 2012: 373)

- ❑ Finally, it is often argued that using ELF involves a new kind of cultural awareness. As Baker (2012: 65) points out, cultural awareness is traditionally concerned with developing an understanding of differences between

one's own and another culture. This, he argues, is not appropriate for the Expanding Circle because

given the variety and heterogeneity of English use in such settings, a user or learner of English could not be expected to have a knowledge of all the different cultural contexts of communication they may encounter and even less so the languacultures of the participants in this communication.

Baker proposes that intercultural communication requires an awareness of the following 'components':

- culturally based frames of reference, forms, and communicative practices as being related both to specific cultures and also as emergent and hybrid in intercultural communication;
- initial interaction in intercultural communication as possibly based on cultural stereotypes or generalizations but an ability to move beyond these through:
- a capacity to negotiate and mediate between different emergent socio-culturally grounded communication modes and frames of reference based on the above understanding of culture in intercultural communication.

(2012: 66)

Do you agree with Baker? If so, do you think it would be possible to raise awareness of these phenomena in an English language classroom? If not, how would you set about raising intercultural awareness among English learners?

English medium instruction

In A6 we explored the wide range of areas, or domains, in which English is currently the global lingua franca. Education is a major one of these domains, and particularly higher education, which has become 'globalised' over recent years. Many universities around the world now describe themselves as 'international', attract large numbers of students and staff from other countries and L1s, and thus form prime sites of ELF use. This development has already attracted a vast amount of research, although to date more of this has focused on the cultural than linguistic implications. Nevertheless, book-length publications that explore linguistic issues include Björkman (2013), Doiz et al. (2013), Jenkins (2014), Mauranen (2012), and Smit (2010a), and others are in progress.

Most readers of this book are probably studying at a university, whether in an Anglophone or non-Anglophone setting, in which English is the main or only medium of instruction. However, your classmates, and possibly your teachers too, are likely to come from a range of countries and L1s outside the Anglophone world. Thus, whether you are, yourself, a NES or (more likely) a NNES university student or lecturer, the issues in this section may apply directly to you.

EMI and CLIL

Ten years ago, there was a clear distinction between English Medium Instruction (EMI) and **Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)**. In the latter case, secondary and sometimes primary school subjects were taught in English (or, rarely, another L2) and language support was offered to students alongside the L2 content teaching. In the former case, university subjects were taught in English, and students were expected to have sufficient ability in the language to equip them for EMI from the start. More recently, the distinction between the two has blurred in tertiary education, with 'EMI' sometimes being used not only for content teaching, but also when there is a language component to supplement the content classes. Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013: 546) describe the parameters of CLIL as follows:

- it is about using a foreign language or a lingua franca, not a second language . . . it is not regularly used in the wider society they live in.
- it is usually implemented once learners have already acquired literacy skills in their mother tongue.
- CLIL teachers are normally non-native speakers of the target language and are typically content rather than foreign-language specialists.
- CLIL lessons are usually timetabled as content lessons . . . while the target language normally continues as a subject in its own right . . . taught by language specialists.

While some of these parameters may also apply to 'classical' EMI, others do not. In the following discussion, EMI is therefore interpreted in its original sense of content teaching at tertiary level (by both NES and NNES lecturers) with no L2 teaching directly supporting it.

ELFA and traditional approaches to academic English

When English is used as the medium of instruction in universities, it is generally assumed to be the academic English of native English speakers. However, the view of researchers working on ELF in academic settings (or ELFA) is different. For example, Smit (2010b) considers that the 'E' in 'EMI' should be 'ELF' rather than 'English'. And Mauranen argues that

International academic communities communicate in largely non-native groups. What counts is clarity, effectiveness and contextual appropriateness of communication. While high academic standards are vital, native-like English is not.
(Times Higher Education Supplement, Letters, 21 Sept. 2007)

Descriptions of English use in international EMI academic communities have led to the identification of a number of recurring innovative linguistic features (though with the same proviso about fluidity that was discussed in B6 in relation to ELF use more widely).

Activity

The following are some of the features that have been identified in the ELFA Corpus by Mauranen and her team (see Mauranen 2012, and the papers in Mauranen and Metsä-Ketelä 2006). Would these be acceptable in your own university setting or would they be considered errors? What is your own opinion? How far does it depend on whether items such as these are spoken or written?

- use of prepositions, e.g. ‘obsession in, ‘insist for’ ‘discuss/study about’
- regularisation of suffixes, e.g. the verb ‘interpretate’, adjective ‘systematical’, and ENL uncountable nouns used as count nouns, e.g. ‘researches’, ‘feedbacks’
- use of multiword units: e.g. ‘as the matter of fact’, ‘in my point of view’, ‘behind the lines’
- extension of use of the progressive aspect, e.g. ‘communication is so all embracive a concept, like the air that we *are breathing*’, and ‘This comes to the point I’ve *been just mentioning*’ (Ranta 2006 calls this an “attention catching function” of the progressive, arguing that it gives the verb more prominence and ensures greater clarity).

Problematising English in global higher education

When universities describe themselves as ‘international’, they usually mean they want to attract diverse international (i.e. foreign) students and staff, and engage in research collaborations with scholars at universities in other countries. The main advantage of EMI is that it promotes mobility by enabling students and staff to study and teach in other parts of the world regardless of the national language(s) of their target country. This, in turn, means that universities are becoming sites rich in linguistic and cultural diversity, which potentially benefits their home students as much as those coming from other places.

However, when the globalisation and internationalisation of higher education are discussed, “language appears more or less invisible” (Saarinen and Nikula 2013: 131). In other words, universities’ drive for international diversity has not so far included a consideration of the English language at all, let alone an acknowledgement of the kinds of English presented in the previous activity (except to call them ‘errors’). The assumption that only native English is appropriate in EMI settings has therefore gone unquestioned (see Jenkins 2014 for a fuller discussion of this issue). Thus, if English is not your L1 and you are studying through EMI, you probably had to achieve a certain score on one of the major examinations based on native English, e.g. IELTS or TOEFL in order to gain your place at the university (see D6 for a discussion of these tests). And if, on arrival, your English was not considered sufficiently ‘native-like’ you may have been offered (or had to attend) remedial English classes to make it more so.

Activity

- Do you think it is reasonable for EMI to be grounded in native English? Why/why not? Either way, does your opinion depend on whether an international university is in an Anglophone or non-Anglophone setting?
- Turner (2011: 3) believes universities' English language practices form a "relentlessly remedial representation of language issues in the institutional discourse of higher education" and a "widely circulating deficit discourse" in respect of NNES students. She is talking of international students at universities in Britain. But is this true of your own institution's approach to the English language whether in Britain, another Anglophone country, or a non-Anglophone country? If so, what kinds of practices are you aware of?
- Do you believe the use of EMI is a help or hindrance to content learning (see, e.g., Cho 2012 and Kang 2012 on problems relating to the introduction of EMI in South Korea, Doiz et al. 2014 in relation to Spain, and Costa and Coleman 2013 in relation to Italy).
- Recently an increasing number of mainland European universities have started introducing EMI. If you come from outside Europe, would you prefer to study in English medium in Britain/the US or in mainland Europe? Why or why not?
- In terms of British universities, do you agree or disagree with Bailey (2013: 185): "As international students form an ever-growing proportion of the student population in our institutions, we can no longer expect them to 'fit in' with a system designed primarily for a home-grown student body". If you agree, how would you apply Bailey's comment to the use of English? And what do you think of Smit's (2010b) suggestion that EMI should mean "ELF as medium of instruction"? If you agree with her, what do you see as the implications?
- Finally, do you think the use of English as the lingua franca of higher education risks academic/scientific domain loss for other languages? If so, what would you recommend to prevent this from happening?

ASIAN ENGLISHES: FOCUS ON INDIA, HONG KONG, AND CHINA**C7**

In this unit we explore in greater detail recent developments in English use in three Asian settings, India, Hong Kong, and China. More specifically, we will consider roles of and attitudes towards the local English. These three settings have been selected because though they have a certain amount in common, there are important differences both in the ways in which English functions in each context and in the attitudes of their users towards their own English. In particular, whereas Indian English is an

established, widely accepted variety, the status of Hong Kong English is still ambivalent. Meanwhile, English in relation to China is at a much earlier stage of development. And because it is not developing by means of communication among Chinese users of English, it is unlikely ever to be considered a variety in the conventional sense of the term (see A6).

Indian English

According to Crystal, India has approximately 200 million L2 and 350 thousand L1 English users, in other words, roughly the same as the number of L1 English speakers in the US (around 202 million). On the other hand, if Kachru (2006: 453) is correct, then the figure for English users in India is nearer 333 million, well above that for the US. Meanwhile, Graddol (2010a) cites a survey showing that 35 per cent of the Indian population claim to read English and 16.5 per cent to speak it (though what the respondents to the survey considered ‘speaking’ English to mean is impossible to tell). He concludes that “no one really knows how many Indians speak English today – estimates vary between 55 million and 350 million” (p. 68). It seems likely, nevertheless, that India currently has one of the world’s two highest populations of English users (at a range of proficiency levels). And with increasing government efforts to spread English so that it is no longer restricted to the Indian elite, the number of users of English in India will probably grow, even though it is likely to be overtaken soon by China (see the section on Chinese speakers’ English below).

The earliest English language policy for India was enshrined in Macaulay’s famous Minute of 1835, passed shortly after he arrived in Calcutta to take his seat on the Supreme Council of India:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

(quoted in Bailey 1991: 138)

This became the British government’s official language policy in India, giving the English language priority in Indian administration, education, and society. English-medium universities and schools and an English press were established in India, and contributed to the gradual encroachment of English on Indian languages and role as the official language and primary lingua franca of the country.

In the post-independence era from 1947, in an attempt to acknowledge the strength of nationalist feeling especially in the pro-Hindi camp, the 1950 Constitution of India declared Hindi the official national language, but allowed English to continue to be used for official purposes for a further 15 years, after which it was gradually to be replaced by Hindi. This policy proved unsuccessful in part because of anti-Hindi feeling in southern India, and in 1967, the Official Languages (Amendment) Act provided that English would be the ‘associate’ official language and could continue to

be used alongside Hindi in all official matters at the national level. In addition, the Constitution recognised eighteen regional languages as having the right to function as the official languages of individual states.

In practice, however, there is something of a contradiction between government policy and language use, as English continues to be used as the primary de facto official national language and is also the official language of many of the states in the south and north-east. In fact, in the post-independence period there has been a steady growth in the use of English in the country with English nowadays being used mainly for communication among Indians rather than with native speakers of English. This is not primarily on account of anti-Hindi feeling in these parts of the country, although its role as a *neutral* language of wider communication certainly plays a part. More important are its perceived usefulness both within India and internationally; the fact that English has not killed off India's indigenous languages but functions in a complementary relationship with them; and the steady growth of an Indian English identity which finds expression in a linguistic variety with its own grammatical, lexical, phonological, and discoursal norms.

In adapting to local cultural norms, Indian English has developed its own varietal characteristics through the interaction of Indian languages and social behaviours with those of English. These characteristics differ in quite major ways from British English and would still be considered 'deviant' by those who take an interlanguage/fossilization view of the indigenised varieties of English (see B7). The Indianisation of English essentially involves on the one hand, adaptations of existing features of British English and on the other, the use of transferred mother tongue items where British English lacks the scope to express a particular concept – or, to put it another way, where British English is 'deficient'. At the discoursal level, Indian English also makes considerable use of code-switching and code-mixing.

Activity

- Here are some examples of Indian English (all taken from Parasher 2001). What are the lexical, grammatical, discoursal, and any other features which identify these as specifically Indian English usage? (Key at end of section.)

1. Newspaper advertisement

Brahmin girl, divorcee kashyapa, 35, B.Com.H, 5'3', very fair, respectable family, issueless, Govt. employee UDC Hyderbad Rs.5,000/-p.m., required well settled broad-minded life partner from same caste.

Write Box No.-

Deccan Chronicle, 5 October, 1997

2. Politeness formulae

- (a) ... it will not be out of place to request you to send us the details of chemicals etc ...
- (b) Kindly please advise me.

- (c) I invite your kind attention.
- (d) I respectfully submit the following few lines for favour of your kind consideration.

3. Honorifics

Helloji

Thank youji

Doctorji

Doctor Sahib

4. Code-switching and code-mixing

A: Good morning.

B: Good morning

A: Kya haal hen. (How are you?)

Kayi din se aap dikhai nahin diye. (I haven't seen you for a long time.)

B: Men Dilli gaya hua tha, ek selection committee ki meeting thi. (I was away in Delhi. There was a Selection Committee meeting.)

- ❑ Finally, growing acceptance of English as an Indian language is not universal and is still the subject of considerable debate. Below is a letter to the editor of the *Maharashtra Herald*, an English daily newspaper published in Pune which responds to an interview published a few days earlier. It is followed by a second letter sent to the editor four days later in reply to the first. Read the two letters and decide firstly which writer you support and why, and secondly, how you would have answered the writer of the first letter, bearing in mind what you have read in this unit:

Mother Tongue Supreme

This refers to writer Ruchira Mukherjee's assertion that, 'People are beginning to think in English' (*MH*, October 5).

Well, the question is: Can an Indian really think in English? As far as thinking is concerned, one can only think in one's mother tongue.

Since English is an alien tongue to every Indian, no Indian can claim to think in English. Because it is linguistically next to impossible to be equally at ease with a target language, which English is, for every Indian.

I've been speaking Persian right from my childhood. In fact Persian was the first language I picked up. My Persian is as good as that of a native speaker of Iran and Central Asia and it's replete with typical native idiosyncrasies and idioms of written and colloquial Persian.

Yet Persian is not the language of my consciousness, though I do my written work mostly in this language.

My mother tongue, which is Bengali, always comes to me naturally and it predominates my thinking process. Likewise, however good one may be at English, he can't have that native sensibility.

You can never iron out the ingrained impressions of your respective mother tongue which at times prevail over English or for that matter, any language learnt at a relatively later stage. English will always play second fiddle to an Indian's linguistic mental make up.

(*Maharashtra Herald*, 13 October 1998, quoted in D'Souza 2001: 148)

What's Mother Tongue?

Sumit Paul's letter 'Mother Tongue Supreme' of October 13 is not correct. He wonders if an Indian can 'really think in English'.

First of all, I would like to define mother tongue. The mother tongue of an Indian can be French or English or anything. One's mother tongue is that which one learns from infancy. (For example, a language learnt from one's parents.)

Secondly, if one's parents are, let us say, Bengali, but never spoke to the child in Bengali but only in English, then the mother tongue of the child would be English and not Bengali. A language cannot be inherited, it is taught and learnt.

How can Sumit Paul claim that English is 'an alien tongue to every Indian'? Sumit is not a spokesman for Indians. I personally know many Indians whose parents' language is Hindi or Malayalam or so on, but whose own mother tongue is English, or rather family language is English.

They excel in English about above else. Many times, even when neither the mother tongue nor family language is English, the person excels in English above all else. Many service officers' families are good examples.

Paul assumes that every Indian first learns his parents' language and then English. And that an Indian has to be better at the parents' language than English. He further assumed that everybody learns first the language of his parents' race, and that it is the same as the language spoken by the parents, and that it is called the mother tongue!

(*MH*, 17 October 1998, quoted in D'Souza 2001: 149)

Activity

- In your view, is Indian English a new language? If so, would you describe it as a single language, a mixed or hybrid language, a new variety, or something else?
- What are the implications of linguistic varieties such as Indian English for the study of languages in isolation and for the study of bi- and multilingualism? Has the time come when Englishes should be studied primarily as they are used in bilingual and multilingual societies or is it still helpful to study them in monolingual use?

Key/comments

1. Newspaper advertisement

This sort of text is commonly found in contemporary Indian newspapers among educated middle/upper middle class families, where marriages are ‘arranged’. Two items are transferred directly from the mother tongue ('kashyapa', and 'issueless' meaning 'childless'). Otherwise the lexis is not unlike British English, although the information is more densely packed than would typically be found in a British advertisement, and the sociocultural assumptions are very different.

2. Politeness formulae

Parasher, from whom the examples are taken, notes a tendency for Indian English to use indirect, roundabout expressions rather than direct, specific ones in requests such as (a) (2001: 27). He also notes the preference for 'please', 'request', and 'kindly' over syntactic devices such as the modal could which are common in British English. The four exponents are all examples of formulae used by Indian English speakers.

3. Honorifics

These are borrowed from Indian languages and then added to British English lexical items to mark a polite style. In three of the exponents, the suffix '-ji' is tacked on to the end of a greeting (a), politeness expression (b) and professional title (c), whereas in the fourth, the word 'Sahib' ('sir') follows the title.

Hong Kong English

Hong Kong has a population of over seven million, of which almost two-and-a-half million speak English (see A1), though this assumes there has been no major change in the figures since Hong Kong ceased to be a British crown colony and became a Special Administrative Region in 1997. It was a British colony from 1842 up until this point, and for the first hundred years of colonial rule, the British and Chinese communities led separate lives as a result of language barriers, racial prejudice, and cultural differences. On those occasions when they did make contact, it was mainly for business purposes, and communication was for the most part conducted in pidgin English (Evans 2000: 198).

During the years of British sovereignty up to the First World War, English was largely restricted in Hong Kong to colonial use and, in particular, to the domains of government, the law, the professions, and education. Then, during the period between the two world wars, a Western-educated Chinese élite started to become involved in business and the professions, and by the 1960s, English had metamorphosed from a colonial language used only by a small Chinese élite to an important language of wider communication in the region. This was primarily the result of “the transformation of Hong Kong from a colonial backwater into a leading centre of business and finance” (Evans 2000: 198). And because English had, during the same period, emerged as the international lingua franca, a much larger number of ethnic Chinese needed to be proficient in the language.

As mentioned above, English is probably now spoken in Hong Kong by almost two-and-a-half million people, representing around a third of the total population, the majority of whom are L2 speakers. It is thus spoken by a similar percentage to that for

the highest estimate of the percentage of L2 speakers of Indian English, and a considerably larger percentage of the more common estimate of 200 million. In fact, based on more recent surveys, Schneider (2011: 153) puts the proportion of people in Hong Kong who speak English “quite well” or “very well” at over 40 per cent. Given that according to Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com), the number of L1 English speakers in Hong Kong at the time of the 2006 census was 187,000, the increase in Hong Kong’s percentage of English speakers seems to be comprised mainly of L2 users. Despite this, the position of Hong Kong English as an accepted variety is far less secure. While its existence is often acknowledged, it is apparently not the variety to which many L2 Hong Kong English speakers aspire. Instead, they remain attached to British English norms of correctness. And despite the fact that Hong Kong English is often categorised as an Outer Circle English variety (see Figure A7.2), some see it as belonging to the Expanding Circle.

Whether it is partly the cause or result of such factors, unlike Indian English, there are few reference works such as dictionaries and pedagogic grammars that acknowledge the existence of a legitimate Hong Kong variety of English. Meanwhile, attitudes among Hong Kong’s teachers of English suggest that it could be some time before the local English is used as a pedagogic model. In a study into attitudes, teachers were asked where they looked for models of correctness and acceptability (Tsui and Bunton 2000). The vast majority who responded (of which two-thirds were native speakers of English) cited native speaking countries, particularly Britain, and tended to be cautious or even critical of local Hong Kong sources. The term ‘Hong Kong English’ did not occur in any of the (1,234) responses, and there were no favourable references to deviations from native speaker norms. This may, of course, be connected to the fact that so many of the respondents were themselves L1 English speakers. However, there was no evidence of the existence of a Hong Kong English identity among the L2 English respondents. And as Joseph (2004: 160) points out:

only if and when teachers come to recognise that the ‘errors’ in Hong Kong English (at least the regularly occurring ones) are precisely the points at which a distinct Hong Kong identity is expressed in the language, will a Hong Kong English genuinely begin to emerge, and to be taken as a version of Standard English rather than as a departure from it.

This recognition may not be feasible while such a large proportion of English teachers in Hong Kong are native speakers of English, who are imported along with high-stakes Anglo English tests such as TOEFL, IELTS, and LPAT, as Luk and Lin (2006) point out.

Groves (2011: 40) points out, on the other hand, that ‘Hong Kongisms’ are “produced in everyday English of Hong Kongers, some of whom even deny the very existence of the variety”. This, she believes, is “a sign of a new variety in the formative stages” (stage three of Schneider’s dynamic model). She concludes that “the signs of ‘linguistic schizophrenia’ in Hong Kong seem to be a promising development in terms of the possible long-term autonomy of the variety”. And Bolton (2000: 267) asks, is it not the case that “conditions now exist for a recognition of the autonomy of Hong Kong English, on a par with other Englishes in the Asian region?” He goes on to provide evidence of both a Hong Kong accent (as do Hung 2000 and Deterding 2006, 2008) and a Hong Kong English lexis.

Activity

As regards vocabulary, a number of Hong Kong English items are included in the Macquarie dictionary (see B7 for a description of the dictionary). The following are examples of entries cited by Bolton (2000: 280). If you are not familiar with Hong Kong English, can you guess their meanings (the key is at the end of this section)?

1. ABC
2. Ah
3. astronaut
4. BBC
5. big brother
6. black hand
7. black society
8. bo lei
9. Buddha's delight
10. Canto-speak
11. Canto star
12. char siew
13. China doll
14. Chinglish
15. chit

Bolton (2003: 90) also points out that “[a]mong the non-Chinese minorities of Hong Kong there is much greater linguistic and ethnic diversity than has previously been recognised”, while Kirkpatrick (2007a: 140) observes that there is also “greater linguistic diversity among the Chinese community” than generally realised. Clearly, then, in a multilingual society of this kind, there is scope for a local English to develop into an established variety and serve as a local lingua franca. To this, Kirkpatrick (2007a) adds the effect of the 1997 hand-back of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China, arguing that it may be creating a sense of Hong Kong identity among the Hong Kong Chinese. This identity may also involve a growing attachment towards English, with people looking back to the time of British rule as a time of “a benevolent, non-intrusive government and a politically stable shelter offering security and promising prosperity” (Li 2002: 40).

According to Schneider’s **‘Dynamic model** of the evolution of New Englishes’ (2003: 243–254), a post-colonial English goes through five stages in its development: foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation, and differentiation. Hong Kong, argues Schneider, is at stage three, in light of evidence that “Hong Kong English has developed a distinct vocabulary segment of its own”, and that “it cannot be disputed any longer that there exists a Hong Kong English accent” that is “developing distinct rules and features of its own (Peng and Setter 2000)”. Like Bolton, he believes that this accent ‘is beginning to be regarded as a positively evaluated source of identification’ for Hong Kong students (Schneider 2003:

260). Perhaps, then, as is so often the case, language change is being led by the young, and through them, Hong Kong English will soon move on to Schneider's fourth stage and become an endonormative English instead of looking outside to Britain for its norms (to the extent that it still does so). A final possibility, suggested by Deterding (2006: 172), is that now that there is pressure on children in Hong Kong schools to learn Mandarin, "it may indeed happen that Hong Kong English will be further influenced by both Cantonese and Mandarin".

Activity 

If you are familiar with the Hong Kong setting, how do you see the future of English there? Do you agree with any of those who believe that Hong Kong has already developed, or is in the process of developing, its own variety of English? Or do you agree with those who think it will remain dependent on British English norms? Or do you believe the outcome will be something else entirely?

Key

1. an Australian-born Chinese/American-born Chinese
2. an informal term of address: *Ah Sam/Ah Chan*
3. a public servant in the most senior career grade in the Hong Kong Civil Service
4. a British-born Chinese
5. a Chinese kinship term referring to the eldest male sibling in a family, or a recruiter or protector in a Chinese secret society or triad
6. a behind-the-scenes mastermind who plans political or criminal activities
7. a Chinese secret society or triad
8. a variety of strong black tea
9. a vegetarian dish of bean curd, nuts, tiger lilies, and a hair-like seaweed which is particularly popular at Chinese New Year, as the Cantonese name of the seaweed (*fat choi* or 'hair vegetable') sounds very similar to the New Year greeting wishing prosperity
10. the Cantonese language
11. a singer of Cantonese pop songs
12. Chinese-style roast pork
13. a pretty young Chinese woman of submissive demeanour
14. any variety of English strongly influenced by Chinese, or any variety of Chinese featuring a high proportion of English loanwords
15. bill

See Bolton (2003: 288–297) for many more examples of Hong Kong English vocabulary.

Chinese speakers' English

We turn now to China, which clearly belongs to the Expanding Circle. Over ten years ago, Bolton (2003: 228) observed that "there has been a dramatic and rapid spread

of English throughout China in the last forty years or so". In 1957, there were only 850 secondary school English teachers, whereas by 2000, the number had risen to over 500,000, with numbers expected to rise as the learning of English was extended to primary schools. More recently, Wei and Su (2012) have presented figures showing that there are around 390 million people in China who have learned English, while Bolton and Graddol (2012) cite a 2010 article in the Chinese newspaper *China Daily* stating the number of English learners in China as around 400 million, or approximately a third of the Chinese population. This means that there are probably more Chinese speakers of English in the world than speakers of any other kind of English.

Despite this, there is as yet no agreement on what their English should be called. The main term used until recently was 'China English', with 'Chinglish' and even 'Chinese English' being seen as "loaded with social stigma" and implying 'bad' English (He and Li 2009: 71). More recently, the term 'Chinese English' seems to have lost some of its stigma, although the issue is still very controversial. For example, Eaves (2011) discusses all three terms and concludes that 'Chinese English' is still seen by many, herself included, as interlanguage. Meanwhile, scholars researching within the ELF paradigm may prefer to use the term 'Chinese ELF'/ChELF'.

But to what extent can we call Chinese speakers' English a 'variety'? Schneider (2011: 182) notes that "Chinese English" is used as a term by some linguists, and there is a growing body of descriptions of characteristic features of English as spoken by Chinese people". However, he continues

This is not a stable variety, but there are a few characteristics which have been found to recur. Some of them can be explained as transfer phenomena which reflect properties of the Chinese languages spoken as a first language.

Transfer phenomena of course play an important role in the evolution of new Englishes. And in this respect, Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) explore certain discourse and rhetorical norms derived from Chinese in the English of speakers of L1 Chinese languages. Kirkpatrick (2007a) also presents lexical, grammatical, and phonological features of Chinese speakers' English, while Deterding, Wong and Kirkpatrick (2006) provide a detailed analysis of their English phonology. Lexical examples include nativised words such as 'pu-ke' for card games in general (from ENL 'poker'), and direct translation of Chinese metaphors such as 'a flowered pillowcase' meaning 'someone who is good-looking but otherwise useless' (see Kirkpatrick 2007a: 146–151 for many more examples). The features of Chinese speakers' English pronunciation considered most salient and widespread features by Deterding et al. (2006: 194) are: "replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ with [s], insertion of a final [ə], avoidance of weak forms for function words, and stressing of final pronouns". Other features, they observe, are less widespread as they depend on the specific L1 Chinese language of the speaker.

Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002: 269) argue that such features

should not be seen as 'deviations' from Anglo norms, but that, as Chinese speakers are more likely to use the language with other English speakers in the East Asian region rather than with speakers of inner circle varieties of English, the Chinese variety of English is actually a more culturally appropriate model of English than any superimposed 'Anglo' norm.

And Kirkpatrick (2007a: 151) implies that Chinese speakers' English already meets sufficient criteria to be considered an emerging new variety of English. He finds this "quite remarkable given the relatively short time in which the Chinese have embraced the learning of English". As he also points out, some earlier studies such as Hu (2005) have suggested that Chinese speakers of English may themselves be moving towards accepting their own English as a variety. Deterding et al. (2006: 195) hold a similar view, although they are slightly more reticent about the current status of Chinese speakers' English:

As an ever-expanding number of speakers of English in China become proficient in the language, it is likely that distinctive styles of Chinese English will continue to emerge, and one day a new variety may become established with its own independent identity.

More recently, however, in line with the empirical findings of ELF research (see B6), Deterding discusses the English of Chinese L1 speakers within an ELF framework. For example, in one article (2011) he explores the teaching of English pronunciation to Chinese learners in relation to the Lingua Franca Core and the need for accommodation rather than purely in terms of Chinese-influenced features. And the Chinese scholar Wen (2012) takes a similar approach to the teaching of English in China. This has far more in common with the notion of similects that we explored in A6, than with the conventional notion of 'varieties of English' that characterises the World Englishes approach. In other words, we may be able to talk, even now, about 'Chinese ELF', 'ELF with Chinese characteristics', and the like.

Whatever their approach, however, all these scholars believe it is likely that Chinese speakers' English is destined to grow in importance: that it will become the most common kind of English spoken in Asia (Kirkpatrick), and have more speakers than the total for North America and Britain (Deterding et al.). And at the point when this happens, argue Deterding et al. (2006: 195), "it may start to have a major impact on the way the [English] language evolves". Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) pointed out early in the new millennium that it was not yet clear that educators and government officials in China would accept Chinese English as a classroom model. But with increasing numbers of Chinese scholars and Chinese doctoral students researching the English of Chinese speakers, particularly within the ELF paradigm, perhaps the climate will change in educational and government circles, not to mention among the Chinese general public, over the coming years.

What do you predict will happen to the English of Chinese speakers over the next few years?

Activity

C8

LANGUAGE KILLER OR LANGUAGE PROMOTER?

In this final unit of Section C, we will consider two very different perspectives on the effects of the global spread of English: firstly, its potential to cause the deaths of other languages; and secondly, its role within a framework of bilingualism.

English as a killer language

Crystal begins his book *Language Death* (2000) by asking some key questions. Try to answer them before looking at Crystal's answers below:

1. How many languages are there in the world today?
2. At what rate are they dying off?
3. How many of the world's languages are spoken by fewer than 1,000 people?
4. How many indigenous languages are there in North America?

Recent estimates of the number of languages in the world vary between 3,000 and 10,000, but by most definitions of a 'language' the figure lies between 6,000 and 7,000.

Over the next century, something like two languages will die each month. A quarter of the world's languages are spoken by fewer than 1000 people. Though estimates vary, there may still be close to 200 indigenous languages in use in North America.

Trudgill points this out in his review of another book on the subject, Grenoble and Whaley's *Endangered Languages* (1998):

One of the greatest cultural tragedies ever to befall the human race is taking place before our eyes but no one is paying attention. There are members of the British intelligentsia who profess to be concerned about language and who agonise over utter trivialities such as the failure of the nation to use *hopefully* or to place *only* "correctly". Here is what they should be worrying about: of the world's 6,000 or so languages, as many as 3,000 are in the process of dying out, and another 2,400 are endangered.

(*Times Higher Education Supplement*, May 8 1998: 26; his italics)

The first stage in the process of reversing **language death** is to identify the cause. Although no one factor is likely to prove singly responsible for the dramatic loss of languages which we are currently witnessing, one cause is frequently named by endangered language experts as bearing the greatest share of responsibility: the English language. The English language, of course, does not exist in a vacuum, but must be considered within the framework of globalisation as a whole. That is, English operates in a global context in which the most politically and economically powerful English speakers – those in the Inner Circle countries – up to now have benefited disproportionately from the spread of the language.

Activity

- To what extent do you believe that exploitation by Anglophone countries has been responsible for causing speakers of other languages, especially the smaller languages, to replace their mother tongues with English for some or even all important language functions?
- How far do you think the endemic monolingualism of the Inner Circle countries has played a part in the process?
- Here are some quotations taken from various writings on endangered languages. Read them and decide – with the help of first-hand knowledge if you speak or are familiar with an endangered language yourself – how far you agree or disagree with them. You might also like to refer back to the discussion in C1 of the English Only campaign in the USA.

Europeans who came from polities with a history of standardizing and promoting just one high-prestige speech form carried their “ideology of contempt” for subordinate languages with them when they conquered far-flung territories, to the serious detriment of indigenous languages. And in addition . . . Europeans . . . seriously confounded technological and linguistic development . . . Unable to conceive that a people who lacked a rich material culture might possess a highly developed, richly complex language, they wrongly assumed that primitive technological means implied primitive linguistic means . . .

Two other European beliefs about language are also likely to have had an unfavorable impact on the survival of indigenous languages in the very considerable portions of the globe where a standardized European language became the language of the dominant social strata . . . Particularly widespread and well established is a belief in a linguistic survival of the fittest, a social Darwinism of language. This belief encourages people of European background to assume a correlation between adaptive and expressive capacity in a language and that language’s survival and spread. Since their own languages are prominent among those which have both survived and spread, this is of course a self-serving belief . . .

The second of the additional beliefs disadvantageous to indigenous languages in regions dominated by speakers of European languages may actually be more characteristic of Anglophones than of speakers of other European languages. Anglophones however are particularly thickly distributed in regions that once had large numbers of indigenous languages, so English single-handedly threatens a disproportionate number of other languages. The belief in question is that bilingualism (and by extension multilingualism, all the more so) is onerous, even on the individual level. This belief is so widespread, in fact, that it can be detected even among linguists.

(Dorian 1998: 9–11)

Most Western countries participate in murdering the chances that they might have to increase the linguistic diversity in their countries, because they do not give immigrants and refugees much chance of maintaining and developing their languages. Development co-operation also participates, with very few exceptions, in murdering small languages and supporting subtractive spread of the big killer languages, especially English. 'Subtractive spread' means that new languages are not learned in addition to the language(s) people already have, but instead of them, at the cost of the mother tongue(s), the whole homogenisation process that globalisation is made to 'demand' has to be problematised and nuanced before it is too late.

(Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 6–7)

Those who control particular linguistic resources are in a position of power over others. Linguistic capital, like all other forms of capital, is unequally distributed in society. The higher the profit to be achieved through knowledge of a particular language, the more it will be viewed as worthy of acquisition. The language of the global village (or McWorld, as some have called it) is English: not to use it is to risk ostracization from the benefits of the global economy

(Nettle & Romaine 2000: 30–31)

Educational policy is another striking example of misguided strategies imported from the West into developing countries. Believing that tribal languages stood in the way of unity and were not suitable as languages of education and technology essential for western-style development, most newly independent countries did not develop their own languages, but continued using the languages of their former colonizers even when most of their citizens did not know them. Western policies and practices have generally reinforced European languages . . . Development agents sent into the field rarely bother to learn the local languages, which leads to communication problems. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund seldom make reference to the possible role indigenous languages might play in development. The use of western school curricula in developing countries tends to devalue traditional culture and excludes formal study of traditional knowledge systems. Younger members of the culture are educated to believe that traditional knowledge is not worth learning because it will not lead to a job.

(Nettle & Romaine 2000: 160–164)

'Globalisation is the wave of the future', more than one recent newspaper headline (not to mention the received popular wisdom) has announced, and, to some extent, this is so. But globalisation is both

a constructive and a destructive phenomenon, both a unifying and a divisive one, and it is definitely not a culturally neutral or impartial one. In our day and age, it is definitely the globalisation of pan-Western culture (and pop-consumer culture in particular) that is the motor of language shift. And since America-dominated globalisation has become the major economic, technological and cultural thrust of worldwide modernisation and Westernisation, efforts to safeguard threatened languages (and, therefore, inevitably, contextually weaker languages) must oppose the very strongest processes and powers that the world knows today. That, in a word, is exactly why it is so hard to save threatened languages.

(Fishman 2001: 6)

although the English language is not directly responsible for much of the threat to global diversity, it is intimately connected with the processes of economic globalisation which are indirectly causing lesser-used languages to disappear.

The English language has more direct responsibility for language loss in its native speaking countries. Canada, the USA and Australia each have a large number of indigenous languages within their borders which have already been lost or are on the verge of disappearance. In Australia, for example, more than 200 languages are thought to have been lost in recent years.

(Graddol 2007: 256)

- Finally, Sallabank (2013: 1) points out that “in the last twenty to thirty years, there has been a significant increase in interest in minority languages and phenomena of language shift, endangerment and loss”. Why do you think these issues have assumed such importance in recent decades? Sallabank argues (p. xiii) as follows:

In order to investigate motivations for language revitalisation, as well as its outcomes, it is necessary to consider questions such as the following:

- Why is language revitalisation desirable?
- Who is it for?
- How do we go about it?
- What is being preserved/revived?
- What kind of language/culture is envisaged?
- Is it effective?
- And crucially, who has the authority to decide on such questions?

How would you answer her questions?

English-knowing bilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism, though threatened at least to some extent by language death, and though regarded as aberrations by English mother tongue speakers in the UK and US, are the de facto norm throughout the rest of the world. Speakers of 'big' languages, particularly English, meanwhile, have long been reluctant to acquire other languages, have expected others to make the effort to learn 'their' language, and have viewed code-switching as a sign of linguistic incompetence. However, bilingualism will by definition play a critical role in the prevention of language death so long as efforts are made to persuade learners of English that they should become practitioners of **English-knowing bilingualism** (see Pakir 1991, 2002; Kachru 1982/1992): that is, that they are made aware of the value of maintaining within their linguistic repertoires their indigenous language(s) for local identity functions alongside their English.

If English-knowing bilingualism is to become the recognised rather than begrudgingly tolerated world norm, however, it will be crucial for the (largely monolingual) mother tongue English speech communities to embrace the concept – and not merely as an acceptable practice for non-English mother tongue 'others', but as one in which they themselves engage. Such an engagement will enable "citizens of the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other largely English-speaking countries . . . to avoid being the monolingual dinosaurs in a multilingual world" (Brumfit 2002: 11). Moreover, with bilingualism will come flexibility and accommodation skills of the sort these citizens have always expected of English-speaking 'others' whenever English is spoken in cross-cultural contexts.

Footitt argued, following the events of 11 September 2001, that "one of the cultural shocks of September 11 is, overwhelmingly, that English is simply not enough", that "we cannot understand the world in English", and that "we need to be aware as never before of foreign languages and of the ways in which languages identify and represent their cultures" (*Guardian Education*, 23 October 2001, p. 15). According to this perspective, people need to speak languages other than their L1 in order to develop intercultural competence. This is not to say that people need necessarily to *acquire* these cultural practices along with the languages: this will depend on whether or not they will be speaking a particular language with its mother tongue speakers. In the case of learners of English for local Outer Circle or for international use this is generally not so, and there is rarely an imperative for them to learn British, American, or Australian culture along with the English language. Indeed, it would be counter-productive for them to make a one-to-one cultural link between the English language and the cultural practices of any one of its minority groups of mother tongue speakers, when their goal is to use English in predominantly non-English mother tongue contexts. But awareness of the existence of difference is another matter and this is an area in which English mother tongue speakers have much catching up to do.

English monolingualism is not only a problem for intercultural communication at the international level, however. Within the Inner Circle countries there are, through immigration, increasingly large numbers of non-L1 English speakers. In Britain, around one person in fourteen is now from an ethnic minority group and this trend is predicted to continue. In the US, the numbers are far greater, as a result of both more extensive immigration and the existence of the indigenous population. But in both communities, the learning of another language – any language – would help to reduce

that fear of the ‘other’ which is bred out of ignorance of difference, and which often leads to racist attitudes and behaviours, and to campaigns such as ‘English Only’. Better still would be the learning of one of the community languages of the immigrant population, or one of the heritage languages of the indigenous peoples, a practice which began a few years ago in New Zealand, where the Maori language is being taught in some **Pakeha** (New Zealander of European origin) schools. Despite the latter example, though, the expectation is overwhelmingly that immigrant and indigenous minorities (which in some cases are very large minorities) should learn the lingua-cultural practices of the L1 English population.

The monolingual orientation of many English L1 speakers can cause problems in international contexts, where English is used as a medium for communication that does not relate to intranational (either Inner or Outer Circle) functions. The problem is hierarchical. That is, monolingual L1 English speakers, unaware of the bilingual’s more extensive linguistic repertoire and skills, tend to take for granted that their own English is in senior position in the English language hierarchy. English thus has at its pinnacle, providing global as well as local models, the varieties of English of a small minority of (L1) speakers of standard English. Yet many of these L1 speakers are among the least skilled users of English as an international lingua franca insofar as they are the least able to exercise accommodation skills (adjusting their language to facilitate communication; see e.g. Sweeney and Zhu Hua, 2010), and the most biased against other varieties of the English language, whether non-standard L1 or standard/non-standard L2.

In Figure C8.1, ‘standard’, each time it appears, refers to the kind of English used by a small number of British people and a slightly larger number of North Americans. L2 Englishes, in turn, are either ‘standard’ or ‘non-standard’ depending on how closely they approximate one of these two native Englishes (the scare quotes indicate that there is no such thing as standard in any absolute sense, see unit A3). But if we reconceptualise the hierarchy by prioritising international communication and taking into account the advantages of English-knowing bilingualism, we come up with a very different one. This time, the kinds of English spoken by its bilingual speakers (be they L2 or, less likely, L1 English speakers), are prioritised. The term ‘standard’

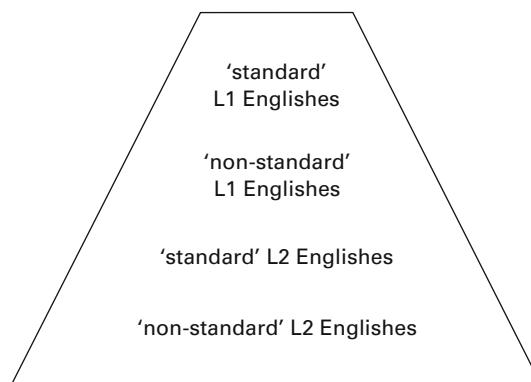


Figure C8.1 Traditional hierarchy of Englishes

disappears from the top position, as there can be no *a priori* standard English appropriate to the potentially diverse range of global intercultural communications. The main factor is now the ability to communicate effectively with the specific interlocutor(s) in the specific interaction, an ability that has been found more in NNESs than in NESs (e.g. Sweeney and Zhu Hua 2010, Jenkins 2014: chapter 7). On the other hand, ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ (the latter with no connotation of ‘sub-standard’) are retained in respect of local, as opposed to international, use. But now, the local (intranational) Englishes are placed at the same level in the hierarchy regardless of whether they are Inner or Outer Circle varieties, rather than the former being positioned above the latter, as in traditional hierarchies (see Figure C8.2).

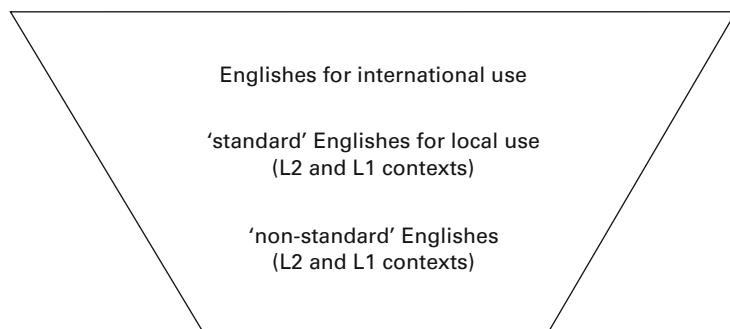


Figure C8.2 Reconceptualised hierarchy of Englishes prioritising international use

Activity

- Look again at the two hierarchies of Englishes. Do you agree with the way in which the traditional hierarchy has been recast for international communication? In particular, do you think it is acceptable to retain the notions of ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ for *intranational* use and to abandon them completely for *international* use? If you disagree with one or both of these hierarchies, try to design your own.
- In the year 2000, a Conservative member of the (then) UK parliament, the shadow health secretary Liam Fox, launched a verbal attack on overseas doctors in the UK, arguing that ‘Their English language skills are not up to scratch and patients are suffering as a result’ (*The Guardian* August 28 2000, p. 2). He announced that the Conservative government, if elected, would introduce “a tough English language test that might apply to overseas doctors already working in Britain”. The ensuing debate was heated, with some arguing that overseas doctors from outside the EU already had to pass stringent English language tests, and that the charge amounted to racism. On the other hand, others claimed, for example, that overseas doctors “cannot communicate with patients because they cannot understand the everyday language” (Letter to the

editor, *The Guardian*, 4 September 2000), or called into question the overseas doctors' English accents. To what extent do you believe that racism was involved? And do you think that if the British nation was not so predominantly monolingual, the same charges would still have been made? Can you think of any more recent examples of this kind? Do you consider, for instance, that the subsequent Labour government's ruling that all non-EU immigrants must pass a high-level English language test in order to be allowed to stay in the country was similarly motivated?

- The association LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence) was set up by the EU and from 2006 to 2010 teams from its nine partner institutions (from Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, UK, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland) together investigated language diversity in Europe (see www.linee.info). English, as the only language common to everyone, became LINEE's main working language. However, during the course of the four years, it emerged that the use of English as LINEE's lingua franca was encouraging people's interest in each other's languages rather than the opposite. Members of the Italian and Polish teams, for example, were observed teaching their languages to each another. If you are not an L1 English speaker, have you had any similar experiences in which using English as a common language with speakers of other L1s has stimulated your interest in the language(s) of the other L1 speakers?

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Section D

EXTENSION

READINGS IN GLOBAL ENGLISHES

How to use the readings

The readings in this final section of the book have been selected in order to provide a range of perspectives on the themes of the individual units. You will not necessarily agree with their conclusions, but the purpose of the readings is to engage you critically and encourage you to read still further, so that you are able to develop your own informed views on the subject in hand. After each reading there are suggestions of issues to consider and prompts for discussion, though you are recommended to look through them *before* you read the text itself.

The numbering of the readings corresponds to the numbering of the sections in the previous three parts of the book. Thus, the reading that follows this introduction in D1 relates to the material in units A1, B1, and C1, the reading in D2 relates to the material in A2, B2, C2, and so on.

D1

THE DISCOURSES OF POSTCOLONIALISM

In his book, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (1994), Alastair Pennycook charted the colonial background underlying the contemporary place of English as the world's primary international language. His 1998 book, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*, starts with the British departure from Hong Kong in 1997, which, in theory, signalled the ending of mainstream British colonialism. Pennycook discusses in his 1998 book, however, the extent to which he believes colonialism still permeates both British discourses and those of the postcolonial territories. In the following extract, he looks critically at some of the arguments that are often put forward to justify why the English language 'deserves' its place as the global *lingua franca*. And as with the arguments put forward by Bisong (1995) and Philipson (1996) in C1 above, those critiqued by Pennycook in the extract that follows are still widely expressed nearly two decades later.

**Alastair
Pennycook**

Our marvellous tongue

Alastair Pennycook (reprinted from *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*, London: Routledge, 1998: 133–144)

The wondrous spread of English

The nineteenth century was a time of immense British confidence in their own greatness, and writing on English abounded with glorifications of English and its global spread. [...] Although the fervent triumphalism that appears so evident in [...] earlier descriptions of the spread of Empire and English is a less acceptable aspect of more recent discourses on the spread of English, I would like to suggest that the same celebratory tone seems to underlie recent, supposedly neutral descriptions of English.

Thus, it is interesting to compare Rolleston's (1911) description of the spread of English with Crystal's (1987) from the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*:

**Alastair
Pennycook**

The British flag waves over more than one-fifth of the habitable globe, one-fourth of the human race acknowledges the sway of the British Monarch, more than one hundred princes render him allegiance. The English language is spoken by more people than that of any other race, it bids fair to become at some time the speech of the globe, and about one-half of the world's ocean shipping trade is yet in British hands.

(Rolleston 1911: 75)

English is used as an official or semi-official language in over 60 countries, and has a prominent place in a further 20. It is either dominant or well established in all six continents. It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music, and advertising. Over two-thirds of the world's scientists write in English. Of all the information in the world's electronic retrieval systems, 80% is stored in English. English radio programmes are received by over 150 million in 120 countries.

(Crystal 1987: 358)

The similarities become more obvious when we turn to other books and articles on English. Bryson's (1990) book *Mother Tongue: The English Language* starts: 'More than 300 million people in the world speak English and the rest, it sometimes seem, try to' (p. 1). [...] Claiborne (1983) opens his book *The life and times of the English language: The history of our marvellous tongue* with:

By any standard, English is a remarkable language. It is, to begin with, the native tongue of some 300,000,000 people – the largest speech community in the world except for Mandarin Chinese. Even more remarkable is its geographical spread, in which it is second to none; its speakers range from Point Barrow, Alaska, to the Falkland Islands; from Hong Kong to Tasmania . . . English is also by far the most important 'second language' in the world. It is spoken by tens of millions of educated Europeans and Japanese, is the most widely studied foreign tongue in both the USSR and China, and serves as an 'official' language in more than a dozen other countries whose populations total more than a thousand million . . . English is the lingua franca of scientists, of air pilots and traffic controllers around the world, of students hitchhiking around Europe, and of dropouts meditating in India and Nepal.

(Claiborne 1983: 1–2)

and so on and so on.

[. . .]

According to Simon Jenkins (1995), attempts to introduce artificial languages have failed because 'English has triumphed. Those who do not speak it are at a universal disadvantage against those who do. Those who deny this supremacy merely seek to

**Alastair
Pennycuick**

keep the disadvantaged deprived.' As we shall see later, this notion of 'linguistic deprivation' for those who do not speak English and even for those who do not speak it as a native language starts to have very particular significance within this discourse.

At times, too, the descriptions of this global spread start to use terms even more reminiscent of the prose of George (1867) or de Quincey (1862) and their talk of 'destiny' and the inevitable spread of English being like a mighty river flowing towards the sea. An editorial in *The Sunday Times* (UK) (10 July 1994), responding to the attempts in France to limit the use of English in various public domains, thunders against the French for opposing the 'European lingua franca which will inevitably be English'. To oppose English is pointless, the editorial warns, since 'English fulfils its own destiny as Churchill's "ever-conquering language". With every shift in international politics, every turn of the world's economies, every media development and every technological revolution, English marches on'. The editorial then returns to slightly more sober language:

No other country in Europe works itself into such a frenzy about the way English eases the paths of multi-national discussion and assumes an ever-growing role as the language of power and convenience. The Germans, Spanish and Italians have accepted the inevitable. So, further afield, have the Russians, Chinese and Japanese. If you want to get ahead, you have to speak English. Two billion people around the world are believed to have made it their second language. Add that to 350m native English speakers in the United States, Britain and the Commonwealth, and you have an unstoppable force.

After these remarkable claims for the global spread of English and its inevitable path towards ascendancy, the editorial goes on to reassert that France must acknowledge 'the dominance of Anglo-American English as the universal language in a shrinking world', and that 'no amount of protectionist legislation and subsidies can shut out the free market in the expression of ideas'. 'Britain,' it asserts, 'must press ahead with the propagation of English and the British values which stand behind it' with the British Council ('Once a target for those unable to see no further than the end of their nose, it now runs a successful global network with teaching as its core activity in 108 countries'), the BBC (which 'is told to exploit its reputation and products abroad as never before') helping with 'the onward march of the English language'. As we shall see, this juxtaposition of the spread of English with the protectionism of the *Academie Française* is a frequently repeated trope of these discourses.

An article in *U.S. News & World Report* (18 February 1985, p. 49) called 'English: Out to conquer the world' starts with the usual cataloguing of the spread of English:

When an Argentine pilot lands his airliner in Turkey, he and the ground controller talk in English. When German physicists want to alert the international scientific community to a new discovery, they publish their findings in English-language journals. When Japanese executives cut deals with Scandinavian entrepreneurs in Bangkok, they communicate in English . . .

and so on and so on. The article also derides those who would oppose the ‘inevitable’ spread of English, for ‘English marches on. “If you need it, you learn it”, says one expert’. Despite various attempts to counter the spread of English, ‘the world’s latest lingua franca will keep spreading. “It’s like the primordial ooze,” contends James Alatis, . . . “its growth is ineluctable, inexorable and inevitable”’ (p. 52).

[. . .]

Clearly, there is quite a remarkable continuity in the writing on the global spread of English. Bailey (1991) comments that ‘the linguistic ideas that evolved at the acme of empires led by Britain and the United States have not changed as economic colonialism has replaced the direct, political management of third-world nations. English is still believed to be the inevitable world language’ (p. 121).

[. . .]

In praise of English

If there are many similarities in the ways the spread of English has been both exhorted and applauded over the last hundred years, there are also interesting similarities in the way the language itself has been praised as a great language. Nineteenth-century writing on English abounded with glorifications of the language, suggesting that on the one hand the undeniable excellence of British institutions, ideas and culture must be reflected in the language and, on the other, that the undeniable superior qualities of English must reflect a people and a culture of superior quality. Thus, the Reverend James George, for example, arguing that Britain had been ‘commissioned to teach a noble language embodying the richest scientific and literary treasures,’ asserted that ‘As the mind grows, language grows, and adapts itself to the thinking of the people. Hence, a highly civilized race, will ever have, a highly accomplished language. The English tongue, is in all senses a very noble one. I apply the term noble with a rigorous exactness’ (George 1867, p. 4)

[. . .]

A key argument in the demonstration of the superior qualities of English was in the breadth of its vocabulary, an argument which, as we shall see, is still used widely today.

The article ‘English out to conquer the world’ asks how English differs from other languages: ‘First, it is bigger. Its vocabulary numbers at least 750,000 words. Second-ranked French is only two thirds that size . . . English has been growing fast for 1,000 years, promiscuously borrowing words from other lands’ (1985, p. 53). According to Bryson (1990), the numbers of words listed in *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (450,000) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (615,000) are only part of the total number of English words since ‘technical and scientific terms would add millions more’. Looking at which terms are actually commonly made use of, Bryson suggests that about ‘200,000 English words are in common use, more than in German (184,000) and far more than in French (a mere 100,000)’ (p. 3). Claiborne (1983) asserts that ‘for centuries, the English-speaking peoples have plundered the world for words, even as their military and industrial empire builders have plundered it for more tangible goods’. This plundering has given English

the largest, most variegated and most expressive vocabulary in the world. The total number of English words lies somewhere between 400,000 – the number

**Alastair
Pennycuick**

of current entries in the largest English dictionaries – and 600,000 – the largest figure that any expert is willing to be quoted on. By comparison, the biggest French dictionaries have only about 150,000 entries, the biggest Russian ones a mere 130,000. (p. 3)

Simon Jenkins (1995) explains that:

English has not won the battle to be the world's language through a trial of imperial strength. As the American linguist Braj Kachru points out, English has achieved its hegemony through its inherent qualities, by 'its propensity for acquiring new identities . . . its range of varieties and above all its suitability as a flexible medium for literary and other types of creativity'.

The subtitle to Jenkins' article ('The triumph of English') is 'Our infinitely adaptable mother tongue is now the world's lingua franca – and not before time.'

Apart from clearly supporting a simple argument about the superiority of English, this view of the richness of English puts into play several other images of English that are extremely important: the notion of English as some pure Anglo-Saxon language, the idea that English and English speakers have always been open, flexible and integrationist, and the belief that because of their vast vocabulary, speakers of English are the ablest thinkers. The first of these emerges in 'English out to conquer the world' when the article suggests that 'All-told, 80 per cent of the world stock is foreign-born' (p. 53). The implications of this statement seem to be that 'English' refers to a language of Anglo-Saxon purity, a language that despite all its borrowings and enrichments is, at heart, an Anglo-Saxon affair. This effort to construct some clear Anglo-Saxon lineage for English has a long history. [...] Writing in 1901, Earle argued that:

We do not want to discard the rich furniture of words which we have inherited from our French and classic eras; but we wish to wear them as trophies, as the historic blazon of a great career, for the demarcation and amplification of an imperial language whose thews and sinews and vital energies are essentially English.

(cited in Crowley 1989: 74)

According to Burnett (1962), 'the long process of creating the historic seedbed of the English language actually began with the arrival of the first Indo-European elements from the continent' (p. 75). Claiborne (1983) goes further and claims that 'the story of the life and times of English' can be traced from 'eight thousand years ago to the present' (p. 5). Although both these claims – that 80 per cent of English could be foreign and that the language can be traced back over 8,000 years – seem perhaps most remarkable for the weirdness of their views, they also need to be taken very seriously in terms of the cultural constructions they produce, namely a view of English as some ethnically pure Anglo-Saxon or Aryan language. Bailey (1991) comments that "Restoring" a racially pure language to suit a racially "primitive" nation is an idea that reached its most extreme and dreadful consequence in Hitler's Reich, and its appearance in images of English has not been sufficiently acknowledged' (p. 270).

The second image that emerges here is that to this core of Anglo-Saxon has been added – like tributaries to the great river of English, as many writers like to describe this – words from languages around the world, suggesting that English and British people have always been flexible and keen to borrow from elsewhere to enrich the language. This image of English is then used to deride other languages for their lack of breadth and, especially when people have sought to safeguard languages from the incursions of English, to claim that English is democratic while other languages are not. Most commonly this argument is used against the French for their attempts to legislate against the use of English words.

[. . .]

Thus, the image of English as a great borrowing language is used against any attempts to oppose the spread of English, the argument being that the diverse vocabulary of English is a reflection of the democratic and open nature of the British people, and that reactions against English are nothing but evidence that other people are less open and democratic. ‘English need not be protected by French Academies, Canadian constitutions or Flemish language rioters,’ Simon Jenkins (1995) tells us. ‘The world must just take a deep breath and admit that it has a universal language at last.’ But Jenkins is of course merely repeating an old image of English, one that the linguist Jespersen was quite happy with: ‘The English language would not have been what it is if the English had not been for centuries great respecters of the liberties of each individual and if everybody had not been free to strike out new paths for himself.’ (Jespersen, 1938/1982). And this linguistic democracy is, as ever, far superior to the narrow-minded protectionism of the French:

the English have never suffered an Academy to be instituted among them like the French or Italian Academies . . . In England every writer is, and has always been, free to take his words where he chooses, whether from the ordinary stock of everyday words, from native dialects, from old authors, or from other languages, dead or living.

(Jespersen 1938/1982: 15)

The notion of English as a great borrowing language also seems to suggest a view of colonial relations in which the British intermingled with colonized people, enriching English as they communed with the locals. Such a view, however, is hardly supported by colonial history. Kiernan (1969) mentions Macartney’s observation of the British ‘besetting sin of contempt for the rest of mankind’ and that ‘while other foreigners at Canton mingled socially with the Chinese, the British kept aloof’ (p. 148). Kiernan goes on to suggest that ‘the *apartheid* firmly established in India was transferred in a great measure to China. Everyone has heard of the “Dogs and Chinese not admitted” notice in the park’ (p. 156). In Hong Kong, he points out, ‘the position of the Chinese as subjects under British rule increased British haughtiness’. He quotes from Bowring in 1858 as observing that ‘the separation of the native population from the European is nearly absolute: social intercourse between the races wholly unknown’ (Kiernan 1969: 156). As Metcalf (1995) shows with respect to India, this apartheid policy extended to the division of cities, with railway lines often built to separate the ‘native areas’ from the white preserves, and houses built with extensive verandahs, gardens

**Alastair
Pennycuick**

and gateways in order to keep the colonized at bay. These observations are backed up by Wesley-Smith's (1994) analysis of 'anti-Chinese legislation' in Hong Kong. Looking at the 'considerable body of race-based discriminatory legislation' in Hong Kong, Wesley-Smith points to one of the central aims of much of this legislation: the separation of Chinese and Europeans. In 1917, Governor May [...] wrote to the secretary of state about the importance of maintaining the Peak area as an all-European reserve: 'It would be little short of a calamity if an alien and, by European standards, semi-civilized race were allowed to drive the white man from the one area in Hong Kong, in which he can live with his wife and children in a white man's healthy surroundings' (cited in Wesley-Smith 1994: 100).

If, then, the British tended to mingle with colonized or other people far less than did other Europeans, it is unlikely that the English language was in fact such an open, borrowing language as is claimed. Indeed, Bailey (1991) argues that the British 'sense of racial superiority made English voyagers less receptive to borrowings that had not already been, in part, authenticated by other European travelers' (p. 61). Thus, he goes on:

Far from its conventional image as a language congenial to borrowing from remote languages, English displays a tendency to accept exotic loanwords mainly when they have first been adopted by other European languages or when presented with marginal social practices or trivial objects.

Anglophones who have ventured abroad have done so confident of the superiority of their culture and persuaded of their capacity for adaptation, usually without accepting the obligations of adapting. Extensive linguistic borrowing and language mixing arise only when there is some degree of equality between or among languages (and their speakers) in a multilingual setting. For the English abroad, this sense of equality was rare.

(Bailey 1991: 91)

There are, therefore, serious questions to be asked about the image of democratic English put into play by the construction of English as a borrowing language. Indeed, the constant replaying of this image of English as an open and borrowing language, reflecting an open and borrowing people, is a cultural construct of colonialism that is in direct conflict with the colonial evidence.

The third, and probably most insidious, view produced by the insistence on English having a far larger vocabulary than other languages relates to thought. Having stated that English has far more words than German or French, Bryson (1990) goes on to argue that:

The richness of the English vocabulary, and the wealth of available synonyms, means that English speakers can often draw shades of distinction unavailable to non-English speakers. The French, for example, cannot distinguish between house and home, between mind and brain, between man and gentleman, between 'I wrote' and 'I have written'. The Spanish cannot differentiate a chairman from a president, and the Italians have no equivalent of wishful thinking. In Russia there are no native words for efficiency, challenge, engagement ring, have fun, or take care.

(Bryson 1990: 3–4)

Now it is important to note here that this is not merely an argument that different languages cut the world up differently but rather that English, with its larger vocabulary, cuts the world up better. Claiborne (1983), having also claimed a larger vocabulary for English than for other languages, goes on to suggest that ‘Like the wandering minstrel in *The Mikado*, with songs for any and every occasion, English has the right word for it – whatever “it” may be’ (p. 4). Thus:

It is the enormous and variegated lexicon of English, far more than the mere numbers and geographical spread of its speakers, that truly makes our native tongue marvellous – makes it, in fact, a medium for the precise, vivid and subtle expression of thought and emotion that has no equal, past or present.

(Claiborne 1983: 4)

In case the implications of this are not clear, Claiborne goes on to claim that English is indeed ‘not merely a great language but the greatest’ (p. 4) and that ‘Nearly all of us do our thinking in words, which symbolize objects and events (real or imagined) . . .’ (p. 6). Clearly, then, in this view, if you are a speaker of English, you are better equipped than speakers of other languages to think about the world. In this view, English is a window on the world. According to Burnett (1962), ‘not only in Asia and Africa, but in Europe, crisscrossed by linguistic frontiers and dissected by deep-rooted cultural loyalties, people of all classes now look to English as a window, a magic casement opening on every horizon of loquacious men’ (pp. 20–21).

[. . .]

Issues to consider

- ❑ The journalist Simon Jenkins quotes Braj Kachru in the extract above. Given that Kachru is, himself, far from being a glorifier of British colonialism but is, rather, a pioneer of language rights for the descendants of those whom the British colonised, how do you interpret his words? And do you agree with him? If you want to follow up Kachru’s views on this subject, see, for example, his 1996 article ‘The paradigms of marginality’. Bamgbosé (1998) also deals with this theme.
- ❑ Pennycook is critical of the view that when people speak English as an L2 they dissect the world through the filter of the English language. If you speak English as an L2, do you believe that your view of the world and perhaps also your identity alter according to which language you are speaking, or do you use English to reflect your L1 world view and identity? Most of the evidence in this book would suggest that Pennycook is right, at least in the sense that L2 speakers adapt English to their own world view and identity, rather than vice versa. But Matsuda (2000) provides evidence of Japanese speakers of English who feel that their personalities change when they speak English. How might you explain this? Do you think it depends, for example, on whether a local variety of English has been codified? This is a point Pennycook himself discusses in his 2007 book (p. 97) in relation to Japanese English and identity, and again in a later article (2009: 205–206), where he comes to a similar but not identical conclusion.

- ❑ Pennycook is also critical of the notion that the English language and its native speakers are particularly flexible and adaptable. What is your view on this subject? Do you have any evidence of this flexibility and adaptability or the lack of it?
- ❑ If your reading of this extract has inspired you to read the entire book from which it is taken, you might also like to read two highly contrasting reviews of the book, a positive one by Filmer and a negative one by Nelson (*World Englishes* 22/3: 326–330) and compare your views with theirs. You might also like to read Pennycook's 2007 book, *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* and explore the extent to which his position on the spread of English has/not altered over the intervening period.
- ❑ Finally, Pennycook himself lives and works in Australia, whose prime minister declared in July 2013 that no further refugee boats would be permitted to land there, and that refugees should be sent to camps in Papua New Guinea. In an article in the UK newspaper, *The Guardian* ('Australia's "stop the boats" policy is racist and lawless', 30 July 2013), the journalist John Pilger, said as follows: "Only Aboriginal people are true Australians. The rest of us – beginning with Captain Cook – are boat people". Do you agree with Pilger? Do you think Pennycook would? And if you do agree, do you think the same could be said of the descendants of the colonisers of the US as well?

D2**WHO OWNS ENGLISH TODAY?****The ownership debate**

Earlier in strand 2, you read the views of scholars such as Kachru, who argue that we need a paradigm shift in the teaching and testing of English, to reflect the fact that the majority of people who learn and use English today are not native speakers and do not even use it to communicate with them. In the paper that follows, still one of the most widely and frequently quoted papers in the field, Henry Widdowson argues in the strongest terms that native speakers of English no longer 'own' English or have the right to determine how it is, or should be, spoken around the world.

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

'The Ownership of English'

Henry G. Widdowson (The Peter Strevens Memorial Lecture delivered at the 1993 IATEFL International Conference, Swansea, and reprinted from the *IATEFL Annual Conference Report: plenaries 1993*: 5–8. A slightly different version (1994b) is more easily available).

[. . .] I want to talk about how the English we teach is to be defined and how this is related to its position as an international language.

To start with, who determines the demarcation of the subject itself? We are teaching English and the general assumption is that our purpose is to develop in students

a proficiency which approximates as closely as possible to that of native speakers. But who are these native speakers?

The English perhaps. And why not? A modest proposal. England is where the language originated and this is where the English live. The language and the people are bound together by both morphology and history. So they can legitimately lay claim to this linguistic territory. It belongs to them. And they are the custodians. If you want real or proper English, this is where it is to be found, preserved and listed like a property of the National Trust.

Of course, English of a kind is found elsewhere as well, still spreading, a luxuriant growth from imperial seed. Seeded among other people but not ceded to them. At least not completely. For the English still cling tenaciously to their property and try to protect it from abuse. Let us acknowledge (let us concede) that there are other kinds of English, offshoots and outgrowths, but they are not real or proper English, not the genuine article.

As an analogy, consider the French. They have, until just recently, successfully denied others the right to use the appellation ‘Champagne’ for any wine that does not come from the region of that name, where Dom Perignon first invented it. There may be all kinds of derivative versions elsewhere, excellent no doubt in their way, but they are not real or proper Champagne, even though loose talk may refer to them as such. Similarly, there is real English, *Anglais réal*, Royal English, Queen’s English, or (for those unsympathetic to the monarchy) Oxford English. The vintage language.

I do not imagine that such a view would gain much support in present company. The response is more likely to be outrage. You cannot be serious. Well, not entirely, it is true. As I have expressed it, in somewhat extravagant terms, this position is one which very few people would associate themselves with. It is reactionary, arrogant, totally unacceptable. And the argument is patently absurd. Perhaps as I have expressed it. But then why is it absurd? The particular associations of England, Queen and country and Colonel Blimp which I invoked to demonstrate the argument also in some respects disguise it. If we now remove the position from these associations and strip the argument down to its essential tenets, is it so readily dismissed? Is it indeed so uncommon after all? I want to suggest that the ideas and attitudes which I have presented in burlesque are still very much with us in a different and less obvious guise.

To return briefly to Champagne. One argument frequently advanced for being protective of its good name has to do with quality assurance. The label is a guarantee of quality. If any Tom, Dick or Harry producing fizzy wine is free to use it, there can be no quality control. Recently an English firm won a court case enabling it to put Champagne on its bottles containing a non-alcoholic beverage made from elderflowers. The Champagne lobby was outraged. Here, they said, was the thin end of the wedge. Before long, the label would be appearing on bottles all over the place containing concoctions of all kinds calling themselves Champagne, and so laying claim to its quality. The *appellation* would not be *contrôlée*. Standards were at stake.

They have a point. And the same point is frequently made about English. In this case, you cannot, of course, preserve exclusive use of the name and, indeed, it would work against your interests to do so (of which more later), but you can seek to preserve standards by implying that there is an exclusive quality in your own brand of English, aptly called ‘standard English’. What is this quality, then? What are these standards?

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

The usual answer is quality of clear communication and standards of intelligibility. With standard English, it is argued, these are assured. If the language disperses into different forms, a myriad of Englishes, then it ceases to serve as a means of international communication; in which case the point of learning it largely disappears. As the language spreads, there are bound to be changes out on the periphery; so much can be conceded. But these changes must be seen not only as peripheral but as radial also, and traceable back to the stable centre of the standard. If this centre does not hold, things fall apart, mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. Back to Babel.

In itself, this argument sounds plausible; and it is difficult to refute. But for all that, there is something about it which is suspect. Let us replay it again. Standard English promotes the cause of international communication so we must maintain the central stability of the standard as the common linguistic frame of reference.

To begin with, who are ‘we’? Obviously the promoters of standard English must themselves have standard English at their disposal. But to maintain it is another matter. This presupposes authority. And this authority is claimed by those who possess the language by primogeniture and due of birth, as Shakespeare puts it. In other words, the native speakers. They do not have to be English, of course. That would be too restrictive a condition, and one it would be tactless to propose, but they have to be to the language born. Not all native speakers, you understand. In fact, come to think of it, not most native speakers, for the majority of those who are to the language born speak non-standard English, and have themselves to be instructed in the standard at school. We cannot have any Tom, Dick or Harry claiming authority, for Tom, Dick and Harry are likely to be speakers of some dialect or other. So the authority to maintain the standard language is not consequent on a natural native speaker endowment. It is claimed by a minority of people who have the power to impose it. The custodians of standard English are self-elected members of a rather exclusive club. Now it is important to be clear that in saying this, I am not arguing against standard English. You can accept the argument for language maintenance, as indeed I do, without accepting the authority that claims the right to maintain it. It is, I think, very generally assumed that a particular subset of educated native speakers have the natural entitlement to custody of the language. That the preservation of its integrity is in their hands: their right and their responsibility. It is this which I wish to question. Not in any spirit of radical rebellion against authority as such, but because I think such questioning raises a number of crucial issues about the learning and teaching of the language.

Consideration of who the custodians are leads logically on to a consideration of what it is exactly that is in their custody. What is standard English? The usual way of defining it is in reference to its grammar and lexis: it is a variety, a kind of superposed dialect which is socially sanctioned for institutional use, and therefore particularly well suited to written communication. In its spoken form it can be manifested by any accent. So it is generally conceded that standard English has no distinctive phonology. The same concession is not, however, extended to its graphology. On the contrary, it is deviant spelling which, in Britain at least, is most frequently singled out for condemnation. There is something of a contradiction here. If standard English is defined as a distinctive grammatical and lexical system which can be substantially realized in different ways, then what does spelling have to do with it? It is true that

some spelling has a grammatical function (like apostrophe *s* which distinguishes the possessive form from the plural) but most of it does not. If you are going to ignore phonological variation, then, to be consistent, you should surely ignore graphological variation as well, and overlook it as a kind of written accent.

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

The reason it is not overlooked, I think, is that standard English, unlike other dialects, is essentially a written variety mainly designed for institutional purposes (education, administration, business and so on). Its spoken version is secondary, and typically used by those who control these institutions. This means that although it may not matter how it is spoken, it emphatically does matter how it is written. Furthermore, since writing, as a more durable medium, is used to express and establish institutional values, deviations from orthographic conventions undermine in some degree the institutions which they serve. They can be seen as evidence of social instability: a sign of things beginning to fall apart. So it is not surprising that those who have a vested interest in maintaining these institutions should be so vexed by bad spelling. It is not difficult to identify words through their unorthodox appearance. What seems to be more crucial is that good spelling represents conformity to convention and so serves to maintain institutional stability.

Similar points can be made about grammatical features. Since language has built-in redundancy, grammatical conformity is actually not particularly crucial for many kinds of communicative transaction. What we generally do in the interpretative process is actually to edit grammar out of the text, referring lexis directly to context, using lexical items as indexical clues to meaning. We edit grammar back in when we need it for fine tuning. If the reason for insisting on standard English is because it guarantees effective communication, then the emphasis should therefore logically be on lexis rather than grammar. But the champions of standard English do not see it in this way: on the contrary, they focus attention on grammatical abuse. Why should this be so? There are, I think, two reasons. Firstly, it is precisely because grammar is so often redundant in communicative transactions that it takes on another significance, namely that of expressing social identity. The mastery of a particular grammatical system, especially, perhaps, those features which are redundant, marks you as a member of the community which has developed that system for its own social purposes. Conversely, of course, those who are unable to master the system are excluded from the community. They do not belong. In short, grammar is shibboleth.

So when the custodians of standard English complain about the ungrammatical language of the populace, they are in effect indicating that the perpetrators are outsiders, non-members of the community. The only way they can become members, and so benefit from the privileges of membership, is to learn standard English, and those privileges include, of course, access to the institutions which the community controls. Standard English is an entry condition and the custodians of it the gatekeepers. You can, of course, persist in your non-standard ways if you choose, but then do not be surprised to find yourself marginalized, perpetually kept out on the periphery. What you say will be less readily attended to, assigned less importance, if it is not expressed in the grammatically approved manner. And if you express yourself in writing which is both ungrammatical and badly spelled, you are not likely to be taken seriously. You are beyond the pale. Standard English, then, is not simply a means of communication but the symbolic possession of a particular community, expressive of its identity, its

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

conventions and values. As such it needs to be carefully preserved, for to undermine standard English is to undermine what it stands for: the security of this community and its institutions. Thus it tends to be the communal rather than the communicative features of standard English that are most jealously protected: its grammar and spelling.

I do not wish to imply this communal function is to be deplored. Languages of every variety have this dual character: they provide the means for communication and at the same time express the sense of community, represent the stability of its conventions and values, in short, its culture. All communities possess and protect their languages. The question is, which community and which culture have a rightful claim to ownership of standard English? For standard English is no longer the preserve of a group of people living in an off-shore European island, even if some of them still seem to think that it is. It is an international language. As such, it serves a whole range of different communities and their institutional purposes, and these transcend traditional communal and cultural boundaries. I am referring to the business community, for example, and the community of researchers and scholars in science and technology and other disciplines. Standard English, especially in its written form, is their language. It provides for effective communication, but at the same time, it establishes the status and stability of the institutional conventions which define these international activities. These activities develop their own conventions of thought and procedure, customs and codes of practice; in short, they in effect create their own cultures, their own standards. And obviously for the maintenance of standards it is helpful, to say the least, to have a standard language at your disposal. But you do not need native speakers to tell you what it is. [. . .]

As I indicated earlier, the custodians of standard English express the fear that if there is diversity, things will fall apart and the language will divide up into mutually unintelligible varieties. But things in a sense have already fallen apart. The varieties of English used for international communication in science, finance, commerce and so on are mutually unintelligible. As far as lexis is concerned, their communicative viability depends on the development of separate standards, and this means that their communication is largely closed off from the world outside.

The point, then, is that if English is to retain its vitality and its capability for continual adjustment, it cannot be confined within a standard lexis. And this seems to be implicitly accepted as far as particular domains of use are concerned. Nobody, I think, says that the abstruse terms used by physicists or stock-brokers are non-standard English. It is generally accepted that communities or secondary cultures which are defined by shared professional concerns should be granted rights of ownership and allowed to fashion the language to their needs.

The same tolerance is not extended so readily to primary cultures and communities, where the language is used in the conduct of everyday social life. Lexical innovation here, equally motivated by communal requirement, is generally dismissed as dialect. Take, for example, the two words *depone* and *prepone*. The first is a technical legal term and therefore highly respectable. The second, *prepone*, is not. It is an Indian English word of very general currency, coined to contrast with ‘to postpone’. To postpone an event means to put it back, to prepone an event is to bring it forward. The coinage exploits the morphology of English in an entirely regular way. It is apt. But it is also quaint. An odd Indian excrescence: obviously non-standard. And yet there

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

is clearly nothing deviant in the derivational process itself and, indeed, we can see it at work in the formation of the related words *predate* and *postdate*. But these are sanctioned as entirely ordinary, proper, standard English words. What, then, is the difference? The difference lies in the origin of the word. *Prepone* is coined by a non-native speaking community, so it is not really a proper English word. It is not pukka. And of course the word *pukka* is itself only pukka because the British adopted it.

Where are we then? When we consider the question of standard English what we find, in effect, is double standards. The very idea of a standard implies stability and this can only be fixed in reference to the past. But language is of its nature unstable. It is essentially protean in nature, adapting its shape to suit changing circumstances. It would otherwise lose its vitality and its communicative and communal value. This is generally acknowledged in the case of specialist domains of use, but is not acknowledged in the case of everyday social uses of the language. So it is that a word like *depone* is approved and a word like *prepone* is not. But the basic principle of dynamic adaption is the same in both cases. And in both cases, the users of the language exploit its protean potential and fashion it to their needs, thereby demonstrating a high degree of linguistic capability. In both cases the innovation indicates that the language has been learned, not just as a set of fixed conventions to conform to, but as a resource for making meaning; and making meaning which you can call your own. This, surely, is a crucial condition. You are proficient in a language to the extent that you make it your possession, bend it to your will, assert yourself through it rather than simply submit to dictates of its form. It is a familiar experience to find oneself saying things in a foreign language because you can say them rather than because they express what you want to say. You feel you are going through the motions, and somebody else's motions at that. You are speaking the language but not speaking your mind. Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language and turn it to your advantage. This is what mastery means. So in a way, proficiency only comes with non-conformity, when you can take the initiative and strike out on your own. Consider these remarks of the Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe:

I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience . . . But it will have to be a new English, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.

Achebe is a novelist and he is talking here about creative writing. But the point I have been making is that all uses of language are creative in the sense that they draw on linguistic resources to express different perceptions of reality. English is called upon to carry the weight of all kinds of experience, much of it very remote indeed from its ancestral home.

The new English that Achebe refers to is locally generated, and although it must necessarily be related to, and so in communion with, its ancestral origins in the past, it owes no allegiance to any descendants of this ancestry in the present. And this point applies to all other new Englishes which have been created to carry the weight of different experience in different surroundings, whether they are related to specialist domains of use or to the contexts of everyday life. They are all examples of the entirely normal and necessary process of adaption, a process which obviously depends on

**Henry G.
Widdowson**

non-conformity to existing conventions or standards. For these have been established elsewhere by other people as appropriate to quite different circumstances. The fact that these people can claim direct descent from the founding fathers has nothing to do with it. How English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speakers in England or anywhere else. They have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement. They are irrelevant. The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such custody of the language, particularly, one might add, to a nation disposed to dwell on the past, is necessarily to arrest its development and so undermine its international status. It is a matter of considerable pride and satisfaction for native speakers of English that their language is an international means of communication. But the point is that it is only international to the extent that it is not their language. It is not a possession which they lease out to others, while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it.

[. . .]

As soon as you accept that English serves the communicative and communal needs of different communities, it follows logically that it must be diverse. An international language has to be an independent language. It does not follow logically, however, that the language will disperse into mutually unintelligible varieties. For it will naturally stabilise into a standard form to the extent required to meet the needs of the communities concerned. Thus it is clearly vital to the interests of the international community of, for example, scientists or business people, whatever their primary language, that they should preserve a common standard of English in order to keep up standards of communicative effectiveness. English could not otherwise serve their purpose. It needs no native speaker to tell them that. Furthermore, this natural tendency towards standardization will be reinforced by the extending of networks of interaction through developments in telecommunications and information technology. For there is little point in opening up such amazing new transmission systems if what you transmit makes no sense at the other end. The availability of these new channels calls for the maintenance of a common code. And these are therefore likely to have greater influence on stabilizing the language than the pronouncements of native speakers.

The essential point is that a standard English, like other varieties of language, develops endo-normatively, by a continuing process of self-regulation, as appropriate to different conditions of use. It is not fixed, therefore, by native speakers. They have no special say in the matter, in spite of their claims to ownership of real English as associated with their own particular cultural contexts of use.

[. . .]

Issues to consider

- ❑ Widdowson's paper argues uncompromisingly for precisely the kind of paradigm shift that Kachru calls for (see B2). To what extent do you agree or disagree with Widdowson's view that the standard English argument is suspect?
- ❑ Towards the end of his article, Widdowson claims that native English speakers do not have the right to determine the international development of English. While most authors who quote from the article tend to share his views, this

particular point has also received some highly negative comment. These are two such examples:

Here is a quotation that has made a bewildering career . . . : “How English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speakers in England, the United States, or anywhere else. They have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement. They are irrelevant” (Widdowson 1994b: 385). Most readers will probably agree that this text is highly emotional, even hysterical. Whence comes this ascientific effect? Presumably from mixing matters linguistic with matters political-ideological.

(Sobkowiak 2005: 136)

Widdowson . . . argues that “how English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speakers [...] they have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement”. No right, maybe, but I do think that some of us have an obligation, when asked, to ignore Widdowson’s attempt to censor us.

(Trudgill 2005: 86)

Do you agree with either or both? Why/Why not? And why do you think that some L2 English speakers (the first example) as well as some L1 English speakers (the second) have taken offence at Widdowson’s point?

- Widdowson’s 1993 paper argues against the relevance of standard native English for English users primarily in local Outer Circle contexts such as India and Nigeria. In a much later paper, he explores the issues in relation to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and so, because of their far greater numbers, for English users primarily in Expanding Circle contexts. English, he argues, has been “globalized as a lingua franca” and become “common property”. Thus, “It does not matter . . . whether the language conforms to established code rules or usage conventions so long as it is intelligible and pragmatically effective” in ELF communication (2012: 19–21). Do you agree with Widdowson or (if you accept his argument in relation to the Outer Circle) do you make a distinction between English users whose countries have institutionalised varieties of English and those who use it principally as a lingua franca for intercultural communication?

IS LANGUAGE (STILL) POWER IN THE INNER CIRCLE?

The title of this unit draws on the book *Language is Power* (Honey 1997), which promotes the late author’s belief that “schoolchildren should be given maximum access to standard English” (p. 5), and attacks what he saw as the obstacle to such access: “the consensus that has existed among linguists . . . for at least three decades now, around the hypothesis that I will call ‘linguistic equality’, the notion that all languages,

and all dialects of any language, are equally good". This "liberal orthodoxy", Honey believed, far from protecting underprivileged children, has "inflicted lasting educational damage" on them (back cover) and is in need of remediation in both Britain and the US.

In the following year, a book taking a rather different view was published: *Language Myths* edited by the linguist Laurie Bauer and the sociolinguist Peter Trudgill (1998). This book set out to do precisely the opposite of Honey's. That is, its twenty-one articles each take a particular belief about 'correct' English, and demonstrate its mythical nature. The article reproduced below focuses on English grammar, discussing it in precisely the 'liberal' manner so despised by Honey. It is followed by two articles which appeared in May 2001 in the Singaporean newspaper, *The Straits Times*, one by the Speak Good English Campaign supporter (see C4) Alfred Lee lamenting the deterioration in the use of English by its native speakers in Britain, the other a response two days later from the non-prescriptive Dennis Bloodworth.

Lesley Milroy

Bad Grammar is Slovenly

Lesley Milroy (reprinted from Laurie Bauer and Peter Trudgill (eds) *Language Myths*, London: Penguin, 1998: 94–101)

Like most language myths this one begs a number of questions, such as the following:

- What is meant by 'bad grammar'?
- What is meant by 'grammar'?

Can particular sentences of the English language reasonably be described as 'slovenly' – or 'lacking in care and precision', according to one dictionary definition? The quest for answers exposes the myth to critical scrutiny.

Newspaper features, letter columns and the mailboxes of the BBC are good places to find complaints about bad grammar. A rich harvest may be gathered if language use becomes the subject of public debate or if current educational policies are focusing on English teaching and testing. In Britain recently many judgemental remarks have been aired about 'Estuary English', the name given to a variety of the language which is spreading both socially and geographically.

Examples of specific constructions often described as bad grammar can be placed in at least three categories. The first, exemplified in sentences (1)–(3) along with the (presumed) correct form in italics, regularly occur in the speech and writing of educated people.

- (1) Who am I speaking to? / *To whom am I speaking?*
- (2) Martha's two children are completely different to each other / *Martha's two children are completely different from each other.*
- (3) I want to quickly visit the library / *I want to visit the library quickly.*

Two well-known 'errors' appear in (1), namely the preposition in the sentence final position and the nominative form of the relative pronoun 'who' rather than the oblique

Lesley Milroy

form ‘whom’ which is prescribed after a preposition. In (2) the expression ‘different to’ is used rather than the prescribed ‘different from’; and in (3) there is a ‘split infinitive’. In fact, the ‘correct’ versions were prescribed as such relatively recently in the history of the language, as part of the flurry of scholarly activity associated with the codification of the English language in the eighteenth century. Since the goal of codification is to define a particular form as standard, this process entailed intolerance of the range of choices which speakers and writers had hitherto taken for granted. In earlier centuries all these ‘errors’ appeared in highly sophisticated writing; in 1603, for example, Thomas Decker wrote ‘How much different art thou to this cursed spirit here?’

Different rationalizations were introduced to support these new prescriptions. The model of Latin was invoked to argue that a preposition should not end a sentence, that the inflected form of *who* should not appear anywhere other than in the subject of the sentence, and that an infinitive should not be split. The reason advanced by one writer of a popular manual of correctness for preferring ‘different from’ is that ‘different to’ is illogical, since no one would say ‘similar from’. But it is not difficult to construct an equally logical argument in support of ‘different to’, since it falls into a set of words with comparative meanings such as *similar*, *equal*, *superior*, which require *to*. Not only are prescriptive arguments difficult to sustain, but if taken seriously they are likely to create problems. For example, ‘Who am I speaking to?’ is normal in most contexts, while ‘To whom am I speaking?’ will generally be interpreted as marking social distance. Thus the real difference between these forms is stylistic; both are good English sentences in appropriate contexts. Sometimes an attempt to follow the prescribed rules produces odd results.

- (4) A good author needs to develop a clear sense of who she is writing for.
- (5) A good author needs to develop a clear sense of for whom she is writing.

The prescription which outlaws (4) and yields (5), does not work because it is not based on a principled analysis of the structure of English but is a response to cultural and political pressures. By the eighteenth century Britain needed a standardized language to meet the needs of geographically scattered colonial government servants and to facilitate mass education. It did not too much matter which of a set of variants emerged as standard, as long as only one was specified as such. The prescribed standard was codified in grammars (such as Robert Lowth’s) and dictionaries (the most famous being Dr Johnson’s). No systematic grammar of English existed at that time, but Latin had a particular prestige as the lingua franca of scholars throughout Europe; hence the appeal not only to logic but to the model of Latin to justify particular prescriptions. But as we shall see shortly, English rules are very different from Latin rules, though equally complex; like all Germanic languages, English quite naturally places prepositions in sentence final position.

By ‘bad grammar’ then is sometimes meant expressions which are not in line with even unrealistic prescriptions. But what is grammar? Our myth refers to a *prescriptive* grammar, which is not a systematic description of a language, but a sort of linguistic etiquette, essentially an arbitrary set of *dos* and *don’ts*. [. . .]

Prescriptive rules are never as complex as properly formulated descriptive rules, and are easily dealt with by descriptive grammars. For example, *different from/to* would

Lesley Milroy

simply be specified as options; the split infinitive would not be an issue since the infinitive form of the verb is *visit*, not *to visit*; ‘Who am I speaking to?’ would be viewed as a normal sentence following the rules of English.

Sentences like (11) and (12) are also subject to popular criticism:

(11) So I said to our Trish and our Sandra, ‘Yous wash the dishes.’

(12) Was you watching the game when the rain started?

Unlike (1)–(6), which are regularly used by educated speakers and writers, both of these are characteristic of low-status speakers. They were recorded respectively in Belfast and London, although the grammatical patterns which they illustrate are found elsewhere. It is the low social status of these speakers, indexed by details of their language use, which seems in this case to form the basis of negative evaluation. In such a way is social class prejudice disguised as neutral intellectual commentary, and for this reason one linguist has described linguistic prescriptivism as the last open door to discrimination. But note that (11) makes a systematic distinction between ‘you’ (singular) and ‘yous’ (plural) similar to many languages of the world but lacking in Standard English. Thus (11) cannot be argued to be in any sense linguistically impoverished (another common rationalization in defence of prescribed variants). Languages and dialects simply vary in the meaning distinctions they encode, regardless of their social status.

Note that (12) is a perfectly formulated question. Earlier in the history of English *was* and *were* in such sentences were acceptable alternatives (recall that the process of standardization has narrowed the range of socially and stylistically acceptable linguistic choices). But if we ask whether such sentences are ‘slovenly’ (‘lacking in care and precision’) we must surely concede that the care and precision needed to implement the question-formation rule is considerable, placing in perspective the triviality of requiring *were* with a plural subject.

Let us look finally at two sentences which seem to be subject to criticism for yet a different reason:

(13) Me and Andy went out to the park.

(14) it's very awkward/it's difficult mind you/with a class of thirty odd/occasionally with the second form/you'll get you know/well we'll have erm a debate/

Neither (13) nor (14) are clearly marked as belonging to a particular region, but between them they display a number of characteristics of informal spoken English. Uttered by an adolescent boy, (13) is criticized on the grounds that the wrong pronoun case (*me* instead of *I*) is used inside a conjoined phrase. Speakers are so conscious of this Latin-based prescription that even linguistically self-conscious and quite prescriptively minded individuals sometimes hypercorrect and use *I* where *me* is prescribed (a particularly large number of complaints about these patterns of pronoun use are received by the BBC). Thus Margaret Thatcher once announced, ‘It is not for you and I to condemn the Malawi economy,’ and Bill Clinton pleaded, ‘Give Al Gore and I a chance.’ But a systematic analysis of English grammar reveals underlying rules which permit variation between *me* and *I* only within conjoined phrases. Thus, adolescent boys do not habitually say ‘Me went out to the park,’ Clinton would not plead ‘Give I a chance,’

and not even Margaret Thatcher would have said ‘It is not for I to condemn the Malawi economy.’ With respect to *prescriptive* rules, there is often such a disparity between what speakers believe is correct and what they actually do; but *descriptive* rules are neither subject to violation nor are they part of our conscious knowledge of language.

Although conversation is often thought to be unstructured, ungrammatical and slovenly (presumably when judged against the norms of writing or formal speech), its complex organizational principles are quite different from those of planned spoken or written discourse; it is not simply spoken prose. Transcribed from a coffee-break conversation between two teachers, (14) is typical of informal conversation in its chunks (marked by slashes), which do not correspond to sentences of written English. Also in evidence are fillers such as *erm*, hesitations (marked by full stops), repairs, repetitions, and discourse tokens such as *you know*, *mind you*. Most of these features are attributable to conversation’s interactive, online mode of production, and the two discourse tokens function as ‘participation markers’, signalling to the interlocutor that interactional involvement or response is expected. Thus, it hardly seems appropriate to describe even the apparently unstructured utterance (14) as ‘slovenly’.

So what are we to say in conclusion about our current ‘myth’? ‘Bad grammar’ is a cover term to describe a number of different kinds of English expressions. Some are widely used by educated speakers and writers but are outlawed by traditional prescriptions which are difficult to sustain; some appear to attract covert social prejudice by virtue of their association with low-status groups; and some follow the very characteristic but still rule-governed patterns of informal speech. All are perfectly grammatical, providing evidence of a complex body of rules which constitute mental grammars, the unconscious knowledge which speakers have of their own language. In comparison, the prescriptions which are recommended as ‘good grammar’ are revealed as at best marginal and frequently as unrealistic and trivial.

‘English to get English lessons’

Alfred Lee

Alfred Lee (reprinted from *The Straits Times*, Tuesday 15 May 2001)

A society has been set up to teach the English language to adults in England. Retired newspaper sub-editor John Richards was so appalled at public misuse of apostrophes that he formed the Apostrophe Protection Society.

After news of his society was revealed, hundreds of people, including teachers, writers, academics and others rushed to support his campaign and to join his society. They have now decided to expand the aims of the organisation – and to highlight common errors in English made by English people.

“English people are supposed to write excellent English – but many can’t,” said Mr Richards, 75. “My local fruiterer writes on posters that he sells bunch’s of banana’s. The public library has a sign saying that it has CD’s. The largest supermarket in town promises 1000’s of products at reduced prices. “I was so irritated by the mistakes in the use of apostrophes that I had to do something.”

Headmaster Anthony Macrory said the group had “a tremendous fight on our hands, with the Internet and e-mails responsible for ‘weblish’ and mobile phone text messages undoing all that is taught in English classes”.

Lesley Milroy

Alfred Lee

In “weblish”, e-mails are often sent in lower case or all in capital letters, because Internet users are too lazy to use the capital letter key. Punctuation is often left out. It is as though apostrophes, full stops and initial capital letters for proper nouns never existed, he said, adding that in the world of text messages, abbreviations and acronyms fly through cyberspace.

“Good English has nothing to do with messages that read RUF2T – Are you free to talk?; CUL8R – See you later; IJC2SaILuvU – I just called to say I love you,” he said.

A recent survey placed the literacy of adults in England among the lowest of any developed country. When Britain’s education authority tried to fill some administrative posts, only six of 33 candidates with A-level qualifications passed a test in literacy. One 19-year-old applicant, asked to write a short essay on how he would organise a campaign against the use of narcotics, started by saying: “I wud reed all the leaflets and complied a questionair concerning how the bodies system was effected by drugs.”

As Mr Tony Maher of the Plain English Campaign put it: “Sadly, there is a huge army of grown-up English people who are illiterate. They cannot spell properly and their grammar and punctuation are atrocious.”

Professor Roger Holliday, an English expert, said he believed that things have been going downhill in Britain ever since the Rolling Stones sang, “I Can’t Get No Satisfaction”.

CHECKLIST of common mistakes

- Split infinitives:** Its five-year mission is to boldly go where no man has gone before. Should be: To go boldly.
- You, I and me:** *Between you and I*, Nicole Kidman and Tom Cruise were always going to separate. Should be: between you and me.
- To lay and lie:** I *always lay* down to sleep after a big meal. Should be: Always lie.
- Who or whom:** *Who do you think* you are kidding, Mr Hitler? Should be: Whom do you think [. . .]
- Prepositions:** That was the Prime Minister I gave my vote *to*. The sentence should not end with a preposition.

**Dennis
Bloodworth**

Go on, dare to boldly split the infinitive

Dennis Bloodworth (reprinted from *The Straits Times*, Thursday May 17, 2001)

I was fascinated by the box (“Checklist: Common mistakes”) which accompanied the report, “English to get English lessons” (*The Straits Times*, 15 May). *The Straits Times* listed splitting infinitives as one common mistake that people make. But what do the pundits say about this?

In his *Penguin Dictionary Of Troublesome Words*, Bill Bryson writes that “one (misconception) is the belief that the split infinitive is a grammatical error. It is not. Another is that the split infinitive is widely condemned. That too is untrue”.

**Dennis
Bloodworth**

He cites, as an example of the folly of religiously avoiding a split infinitive, this sentence from *The Times* (of London): “The education system had failed adequately to meet the needs of industry and commerce”. Failed adequately? Well, thank goodness for that – or, no, wait a minute . . .

Sir Ernest Gowers writes about the split infinitive: “Broadminded grammarians have described it as . . . a bad rule, and many people (including so good a writer as Bernard Shaw) have regarded it as a mere fetish”.

Eric Partridge quotes H.W. Fowler, who said that, though not desirable in itself, the split infinitive was preferable to ambiguity and “patent artificiality”, citing as an example, “in not combining to forbid flatly hostilities”. Forbid flatly hostilities? What on earth does it mean?

Fowler himself points out that to avoid that patent artificiality, Byron wrote “to slowly trace the forest’s shady scene” and Thomas Hardy, “she wants to honestly and legally marry that man”. He quotes sentences from Bernard Levin, Anita Brookner, John Updike, Julian Barnes, Iris Murdoch and others to show that when literary sense and rhythm and grace, clarity and style demanded it, they were ready to split with the best, and to hell with academic nitpickers.

The Times commented in fun in 1992: “The most diligent search can find no modern grammarian to pedantically, to dogmatically, to invariably condemn a split infinitive”.

The Straits Times box correctly attacks “Between you and I”. But then it denounces “I always lay down to sleep after a big meal”. It should be “always lie”, you say. But you are not “always” right. If you are talking about the past, it is “lay” that is correct.

Next comes “who or whom”. Your checklist quotes “Who do you think you are kidding, Mr Hitler?”, saying it should be “whom do you think . . .” Spot on. Except that (if I remember rightly) this was the first line of a music-hall ditty sung during World War II in Cockney, and might well have begun (phonetically) not with “who” or “whom” at all, but “Oo do you fink . . . , Mr ’itler?” And anyway that was about 60 years ago.

Do you really consider it a valid example of bad English today that you should pass on to Singaporeans in your newspaper? Are you suggesting that instead of “Who do you think you’re talking to?”, they should learn to say “To whom do you think you are talking?” And what about these examples from Fowler that flout the rigid rules you echo: “Who wouldst thou strike?” (The Bible) and “To who, my Lord?” (Shakespeare).

Gowers quotes Addison (“Who would I see there?”) and Winston Churchill (“Moves made to displace their leader by someone whom they imagined would be a more vigorous President”). Partridge simply wants to abandon “whom” altogether.

Finally, we come to prepositions: A sentence should not end with a preposition, says your box. Really? Bryson writes: “Anyone who believes that it is wrong to end a sentence with a preposition . . . is about a century out of date . . . Today, happily, it is universally condemned as a ridiculous affectation”.

Gowers: “Do not hesitate to end a sentence with a preposition if your ear tells you it is where the preposition goes best . . . no good writer ever heeded the rule, except Dryden”.

Dennis
Bloodworth

Fowler: “One of the most persistent myths about prepositions is that they . . . should not be placed at the end of a clause or sentence”. Shakespeare obviously would have agreed with him; take “Who servest though (*sic*) under?” Or “Who do you speak to?”

Pundits have asked how else would you write “This bed hasn’t been slept in” or “What is the world coming to?”. Winston Churchill reputedly gave his opinion on the matter by saying “This is the sort of English up with which I will not put”.

So what have you scored? According to my calculations, two out of six – all right, two and a half. I certainly wouldn’t advise you to take the hot seat in Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?

But, more seriously, your London correspondent Alfred Lee has excelled by finding yet another story that puts the British in a bad light, this one about their ignorance of their own language. The ignorance is real enough, unhappily. But, surely, that is all the more reason for not misleading poor Singaporeans with bogus dogma when they are already struggling with the wiles of English, the writing of which is an art, not a geometrical theorem in a secondary-school exam. I feel that Mr Lee should at least make sure that his sources know what they are talking about. Or do you really believe that sentence ought to read “know about what they are talking”? Bunkum!

Issues to consider

- ❑ How far do you agree with Milroy and Bloodworth, and how far do you think that Honey’s and Lee’s positions (which are shared by many members of the British general public and right-wing press) are valid? In particular, do you believe that standard English use *still* provides people with power, and vice versa, or do you think that ten years on, things are changing? Think about the possible influences of EMC, of ‘yoofspeak’ (the English, especially spoken, of younger people), and of the recent rapid increase in non-standard English speaking celebrities (in sport, popular music, fashion modelling and the like).
- ❑ Compare what is said in Lee’s article about the language of texting with the views on texting and other forms of EMC presented in C3. Does this either reinforce or weaken your response to the previous question?
- ❑ Although you may have decided that standard English has less power in the 2010s than it did in previous decades, there is still plenty of evidence of a continuing attachment to the standard. One source of such evidence is the Queen’s English Society (<http://queens-english-society.com/>), which takes a very unambiguous position on English, sees any change (including the introduction of Americanisms) as a sign of degeneration, and is clear about what it regards as ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ English. Have a look at its website, and decide how far you are sympathetic to its arguments. Do you consider it a weakness that these arguments are based on intuition rather than empirical evidence or do you think this is not important?
- ❑ The Queen’s English Society is by no means alone in its dislike of changes in the English language: there are regular complaints about this in the media. Here are two more recent examples. Firstly, John Sutherland, emeritus professor of English literature at University College London, in a recent newspaper article with the title ‘How language is literally losing its meaning’ (*Guardian Newspaper*,

g2, 15 August 2013, p. 2), objects profusely to present-day uses of the words ‘historic’, ‘appropriate’ and ‘robust’, and the suffix ‘like’. He complains, for example, that ‘like’ has become “a kind of vocal lubricant, as in ‘I went, like, and told him face to face, like, it’s not my responsibility etc etc’”, and adds, “What’s this little linguistic slimeball doing? It fills cracks. In an ugly way”. Do you agree with him about the words to which he refers, and/or others whose uses have changed over time, or do you see language change of this kind as a natural development?

- The second example consists of another newspaper article in response to it. In the article, ‘How to stop worrying and write proper’ (*Guardian Newspaper*, *g2*, 1 October 2013, pp. 6–8), the *Guardian Style Guide* author, David Marsh, argues that ten of the rules of English grammatical correctness are not worth worrying about. The ten rules (paraphrased here) are:

1. do not split infinitives (e.g. ‘to boldly go’ not ‘to go boldly’)
2. do not end sentences or clauses with a preposition (e.g. ‘the end at which he aimed’, not ‘the end he aimed at’)
3. use the subjunctive where appropriate (e.g. ‘If I were . . .’, not ‘If I was . . .’)
4. avoid double negatives as in ‘I can’t get no satisfaction’
5. use ‘between’ only to apply to two things and ‘among’ to apply to more than two
6. use ‘bored by’ or ‘bored with’ but not ‘bored of’
7. use the possessive pronoun with gerunds (e.g. ‘She objected to my swimming’, not ‘She objected to me swimming’)
8. do not start a sentence with a conjunction
9. use a singular verb form with ‘none’ (e.g. ‘None of them has turned up’, not ‘None of them have . . .’)
10. use ‘try to’ not ‘try and’.

Note that some of these ten rules are themselves myths. Do you know which they are? To check your answer, see the full article: <http://www.theguardian.com/science/2013/sep/30/10-grammar-rules-you-can-forget>.

- In a critique of Trudgill and Hannah (2008), Widdowson (2012: 13) argues as follows:

What constitutes a standard is not the language produced by its native users, educated or not, but that which linguists have codified. What makes a language or a variety standard is, as indeed Trudgill and Hannah themselves acknowledge, that: it has been subjected to a process through which it has been selected, codified and stabilized, in a way that other varieties have not . . . whose grammar has been described and given public recognition in grammar books and dictionaries, with its norms being widely considered to be ‘correct’ and constituting ‘good usage’ (Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 1–2).

In other words what is standard is decreed by authority, although which authority is left unspecified: the language “has been subjected to a process . . . has been selected, codified and stabilized” by some unmentioned

agency. In effect the standard is a construct based on what linguistic tradition has deemed to be worth codifying, which is then carried over and assumed to be valid in subsequent linguistic descriptions. The public recognition of this validity is then assured by publication in what are conveniently called standard works of reference. And so a convenient construct becomes an established convention.

Do you agree with Widdowson that standard English is a fiction, or do you think it has a solid basis in fact?

- ❑ Mugglestone (2003: 42) argues that ‘Prescriptive ideology . . . in spite of its professed egalitarianism, instead merely reinforces notions of the cultural hegemony of one social group above others’. She describes as “fictions of ‘empowerment’” the attempts of eighteenth-century elocutionists such as Thomas Sheridan and John Walker to encourage the disadvantaged to “emulate their ‘bettters’” on the grounds that use of the standard would be a social leveller. Do you agree with Mugglestone that the ‘language is power’ argument actually works against rather than for the disadvantaged in society, and that equality can only result from acknowledging all language varieties as equal (the descriptive position)? Do you think either the prescriptive or descriptive position is achievable in practice?
- ❑ Milroy mentions speech/writing differences. In your view, do her arguments hold good for both, or are they more appropriate to one or other channel? (You might like to refer back to the section on speech and writing in C3).
- ❑ Prepare a questionnaire that will enable you to compare the attitudes of older and younger English speakers in your own country towards specific ‘incorrect’ usages (use either your own examples or those provided above by Milroy, Bloodworth and Lee), and to the present-day grammatical competence in general of native speakers of English. After you have administered your questionnaire to a sufficient number of respondents (I suggest a minimum of six for each of the two groups), look for patterns relating to the age of the respondents. Do you think you would obtain different responses if you asked these questions in an L1 English-speaking country if yours is an L2 English-speaking one, or vice versa? Why might this be?

D4**FROM LANGUAGE TO LITERATURE**

Although this section focuses on literature rather than language, many of the issues are the same. Underlying the extracts from the late Chinua Achebe, who died in March 2013, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is the fundamental and unresolved question of whether the English language is able to (re)present the experience of speakers from other backgrounds, as well as the extent to which the language can or should be modified in the process. As you read through these two extracts, note the main points of disagreement between Achebe and Ngũgĩ on these issues.

The African writer and the English language

Chinua Achebe

Chinua Achebe (reprinted from *Morning Yet On Creation Day*, New York: Anchor, 1975)

I have indicated somewhat off-handedly that the national literature of Nigeria and of many other countries of Africa is, or will be, written in English. This may sound like a controversial statement, but it isn't. All I have done has been to look at the reality of present-day Africa. This "reality" may change as a result of deliberate, e.g. political, action. If it does an entirely new situation will arise, and there will be plenty of time to examine it. At present it may be more profitable to look at the scene as it is.

What are the factors which have conspired to place English in the position of national language in many parts of Africa? Quite simply the reason is that these nations were created in the first place by the intervention of the British which, I hasten to add, is not saying that the peoples comprising these nations were invented by the British.

[. . .]

Of course there are areas of Africa where colonialism divided up a single ethnic group among two or even three powers. But on the whole it did bring together many peoples that had hitherto gone their several ways. And it gave them a language with which to talk to one another. If it failed to give them a song, it at least gave them a tongue, for sighing. There are not many countries in Africa today where you could abolish the language of the erstwhile colonial powers and still retain the facility for mutual communication. Therefore those African writers who have chosen to write in English or French are not unpatriotic smart alecs with an eye on the main chance – outside their own countries. They are by-products of the same process that made the new nation states of Africa.

You can take this argument a stage further to include other countries of Africa. The only reason why we can even talk about African unity is that when we get together we can have a manageable number of languages to talk in – English, French, Arabic.

The other day I had a visit from Joseph Kariuki of Kenya. Although I had read some of his poems and he had read my novels we had not met before. But it didn't seem to matter. In fact I had met him through his poems, especially through his love poem, "Come Away My Love" in which he captures in so few words the trial and tensions of an African in love with a white girl in Britain.

Come away my love, from streets
Where unkind eyes divide
And shop windows reflect our difference.

By contrast, when in 1960 I was travelling in East Africa and went to the home of the late Shabaan Robert, the Swahili poet of Tanganyika, things had been different. We spent some time talking about writing, but there was no real contact. I knew from all accounts that I was talking to an important writer, but of the nature of his work I had no idea. He gave me two books of his poems which I treasure but cannot read – until I have learnt Swahili.

Chinua Achebe

And there are scores of languages I would want to learn if it were possible. Where am I to find the time to learn the half-a-dozen or so Nigerian languages each of which can sustain a literature? I am afraid it cannot be done. These languages will just have to develop as tributaries to feed the one central language enjoying nation-wide currency. Today, for good or ill, that language is English. Tomorrow it may be something else, although I very much doubt it.

Those of us who have inherited the English language may not be in a position to appreciate the value of the inheritance. Or we may go on resenting it because it came as part of a package deal which included many other items of doubtful value and the positive atrocity of racial arrogance and prejudice which may yet set the world on fire. But let us not in rejecting the evil throw out the good with it.

[. . .]

I think I have said enough to give an indication of my thinking on the importance of the world language which history has forced down our throat. Now let us look at some of the most serious handicaps. And let me say straight away that one of the most serious handicaps is *not* the one people talk about most often, namely, that it is impossible for anyone ever to use a second language as effectively as his first. This assertion is compounded of half-truth and half bogus mystique. Of course, it is true that the vast majority of people are happier with their first language than with any other. But then the majority of people are not writers. We do have enough examples of writers who have performed the feat of writing effectively in a second language. And I am not thinking of the obvious names like Conrad. It would be more germane to our subject to choose African examples.

The first name that comes to my mind is Olaudah Equiano, better known as Gustavus Vassa, the African. Equiano was an Ibo, I believe from the village of Iseke in the Orlu division of Eastern Nigeria. He was sold as a slave at a very early age and transported to America. Later he bought his freedom and lived in England. In 1789 he published his life story, a beautifully written document which, among other things, set down for the Europe of his time something of the life and habit of his people in Africa in an attempt to counteract the lies and slander invented by some Europeans to justify the slave trade.

[. . .]

It is when we come to what is commonly called creative literature that most doubt seems to arise. Obi Wali [. . .] has this to say:

Until these writers and their Western midwives accept the fact that any true African literature must be written in African languages, they would be merely pursuing a dead end, which can only lead to sterility, uncreativity and frustration.

But far from leading to sterility the work of many new African writers is full of the most exciting possibilities.

[. . .]

[T]ake the poem "Night Rain" in which J. P. Clark captures so well the fear and wonder felt by a child as rain clamours on the thatch-roof at night and his mother walking about in the dark, moves her simple belongings

Out of the run of water
 That like ants filing out of the wood
 Will scatter and gain possession
 Of the floor . . .

Chinua Achebe

I think that the picture of water spreading on the floor “like ants filing out of the wood” is beautiful. Of course if you have never made fire with faggots you may miss it. But Clark’s inspiration derives from the same source which gave birth to the saying that a man who brings home antridden faggots must be ready for the visit of lizards.

I do not see any signs of sterility anywhere here. What I do see is a new voice coming out of Africa, speaking of African experience in a world-wide language. So my answer to the question: *Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing?* is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: *Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker?* I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so. The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience.

[. . .]

Allow me to quote a small example from *Arrow of God* which may give some idea of how I approach the use of English. The Chief Priest in the story is telling one of his sons why it is necessary to send him to church:

I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there. If there is nothing in it you will come back. But if there is something there you will bring home my share. The world is like a Mask, dancing. If you want to see it well you do not stand in one place. My spirit tells me that those who do not befriend the white man today will be saying *had we known* tomorrow.

Now supposing I had put it another way, Like this for instance:

I am sending you as my representative among these people – just to be on the safe side in case the new religion develops. One has to move with the times or else one is left behind. I have a hunch that those who fail to come to terms with the white man may well regret their lack of foresight.

The material is the same. But the form of the one is *in character* and the other is not. It is largely a matter of instinct, but judgment comes into it too.

[. . .]

One final point remains for me to make. The real question is not whether Africans could write in English but whether they *ought to*. Is it right that a man should abandon his mother-tongue for someone else’s? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling.

But for me there is no other choice. I have been given this language and I intend to use it. I hope, though, that there will always be men, like the late Chief Fagunwa,

Chinua Achebe

who will choose to write in their native tongue and ensure that our ethnic literature will flourish side-by-side with the national ones. For those of us who opt for English there is much work ahead and much excitement.

Writing in the *London Observer* recently, James Baldwin said:

My quarrel with English language has been that the language reflected none of my experience. But now I began to see the matter another way . . . Perhaps the language was not my own because I had never attempted to use it, had only learned to imitate it. If this were so, then it might be made to bear the burden of my experience if I could find the stamina to challenge it, and me, to such a test.

I recognise, of course, that Baldwin's problem is not exactly mine, but I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.

**Ngũgĩ wa
Thiong'o**

The language of African literature

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, (*Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, London: James Currey, 1986)

It was after the declaration of a state of emergency over Kenya in 1952 that all the schools run by patriotic nationalists were taken over by the colonial regime and were placed under District Education Boards chaired by Englishmen. English then became the language of my formal education. In Kenya, English became more than a language: it was *the* language, and all the others had to bow before it in deference.

Thus one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gĩkũyũ in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks – or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford. And how did the teachers catch the culprits? A button was initially given to one pupil who was supposed to hand it over to whoever was caught speaking his mother tongue. Whoever had the button at the end of the day would sing who had given it to him and the ensuing process would bring out all the culprits of the day. Thus children were turned into witch-hunters and in the process were being taught the lucrative value of being traitor to one's immediate community.

The attitude to English was the exact opposite: any achievement in spoken or written English was highly rewarded; prizes, prestige, applause; the ticket to higher realms. English became the measure of intelligence and ability in the arts, the sciences, and all the other branches of learning. English became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education.

As you may know, the colonial system of education in addition to its apartheid racial demarcation had the structure of a pyramid: a broad primary base, a narrowing secondary middle, and an even narrower university apex. Selections from primary into secondary were through an examination, in my time called Kenya African Preliminary

**Ngũgĩ wa
Thiong'o**

Examination, in which one had to pass six subjects ranging from Maths to Nature Study and Kiswahili. All the papers were written in English. Nobody could pass the exam who failed the English language paper no matter how brilliantly he had done in the other subjects. I remember one boy in my class of 1954 who had distinctions in all subjects except English, which he had failed. He was made to fail the entire exam. He went on to become a turn boy in a bus company. I who had only passes but a credit in English got a place at the Alliance High School, one of the most elitist institutions for Africans in colonial Kenya. The requirements for a place at the University, Makerere University College, were broadly the same: nobody could go on to wear the undergraduate red gown, no matter how brilliantly they had performed in all the other subjects unless they had a credit – not even a simple pass! – in English. Thus the most coveted place in the pyramid and in the system was only available to the holder of an English language credit card. English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial elatedom.

Literary education was now determined by the dominant language while also reinforcing that dominance. Orature (oral literature) in Kenyan languages stopped. In primary school I now read simplified Dickens and Stevenson alongside Rider Haggard. Jim Hawkins, Oliver Twist, Tom Brown – not Hare, Leopard and Lion – were now my daily companions in the world of imagination. In secondary school, Scott and G.B. Shaw vied with more Rider Haggard, John Buchan, Alan Paton, Captain W.E. Johns. At Makerere I read English: from Chaucer to T.S. Eliot with a touch of Graham Greene.

Thus language and literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds.

What was the colonial system doing to us Kenyan children? What were the consequences of, on the one hand, this systematic suppression of our languages and the literature they carried, and on the other the elevation of English and the literature it carried? To answer those questions, let me first examine the relationship of language to human experience, human culture and the human perception of reality.

Language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture. Take English. It is spoken in Britain and in Sweden and Denmark. But for Swedish and Danish people English is only a means of communication with non-Scandinavians. It is not a carrier of their culture. For the British, and particularly the English, it is additionally, and inseparably from its use as a tool of communication, a carrier of their culture and history. Or take Swahili in East and Central Africa. It is widely used as a means of communication across many nationalities. But it is not the carrier of a culture and history of many of these nationalities. However in parts of Kenya and Tanzania, and particularly in Zanzibar, Swahili is inseparably both a means of communication and a carrier of the culture of those people to whom it is a mother-tongue.

[. . .]

But there is more to it: communication between human beings is also the basis and process of evolving culture. In doing similar kinds of things and actions over and over again under similar circumstances, similar even in their mutability, certain patterns, moves, rhythms, habits, attitudes, experiences and knowledge emerge. Those experiences are handed over to the next generation and become the inherited basis for their further actions on nature and on themselves. There is a gradual accumulation

**Ngũgĩ wa
Thiong'o**

of values which in time become almost self-evident truths governing their conception of what is right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly, courageous and cowardly, generous and mean in their internal and external relations. Over a time this becomes a way of life distinguishable from other ways of life. They develop a distinctive culture and history. Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses, through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of a people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language. Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history. Culture is almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its transmission from one generation to the next.

Language as culture [...] has three important aspects. Culture is a product of the history which it in turn reflects. Culture in other words is a product and a reflection of human beings communicating with one another in the very struggle to create wealth and to control it. But culture does not merely reflect that history, or rather it does so by actually forming images or pictures of the world of nature and nurture. Thus the second aspect of language as culture is as an image-forming agent in the mind of the child. Our whole conception of ourselves as a people, individually and collectively, is based on those pictures and images which may or may not correctly correspond to the actual reality of the struggles with nature and nurture which produced them in the first place. But our capacity to confront the world creatively is dependent on how those images correspond or not to that reality, how they distort or clarify the reality of our struggles. Language as culture is thus mediating between me and my own self; between my own self and other selves; between me and nature. Language is mediating in my very being. And this brings us to the third aspect of language as culture. Culture transmits or imparts those images of the world and reality through the spoken and written language, that is through a specific language. [...] Written literature and orature are the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world contained in the culture it carries.

Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other. Communication creates culture: culture is a means of communication. Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the social production of wealth, at their entire relationship to nature and to other beings. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world.

So what was the colonialist imposition of a foreign language doing to us children?

The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth [...]. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised: the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relations to others.

For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history,

**Ngũgĩ wa
Thiong'o**

geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised.

Take language as communication. [...] Since the new language as a means of communication was a product of and was reflecting the 'real language of life' elsewhere, it could never as spoken or written properly reflect or imitate the real life of that community. This may in part explain why technology always appears to us as slightly external, *their* product and not *ours*. The word 'missile' used to hold an alien far-away sound until I recently learnt its equivalent in Gĩkũyũ, *ngurukahi*, and it made me apprehend it differently. Learning, for a colonial child, became a cerebral activity and not an emotionally felt experience.

But since the new, imposed languages could never completely break the native languages as spoken, their most effective area of domination was [...] the written. The language of an African child's formal education was foreign. The language of the books he read was foreign. Thought, in him, took the visible form of a foreign language. So the written language of a child's upbringing in the school (even his spoken language within the school compound) became divorced from his spoken language at home. There was often not the slightest relationship between the child's written world, which was also the language of his schooling, and the world of his immediate environment in the family and the community. [...] This resulted in the disassociation of the sensibility of that child from his natural and social environment, what we might call colonial alienation. The alienation became reinforced in the teaching of history, geography, music, where bourgeois Europe was always the centre of the universe.

This disassociation, divorce, or alienation from the immediate environment becomes clearer when you look at colonial language as a carrier of culture.

[...]

Since culture does not just reflect the world in images but actually, through those very images, conditions a child to see that world in a certain way, the colonial child was made to see the world and where he stands in it as seen and defined by or reflected in the culture of the language of imposition.

And since those images are mostly passed on through orature and literature it meant the child would now only see the world as seen in the literature of his language of adoption. From the point of view of alienation, that is of seeing oneself from outside oneself as if one was another self, it does not matter that the imported literature carried the great humanist tradition of the best in Shakespeare, Balzac, Tolstoy, Gorky, Brecht, Sholokhov, Dickens. The location of this great mirror of imagination was necessarily Europe and its history and culture and the rest of the universe was seen from that centre.

But obviously it was worse when the colonial child was exposed to images of his world as mirrored in the written languages of his coloniser. Where his own native languages were associated in his impressionable mind with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow-footed intelligence and ability or downright stupidity, non-intelligibility and barbarism, this was reinforced by the world he met in the works of such geniuses of racism as a Rider Haggard or a Nicholas Monsarrat; not to mention the pronouncement of some of the giants of western intellectual and political

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

establishment, such as Hume ('... the negro is naturally inferior to the whites . . .'), Thomas Jefferson ('. . . the blacks . . . are inferior to the whites on the endowments of both body and mind . . .'), for Hegel with his Africa comparable to a land of childhood still enveloped in the dark mantle of the night as far as the development of self-conscious history was concerned. Hegel's statement that there was nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in the African character is representative of the racist images of Africans and Africa such a colonial child was bound to encounter in the literature of the colonial languages. The results could be disastrous.

[. . .]

In history books and popular commentaries on Africa, too much has been made of the supposed differences in the policies of the various colonial powers, the British indirect rule (or the pragmatism of the British in their lack of a cultural programme!) and the French and Portuguese conscious programme of cultural assimilation. These are a matter of detail and emphasis. The final effect was the same: [. . .] Chinua Achebe's gratitude in 1964 to English – 'those of us who have inherited the English language may not be in a position to appreciate the value of the inheritance'. The assumptions behind the practice of those of us who have abandoned our mother-tongues are not different either. [. . .] It is the final triumph of a system of domination when the dominated start singing its virtues.

Issues to consider

- ❑ In his book *Decolonising the Mind* Ngũgĩ (1986: xiv) declares: "This book, *Decolonising the Mind*, is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings. From now on it is Gikuyū and Kiswahili all the way. However, I hope that through the age-old medium of translation I shall be able to continue dialogue with all". Achebe, on the other hand, argues eloquently in favour of writing in English, but one adapted to its postcolonial users: what kinds of arguments could be made for and against either position, and with which of the two are you in greater sympathy?
- ❑ Ngũgĩ has indeed written his later works in his mother tongue Gikuyū in the first instance and then translated them into English for a wider readership. For example, his 2006 book, *Wizard of the Crow*, is a translation of his Gikuyū novel *Murogi wa Kagogo*. In a review of *Wizard of the Crow*, Phillipson (2007) applauds Ngũgĩ's decision, arguing that "[i]nvesting in other languages, which Ngũgĩ is doing in a pioneering way, represents the creation of linguistic and cultural capital that can challenge English linguistic hegemony". Do you agree with Phillipson that it is important to challenge the "hegemony" of English by actions such as writing literature in the mother tongue? Why?/Why not?
- ❑ Achebe argues in the extract from *Morning Yet on Creation Day* that "the price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use". How far do you agree with him in terms of both literary and non-literary use? It might help you as regards non-literary use to refer back to the earlier sections of strand 4, especially B4.

THE STATUS OF PIDGIN LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

D5

In the previous two editions of the book, the reading text for this strand was a 1998 article by Charles Alobwede d'Épie entitled 'Banning Pidgin English in Cameroon'. Alobwede's article focused on negative attitudes towards Cameroon Pidgin amid fears that it was causing a decline in English language standards, and lamented attempts to ban it particularly in education, given that it was spoken by around 70 per cent of the population. Thirteen years on, Atechi explores the issues anew. He finds that the situation has become more complex, with Cameroon Pidgin still being stigmatised even by its own users, but also very much in use alongside Cameroon English, even on university campuses. However, it appears that the nature of Cameroon Pidgin is changing as increasing numbers of its younger users also have exposure to more standard forms of English.

'Is Cameroon Pidgin flourishing or dying? An attempt to reconcile conflicting reports on the functions and status of Cameroon pidgin English'

Samuel Atechi

Samuel Atechi (*English Today* 27(3), 2011: 30–34)

Introduction

Cameroon Pidgin English (abbreviated to CamP) is one of the languages of wider communication in Cameroon, a country second only to Papua New Guinea in terms of its multiplicity of languages for a relatively small population. CamP is used alongside other languages like English and French (official languages), Fulfulde, Arab Choa, Ewondo and Duala (lingua francas), and over 250 indigenous languages. What is, however, peculiar about CamP is that it is not restricted to a particular class of people or to people from a particular region. A language which arose as a result of the desperate need for a link language between people who spoke mutually unintelligible languages has now established itself as a major force to reckon with in the linguistic landscape of the country. One of the main preoccupations among researchers on CamP has been its relationship with Cameroon English (CamE), which has higher status. While CamE is an official language in the country's constitution, CamP enjoys covert prestige bestowed on it by Cameroonians as a language of wider communication, social interaction, intimacy, etc. However, Cameroonians have been given to understand that the coexistence of CamP and CamE is responsible for the falling standard of English in the country, as a result of which CamP should be eradicated at all costs. This attitude has led to the stigmatisation and intimidation of CamP speakers as educational authorities all over the country attempt to ban the language, and refer to it in such pejorative terms as bad English, poor English, bush English, join join English etc. Such hostility has tended to drive the language underground so that speakers rarely express their liking for the language overtly. They are suspicious of language authorities and thus have developed an ambivalent attitude towards anything that has to do with CamP. Thus if those speakers who use CamP daily as the main medium of communication were to be asked what they think about its status, functions and prospects, the results would be largely negative (Schröder, 2003), not because they do not

Samuel Atechi

like the language but simply because they have been intimidated and stigmatised. This ambivalence has caused serious methodological difficulties for researchers, which have marred most results of studies on the functions, status and prospects of CamP. The inability to adopt an appropriate methodology to research the topic has given rise to conflicting findings and statements on the relationship between CamP and CamE, some of which are sometimes truly baffling (see Ngefac & Sala, 2006; Ayafor, 2005; Kouega, 2001; Chia, 2009). Researchers insensitive to the situation carry out research on CamP and obtain results that paint a completely distorted picture of the situation on the ground. In this light, certain basic questions about this relationship remain to be settled: What is actually the relationship between CamP and CamE? Is CamP really facing death? Is CamP losing ground to CamE? Is CamP soon going to lose its identity and idiosyncrasies to CamE or is CamP going to supplant CamE? This paper will consider how various researchers have grappled with these questions. By analysing their statements, it will attempt to explain the controversies that have characterised research on the relationship between CamP and CamE thus far.

Cameroon English vs. Cameroon Pidgin

CamP started in Cameroon as early as the year 1400 and started establishing itself as the only means through which people who spoke mutually unintelligible languages could communicate. Thus CamP was extensively used during the Portuguese trade and later during the slave trade period. The abolition of the slave trade saw the colonial period set in with the Germans in 1884. The Germans opened large plantations and the labourers used CamP for easy communication. CamE was in restricted usage because not many people were educated. With the departure of the Germans, the English took over the plantations and tried to implement English as the main vehicle of communication. This was of course not without sociolinguistic consequences: whereas society was linguistically unmarked when CamP was the dominant language, now people on the plantations were stratified on linguistic lines, with the few whites and blacks who could speak and write English being regarded as the higher class, and the majority of blacks who only spoke CamP considered the lower class. The blacks were further classified according to their competence in CamE: stratification was reflected in manifold ways, ranging from the type of jobs they did, to where they lived and the facilities put at their disposal as workers. This meant that those who spoke only CamP were stigmatised as they found themselves quarantined not only because they spoke CamP but also because it exposed them to a lifestyle and morals associated with slovenliness, vulgarity, and debasement (Alobwede, 1998: 57). The CamP speaker was then caught up in a dilemma of being loyal to his language on the one hand, and struggling to identify with the higher class on the other. As time went on, the language actually increased in importance as people used it not just because they were desperate for a link language but also because its functional load had increased. This even attracted the attention of the educated elite both in the plantations and in the coastal towns who joined unconsciously in speaking and promoting the language. Opponents who saw speakers of CamP as the underdogs and who expected that increasing exposure to CamE would lead to the death of CamP were dismayed to find that CamP was instead gaining ground. Governmental authorities and other overzealous individuals saw this as a threat to the acquisition of CamE and started

waging a fierce battle against it. One of the strategies they used was to give it derogatory names of the sort cited above. This controversial relationship between CamP and CamE has attracted the attention of both local and international scholars.

Samuel Atechi

An appraisal of previous research on Cameroon Pidgin

Kouega (2001) carried out an investigation on attitudes towards CamP in the educational sphere. He found that out of 189 informants, 151 respondents (79.8 per cent) were against its adoption as a language of instruction in the first three years of education and only 38 respondents (20.1 per cent) were in favour of its institution in this phase. Six years later, Tarh (2007) conducted a similar survey in three towns in Cameroon and the results showed that 53 out of the 142 informants (or 37.4 per cent) were willing to have CamP as a pedagogic language in Cameroon. Atechi (2008) carried out a similar study and the results showed that 38 per cent were in favour of its institution as a language of education. Thus if we follow the trend from (Kouega, 2001) 20.1 per cent through (Tarh, 2007) 37.4 per cent, to (Atechi, 2008) 38 per cent, we see a steady increase in positive attitudes towards the language.

From his results, Kouega unequivocally declares that CamP is facing death, although we should be cautious in equating lack of prestige in a formal domain like education with language death. In the same vein, Schröder carried out a survey and came out with similar results and this equally led her to conclude that attitudes towards CamP were largely negative and that the language was losing ground to CamE. The comments of these two scholars after such surveys reflect the difficulty that surrounds research on attitudes towards CamP. CamP speakers have been made to develop such sensitivity that even when asked questions indirectly, they still understand the hidden implications and of course give only the information they want to give. One researcher who seems to understand this myth is Chia (2009) who carried out a survey on the use of CamP on the Buea University campus. His observations on methodology are pertinent.

We were aware that if we asked students simply to indicate whether or not they spoke CPE the answer would be overwhelmingly negative even in answering anonymous questionnaires, because of the ban. Since CPE is illicit here, instances of its usage can only be collected when not elicited directly or when not being observed. To overcome this problem good data would be collected by simple rapid random sampling, but which must not be seen to be observed.

(Chia, 2009: 44–45)

He then conceived a data observation sheet which allowed observers stationed at one strategic point on campus, preferably the entrance into a lecture hall, to observe and note down any pair of students who came conversing. The observers were students rather than lecturers, because a student would blend easily into student groups without raising any fear or suspicion. Twenty of them were recruited for the task. Each observation sheet was designed to take 25 observations. The students ticked the observation sheets as instructed and the following results were obtained: Out of a total population of 10,000 students enrolled at the University of Buea, the investigation sampled 1,442 students who were actually involved in a conversation using one or other of the languages

Samuel Atechi

in their repertoire on campus; out of this number 904 students (or 63 per cent) used CamP. English recorded 369 students representing a relatively low 25 per cent and French 11 per cent.

One of Chia's aims was to ascertain what use students made of CamP. In listening to the conversations observers had to determine whether the students focused on academic or non-academic topics. Some students were actually discussing mathematical and chemical formulas and literary issues in CamP. Although this investigation does not deal directly with language attitudes, these results can be interpreted as having a bearing on this. The students profess that CamP is the language of intimacy, the language they feel at home with, a means of building friendships, etc. Chia then asks the question if the ban (discussed in the next section) on the use of CamP has worked, concluding that the answer is negative because the speakers show such stiff resistance. Chia (2009: 48) expresses the fear that 'since CamP is making in-roads into the very fief of Standard English in this nascent role as a language of academic discourse, it may eventually supplant standard English' (48).

These results vividly reflect the growing demographic power wielded by CamP on the campus. We need to take into consideration the fact that the high usage (63 per cent) of CamP took place in a very sensitive environment with signboards everywhere asking students to shun CamP. The percentage is expected to be higher in outside settings where hostilities and stigmatisation are less severe.

Like Chia, Ayafor (2005) contradicts Kouega and Schröder when she thinks that CamP is gaining ground rather than facing death. Examining the two camps represented by those who see CamP dwindling and those who see it gaining ground, Sala & Ngefac (2006: 220) dismiss the reasons put forward by the two opposing sides as extra-linguistic and think rather that there is an 'internal threat which is wreaking havoc on the structure of CamP, namely the influence from the world's lingua franca, the English language'. The authors raise the following points in support of their argument. Firstly, CamP phonology is undergoing some restructuring towards English phonology, especially of some of the most divergent features from mainstream English (e.g. *neba, noba* (1960) *neva* (2005) the words for 'never'). This observation also applies to grammatical structure and vocabulary (e.g. *kwa* (1960) *bag* (2005), becoming *bag* (2005). *Dis na ma basiku* ('this it is my bicycle') (1960) *Dis wan na mai bicycle* ('this one it is my bicycle') (2005)). A degree of convergence between CamE and CamP was earlier predicted by (Sala, 2005: 402–408). The restructuring of CamP in the direction of CamE is the more evident aspect of this convergence, and is a result of increasing exposure to formal English and the overt denigration of CamP in government and educational policies.

From the foregoing, Sala and Ngefac (2006) made the following predictions: (a) that this restructuring will reach a point where the two languages would merge in favour of CamE, and (b) that CamP is becoming more and more intelligible to the speaker of British English, thereby losing its distinctive identity.

Such restructuring can be attributed to the increase in the level of education of Cameroonians, and the effects of globalisation and the new electronic media, which have exposed Cameroonians to more English.

This article differs from such conclusions based mainly on structural criteria. I do not see language change as a *problem* and a *threat* to the survival of CamP. Change

Samuel Atechi

is, after all, an inevitable linguistic phenomenon. It may turn out that what is seen at the surface as a threat to CamP may, as it were, turn out to be a strength. I prefer to shift the argument back to the numbers of speakers, their status and the variety of functions to which they put language. In the past, CamP was used more as a link language between people who spoke mutually unintelligible languages, mostly by the uneducated who worked on the plantations. In short, CamP was used out of desperate communicative necessity. Today the level of education of Cameroonians has significantly increased and most of the uneducated speakers are giving way to the younger generation who now speak the form of CamP that reflects their linguistic circumstances, including their level of exposure to English. The educated speakers cannot go back to the way the uneducated speakers spoke – there is no reason to do so. What Sala & Ngefac (2006) call ‘unique peculiarity’, meaning the way the older generation pronounced the borrowed words from English, was simply the inability of these speakers to pronounce the loanwords from English well, due to their lack of exposure to the language. Uneducated pronunciation is not what makes CamP unique. It needs to be acknowledged that CamP has along the line acquired other very significant functions that have even relegated the ‘desperation factor’ to the background. CamP is used almost in all domains today. Chumbow Simo & Bobda (1996) point out that CamP is used in court, civil service, advertising, doctor-patient interactions, buying and selling, political campaigns, etc. Atechi & Fonka (2007) demonstrate that CamP is now a lingua franca not only for the Anglophone sector of Cameroon but also for the Francophone sector. And more recently Chia (2009) and Simo Bobda (2009) add that it has become one of the languages of academic discourse even in our universities. Simo Bobda (2009: 19) succinctly captures this promotion in the following lines:

We are today gradually moving to another extreme where PE, even in university circles, has squatted into the domains which were hitherto the preserve of English. Indeed, while English is fast becoming a foreign language (in the ELT sense of the term and with all the consequences), Pidgin English is commonly used by postgraduate students to discuss Shakespeare and Chomsky, or nuclear physics.

A complex co-existence

In this section I present some data reflecting the uneasy coexistence of the two types of English on a university campus. Threatening and sometimes desperate slogans on the following billboards mounted all over the campus in the pure Anglo-Saxon university of Buea testify to the fear that authorities feel about the growing influence of CamP.

- Pidgin is taking a heavy toll on your English; shun it.*
- No Pidgin on campus please!*
- The medium of studies at UB is English, not Pidgin*
- If you speak Pidgin, you will write Pidgin.*
- English is the password, not Pidgin*
- Speak less Pidgin and more English*
- Commonwealth (people) speak English, not Pidgin.*

Samuel Atechi

- Be my friend, speak English.*
- Succeed at UB by avoiding Pidgin on Campus*
- The better you speak Pidgin, the worse you will write English*

From these slogans we see that the threat posed by CamP is so serious that the authorities use varied tactics to try to deal with the problem. They start with a considerable degree of authority and firmness, for example, *No Pidgin on Campus please! English is the password, not Pidgin, Pidgin is taking a heavy toll on your English; shun it!* But it seems that at one point, they discovered that threats alone may prove insufficient and they changed their approach and now sound more desperate as they plead with the students to shun CamP as in *Be my friend, speak English*. This contradicts the claim of researchers like Kouega (2001), Schröder (2003), Ngefac & Sala (2006) that CamP's hegemony is being threatened by the growing popularity of CamE. Instead, the authorities are literally on their knees, begging students to speak CamE and shun CamP.

A similar scenario is painted by Bonny Kfua (1996) who issues the following decree in 'Time is up for PE'.

Anyone reading through an essay or letter written by a class seven pupil will admit that the cry of fallen standards in our schools is a reality. Whatever might have pushed the British and the Catholic Church to use pidgin as a vehicle of communication, it is high time *someone courageously* put an end to the widespread use of PE in Cameroon. (Atechi's emphasis)

The words 'courageously put an end to the widespread use of PE in Cameroon' call for the death of CamP in more direct language than the more diplomatic language of the campus notices. The two sets of examples vividly show how CamP is threatening the hegemony of CamE and not the other way round. The obvious shock waves being sent by CamP from primary school to university level makes it unwise to start prophesying the end of such a language. I would be more cautious.

Conclusion

From all the above indications it is clear that research on CamP has been a lively though often contradictory activity. I suggest that CamP has, and will continue to have, a significant place in the complex linguistic landscape of Cameroon. The language is not facing death; on the contrary, it is gaining ground and asserting itself as a force to reckon with in the linguistic make-up of Cameroon. On the other hand, CamE maintains its official status as the language of education and international communication. I strongly believe that each of these languages has a vital role to play in Cameroon. There is no need to start imagining them at each other's throat, as it were. On considering the issue of falling standards of English Alobwede (1998: 57) observes that standards can only fall if they were once high, and asks the question 'Where was CamP when the standards were high?' Indeed, CamP preceded English in Cameroon and not the other way round. It is true they have a lot in common and sometimes their functions overlap; both are needed for a linguistically healthy Cameroon. The present restructuring of CamP towards CamE or 'modernisation' is but a natural phenomenon. It is a movement towards stabilisation and not towards the grave.

Issues to consider

- ❑ In his controversial book *Language is Power*, John Honey (1997) argues that “apparently egalitarian notions of Black English and other dialects can limit access to standard English – and hence power – for minority groups” (back cover). In your view, is this a valid argument for banning Cameroon Pidgin despite the fact that as both Alobwede d’Épie (1998) and Atechi tell us, large numbers of the Cameroon population speak it? You might like to look back to the arguments and counter-arguments of Bisong and Phillipson regarding English in Africa, in Unit C1.
- ❑ Igboanusi (2008) identifies the same negative attitudes in Nigeria towards Nigerian Pidgin as those Atechi and Alobwede find towards Cameroon Pidgin, and in particular, similarly strong views against its use in education. This, Igboanusi notes, is “[in] spite of the fact that NP is probably the language with the highest population of users in Nigeria” (2008: 68), amounting to over half the population according to Schneider (2011), and thus, as in Cameroon, a majority. Why do you think these kinds of attitudes are so pervasive in these (and other) regions? What is it about Cameroon Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, and the like, that people find so “bad” (as Igboanusi puts it), even though they function very successfully in the lives of their speakers, often alongside a more standard English? If you have access to the journal *World Englishes*, you will find it useful to read Igboanusi’s article in full and compare it with Atechi’s. Do you see any similarities between the negative attitudes towards pidgin languages such as Cameroon and Nigerian Pidgins, and attitudes towards Singlish (see unit C4)?
- ❑ Atechi reports research by Chia (2009) that demonstrates how university students use Cameroon Pidgin not only as a language of intimacy, but also to discuss academic topics. This leads Chia to fear that Cameroon Pidgin could eventually replace standard English. Do you think this is likely to happen, or do you think, as others fear, that Cameroon Pidgin could die out? Do you agree with Atechi that both are needed? Why/why not? And do you see any similarity between the way in which the students in Chia’s study use both Cameroon Pidgin and Cameroon English, and the way in which Singaporean students use both Singlish and Standard Singapore English? (See unit C4 for an example.)
- ❑ The following is an extract from the autobiographical *School Days* by Patrick Chamoiseau (1998), in which he describes his school experiences in Martinique. Although the unfamiliar standard language he was forced to use at school in place of his native creole was French, the feelings he describes so graphically must have been very similar to those of children compelled to use standard English. How strong a case does Chamoiseau make here for the use of creole in education?

But everything went well: no one had to speak, to write, to explain this-or-that. It was the Teacher who talked. And now the little boy realized something obvious: *the Teacher spoke French*. Mam Ninotte used snippets of French on occasion (a half-word here, a quarter-word there), bits of French that were automatic and unchanging. And the Papa, when he made a rum punch,

ceremoniously unfurled a French that was less a language than an esoteric tool used for effect. As for the Big Kids, their natural mode of expression was Creole, except with Mam Ninotte, other grownups, and most particularly the Papa. A certain respectful distance was maintained through the rituals of formality when speaking to them. And everything else for everyone else (pleasures, shouts, dreams, hatreds, the life in life . . .) was Creole. This division of speech had never struck the little boy before. French (to which he didn't even attach a name) was some object fetched when needed from a kind of shelf, outside oneself, but which sounded natural in the mouth, close to Creole. Close through articulation. The words, the sentence structure. But now, with the Teacher, speaking traveled far and wide along a single road. And this French road became strangely foreign. The articulation changed. The rhythm changed. The intonation changed. Words that were more or less familiar began to sound different. They seemed to come from a distant horizon and no longer had any affinity with Creole. The Teacher's images, examples, references did not spring from their native country anymore. The Teacher spoke French like the people on the radio or the sailors of the French line. And he deliberately spoke nothing else. French seemed to be the very element of his knowledge. He savored this smooth syrup he secreted so ostentatiously. And his language did not reach out to the children, the way Mam Salinière's had, to envelop, caress, and persuade them. His words floated above them with the magnificence of a ruby-throated hummingbird hovering in the breeze. *Oh, the Teacher was French!*

- ❑ As you saw in the extract from Chamoiseau, the difference between the standard form of a language and the related creole (or pidgin) may seem as great as the difference between two completely independent languages. One recent development in English teaching, particularly in Europe, but also increasingly in East Asia and other parts of the world, is CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). This is an approach to foreign language learning in which school and university subjects such as science and geography are taught through the foreign language, with the target language being taught in separate language lessons (see Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013, Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010; also unit C6 above). Although in theory the approach can be applied to the learning of any L2, in practice the L2 is almost always English. What do you think the benefits for children of learning their school subjects through English might be? And what if any kinds of problems might arise when this approach is carried out in Expanding Circle contexts where students are unlikely to have exposure to English outside the classroom?

THE CHALLENGE OF TESTING ELF

D6

The implications of ELF for English language testing were mentioned briefly in earlier units of strand 6. In this fourth unit we consider them in greater detail. The reading that follows is, to date, one of very few texts on English language assessment that have engaged seriously with ELF and, conversely, one of very few texts on ELF that have engaged seriously with English language assessment. And yet a debate about the implications of the global lingua franca role of English for the way(s) in which English is assessed and what kind(s) of English, if any, should provide the benchmark is long overdue. The article is reprinted here in its entirety apart from two sections dealing with the nature of ELF, which has been covered elsewhere in strand 6.

'English as a Lingua Franca'

Jennifer Jenkins and Constant Leung (reprinted from A. Kunnan (ed.) 2014. *The Companion to Language Assessment*. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons: 1607–1616).

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

Introduction: The Changing Global Role of English

[. . .]

A substantial body of empirical research into English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) conducted over the past 20 years or so has identified a number of linguistic features that differ from native English. More recent research has demonstrated that ELF is also characterized by extensive contingent variability, with speakers accommodating their language to an extent not found in other language use in order to make it appropriate to the diverse interlocutors engaged in the interaction in hand. ELF thus presents a twofold problem for English language teaching and testing. First, the prolific global growth in ELF use, which is predicted to continue for several decades (e.g., Graddol, 2006), calls into question the prioritizing of standard native English grammatical and pragmatic norms in evaluating the competence of the majority of non-native learners. For, as Tomlinson (2010, p. 299) points out, these norms represent a kind of English that they “do not and never will speak.” Second, ELF’s inherent variability implies not only that language yardsticks need to be updated, but also that new approaches to language modeling and norming in assessment are needed if we are to be able to judge whether ELF users’ English is fit for purpose. In the discussion that follows, “assessment” will be used as a superordinate term, and the narrower term “testing” will be used where appropriate.

In the next section, we consider a high stakes language assessment framework, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), and a sample of tests that are widely used around the world: International English Language Testing System (IELTS), Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC), and the more recent Pearson Test of English (PTE) and PTE (Academic). In the third section we turn to ELF, report some of the key findings of empirical ELF research, and consider what these findings imply for conceptualizations of English. We go on in the fourth section to explore the

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

implications of ELF for the testing of English, and, in the final section, to consider the challenges involved in, and possible future directions for, (research into) the assessment of English if it is to embrace ELF.

Current approaches to testing English

We start with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Although, as its name suggests, the CEFR was originally devised for the teaching and assessment of second or foreign learners' proficiency in European languages, it has been widely adopted and "is being used as a crucial reference point . . . well beyond Europe: for example in North and South America, Australia and Asia" (McNamara, 2011, p. 5). Indeed, Cambridge ESOL, whose suite of exams is aligned to the CEFR, describe it as an "internationally recognised framework" (www.cambridgeesol.org). According to the CEFR, candidates are assessed on a range of skills against six levels, from A1 (the lowest), through A2, B1, B2, and C1, to C2 (the highest), according to the degree of linguistic complexity involved at each level. In each case, the descriptors for the six levels are identical regardless of the specific language being tested, while the wording of the descriptors for the highest level implies that ultimate achievement in the CEFR corresponds to nativelike proficiency in the respective language. For example, on the "C2–Overall" scale, the candidate "can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 24). In terms of the "qualitative aspects of spoken language use," at C2 the candidate's range includes "a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms" (p. 28). As regards listening skill, the C2 candidate has "no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, delivered at fast native speed" (p. 66).

While the CEFR is intended as a proficiency framework for languages in Europe including English, the tests we will now consider are specific to English. The newest of these is the Pearson Test of English (Academic), which is becoming widely used to assess suitability for study in English-medium higher education, primarily but not exclusively in mother tongue English countries. This is how a Pearson representative describes the way in which the test was designed:

To create an international exam we started by hiring item writers from the UK, the US and Australia . . . Because we are not using a single standard model of English we can grade all non-native students on a single scale. The first thing we look for is comprehensibility—are they understandable to the native speaker?

(*EL Gazette*, September 2008, p. 10, quoted in Jenkins, 2008)

The "international" nature of the PTE presumably resides in the fact that it draws on a range of native English varieties (rather than only one native variety), and that it is concerned with non-native speakers' intelligibility to native speakers of all these varieties (rather than only with, say, native speakers of British English). We will return to this issue.

We turn now to another test frequently used to evaluate suitability for English medium study in higher education, the International English Language Testing System,

owned and run jointly by the British Council and Cambridge ESOL in the UK, and IDP (International Development Program) Education in Australia. IELTS state on their Web site (www.ielts.org) that theirs is “the world’s most popular high stakes English language test” and that “over 1.4 million candidates take the test each year to start their journeys into international education and employment.” Like the PTE, this test assesses candidates in terms of the proximity of their academic English skills to those of native English speakers.

The same is true of other tests that claim “international” currency and that are used for university entry, including TOEFL and TOEIC. TOEFL’s name makes clear that it is testing “EFL” (i.e., by definition with native English as the target). However, its Web site (www.ets.org/toefl) states that it is “the most widely respected English-language test in the world,” implying that it sees itself as international. TOEIC, on the other hand, actually includes the word “international” in its name. These two tests are run under the auspices of ETS (Educational Testing Service), which is based in the USA, and which claims on its Web site (www.ets.org) to be “the world’s premier educational testing organization.” Its assessment director, Trina Duke, gave a talk on TOEIC with the title “Assessment of English as an International Language,” at the 4th International ELF Conference in Hong Kong (May 2011). In her talk she pointed out that TOEIC accepts non-native English speaking raters provided that they first pass an English language test, but added (when asked) that native speakers are not required to take any such test, only to demonstrate that they are “comfortable” with English. Evidently, TOEIC, like the other tests discussed above, is “international” in the sense of being *used* (marketed and administered) internationally rather than in the sense of reflecting international *use* (the diverse ways in which English is used internationally).

Of course the largely native speaker-oriented perspective adopted by the large international English language-testing organizations represents just one view, albeit a very powerful one. Some test developers and researchers have explored other approaches. For instance, Brown and Lumley (1998, p. 94) developed a test of English proficiency for teachers of English in Indonesia in which “the native speaker was not set as the ‘ideal’”; they consciously tried to incorporate appropriate local cultural content and English language usage (also see Hill, 1996, for a discussion on the case for using local non-English native speaker raters). There has also been research into shared first language advantages in language testing, for example Harding (2012) investigates whether test takers from a particular first language background gain advantage when listening to English passages delivered in their own accents (e.g., Japanese test takers listening to Japanese accented English passages). These are interesting efforts designed to move beyond the confines of English native speakerdom in language testing. However, the use of ELF involves speakers from diverse linguacultural backgrounds. They are not necessarily oriented towards a particular variety of English (native or otherwise); they use ELF to communicate with one another, to get things done, and to socialize. Therefore the language assessment issues raised by ELF transcend questions of proficiency conceptualized in terms of a stable variety; they are concerned with what counts as effective and successful communication outcomes through the use of English that can include emergent and innovative forms of language and pragmatic meaning.

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

In the next section we explore ELF research and its implications for the way we conceptualize the English language in its global contexts. We then return in the fourth section to the testing of English, in order to consider the issues that ELF raises for the kinds of tests discussed above.

[. . . Section on ELF not included]

The implications of ELF for testing English

The tests we described above (second section) all claim international status. This, we argued, relates to their international spread as well as to the use of test developers from a range of native English countries in the case of the PTE, and the use of non-native raters (provided they first pass a test) in the case of TOEIC. On the other hand, their interpretation of “internationalness” reflects a particular set of values and perspectives. For instance, the tests are all predicated on the notion of “foreign language,” according to which the learner and, therefore, test candidate is assumed to be learning the language in order to communicate with its native speakers, often for occupational or academic purposes. Consequently, the ultimate goal of learning is seen as a standard native variety of the target language. Any differences in forms from those that would be used by the notional native speaker of a standard variety of the language are thus regarded as learner errors in need of remediation.

Seidlhofer (2011, p. 18) sums up the characteristics of English as a foreign language (EFL) as follows: its linguacultural forms are “pre-existing, reaffirmed,” its objectives are “integration” and “membership in [a native speaker] . . . community,” and the processes involved in its learning are “imitation” and “adoption.” She contrasts these characteristics with those of an ELF perspective, whose linguacultural forms are “ad hoc” and “negotiated,” whose objectives are “intelligibility” and “communication in [a non-native speaker] . . . or mixed [non-native speaker–native speaker] . . . community,” and whose processes involve “accommodation” and “adaptation.” From this perspective, differences from native English forms are not automatically errors. More importantly, those forms that according to traditional approaches are said to have fossilized may, by contrast, be considered evidence of English language change in progress. Indeed, Widdowson (2011) argues that from an ELF perspective “it is the [traditional] norms that are the fossils.”

Despite claims to the contrary (e.g., Elder & Harding, 2008, argue that intercultural skills are already addressed in testing; Taylor, 2002, states that Cambridge ESOL “has been grappling with these issues for some time”), up to now, it is almost exclusively those scholars working with a critical perspective who have engaged with ELF (see, for example, Lowenberg, 2002; Canagarajah, 2006; Leung & Lewkowicz, 2006; McNamara, 2009, 2011). Others seem to consider themselves to take a “liberal” approach in relation to ELF, but turn out, on closer inspection, to largely regard ELF as a surface level phenomenon, or to fall back on the established certainties in psychometrically oriented language testing that have been built up in the past 40 years or so (e.g., Elder & Davies, 2006; Taylor, 2006; Elder & Harding, 2008). This is implicit, for example, in Taylor’s (2006) response to an article by Jenkins (2006a) on the implications of ELF for testing. Instead of engaging seriously with Jenkins’s points about the changing global demographic of English and the contemporary importance of successful accommodation skills over narrow versions of “correctness,” Taylor presents

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

Cambridge ESOL's standard response and argues, for instance, that tests of standard native English fulfill test takers' and users' expectations, and implies that an ELF approach patronizes learners and teachers (see Jenkins, 2006b). Others suggest that those scholars arguing for an ELF orientation to testing are politically motivated "bleeding hearts." In this respect, Canagarajah (2006, p. 241) argues that "debates in English language testing should not be conducted with the condescending attitude that we scholars are just trying to be kind to those non-native speakers outside the inner circle."

Current tests of English, then, continue to focus narrowly on native English norms, while no substantial adjustments have been made to the basic assumptions of what English is. Decisions of momentous importance in people's lives are thus taken on the basis of their ability to pass tests such as IELTS and TOEIC which are grounded in kinds of English that are often insufficient and inadequate in relation to their situated language practices (Leung & Lewkowicz, 2012). Even when students are hoping to study in universities in native English-speaking countries, the communities they will circulate in are largely lingua franca groups made up of other students from a range of first language backgrounds. These days, even many of their lecturers are not native English speakers. Universities in the UK and USA that like to call themselves "international" need, therefore, to think more carefully about the linguistic implications of their proclaimed international status, including whether their *native* English-speaking staff and students would benefit from developing greater intercultural language skills for use on campus and beyond (see Jenkins, 2014).

Many of these issues have not been given sufficient attention in language assessment research. An exception, however, is the work of Kim, a doctorate currently being completed at the University of Melbourne. Kim is investigating attitudes within the Korean aviation industry to the English language-testing policy of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). At present, her findings are only available in short articles (e.g., Kim & Elder, 2009) or in secondary sources (e.g., McNamara, 2011). Nevertheless, they already indicate that a substantial amount of miscommunication between pilots and air traffic controllers is not the fault of the non-native English speaker but arises from the native English speakers' inability to accommodate to their ELF interlocutors, that the test is insufficiently oriented to the international (i.e., ELF) community for whom it is designed because of its privileging of native English norms, and that native English speaking pilots need to be trained and tested in ELF communication. This study has much to offer others researching English language testing, and it is to be hoped that they will follow its example.

From an ELF standpoint, a fundamental problem with second language assessment is that the basis of its language modeling and norming has failed to keep in touch with contemporary developments in English. At a very broad theoretical level, the second language assessment community tends to regard the notion of communicative competence as the bedrock of their paradigm (e.g., Bachman, 1990). Assessment frameworks such as the CEFR and tests such as IELTS and TOEFL all claim such affiliation. This concept, as first elaborated by Hymes some 40 years ago (1972), suggests that competence in language use is more than just having a knowledge of lexicogrammar and abstracted pragmatic conventions; it also involves the use of such knowledge with reference to social purposes in actual contexts of communication. According to this

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

Hymesian view, communicative competence should be empirically derived – that is, what counts as effective communication should be based on observations of what people actually say and do. The Hymesian ethnographic impulse will continue to serve us well in future for as long as we pay close-up attention to the ways in which users of English in multiethnic and transcultural interactions make use of its lexicogrammatical (and other semiotic) resources to serve their pragmatic real-life purposes. In a world where this kind of lingua franca use of English is fast becoming the default scenario, language assessment has no alternative but to return to its empirical roots.

Implementing ELF assessment: challenges and possible future directions

Apart from the harmful impact that current language-testing ideology has on candidates and their life chances, it also has a negative impact on the English language itself. As McNamara (2011, p. 1) points out, the testing status quo “makes us less able to respond to . . . the fact that communication in the globalized workplace takes place using English as a lingua franca.” The washback effect, then, is that testing promotes an outdated view of communication in English as relatively fixed and native-normative, whereas a major result of the globalization of English is that the language in its global contexts has become relatively fluid, flexible, contingent, and often non-native-influenced. Testing is therefore preventing learners from exploiting the potential of the English language and their own resources as multilingual English speakers, and thus holding up English language change.

The challenge for English language testers, then, is to move away from their narrow focus on native-like correctness. Instead, they need to start taking proper account of the global sociolinguistic reality that is ELF, and to find effective ways of testing the receptive and productive skills relevant to that reality. While we understand their argument that ELF is not yet sufficiently described to be able to use it as the basis for testing English, we do not condone it. ELF researchers have for several years pointed out that testers could, for example, refrain from penalizing the use of forms that are emerging as potential ELF variants, reward the successful use of accommodation strategies even where the result would be an error in native English, and penalize the use of forms that are not mutually intelligible in ELF, such as native English idioms (Jenkins, 2006a). But more than this: now that there is clear evidence of the extent of ELF’s fluidity and flexibility, testers need to devise new approaches altogether to assessing English, so that, as we argued in our introduction, they can assess whether ELF users’ English is fit for ELF use, and the extent to which contingent uses of ELF in context have facilitated communication. It is to this end, we believe, that they should now be directing their main English-related research effort.

McNamara (2011, p. 8) contends that “we are at a moment of very significant change, the sort of change that only comes along once in a generation or longer – the challenge that is emerging in our developing understanding of what is involved in ELF communication.” He goes on to argue that the effect of this change on language testing will be comparable with that of the “communicative revolution.” Just as the “communicative revolution” posed questions that ultimately increased our understanding of what counts as socially appropriate language repertoires and conventions of use (from

particular speaker community standpoints), ELF research is pointing to the need to better understand what communication may comprise in terms of participant-driven uses of English as a linguistic resource in contemporary conditions. Researchers in language assessment, with their well-established know-how, can make an important contribution to this hugely challenging task.

Jennifer
Jenkins and
Constant Leung

Issues to consider

- ❑ The key point raised by the article is that while the English-speaking world changes around them, English language examination boards continue to assess NNESSs' English against native English norms. The authors are critical of this practice. Do you agree with them, or you think there are good reasons for it?
- ❑ More specifically, the authors argue that the dramatic increase in lingua franca uses of English "calls into question the prioritizing of standard native English grammatical and pragmatic norms in evaluating the competence of the majority of non-native learners", and also that ELF's 'inherent variability implies not only that language yardsticks need to be updated, but also that new approaches to language modeling and norming in assessment are needed if we are to be able to judge whether ELF users' English is fit for purpose'. In your opinion, is it possible to test such flexible, contingent language use or is there a need to move away from testing against 'language yardsticks' to a different kind of testing altogether? In this respect, do you find Milroy and Milroy's (2012: viii) argument that "the language abilities of speakers need to be defined in terms of their capacity to use a number of styles and varieties appropriately" helpful? If so, how could you test this 'capacity'? Another way of looking at this is through the notion of 'Englishing'. Hall argues that "a shift is required from tests of English to tests of *Englishing* – from testing how people *use* the language to testing what they can *do* with it" (2014, *in press*, his *italics*). Again, how could this be tested?
- ❑ Many readers around the world who are studying in English medium at universities that describe themselves as 'international' probably had to take an English language entry test (e.g. IELTS, TOEFL) in order to be admitted to your university. Do you think it is reasonable or unreasonable to have to demonstrate your ability to use native academic English in order to gain a place to study at a university that caters for an international studentship? Either way, is your opinion different according to whether the university is in a non-Anglophone or Anglophone country?
- ❑ If you were asked to design an English language test that tested ELF use for a particular domain such as academic or business, what would you test? Would it include both features and skills? Which ones? And would anything else be involved? You may even like to try designing such a test yourself. Whether you do so or not, you will find it helpful to look back at the discussion of the nature of ELF in unit B6 while you consider how to test whether an ELF user's English is fit for the purpose of ELF communication in your chosen domain.

D7

ATTITUDES TO NON-NATIVE ENGLISHES IN CHINA AND MAINLAND EUROPE

In unit A6, we noted that ELF users' Englishes, or 'similects' (Mauranen 2012), are influenced to an extent by their first languages as well as by their interactions with each other. In the two readings in this unit, scholars from two very different parts of the Expanding Circle, China and Germany, consider the implications of the spread of English in relation to norms for English users from their own region. In the first reading, the Chinese scholar Ying Wang argues that it is not relevant for Chinese users of English (or, more accurately, ELF) to conform to native English norms, but highlights the struggle that Chinese ELF users have in coming to terms with this notion. Whereas most of the debate about English in the Expanding Circle has focused on speech, in the second reading, Ammon, in his discussion of German users' English, extends the debate to writing. As you read through the two articles, observe how despite their different linguistic backgrounds and the thirteen years that separate their articles, the two authors share a number of similar concerns and views.

Ying Wang

'Non-conformity to ENL norms: a perspective from Chinese English users'

Ying Wang (reprinted from *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2(2), 2013: 255–282)

Introduction

The globalization of English has highlighted the extensive role of ELF [English as a Lingua Franca] in intercultural communication and led to a sociolinguistic reality that NNESs are shaping English into Englishes, among which some diverge from ENL [English as a Native language] norms. According to Seidlhofer (2011), ELF users' non-conformity to the norms of ENL manifests how ELF users exploit their communicative resources to suit their pragmatic purposes. That is, a formalist concern seems to be irrelevant for ELF use, while non-conformity to ENL norms can be examined in terms of the pragmatic sense. Given the pluralism of Englishes, ELF researchers take issue with the exclusive focus on ENL in English classrooms and start to consider how to incorporate an ELF orientation into pedagogy. Among the growing body of literature on the implications of ELF for ELT, Jenkins (2000), for example, proposes to focus on phonetic elements which influence mutual intelligibility instead of sparing no efforts to copy ENL pronunciation. Dewey (2012a) focuses on ELF awareness among teachers and explores the field of teacher education through which an independence from ENL norms can be realised in the ELT profession. On the other hand, some English language teachers have revealed their suspicion of the relevance of ELF research for English pedagogy (e.g., Groom 2012; Kuo 2006; Timmis 2002). Based on the research finding that non-native English learners aspire to conform to ENL norms, Groom (2012: 55), for example, argues that "ELF currently neither motivates nor meets the aspirations of L2 English users in Europe. Perhaps in the future this will change; if not, it is our responsibility as linguists to respect that fact."

Ying Wang

Nonetheless, what Groom (2012: 55; cf. also Kuo 2006; Timmis 2002) describes as "that fact" might need to be re-examined. An increasing body of research on ELF attitudes has provided alternative insights and uncovered certain complexity of ELF speakers' attitudes. For example, ELF users in academic settings see the advantage of ELF over ENL (Kalocsai 2009), while business professionals do not bother to conform to ENL (e.g., Ehrenreich 2009). In Jenkins' (2007) research, ELF attitudes are likely to be ambiguous, inconsistent, and self-contradictory. Some of her participants even show awareness of their own struggle in making decisions regarding the acceptance of their own Englishes, coming up with the terms "linguistic schizophrenia" and "double standard." In Ranta's (2010) study, Finnish students are likely to aspire for native-like English at the macro-level, and simultaneously they tend to accept their own Englishes at the micro-level. A similar conclusion is drawn in Erling's (2007) study on university students from Germany. With the focus on English-teaching professionals, Jenkins (2007) has discussed possible factors that feed into ELF attitudes, such as accent-related experience, native speaker ideology, and gatekeeping. While these findings give a general idea of the complexity of ELF attitudes, the implication is that applied linguists should not simply treat ENL as the exclusive goal of English for ELF users/learners and reify ENL as *a priori*.

As far as ELF research is concerned, little has been published with the focus on Chinese speakers specifically, despite the large population of this group. Among the very few publications on ELF in relation to Chinese people, Wen (2012) proposes to bring the concept of ELF into classrooms in China and calls for more work done to meet pedagogical challenges in this context, where the mere focus on ENL norms prevails in the mainstream ELT. Given that previous studies on ELF attitudes have concentrated on the European context (e.g., Cogo 2012; Dewey 2012a, b; Ehrenreich 2009; Jenkins 2007; Ranta 2010; as well as studies reported in Archibald et al. 2011), this paper shows an attitudinal profile of NNESSs from the Chinese context, examines Chinese speakers' perceptions of non-conformity, and considers possible implications of the findings for ELT in China.

[. . .]

Chinese English speakers

Chinese English speakers are in the Expanding Circle of Kachru's (1992b) model of English spread. They normally use English for the purpose of communicating with people who do not speak Chinese. As Crystal (2008a) estimates, China has a large English-knowing population of 440 million or even more. If we define ELF users as those who use English for intercultural communication, the English-knowing population from L1 Chinese background can be considered to include both current and potential ELF speakers (although the demarcation is difficult) in the context of Chinese people's ever-growing needs and wants to communicate internationally.

Chinese English speakers are in a context presenting two paradoxes. One paradox relates to the public concern for Chinese culture and language against the backdrop of English globalization. While the strong aspiration for English is widely seen in China running through governmental policies to grass-roots business, the discourse of English imperialism arises in the society, alongside the debate on the threat of English to Chinese culture and language in the academia (see, e.g., Niu and Woolf

Ying Wang

2005; Pan and Seargent 2012). The phenomenon reveals the assumption that English competes with Chinese culture and language. As for the other paradox, Chinese speakers have an increasing need for English, due to the expansion of business and different activities between the Chinese and people who are from other countries; yet, the dominating norms of English are based on ENL, because of the ENL orientation in ELT practice where ENL serves as the exclusive reference point (see Wen 2012). These paradoxes reflect two paramount questions in ELF research. The first question is *why not both (English language and non-native English speakers' culture and identity)?* (cf. Seidlhofer 2003). The other question is *which English or whose English?* (cf. Seidlhofer 2003, 2012).

Understanding non-conformity to ENL norms

Non-conformity to ENL norms is a communicative reality which attracts different views. In mainstream ELT, ELF users' non-conformity to the norms of ENL is often criticized and even "penalized" (Prodromou 2007: 23). The negative view can be tracked down to the research of second language acquisition (SLA), which has established the orthodoxy of ENL and developed the notion of interlanguage to conceptualize "a separate linguistic system" revealing NNESSs' "attempted production" of an ENL norm (Selinker 1972: 214). This approach associates non-conformity to ENL norms with a sense of failure. While the World Englishes research (e.g., papers in the journal *World Englishes*) has effectively defended Outer Circle users' right of using English in their own way, NNESSs who are from Expanding Circle countries, i.e., the majority of ELF users, continue to be considered as followers of exonormative English. Moreover, traditional corpus linguistics serves as a source of providing samples of the language used by NESs in ENL contexts and promotes ELF users' imitation of NESs' way of using English. From the ELF perspective, however, ELF users' non-conformity to ENL norms relates to their linguistic rights and reflects NNESSs' "variable" use of English for pragmatic needs and identity projection (e.g., Cogo and Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2012; papers in Mauranen and Ranta 2009; Seidlhofer 2011: 77). The fresh perspective reveals the shift of focus from the formal approximation to ENL to the function of NNESSs' Englishes in their own right in response to the changing context of the global use of English.

The discussions of NNESSs' non-conformity to ENL touch upon the issue of NNESSs' linguistic rights, as addressed by, for example, Ammon (2000 [and below, this volume]). Ammon (2000) argues that the insistence on the conformity to ENL norms relates to socioeconomic reasons but not intelligibility. His argument converges with Jenkins' study (2000), which, as a pioneering work on ELF, vigorously demonstrates the intelligibility of NNESSs' pronunciation and challenges the assumption that NNESSs should conform to ENL to avoid intercultural communication breakdown. Jenkins (2012: 491) also criticizes the ideology that NESs are guardians of English and argues that this ideology enforces NNESSs' "lack of right to their own English." In addition, Widdowson's (1994b) discussion of the issues about the ownership of English challenges the exclusive control of English by NESs and provides support to NNESSs' right to English. As Widdowson (2003: 35) points out, English in its spread is "seeded" among NNESSs, but not "ceded" to them. The metaphor of "seed" implies the legitimacy of variations in new contexts from *the English* and acknowledges NNESSs' rights to

Ying Wang

English, that they actively make the language their own rather than passively keep intact what “belongs” to NESs. With an increasing awareness that “English belongs to all those who use it” (e.g., Cogo 2008; Seidlhofer 2009: 236), ELF researchers respect NNESSs’ needs and wants represented through their non-conformity to ENL (e.g., Seidlhofer 2001).

A crucial body of ELF literature focuses on how ELF, which is used as a means for intercultural communication, is different from ENL, although this does not deny that, as Mauranen (2012) demonstrates, ELF is in many respects similar to ENL. Empirical work has provided evidence for the non-conformity of ELF in terms of phonology (Jenkins 2000), lexicogrammar (e.g., Breiteneder 2009; Seidlhofer 2004), and pragmatics (e.g., Cogo and Dewey 2012). As Jenkins (2006) points out, the same linguistic phenomenon might be considered as erroneous in traditional SLA research but creative in an ELF perspective. That is, ELF work challenges traditional criticism of formal variations from Standard English (StE) with the mere focus on formal features and emphasizes the “underlying significance” of non-conformity (Seidlhofer 2011: 95).

[. . .]

Needs, wants, conceptions, and social constraints

The data [in Wang 2012] uncovered the perceptual conflicts underneath the surface level of slightly positive attitudes towards some instances of non-conformity to ENL norms and revealed the struggle that the participants were consciously or unconsciously subject to. The participants were positive towards non-conformity to ENL norms, considering their needs and wants to communicate efficiently and project their Chinese cultural identity properly. On the other hand, three factors were found to drive them towards exonormativity, including the belief in the ENL as the essence of English, the desire for fixed norms, and the aspiration for the perceived social advantage of ENL.

The belief in ENL as the essence of English and the desire for fixed norms reminds me of Seidlhofer’s (2011: Ch. 3) discussion of “real English” and StE. English globalization has presented a changing sociolinguistic landscape in which NNESSs greatly outnumber NESs and NNES–NNES communication dramatically increases. As NESs constitute the minority of the interlocutors encountered by NNESSs, NNESSs are likely to speak English in the intercultural settings where NESs are not present. Given this sociolinguistic reality, the centrality of ENL is subject to critical discussion. A crucial point is that English is not “exclusively” NESs’ (Widdowson 2003: 35, original emphasis). Although English originates among NESs, English globalization is a process in which NNESSs make English their own. In addition, the insistence on “real English”/StE overlaps with the view that “there is such a thing as *the* English language, a stable entity, an established preserve of its native speakers” (Seidlhofer 2011: 33, original emphasis). The desire for fixed norms exactly reflects the view of English as an entity that is sanctioned through the “decontextualized structural systems” consisted of describable “phonetic, grammatical and lexical features” (Mair 2003: xi). In the context where ELF is gaining currency, however, knowing what linguistic forms are used by NESs and generated in NES contexts cannot always satisfy NNESSs’ needs of using English in various international contexts. Rather, knowing how to appropriate forms

Ying Wang

to suit different contextual circumstances is necessary for successful communication through ELF. The critique of the exclusive focus on NES competence and the emphasis on NNES performativity are thus overarching ideas in the debate of ELF (e.g., Seidlhofer 2011). As NNESs are major forces in shaping and changing English (Brumfit 2001; Mauranen 2012), the insistence on real English/StE is “not tenable” (Seidlhofer 2011: 61) in the sociolinguistic context in which NNESs are gaining their ownership of English. In short, the belief in ENL as the essence of English and the desire for fixed norms demonstrate a conceptual gap regarding what is English between the participants and ELF researchers.

The desire for perceived social advantage of ENL driving behind the preference for ENL can be understood with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1991). According to Bourdieu, agents tend to acknowledge, legitimize, and practise social forms of domination. The motivation lies in symbolic capital, which describes the value accorded to certain kind of linguistic products, the control of which allows for the access to socioeconomic benefits (Bourdieu 1991). The view of ENL as an advantageous kind of English over other Englishes, which emerged in the data, seems to support Bourdieu’s idea and therefore brings home the issue of the power of ENL. Whereas critical literature has been devoted to the critique of ENL in terms of English hegemony, the current study shows the struggle within the participants on the issue of conformity/non-conformity to socially dominant forms. The data reveal voices questioning conformity to ENL norms due to the participants’ concern for their needs and wants to communicate efficiently and project Chinese cultural identity. The questioning competes with the consciousness of the power of ENL. This seems to challenge Bourdieu’s (1991) focus on one-sided power which points to the neglect of agency. That is, the desire for the perceived social advantage of ENL can be interpreted as the result of the competition between the power of ENL and the participants’ agency that opts for nonconformity to ENL. This suggests that the aspiration for social advantage of ENL is a complex issue that cannot simply be considered as the motivation that language teachers should help to reinforce. The complexity increases if we take into consideration the issue of gatekeeping that Jenkins (2007) has discussed. Gatekeepers, including language policy makers, publishers, and examination boards, are those who approve certain forms of English and offer language users and learners guidance regarding what reference points to look for. It was frequently seen in some interviews [in Wang 2012] that the participants accepted instances of nonconformity and simultaneously emphasized the point that they needed to bear in mind what was socially accepted and/or what was officially approved. The emphasis on language policy makers’ decision and the social preference/bias provides evidence that the participants do not have full access to language forms that suit their own needs most in English use. That is, gatekeepers serve as the mechanism maintaining the power of ENL in the status quo. In this sense, the aspiration for social advantage of ENL reflects social constraints of the participants’ language choice.

Conclusion

This study [Wang 2012] demonstrates Chinese English users’ attitudes towards non-conformity to ENL norms, which appeared to be slightly positive. There also emerged in the data a delicate balance between exonormative and endonormative orientations

Ying Wang

to English. While they acknowledged functions of non-conformity in terms of communicative efficiency and cultural identity projection, the participants were very cautious in supporting the use of English that does not conform to ENL norms. The highlights are the conflict and struggle that Chinese English users attempt to resolve with conscious or subconscious efforts.

It would be of value to understand the issue of non-conformity to ENL norms in NNEs' perspective in order to assist them to use/learn English that aligns with their interests better. Clearly, ENL norms continue to be the default reference point that Chinese English users consider. However, close examination of factors behind the insistence on the conformity to ENL norms reveals the view of NESs as the sole centre of English, the view of English as a fixed entity, and the concern for social constraints on language choice. These findings seem to suggest that ELT practitioners should not simply work to satisfy the wish to conform to ENL norms but critically consider such an aspiration. This paper thus adds to voice the need for pedagogical change from Chinese English users' perspective, that is, a need for ELT practitioners to engage in the process of empowering ELF users by challenging the exclusive focus on ENL and adopting a pluricentric approach to English.

Towards More Fairness in International English: Linguistic Rights of Non-native Speakers?

Ulrich Ammon

Ulrich Ammon (reprinted from Robert Phillipson (ed.) *Rights to Language. Equity, Power, and Education*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000: 112–116)

[. . .]

In spite of the majority of non-native speakers of the non-inner-circle countries, many of whom use the language actively and regularly in institutional frameworks, the native speakers of the inner-circle countries retain the hold to the yardstick of linguistic correctness. The inner-circle countries' population is usually equalized, at least roughly, with the native speakers of the language. That their command of the language be superior to any others' is by and large taken for granted. Even researchers who are aware of the numerical proportions of speaker groups or who deal with globalization of the language finally stick to this assumption. Crystal (1997, 130–139) or Graddol (1997, 10–11), for instance, go a long way in presenting and justifying the 'New Englishes' of the outer or even the expanding-circle countries and underlining their values, but Graddol is probably right in pointing out that they, in spite of forming 'distinct varieties', often follow an 'underlying model of correctness' of either Britain or the USA (p. 11). Graddol also, like Crystal, finally retains traditional correctness judgments – contrary to what he seems to profess in some sections of his book. This is at least how I read some of his remarks. I see nothing wrong with his ranking *fluency* in spoken English from 'native-like' to 'extremely poor' (p. 11). But he also states, when reporting on the production of a book written in English, that '[t]he development and writing of the book require advanced "native-speaker" skills' (p. 42). Advanced non-native speaker skills wouldn't do, one must conclude. Native-speaker norms remain the final basis of correctness judgments.

Ulrich Ammon

Correctness judgment along these lines seems to be particularly rigorous with respect to written scientific or scholarly texts. British or US English language standards relate to different aspects of texts: orthography, vocabulary, grammar, pragmatic and discourse features as well as text structure in the narrower sense. Clyne (1987) has shown that English and German academic texts are structured differently in various respects (linearity/digression (*Exkurs*), symmetry, advance organizers, and hedging) and that English texts written by Germans tend to retain typical German structures which, as a rule, are evaluated negatively by English readers or reviewers (cf. also the literature on comparisons of English and other languages with respect to text structure in Clyne, 1987). The British reviewer of a handbook of German editors found ‘some of the English written by non-native speakers so bad (. . .) as to be almost incomprehensible’ (cf. Ammon 1989: 267). Similarly, a US reviewer of another book of a German editor, in fact myself, complained about ‘near unintelligibility’, because ‘the grammatical mistakes are so severe.’ He also did not appreciate that a ‘decidedly German substratum peeks through in many of the papers written in English’ (Di Pietro 1990: 301. Cf. for other examples Coulmas 1987: 106ff.).

In contrast to such criticism of British or US reviewers, I am doubtful whether the texts under scrutiny were really unintelligible, or even especially hard to understand. Generally, I dare to assume that unintelligibility is not the main reason why texts in non-native English are often rejected or judged negatively by native speakers. One indication is that the native speakers who ‘corrected’ or ‘polished’ my own English language texts have never had serious difficulty understanding them correctly except in a few instances. Similar experiences were confirmed by about a dozen German colleagues whom I queried. One should also be aware of the fact that texts produced by native speakers can contain unclarities too, especially ambiguities, and as a consequence be unintelligible at some points.

The question of intelligibility of non-native-speaker texts can of course not be answered without comprehensive empirical research. There is evidence with respect to spoken language – and similar results would probably be found with respect to written language – that non-native English is indeed harder to understand for native speakers than is native English (Nelson, 1982). It has, however, also been confirmed that ‘speakers with shared cultural and linguistic norms obtain higher degrees of intelligibility in their language interactions’ (Nelson, 1982, 60). Non-native speakers of English understand non-native speakers of the same linguistic background better than non-native speakers of another linguistic background. In addition, non-native speakers of English or any linguistic background probably understand native speakers of British or American Standard English better than they do non-native speakers of another linguistic background other than their own. Nevertheless, there are reasons to assume that native speakers’ negative evaluations of non-native-speaker texts are not only, or often not primarily, based on problems with intelligibility. Do they arise from what has been called ‘linguicism’? Are they a special type of linguistic prejudice?

Linguicism?

Linguicism has been characterized as using the languages of different groups as defining criteria and as the basis for hierarchization (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994, 104, 1996). There are various aspects of such hierarchization, and the delimitation of

linguicism is not always easy. A clear case of linguicism, which seems widespread in the scientific community, are quality judgments of texts according to the language in which they are written. Vandenbroucke (1989, 1461) assumes with respect to medical dissertations in the Netherlands: ‘By the language a thesis is written in you immediately judge its quality,’ meaning that a thesis in English is valued more highly – as to its content! – than a thesis in Dutch. Matched-guise technique with written texts in Scandinavia confirmed the possibility of such judgment. Two different texts, each in two language versions: the national Scandinavian language and English, were presented to referees: ‘the majority of different aspects of scientific content was assessed to be better in English than in the national language version for both manuscripts’ (Nylenna, Riis & Karlsson, 1994, 151).

It could also be argued that it is linguicism if native speakers of a prestige language are ranked higher socially (in some way) than non-native speakers. Is it, however, still linguicism if texts in line with native-speaker standards are valued more highly than those with ‘deviations’ from these standards? Calling this linguicism seems to be justified if the native-speaker standards do not guarantee more communicative efficiency. They in fact may not, at least in the future, with the growing number of non-native speakers. Reasonably safe judgment would of course require comprehensive empirical research. Yet even dealing theoretically with this question in a convincing manner is, to my view, beyond the scope of this short paper, which will therefore be limited to some general suggestions.

Any alternative to native-speaker standards would have to specify in which way they should be extended or changed. Doing away with standards altogether would certainly be no viable option, since it would endanger successful communication. Would it be possible to incorporate special features of non-native English – of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, French, Spanish, German or other Englishes – as elements of International English (or World English)? Which elements could that be? Would these elements have to be explicitly defined in some manual (codex) of International English, so that they could be studied by anyone interested? Or would it suffice to appeal to all the participants in international communication to be as tolerant as possible with respect to any linguistic peculiarity, as long as the text remains intelligible? This appeal would of course also imply very serious attempts at comprehension. Perhaps, new international standards, different from native-speaker standards, would gradually develop on the basis of such a new culture of communication and could finally be codified.

[. . .]

Language rights?

Those difficult questions will finally have to be answered if any postulate of ‘the non-native speakers’ right to linguistic peculiarities’ (Ammon 1998, 278–282) is to be taken seriously, i.e. put into practice. Obviously, not all linguistic peculiarities are acceptable if communication is to function. It might be for these difficulties, why Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) mention no such ‘linguistic human right.’ It even seems hard to place any non-native speakers’ right to linguistic peculiarities into their system. Rather, any such a right straddles across their ‘necessary’ and their ‘enrichment-oriented rights’ (*ibid.*, 102), depending on the function of English as a

Ulrich Ammon

non-native language, but doesn't really fit into either. The deeper reason might be that their system of linguistic rights is itself based on the ideal of native-speaker standards or norms.

It seems to me, however, that systematic provision for such a right should seriously be considered in face of the disadvantages of the non-native speakers of English and actually non-native speakers of any prestige language with rigorous standards. Murray and Dingwall (1997, 56) concede that the dominance of English as a language of science 'may give native speakers of English an unfair advantage in the competition to publish results.' When they point out, however, that native speakers of English too need extensive training before they are capable of writing scientific articles, they seem to forget that the Swiss scientists, whose fate they examine, get the equivalent training. It is even a central objective of university courses in Switzerland, particularly seminars. Swiss scientists are therefore, as a rule, very well capable of writing scientific texts – but according to their own and not anglosaxon norms. Disadvantaging such users of English could be called 'discrimination' with respect to the non-native speakers' right to linguistic peculiarities, if we had it, and be criticized accordingly. It would of course be necessary to show functioning alternatives to the present situation.

There have been demands of learners' rights which seem to be related to our suggestions. Thus, Gomes de Matos (1998, 15) postulated for EFL learners '[t]he right (as non-native speakers) to deviate [from native-speaker standards! U.A.] in noncrucial areas that do not affect intelligibility or communication (. . .)' His ideals remain, however, the nativespeaker competence or the standards of the inner-circle countries. In contrast, I would like to challenge the inner-circle countries' exclusive control of the standards of International English. It seems to me that there is no real justification for this kind of control in a world with a growing majority of speakers of the language outside the inner-circle countries. In the case of a planned standard, or set of standards, one could think of a transnational institution, perhaps similar to that for Esperanto, to be put in charge. However, an unplanned, spontaneous development of standards through interaction might be more practical. Changes along the suggested lines probably presuppose long-lasting persistence and growing self-confidence on the side of the non-native speakers with respect to their own use of English.

The non-native speakers' right to linguistic peculiarities remains at the moment a rather helpless postulate. It needs more elaboration as well as integration into an extended system of linguistic human rights. It also needs support through political action. It should become part of the agenda of linguistic and other scholarly or scientific associations, or their conferences, and be presented to political parties or institutions, for instance of the European Union. – For a start, the non-native speakers of English could as a minimum try to raise awareness of their problems (cf. Ammon 1990) and demand more linguistic tolerance from the language's native speakers. They should use their growing number as their argument, among others. In fact of these numbers, rigorous enforcement of native-speaker standards amounts to the suppression of a disadvantaged majority by a privileged minority.

Issues to consider

- ❑ Despite coming from very different parts of the world, these two authors share some similar views. How do you explain these similarities? Have you also found any major differences in their perspectives? If so, again, how do you explain these?
- ❑ Ammon's article predates the start of extensive research into ELF so it is not surprising that he does not mention ELF by name, and talks instead of 'international English'. By contrast, Wang, writing far more recently, talks of ELF explicitly. Despite this, how far does it seem to you that Ammon is writing about the same (ELF) phenomenon as Wang?
- ❑ Wang points out that very little research has so far been published on Chinese users' English in relation to ELF (or even to World Englishes). Does this seem strange to you when you consider that China has the largest number of English learners/users in the world? In fact to date, issues relating to English language norms have been explored far more extensively in the European context than in the East Asian Expanding Circle. Why do you think this is so?
- ❑ In the second edition of this book, the reading on Chinese users' English came from an article by the scholar Hu Xiaoqiong. In the article, she considered the issue of Expanding Circle norms from a World Englishes perspective, according to which there is an identifiable variety of English called 'China English'. In light of more recent research into ELF (see strand 6), it is evident that English users from the Expanding Circle use English above all as a tool of communication with NNESs from different L1s than their own. Do you see this as a problem for the notion of China English as a 'variety' of English in the conventional sense of the term? If you have access to the journal *English Today*, look at Hu's 2004 article in volume 20, issue number 2, and compare her approach with Wang's ELF-oriented perspective.
- ❑ In his article, Ammon argues that "Any alternative to native-speaker standards would have to specify in which way they should be extended or changed. Doing away with standards altogether would certainly be no viable option, since it would endanger successful communication". He asks: "Would it be possible to incorporate special features of non-native English – of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, French, Spanish, German or other Englishes – as elements of International English (or World English)? Which elements could that be? Would these elements have to be explicitly defined in some manual (codex) of International English, so that they could be studied by anyone interested? Or would it suffice to appeal to all the participants in international communication to be as tolerant as possible with respect to any linguistic peculiarity, as long as the text remains intelligible?" How would you answer his questions?

D8

LOOKING AHEAD

We come to the final unit of the book, one that by its very forward-looking nature has to be, to a great extent, hypothetical. Since Graddol published his book *The Future of English?* in 1997, the English-speaking world has changed substantially, in particular as a result of the massive increase in the number of people learning English in Expanding Circle countries, most notably China. This has led to a similarly massive increase in the amount of English being used as an international lingua franca and, in turn, has caused many to question whether earlier nation-bound approaches to English and the focus on 'standard' forms are still valid, or whether something more hybrid and fluid has greater relevance. In the article that follows, Pennycook considers the options.

Alastair
Pennycook

'The future of Englishes. One, many or none?'

Alastair Pennycook (reprinted from Andy Kirkpatrick (ed.) 2010a. *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. London and New York: Routledge: 673–687).

Introduction

The question posed here – one, many or no Englishes – can be approached from at least two distinct directions. On the one hand, the answer is dependent on mapping out the possibilities of real-world conditions: language use, demographics, economic changes, globalization, and so forth. On the other, the answer is dependent on the epistemological lenses through which we consider these questions. Whether the future of English therefore should be seen in terms of the continuation of English, the plurality of Englishes or the demise of English depends equally on global economic and political changes and theoretical approaches to how we think about language. [. . .]

Language possibilities and ideologies

[. . .] The realignment of global economic powers, particularly the rise of China and India as the dominant economies of the twenty-first century, has implications for the role of English. So too does the growth of other South East Asian economies and the potential of a new zone of economic cooperation based around ASEAN. The strengthening of the euro in relation to other currencies, the steady increase in the size of the European Union (27 countries at the beginning of 2009), the political realignment of South America, the economic crisis of 2008–9, climate change, and so on, all have implications for the role of English. What exactly these implications are is much harder to determine, but we do know for sure that the waxing and waning of languages is a result of broad economic and political influences.

To show how this may work, it can be useful to speculate on alternative histories and their concomitant linguistic outcomes. While some of these speculations may look implausible, they can shed light on the political processes within which language is embedded. Let us imagine, for example, a different outcome at the end of the Second World War: Germany defeated both the Soviet Union and the UK and established its European German-dominated Reich. Japan did not attack Pearl Harbor and instead

Alastair
Pennycook

successfully established its East Asian economic and political empire. The United States never entered the war, and faced by these two large political entities, turned towards its southern neighbours in a cooperative spirit. By the early twenty-first century, the world is dominated by three major economic, political and linguistic entities: Die Dritte Europäische Gemeinschaft, a powerful bloc including Russia, the UK, North Africa and most of Europe, where German is used as the major language of communication, while other regional languages – English, Spanish, Estonian, Arabic and so on – are used more locally. Japanese, meanwhile, has become the major language, indeed a first language for many, of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏) which includes the emerging regional power of China. And across the Pacific, Las Americas, a Spanish-dominated (with English a major second language in the north, and a trilingual Canada) conglomeration has become the third major political and economic block. In this alternative world, German, Spanish and Japanese have been recognized as the three major world languages, with Hindi and Arabic forming a second tier, and it is common in other regions of the world to speak, say, Arabic, Spanish and Japanese; or Swahili, German and Spanish. [. . .]

This simple alternative scenario suggests that the current role of English is obviously a result of a very particular set of historical circumstances, which might have looked very different, and might do so again. While this is based on a fairly straightforward mapping of political, economic and linguistic possibilities, things become more complicated once we bring in different possible language ideologies. It is already, perhaps, a little far-fetched to suggest a bilingual Spanish-English USA (though we may well be heading that way eventually) since this possibility suggests an openness to languages that was not evident in the USA in the mid twentieth century. What if we imagine for Australia, not just the possibility that the French settled the west, and the English the east, so that it became a bilingual, southern hemisphere version of Canada, but rather that the European invaders came with an open-minded interest and capacity to acknowledge and learn indigenous languages, so that many of these languages are not only alive and well today, but are also widely spoken by the immigrant populations? Today it would not be uncommon, say, for people in Sydney to speak Chinese, Darug, French and English; in Melbourne, people would commonly use Woiwurrung, Italian, French and English; while in Brest (what we now call Perth in Western Australia), French, Vietnamese and Gardjari are widely used. Along similar lines, Barack Obama's 2009 presidential inauguration would of necessity have been conducted not only in Spanish and English but also in, perhaps Cherokee. This, I would argue, is somewhat harder to imagine than the scenarios sketched out above, suggesting that while different political outcomes may be imaginable, different language ideologies are harder to conceive. [. . .] in order to think about the futures of English, we need to think not only in terms of the ways languages reflect the political economy, but also in terms of the language ideologies that underpin our ways of thinking about language.

[. . .]

English amid economic and political forces

[. . .] Graddol (2006: 14–15) identifies a range of key trends in relation to the global spread of English, including a flattening out in the rise of learners of English once it

**Alastair
Pennycook**

has reached 2 billion by about 2020, increased competition for ELT services from non-native contexts, and a general decline in the relevance of native speakers [...] and the proportional decline of English in the internet. It is often suggested that English is the language of the internet, though evidence does suggest that although the amount of English use outweighs other languages, and although it is increasing largely as a result of many uses of English as a second language, the overall use of English is decreasing proportionally in relation to other languages. Or put another way, there has been a major increase in the use of other languages on the internet. This is an important observation, since it counters claims that English has become so embedded in domains such as the internet that it will remain so.

While shifts in internet use have been well documented, other communication technology-based possibilities lie more in the realm of speculation. If the internet has revolutionized global communication in the past few decades, new communication technologies might do so again in the near future. Take machine translation, for example. Its untrustworthiness to date has meant that its use still remains somewhat peripheral for most language users. While electronic dictionaries and phrase books have become common, actual translation, and particularly of spoken language, still has many weaknesses. Yet we may get there, and once automatic translation can be built into email and even conversation, the patterns of language use may change again. Imagine, for example, the possibility of translation software on your mobile phone, so that it could also be used as a handheld device for instant translation of spoken language. Of course, this would almost certainly still reflect the basic inequalities between languages – translation software may be installed for major languages but not minor ones, and for many it is already too late – but it would mean that language use and language education could be dramatically changed.

Graddol (2006) points to a decreased advantage from speaking English. There is a basic issue of economic value here, which undermines naïve claims that English learning can be a panacea for global poverty (see Pennycook 2007b): the more people learn English, the less value accrues to this distinction. Graddol also predicts the growth of a polycentric lingua franca global English (with Asia playing a particular role here) and increased competition from certain other languages, particularly Spanish and Chinese (Putonghua). Graddol is particularly interested in the non-competitiveness of monolingual speakers of English, suggesting that they will be at a disadvantage compared to their multilingual colleagues elsewhere. He also suggests that EFL teaching, as it has been understood, is on the way out in favour of the teaching of global English. In sum, he predicts a shift towards a variety of English that is very much a language of global ownership, accompanied by increased value on the capacity to operate multilingually amid the rise of other major languages.

The strength of Graddol's analysis lies in his use of various data sources – global demography (population growth, age trends, movement of people), economic trends (the rise of China, India, Russia, Brazil, shifting patterns of economic exchange, outsourcing) – and reasonable speculations on how these may reinforce or unsettle certain language alliances. All such predictions, of course, are dependent on things continuing along expected pathways. The recent (2008–9) economic crisis, with up to a third of the value of global economies disappearing, major economies in recession, companies that were thought invulnerable collapsing, and large numbers of

Alastair
Pennycook

workers across different sectors being laid off, may have long-term effects on these predictions. By and large, however, these dramatic events look as if they will only hasten the shift towards Asia as the economic power centre of the world with English – but possibly more Asian English – continuing to play an important role. Predicting the role of English in all this is a speculative business. It is clear, for example, that despite policies favouring the national languages of Europe, language use within the European Union is moving strongly towards English (see Phillipson 2003a). Globally we are seeing trends towards greater use of English at primary level in many school systems, as well as a trend towards the use of English as a medium of instruction in secondary science and technology classes. From Chile to Korea, we have seen major proposals for the greater use of English across the educational system. With this comes a shift towards a greater commodification of English (see Tan and Rubdy 2008).

This means that English is increasingly embedded in education, industry, information technology and other domains in ways that will make it hard to dislodge. The rise of China as the major power of the twenty-first century has implications for English that are not transparent. It will of course strengthen the role of Chinese. Just as Japan's economic potency in the twentieth century led to a large growth in Japanese studies across the world, so this is clearly also the case with Chinese: there has been significant growth world-wide in the learning of Chinese. But this will not necessarily be at the expense of English (we should always be aware that this is not a zero-sum game – more learning of one language does not necessarily mean less of another). Since China has invested so massively in English, it also becomes a purveyor of English. [...] In sum, Graddol is probably right that other languages, notably Chinese and Spanish, may grow in influence, while English will likely remain the most widely used international language. At the same time, there will be a continuing shift away from formerly influential models (UK and US English) towards a more polycentric English with Asia a major player. As he suggests too, this shift in the locus of English may also be accompanied by a shift in the underlying attitudes towards language, the predominant users of English employing not only a flexible, polycentric English lingua franca, but also using this emergent variety of English from a multilingual perspective.

[. . .]

Changing English

At the same time that the role of English may change globally in relation to social, economic and political forces, so too does the language change. To date, such changes have been described largely from within the World Englishes and ELF frameworks. And even those such as Schneider, (2007 . . .), who have sought to develop an independent model that can account for commonalities within changing Englishes, operate from many of the same linguistic assumptions. Looking at World Englishes, for example, it is clear that although large amounts of evidence have been brought to bear on the topic of the diversity of new Englishes [. . .], the epistemological questions about what constitutes a variety, or indeed what constitutes English, are left largely untouched [. . .]

[. . .]

We need therefore to reconsider how we think about language. This question can be addressed in several ways. The first has to do with local language ideologies, that

**Alastair
Pennycuick**

is to say with the manner in which language is understood locally. A major problem with studies of global English is that the analysis proceeds from the centre outwards, paralleling the spread of English, and assumes that English means the same thing to different people. If we are interested, however, in the worldliness of English, then we need a more spectral approach that does not assume that English remains the same. This is not a matter of grammatical or lexical variation, but of cultural and ideological difference. At some level, these language ideologies need to be understood in relation to material conditions. [...] But language ideologies go deeper than this, since they also need to address less clearly determined views on language. A focus on language ideology also needs to ask, not only how people understand English locally, but also how the locality of linguists affects their interpretations of language.

It is all very well to speculate on how changing economic and political circumstances may affect the role of English, or to debate the questions around what constitutes a World English or a lingua franca, but if the notion of language itself remains unexamined, as if English were a clear and identifiable object with countable numbers of speakers, clear borders and uncontested domains of use, we will only have completed part of the task. What this suggests is the need to think about English and globalization outside the nationalist frameworks that gave rise to twentieth-century models of the world. In dealing with English in an uneven world, we do need to understand its historical formation within forms of nationalism and imperialism, and its contemporary roles in the inequitable distribution of resources, in the promotion of certain ideas over others, in the threat it may pose to other languages, cultures and ways of being. And yet we need simultaneously to appreciate not only its appropriation and relocalization by diverse users, but also its reconfiguration as something different. [...]

English as local practice

Recent research has started to question whether these old categorizations of language – varieties, code-switching, bilingualism, mother tongue, multilingualism, borrowing – as well as the identities that are assumed along lines of language, location, ethnicity, culture, really work any more. Developed in contexts very different to those in which English now finds itself, many of these concepts simply do not seem to address the forms of hybrid urban multilingualism in which English now partakes. [...]

[...]

The changing cultural and linguistic worlds in which many English users live pose challenges for how we conceive of culture, ethnicity and language. As Maher describes it in the context of Japan, students are rejecting fixed ascriptions of cultural identity and instead playing with notions of metroethnicity: ‘Cultural essentialism and ethnic orthodoxy are out. In Japan, metroethnicity is in. Cool rules’ (2005: 83). Metroethnicity, he explains, is ‘a reconstruction of ethnicity: a hybridised “street” ethnicity deployed by a cross-section of people with ethnic or mainstream backgrounds who are oriented towards cultural hybridity, cultural/ethnic tolerance and a multicultural lifestyle in friendships, music, the arts, eating and dress’ (2005: 83). [...] As language learners move around the world in search of English or other desirable languages, or stay at home but tune in to new digital worlds through screens, mobiles and headphones, the possibilities of being something not yet culturally imagined mobilizes new identity options. And in these popular transcultural flows, languages, cultures and identities

are frequently mixed. Code-mixing, sampling of sounds, genres, languages and cultures is the norm (Pennycook 2007a; Alim et al. 2009).

In order to capture how language is used in such contexts, what we might call *metrolingualism*, we need to incorporate the idea of communicative repertoires, as well as a clearer account of linguistic capital and disparity. Lest metrolingualism carry a sense only of urban chic and play, I want to invest the term with a broader understanding of urban multilingualism and social inequality. Language knowledge from this perspective should be defined ‘not in terms of abstract system components but as communicative repertoires – conventionalized constellations of semiotic resources for taking action – that are shaped by the particular practices in which individuals engage’ (Hall et al. 2006: 232). This view insists that language is not so much a system that we draw on in order to communicate but rather a social activity, one of whose outcomes may be communication. To look at language not as a system but as a practice (Pennycook 2010) allows for a view that language knowledge is ‘grounded in and emergent from language use in concrete social activity for specific purposes that are tied to specific communities of practice’ (Hall et al. 2006: 235). Metrolingualism thus locates English use within grounded local practice.

[. . .] if we adopt a translingual model of language (Pennycook 2007a, 2008) to look at English use, the relationship to be understood is among interlingual resources (what resources people draw on), colingual relations (who says what to whom, where) and ideological implications (what gets taken from what language use with what investments, ideologies, discourses and beliefs).

Translingua franca English

While there is clearly something to be gained from trying to map the future of English along the lines of Graddol (2006), it is evident that we also need to rethink language in relation to changing global relations. [. . .] In looking forward here, we might ask not so much whether we can map out a future of English in relation to global political and economic changes, but how we can develop a ‘linguistics that treats human agency, contextuality, diversity, indeterminacy, and multimodality as the norm’ (Canagarajah 2007: 98). [. . .]

I have therefore suggested that any understanding of the future of English needs to move beyond projections – one, many or none – based on twentieth-century linguistic analyses. Instead, we need an understanding of language that seeks neither national nor international framings of English but instead incorporates the local, agency and context in their complex interactions. The crucial question is not one of pluralization – English or Englishes – but rather what language ideologies underlie the visions of plurality. To argue for a monolithic version of English is clearly both an empirical and a political absurdity, but we need to choose carefully between the available models of pluricentric Englishes, avoiding the pitfall of states-centric pluralities that reproduce the very linguistics they need to escape in order to deal with globalized linguascapes. This can help us avoid the national circles and boxes that have so constrained World Englishes and indeed linguistics more generally. In pedagogical terms, this means treating English less as a discrete object – even with its variations – that can be taught only in its own presence, and rather to deal with English as multilingual, as a language always in translation, as a language always under negotiation (Pennycook 2008).

**Alastair
Pennycook**

Instead, we can start with an understanding of *translingua franca English*, which is taken to include *all* uses of English. That is to say TFE is not limited here to expanding circle use or so-called NNS-NNS interactions, but rather is a term to acknowledge the interconnectedness of all English use. In this field, English users all over the world draw on various resources in English. And in this sense, ‘in its emerging role as a world language, English has no native speakers’ (Rajagopalan 2004: 112). We then need to think not so much in terms of using a language in context (with a pre-given notion of language being deployed in the under-theorized notion of context) but rather as a local practice (Pennycook 2010). Language speakers come with language histories, and means of interpretation – the ideolinguistic dimension where English is one of many languages, a code useful for certain activities, a language connected to certain desires and ideologies. [. . .] it is not a product, but a social process that is constantly being remade from the semiotic resources available to speakers, who are always embedded in localities, and who are always interacting with other speakers.

Issues to consider

- Pennycook argues that the current role of English is “a result of a very particular set of historical circumstances” and hypothesizes about how different the global linguistic landscape might look if the outcome of the Second World War had been different. He goes on to note that the economic crisis of 2008–2009 is shifting the centre of economic power towards Asia, particularly China and India. But he argues that because China has “invested so massively” in English and India has “a strong English stance in many domains” they will not abandon English in favour of their national languages for international use. Instead, he believes, the centre of gravity of English will shift, with the old native English models of the US and UK giving way to a polycentric heavily Asian-influenced English. Do you agree with Pennycook on the reasons why English remains the world’s major global language and on why it will continue to do so? And what do you think of his prediction of the demise of the influence of US and UK models in favour of greater Asian influence on English? What kinds of English language practices might this influence result in?
- Pennycook also considers the role of language ideology and (later) the influence of people’s locality in how they interpret language in general and understand the notion of English specifically. In your opinion, how do language ideology and locality affect orientations to the English language in the region where you live (including Anglophone countries)? And are the two to some extent connected? In other words, does the prevailing ideology in respect of the local language(s) influence the indigenous population’s ideology in respect of English? For example, if people are relaxed about grammatical (in)correctness in the local language, does this mean they are also relaxed about it in English, and vice versa? Or if they stigmatize certain (‘non-standard’) dialects of the local language, do they stigmatize them in English, and vice versa?
- Another point raised in the article concerns the future role of NESs. Citing Graddol (1997, 2006), Pennycook predicts that their relevance will decline and that they will become disadvantaged relative to NNESs. What are your views on this subject? Have you seen any signs of it happening already?

- ❑ Pennycook believes some younger NNESSs are rejecting “fixed ascriptions of cultural identity” and instead seeking out “new identity options” in which languages and cultures are mixed, and hybridity is the norm. Have you seen any sign of this phenomenon among young people (possibly including yourself!) in your region or elsewhere? If so, how is it affecting their use of English?
- ❑ In the article, World Englishes and ELF tend to be conflated as if they were similar phenomena. Look back to strand 6, especially A6, and consider how you would describe to Pennycook the ideological and empirical differences between the two.
- ❑ Pennycook proposes ‘Translingua franca English’ or ‘TFE’ as the optimum outcome. He describes it as including *all* uses of English, not only those of the Expanding Circle or of NNESSs; as a local practice (rather than being pre-defined in relation to a given context of use); as a “social process that is constantly being remade” from the resources available to its users; and in its global role as having no native speakers. In what ways, if any, does TFE seem to you to differ from ELF? Do you see the two as having more in common than separating them or vice versa?
- ❑ In recent years, there has been much discussion of the need for people to be multilingual rather than to speak only English or, at best, one other language (whether as L1 or L2) and English. Do you think English will continue to spread as the world’s primary common language and dominate global communication still further? Or do you believe that in future, there will be an increasing emphasis on the importance of speaking other languages as well as English? What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages in either case?
- ❑ The subtitle of Pennycook’s article is ‘One [English], many [Englishes] or none?’ While he leaves us in no doubt that TFE is his preferred outcome, it is not clear whether he expects this (or any of the other scenarios he outlines) to actually happen. As in the previous two editions of this book, I therefore leave you once again to decide how *you* see the future of English/es: one, many, none, or something else altogether?

FURTHER READING

The following groupings relate to the respective strand of the book, for example, the grouping 'English and colonialism/postcolonialism' relates to strand 1, which consists of units A1, B1, C1 and D1.

Broad coverage of the field

The following journals and handbooks are particularly recommended: *English Today* (Cambridge University Press); *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* (De Gruyter Mouton); *World Englishes* (Wiley-Blackwell); Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (eds) (2006) *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Wiley-Blackwell); Kirkpatrick (2010a) (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*.

English and colonialism/postcolonialism

- For more detail on the historical background, see Crystal (2003a); for socio-political interpretations, see Bailey (1991), Holborow (1999), Pennycook (1994), (1998), Phillipson (1992), Watts and Trudgill (2002) among many others.
- Good sources of material on a range of colonial and postcolonial issues are the collections in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (eds) (1995), Burke, Crowley and Girvin (eds) (2000), and Fishman (ed.) (1999).
- On issues concerning English in Africa, see also Rubagumya (2004), and the special issue of *World Englishes*, 21/1 (2002), 'English in South Africa'.
- For more on English Only in the US, see Dicker (2000), Johnson (2009), May (2008), Salomone (2010).

English today

- The classic reading on the ownership of English, and still highly relevant, is Widdowson (1994).
- On implications for teaching methods and materials, see Canagarajah (1999), Gray (2010), Holliday (1994), (2005), Kirkpatrick (2007a), and the papers in Canagarajah (ed.) (2005), Gnutzmann and Intemann (eds) (2005/2009), Hughes (ed.) 2006, and Matsuda (ed.) (2012).
- On implications for English testing, see Lowenberg (2000), (2002), (2012), Tomlinson (2010), and for a detailed critique of language testing, McNamara and Roever (2006).
- Good sources on the native/non-native teacher debate are Braine (2010), Kirkpatrick (2007a), Llurda (ed.) (2006), Seidlhofer (1999), and the papers in Braine (ed.) (1999) and Luk and Lin (2006).
- On language policy and planning, see Ferguson (2006), and on rights in language teaching/learning, see Brumfit (2001).

Standardisation and Inner Circle varieties of English

- ❑ On standard language ideology, see Bauer and Trudgill (eds) (1998), Bex and Watts (eds) (1999), Crowley (2003), and Milroy and Milroy (2012).
- ❑ To find out more about the processes involved in standardisation, see the classic work, Haugen (1966).
- ❑ You will find more information on the development of writing, differences between (Inner Circle) speech and writing, and e-discourse in Baron (2000), on texting in Crystal (2008), on blogging in ELF communication in Vettorel (2014), and on language and the internet in Baron (2008) and Crystal (2006), (2011).
- ❑ For a detailed description of Inner Circle varieties of English, see Melchers and Shaw (2011); for further detail on American English, see Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006); and for more on British English, see the papers in Britain (ed.) (2007).

Outer Circle varieties of English

- ❑ Detailed sources for Outer Circle varieties include Cheshire (ed.) (1991) and Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008), while Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (2006) cover a vast amount of ground but in less detail.
- ❑ To learn more about Asian Englishes, see Low and Hashim (eds) (2012), Kachru (2005), and Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006); on English in the wider Asia-Pacific context, see Zhang, Rubdy and Alsagoff (eds) (2011); and on Singapore English and Singlish, see Deterding (2007), Rubdy (2001).
- ❑ On postcolonial literatures, see Carter and McRae (2001), Talib (2002), and Thumboo (1992).

Pidgin and Creole languages

- ❑ Of the many books on this subject, I recommend Singh (2001) and Todd (1990) as introductory texts, and Mühlhäusler (1997) and Sebba (1997) for more detail.
- ❑ Mufwene (2001) provides a detailed account of the evolution of creole languages.
- ❑ A good source of information on the Ebonics debate is the symposium in *World Englishes* journal 19/1 (2000).
- ❑ On Ebonics, see the papers in Ramirez, Wiley, de Clerk, Lee and Wright (eds.) (2005).
- ❑ On London Jamaican, see Hewitt (1986), Sebba (1993, 2007), and Sutcliffe (1982), and on the phenomenon of language crossing, see Rampton (1995/2005).
- ❑ On issues relating to writing in pidgin Englishes see Sala (2009).

English as a Lingua Franca

- ❑ Useful book length discussions of ELF research and theorising are Cogo and Dewey (2012), and Seidlhofer (2011); on ELF in academic settings see Björkman (2013), Mauranen (2012), and Smit (2010a). For a state of the art article on ELF research see Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011). Useful collected volumes on ELF are Archibald, Cogo and Jenkins (eds) (2011) and Mauranen and Ranta (eds) (2009).
- ❑ On ELF corpora, see Kirkpatrick (2010b), Mauranen (2003), Seidlhofer (2001), and the ACE, ELFA and VOICE websites (details in A6).
- ❑ On teacher training from an ELF perspective, see Dewey (2011, 2012a, 2012b, and forthcoming), and Walker (2010).

- ❑ On miscommunication in ELF see Deterding (2013).
- ❑ For a range of views on ELF, see Rubdy and Saraceni (eds) (2006), and the exchange between Swan (2012) and Widdowson (2013) in *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1/2 and 2/1; on attitudes towards ELF, see Jenkins (2007).
- ❑ On issues relating to English Medium Instruction see the papers in Ammon (2006), Doiz et al. (eds) (2013) and in Sovic and Blythman (eds) (2013); on ELF in relation to higher education language policy, see Jenkins (2014).

Englishes in Asia and Europe

- ❑ For more on SLA and the interlanguage/fossilization controversy, see Firth and Wagner (1997), (2007).
- ❑ On Englishes in Asia, see Tsui and Tollefson (eds) (2007), Murata and Jenkins (eds) (2009), and the sources listed in ‘Outer Circle Englishes’ above; on Indian English, see Graddol (2010a), Parasher (2001); on Hong Kong English, see Bolton (ed.) (2002); on China/Chinese English, see Bolton (2003), Deterding (2006, 2010), He and Li (2009), and a special issue on China of *English Today* 28/3 (2012).
- ❑ On English in Europe, see Cogo and Jenkins (2010), Phillipson (2003a), and the papers in Cenoz and Jessner (eds) (2000), De Houwer and Wilton (eds) (2011), and Gubbins and Holt (eds) (2002).

World Englishes in the future

- ❑ For a wide-ranging discussion of the possibilities, see Graddol (2006).
- ❑ For more on language endangerment and revitalisation see Austin and Sallabank (eds) (2011), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Sallabank (2013).
- ❑ On English and globalisation, see Blommaert (2010), Pennycook (2007b), and the articles in Block and Cameron (eds) (2002) and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4 (2003), a special issue on ‘Sociolinguistics and globalisation’; on ELF and globalisation see Dewey (2007b); on hip hop, English and globalisation see Pennycook (2007a) and *World Englishes* 25/2, a special issue on ‘World Englishes in pop culture’.
- ❑ For discussions of whether Chinese will replace English as the global lingua franca see Gill (2011), Graddol (2010b).

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GLOSSARIAL INDEX

This glossarial index is based on significant terms used in the text. The page numbers in **bold** denote definitions of terms or major sections.

- Aboriginal Australians 6–7, 13, 70,
190
accents: and Standard English 24–5;
in testing 225
acceptance: of innovations 28;
in standardisation process 23
accommodation 45, 53, **91**, 171, 226,
228
acrolect **17**, 20, 28, 64
additive bilingualism **114**
Africa: European ideas about 213–14; use of
English in 117, 207
African Americans: in education system
150–2; use of English 26, 116
African-American Vernacular English
(AAVE) **38**, **150–4**; decreolisation of 38;
grammatical structures of 77–9;
in McArthur's model 13; stigmatisation of
76, 137
African Englishes **117**; as interlanguages
100; pronunciation of 29–30;
standardisation of 26
African languages, marginalisation of
117–18, 210–11
Afrikaans 7–8
air traffic control 43
America **6**; *see also* North America; United
States
American English: grammar of 73, 77–8;
influence on global Englishes 108–9;
negative attitudes to 5, 102; as normative
235–6; pronunciation of 74;
standard variety of 26; vocabulary
of 69–71
Americanisation **108**
apostrophes 135, 193, 201–2
Appalachian speech 78, 83
Argentina 15
ASIACORP **104**
Asian Englishes: categories of 46–7;
codification of 99–100, 102–5; future role
of 243; status of 161–2
aspiration **29**
assimilation 54, **87**, **92**
Association of South-East Asian Nations
(ASEAN) **50**, 240
Atlantic Pidgins 39, 86
Australia 7; dispersal of English to 6–7;
independence of 10; indigenous languages
of 70, 175, 241
Australian English **70**; grammar of 73;
in Inner Circle 10; as non-standard
26–7; origins of 27; vocabulary of 70,
72–3
baby-talk theory 39–40
Bahasa Melayu (Malay) **9**, 48–9, 143
Bangladesh, use of English in 11, 16, 48
Bangladeshi English 47
basilect **17**, 20
BBC English 25
Belgium 15, 53
Bhutan 8, 47
bilingual education 62, 113–15
Bilingual English speakers (BES) **98–9**
bilingualism: attitudes to 116, 173; English-
knowing 176–7; as global norm 60, 176;
subtractive 114, 174
Black English 76, 149–50, 154, 221; *see also*
African-American Vernacular English;
London Jamaican
Brazil, use of English in 5, 52, 106
British Council: and ELT 120–1; English
2000 project 5; and IELTS 225
British Empire: and dispersal of English
8–10, 182–3, 187; former territories
of 59–60, 103; types of colonies in
35

- British English: class differences in 74–5; discourse style in 34; influence on global Englishes 108; in Modiano's model 18; as normative 26, 167, 169, 235; other Englishes' affinity with 12; pronunciation of 74; vocabulary of 69–72
- British National Corpus 128
- Brunei 47–8
- California 113; African-American Vernacular English in 150–1; English Only movement in 114; indigenous languages in 61–2; use of Spanish in 55
- Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse (CANCODE) 128, 131–2
- Cambridge ESOL 93, 124, 126, 224–7
- Cameroon: colonial history of 216; dispersal of English to 8
- Cameroon English 215–18, 220
- Cameroon Pidgin: current status of 8; plurality in 37; stigmatisation of 215–17, 221; use in education 217–20
- Canada: English as a Native Language (ENL) in 10; indigenous languages of 175; Loyalist emigration to 7
- Canadian English 69; *see also* North American English
- Caribbean 35; creoles in 11, 86; dispersal of English to 6
- channels 128–137, 196
- China: economic power of 240, 243, 246; ELT in 5, 9, 155; English Medium Instruction (EMI) in 15; Hong Kong handed back to 168; use of English in 106, 109, 169–71
- Chinese culture 115, 231–2
- Chinese ELF 45, 170–1, 230–1, 239
- Chinese English 170; development of 171, 234–5; speakers of 231–2
- Chinese languages: and the internet 55–6; use in US 114–15
- Chinglish 107, 168, 170
- clause structure 86–7, 135, 142
- clipping 72–3
- Cockney: code-switching with London Jamaican 147; glottal stops in 29; as non-standard 26
- code-mixing 35; in Asian Englishes 49, 103, 163; as global norm 244–5; negative attitudes to 176; and New Englishes 11, 35; and social identity 51
- code-switching 11, 35, 48, 49, 103, 147, 176, 244; Indian English 163, 164
- codification: aims of 199; and innovation 28; in standardisation process 23, 205–6
- coinages 32–3, 194
- Collins Birmingham University International Language Database (COBUILD) 128
- Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) 140; *see also* Singlish
- colonial cringe 26
- colonialism: economic 185; linguistic effects of 58, 61, 212–14
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) 223–4, 227
- communication skills 45
- communities of practice 95
- conflation of sounds 86
- connected speech 54, 92
- consonant sounds, varieties of 29–30
- contact language 5, 36, 44
- Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) 159, 222
- contractions 135, 138
- corpora 41–2, 128, 131
- Costa Rica 15
- creativity: bilingual 94; contingent 42; in English 186; and error 34, 45; and innovation 85; in texting 137
- creole, origin of term 38
- creole Englishes, in English Language Complex 106
- creole languages 37; and categorisation of English 11; development from pidgins 87; as ‘illegitimate’ 36, 80; London Jamaican 146–9; in Martinique 221–2; origins of 35, 38–40; and slavery 8; in UK and US 146
- creolisation 37
- Cross-over View 128
- cultural awareness 157–8
- cultural identity: in ELF 95, 233–4; hybridity of 244–5, 247; language as marker of 61–3, 115, 211–13; and London Jamaican 146–7, 149; and Singlish 144
- daughter languages 80
- decreolisation 38
- deficit linguistics 65, 66, 126, 161
- Denmark 15, 53, 211
- dental fricatives 29, 94–5, 108, 142

- deviations 85; attitudes to 68, 167, 237; locally-acquired 65; in spelling 193 dialects: ethnic 23; mixing of 7; *see also* diversity of English; non-standard Englishes diasporas of English language 6–9, 15, 27, 58 diglossia 100 diphthongs 30, 54 discourse style 29, 34 diversification of English 81–5, 106–9, 196; hierarchies of varieties 177–8 Dynamic Model of evolution 169
- East Africa 8
- East African English: distinctiveness of 117; grammar of 31–2; pronunciation of 30; vocabulary of 33–4
- East Asia 9, 13, 41, 46, 170, 222, 239, 241
- East India Company 9
- Ebonics 13, 38, 150–4; *see also* African-American Vernacular English
- economic power 23, 242–3, 246
- educated people, language used by 24
- electronically-mediated communication (EMC) 129–30, 133, 139, 202, 204
- electronic retrieval systems 43, 183
- ELFA *see* English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), in academic settings
- elision 54, 92
- ellipsis 40, 132, 138
- e-mails 133–6, 201–2; *see also* electronically-mediated communication (EMC)
- emoticons 133, 136–7
- endangered languages 172–5
- endornormative standards 117
- English as a Foreign Language (EFL) 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 24, 45, 106, 226, 238
- English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 3, 10, 44–5; in academic settings (ELFA) 41, 159–60; alternatives to 54–6; in British colonies 8, 10; characteristics of 90–3; with Chinese characteristics *see* Chinese ELF; and dispersals of English 6; in education 155–8, 161; and ELT training 124; and ENL 233; in Europe and Asia 45–6, 50–1; fluidity of 94–5, 230, 232; future development of 242–3; and native/non-native distinction 96–9; NES skills in 177; number of speakers 10–11; ownership of 197; and proficiency testing 223, 225–9; reasons for use 20, 42–4, 66–7; recent research on 41–2; speakers' attitudes to 231; and translingua franca English (TFE) 247
- English as a mother tongue 6, 10; *see also* English as a Native Language
- English as a Native Language (ENL) 10; areas spoken 10–11; as normative form 100–2, 120, 125–6, 156–7, 167, 230–7; changes in 94; and ELF 51; genetic and functional 17; pronunciation of 91–2; Singlish as 140; varieties of 11; *see also* native English speakers (NES)
- English as an International Language (EIL) 5, 52, 249; hierarchies 177–8; in Modiano's model 17–18; linguistic rights of non-native speakers 235–8
- English as a Second Language (ESL) 2; areas spoken 11–12, 14–15, 106; countries transitioning to 15; and EFL 2; in English Language Complex 106; learned as L1 12; and standard English 24; teaching of 121
- English for General Purposes (EGP) 17
- English for Special Purposes (ESP) 17
- English globalisation 228, 230–1, 233
- English grammar: intuitions about 65–6; myths about 198–9, 205; as shibboleth 193, 200–1
- Englishing, tests of 229
- English-knowing bilingualism 176; *see also* Bilingual English speakers (BES)
- English language rights 52, 68
- English Language Teaching (ELT): course materials in 124; and ELF 97, 155–7, 230; ENL norms in 120–1, 232; native/non-native distinction in 122–4; testing in 125–7, 178–9, 225, 228–9
- English Medium Instruction (EMI): and British colonialism 43, 210–11, 213–14; in contemporary Africa 119; in continental Europe 15; in higher education 159–61, 224, 229; and New Englishes 28; opposition to 63
- English monolingualism 176–7
- English Only movement 113, 116, 153, 177
- errors 22, 67, 85, 97, 100
- Estuary English 26, 29, 106, 145, 198
- ethnic identity 61–3
- Euro-English 45
- Europe: as cultural centre of colonialism 213; cultural heritage of 44; English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in 106; languages used in 49–50; and subordinate languages 173
- European identity 63

- European Union 50; expansion of 240; use of English in 243
exonormativity 117, 144, 168, 232–4
Expanding Circle 14–15; acrolect and basilect in 20; and cultural awareness 157–8; English Language Teaching (ELT) in 65–6, 126, 222; norms of English in 232; pluricentric approach in 68; use of L1s in 42; uses of English in 15, 97
Expanding Circle English: in Europe and Asia 45–6; evolution of 34, 94; features of 93–4, 96, 239; non-institutionalised 47; recognition of 64
expertise, Rampton's notion of 19, 98
- Fiji English 49
Finland, ELT in 155
first diaspora 6–8, 14, 27
foreigner talk 39
fossilization 27, 45, 64, 101, 163, 250
France, use of English in 184
future trends in English 241–2, 244–5, 250
- Gambia 8
General American (GA) 54, 81, 86, 93; *see also* American English
Ghana, dispersal of English to 2, 8
Ghanaian English: coinages in 33; final consonants in 29; word order in 31
globalisation: in higher education 160; and language death 172, 174–5; and pidgins and creoles 146; *see also* English globalisation
Globish 45
glottal stops 29, 142, 148–9
grammar: prescriptive 25, 199–201; of spoken English 131; *see also* English grammar
greeting 35, 166
Gullah 13, 83
- Hausa 119
Hawaii 61–2
heads 53, 61, 78, 132, 153
heritage languages 61, 146, 177
Hindi: influence on Indian English 103; as lingua franca 9; status of 162–3
Hinglish 106
Hispanic English 76
homogenisation 108, 174
homophones 86
- Hong Kong: British colonialism in 187–8; dispersal of English to 9; non-Chinese minorities in 168; number of English speakers in 47, 167
Hong Kong English 166–9; consonant sounds in 30; grammar of 32; status of 162
honorifics 164, 166
hybrid Englishes 106
- identity: ethnic 61–3, 147, 149; European 63; markers of 51; national 49, 63; and place 62; social 51, 165; *see also* cultural identity
idioms 34
Igbo 119
immersion 61–2, 114
Immigrant Englishes 106
incorrectness 34
independent parallel development theory 39
India: British colonialism in 187–8; economic power of 240, 246; ELT in 121; emigration to South Africa from 8; English Medium Instruction (EMI) in 9; English speakers in 47, 162; ESL in 11, 43; official languages in 162–3; use of English in 16, 48, 109
Indian English 162–6; discourse style in 34–5; number of speakers 167; origins of 27; pronunciation of 29–30; status of 65, 161–2; vocabulary of 33, 194–5
indigenised varieties of English (IVEs) 100–2, 163
indigenous languages: borrowings from 32–3; endangering of 58, 61–3, 172–4; influence on English 27; preservation of 176–7
Indonesia, English testing in 225
inflections 86
innate bioprogram 40
Inner Circle 14–15; benefits from use of English for 172; control of standards 238; international students in 127; NESs in 235; proficiency of 19; resistance to bilingualism in 176–7
Inner Circle Englishes: divergence of 109, 224; as 'legitimate' 80; origins of 27; question tags in 32
innovation 85; distinguished from errors 67–8, 85, 94; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 51–3; lexical 194–5; status of 28

- institutionalisation **2, 15, 47–9, 65–6, 197**
- integrative motivation **100–1**
- intelligibility: and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) **91, 94–5; of English variants 80–1; of NNESs 224, 226, 232, 236; and standard English 192; see also mutual intelligibility**
- interaction features **129**
- intercultural communication **45; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 10, 45, 94, 156; NESs lack of skills in 51, 176; required awareness of 158; and standard English 177–8**
- interlanguage **64, 67, 100–2, 163, 170, 232, 250**
- International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) **227**
- international communication: and English as an International Language (EIL) **17; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 9, 66, 102–3; native English speaker (NES) lack of skill in 109; and standard English 177–8, 192, 194**
- International English Language Testing System (IELTS): assessment in **126, 223–5, 227; in Hong Kong 167; and university entrance 160, 229**
- internet: between spoken and written language **133; languages used on 55–6, 242**
- intranational **12, 17, 66, 102, 177–8**
- Ireland, emigration from **6–8**
- Irish English **80, 83**
- Jafaican **146; see also London Jamaican**
- Jamaican creole **146–9, 147**
- Jamaican English, vowel sounds in **30**
- Japan: culture of **243–4; learning English in 9**
- Kamtok **13**
- Kenya: education system of **210–11; use of English in 8, 106, 120, 210**
- Krio **8, 86**
- Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (Bickerton) **40–1**
- language change: in Cameroon **218–19; and language standards 22; opposition to 205; physiological factors in 94**
- language contact **5, 36–8, 42, 80, 87, 94**
- language crossing **146**
- language death **172–3, 176, 217**
- language ideologies **241, 243–6**
- language loss **58, 61–2, 172, 175**
- language maintenance **192**
- language policy **50, 67, 162, 234**
- language proficiency, and non-conformity **195**
- language revitalisation **61–2, 175**
- language standards **21–2, 215, 236**
- language varieties: concept of **95; status of 99**
- Lankan English **29–30, 32–3, 35, 47–8**
- learnerese *see* interlanguage
- left dislocation *see* heads
- lexifier language **85**
- liaison **54**
- Lingua Franca Core (LFC) **91, 93, 171**
- lingua francas, purpose of **41; see also English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)**
- linguicism **236–7**
- linguistic diversity **16; in Hong Kong 168; of Inner Circle countries 16; preventing 174; in United States 16, 112–15, 176**
- linguistic equality **197–8**
- linguistic imperialism **117, 120**
- linguistic insecurity **60, 124**
- linguistic resources **12, 146, 174, 195, 229**
- linguistic schizophrenia **167, 231**
- literacy: children's development of **137; effects of new forms of English on 137, 140; in indigenous languages 62–3**
- London English **147–9; see also Cockney**
- London Jamaican **146–9; Jafaican 146; as non-standard 26; re-creolisation of 38; spread of 154**
- Macaulay's Minute **9, 162**
- machine translation **242**
- Macquarie Regional Asian English Dictionary **103–5, 168**
- Malawi, dispersal of English to **8**
- Malaysia **9; English Medium Instruction (EMI) in 9; use of English in 49**
- Malaysian English: localisms in **104; norms of 49; pronunciation of 29–30; vocabulary of 33–4**
- Maldives **47**
- Maori **6, 8, 59, 177**
- Martinique **221–2**
- Mexico **54, 106**

- Miskito Indians 84
mistakes *see* errors
modal verbs 54, 77
Mohawks 62
monitoring features 129
monogenesis 38–39, 40
Monolingual English speakers (MES) 98, 119, 242
mother languages 80
Multicultural London English (MLE) *see* London Jamaican
multilingualism: and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 46; in EU 50–1; as global norm 176; hybrid urban 244–5; in India 165; and World Englishes 66
multiword units 160
music, popular 44, 55, 183, 204
mutual intelligibility 80, 91, 107, 230
- national identity 49, 63
nationalism 49, 244
Native Americans 6, 61, 69, 113
native English speakers (NES) 11; differences between 74, 191; as disadvantages 246; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 44, 96–7; as English language teachers 121–3; lack of intercultural communication skills 51, 227; linguistic norms of *see* English as a Native Language (ENL), as normative form; ‘ownership’ of English 190, 192, 194, 196–7; as test developers 226
nativeness 19–20, 98, 122
nativisation 168, 170
nativised 28, 46, 64, 80, 100
nautical jargon theory 39
Navajo 61–2, 113
negation: in American English 78; in pidgin languages 86
Nepal 8, 47, 183
Netherlands, use of English in 12
New Englishes 6; codifying 46, 51, 59–60, 99–105; criteria of 28; defining 27; discourse style in 34–5; diversity of 243; Dynamic Model of evolution 168–70, 195–6; grammar of 31–2; legitimacy of 26–7, 59–60, 80; and native/non-native distinction 96; pronunciation of 29–30; standards of 22; vocabulary and idioms of 32–4
New Zealand 8; dispersal of English to 6–8; English as a Native Language (ENL) in 10; indigenous languages of 177
- New Zealand English: origins of 27; pronunciation of 108
Nicaragua 11, 84
Nigeria 117; dispersal of English to 8; English as L1 in 12; ESL in 11, 106; language use in 117–20; use of English in 207–8
Nigerian English: as deviation 65; greetings in 35; origins of 27; vocabulary of 34
Nigerian languages 117, 208
Nigerian Pidgin 221
No Child Left Behind (NCLB) 115
Non-bilingual English speakers (NBES) 98–9
non-conformity 195–6, 230–5
non-fluency 129–30
non-native English speakers (NNES) 11; assessment of 229; communication between 233–4, 239, 246; cultural identity of 247; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 96, 155, 230–1; as English language teachers 28, 65, 122–3; at English Medium Instruction (EMI) universities 160–1; inferiority complex of 60; on the internet 56; linguistic rights of 232–3, 235, 237–8
non-native Englishes: as difference 66; in ELT 124, 127; low prestige of 46, 59–60, 65; texts written in 236–7
non-standard Englishes 26; innovations and errors in 67–8; new varieties of 107; stigmatisation of 74, 76, 79, 124, 145
nonce words 126
North America, dispersal of English to 6, 59
North American English 69; *see also* American English; Canadian English
Northern Ireland, emigration to North America from 6–7
noun countability: English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) innovations in 94; in Singlish 142; variations in 65, 125
nuclear (tonic) stress 91
- Oakland School Board 150–4
Outer Circle 14–15; English as L1 in 15; and Expanding Circle 68, 103; uses of English in 16, 66–7
Outer Circle Englishes: evolution of 94; origins of 27; question tags in 32; status of 26, 28, 64, 80
Oxford Dictionaries 23, 185
Oxford English 25, 191

- Pakeha **177**
 Pakistan, L2 English speakers in **47**
 Pakistani English **13**, **47–8**
 Panama **11**
 Papua New Guinea, dispersal of English to **9**
 Papua New Guinean English, consonant sounds in **30**
 participation markers **201**
 patois **146**
 Pearson Test of English (PTE) **223–6**
 performing arts **44**
 personal advantage **44**
 phatic communion **67**
 Philippine English: documentation of **49**; origins of **27**; pronunciation of **29–30**; vocabulary of **33**, **103–5**
 Philippines **9**; L2 English speakers in **47**; use of English in **49**
 phrasal verbs **32**, **54**
 pidgin, origin of term **38**
 pidgin English: in English Language Complex **106**; in Hong Kong **166**
 pidgin languages **36–7**; in Cameroon *see* Cameroon Pidgin; in the Caribbean **6**; and categorisation of English **11**; characteristics of **85–6**; in education **215**; lifespan of **37**; negative attitudes to **36**, **80**, **221**; origins of **35**, **37–40**; and slavery **8**; social functions of **87**; territories spoken in **2**, **6–9**
 place, and identity **62**
 Plain English Campaign **202**
 plurality, marking of **31**, **75**
 pluricentrism **68**, **235**, **245**
 politeness **32**, **67**, **156**, **163**, **166**
 polygenesis **38**, **40**
 popular culture **44**
 Portuguese language: as lingua franca **41**; and pidgins **39**
 postcolonial countries, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in **43**
 postcolonialism, discourses of **182**
 pragmatics **19**
 prestige varieties **21**, **44**; in Africa **210**, **215**; and social rank **237–8**; Standard English as **24–7**
 proficiency in English: assessment of **223–5**, **227**; and models of spread **16–19**; native speaker norms in **97**, **125–7**
 pronouns: in American Englishes **78**; in New Englishes **31**; in pidgin languages **86**; in postcolonial Englishes **31**; pronunciation of **54**
 pronunciation of English: difficulties with **54**; intelligibility of **232**; in lingua franca contexts **91–3**, **230**; teaching of **171**; *see also RP*
 proto-pidgin **39**
 punctuation, omission of **138**
 Quebec **62**
 Queen's English Society **22**, **204**
 questions: formation of **200**; in London Jamaican **148**
 question tags **32**
 race, and American Englishes **26**, **76**, **150**
 Received Pronunciation (RP) **29**, **93**; and intelligibility **92**; and Standard English **25–6**; vowel sounds in **30**, **86**
 recoverability **94**
 recreolisation **38**, **146**
 reduction, in pronunciation **30**, **87**
 redundancy **37**, **40**, **193**
 reduplication **86**
 regional accents **17–18**, **25**
 regional dialects **23**, **106**
 register, and standard English **25**
 regularities, observed **90**, **95**
 reinforcement *see* tails
 relative pronouns **75**, **90**, **198**
 relexification **39**
 rhotic Englishes **6**, **108–9**
 Sabir **39**
 Scandinavia, use of English in **12**
 schwa **30**, **53–4**, **92**, **148**
 Scotland, emigration to New Zealand **8**
 Scots **84**
 Scots-Irish English **80**
 second diaspora **6**, **6–9**, **14**, **27**
 second language acquisition (SLA) **100**; and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) **227–8**, **232**; and indigenised varieties of English (IVEs) **100–2**; and pidgin and creole development **36**
 second languages, proficiency in **208**; *see also SLA*
 selection, in standardisation process **22–3**
 sentences: in Singlish **142**; on Twitter **138**
 September 11, 2001 **176**
 settlers **6–7**, **59**, **106**
 Sierra Leone **8**, **13**, **86**
 similects **42**; in European Englishes **45**; L1 influences on **230**

- simple register **40**
simplification **40**; in New Englishes **6**; phonological **86**
Singapore: dispersal of English to **9**; English as L1 in **12**; ESL in **11**; L2 English speakers in **47**; use of English in **16**, **143–5**
Singapore English **13**; in Outer Circle **27**; pronunciation of **29–30**; vocabulary of **33–4**, **104**; *see also* Singlish; Standard Singaporean English
Singlish **140–5**; development of **107**; negative attitudes to **137**, **221**; use of **221**
slang: Australian **70**, **72**; transatlantic **26**
slave trade **6**, **8**, **208**, **216**
social class **24–6**, **74–5**, **106**, **200**
social dialects **23**, **25**, **94**, **106**
social functions, of pidgins and creoles **87**
South Africa, British colonisation of **7–8**, **8**
South African English: distinctiveness of **117**; origins of **27**
South Asia, dispersal of English to **8–9**, **8**
South Asian Englishes **47–8**
Southeast Asia **9**
South Korea: English Medium Instruction (EMI) in **161**; learning English in **9**
South Pacific **9**
Spanish language: as alternative to English **53–5**; in EU **50**
Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) **143–5**, **198**
Speak Mandarin Campaign **144–5**
speech: distinctive grammar of **132–3**; e-mail as **135**; instant translation of **242**
speech and writing: characteristics of **128**; continuum of **128**, **130**; innovation and conservatism in **131–2**; intelligibility in **236**; mixed features in EMC **135**; typical features of **129–31**
speech community, concept of **67**, **95**
spelling difficulties **53**
spellings: non-standard **133**, **192–3**; phonetic **137**
split infinitives **199–200**, **202–3**, **205**
spread of English: extent of **3–4**, **12**; as language of education **12**, **243**; models of **12–21**
Sri Lanka: ESL in **106**; L2 English speakers in **47**
Standard British English **24**, **26**, **69**, **74–5**, **108**
standard English (StE) **24–5**; access to **197–8**, **221**; developments in **195–6**; educational use of **218**; and ELF **46**, **177–8**, **233–4**; as norm in ELT **65**, **125**; origins of **22–3**; ownership of **190**, **233**; regional variations in **13**, **69**; Singlish differences from **140**; as social dialect **25–6**, **193–4**, **204**, **206**; written and spoken **128–9**, **192–3**
standard Englishes: grammar differences between **73**; intra-regional *see* Intra-RSE; vocabulary differences between **69–72**
standardisation: ideology of **22**; stages of **22–3**; and telecommunications **196**
standard language **21–2**
Standard Malaysian English **49**
Standard Singapore English (SSE) **140**, **144–5**, **221**
stress-timed rhythm **30**, **91–2**
style of language **25**
subtractive bilingualism **114**, **174**
Sudan **15**
super-diversity **146**
Surinam **11**
Swahili **8**, **207**, **211**, **241**
Sweden **53**, **211**
Switzerland **15**, **179**, **238**
subtractive bilingualism **114**
syllable-timed rhythm **30**, **143**
Tagalog **49**, **103**
Taglish **107**
tails **94**, **132**, **211**
Taiwan, learning English in **9**
Tanzania, dispersal of English to **8**
Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL): assessment in **225**; and ELF **223**; in Hong Kong **167**; native English norms in **126**; and university entrance **160**, **229**
Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) **126**, **223**, **225–7**
text messaging **135–7**, **140**, **202**, **204**, **249**
th-fronting **108**; *see also* dental fricatives
third diaspora **15**
third world nations **16**, **185**
Tok Pisin **9**, **13**; characteristics of **85–6**; contemporary text in **89–90**; development of **37**; outsiders' views of **36**; translations into **87–8**
tone units **130**

- tourism: and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) 43; and Spanish language 54
- transcultural flows 244
- transfer phenomena 170
- translingua franca English (TFE) 245–7
- Twitter and tweeting 130, 133, **137–8**
- typical speech and writing **129**
- Uganda, dispersal of English to 8
- Ulster Scots 13
- United Kingdom: English as a Native Language (ENL) in 10; ethnic minorities in 176; overseas doctors in 178–9
- United States: economic dominance of 43, 175; English Medium Instruction (EMI) in 113–14, 154; English as a Native Language (ENL) in 10; indigenous languages of 61–2, 172, 175; non-standard Englishes in 76–7, 106; sovereignty over Philippines 9; Spanish speakers in 55
- universities: English language practices of 160–1; internationalisation of 160, 227
- Urdu 48, 146, 149
- value judgements 5, 98
- verbs: in American Englishes 77; in creole languages 87; difficulty of English 54; English rules on 205; in New Englishes 31–2; in Singlish 142–3
- Virginia, linguistic background of 6
- voiced consonants **29–30**, 91–2
- voiceless consonants **29–30**, 91–2, 94
- vowel quality **30**, 54, 92
- vowel quantity **30**
- vowel sounds: in American Englishes 77; in native Englishes 54; in pidgin languages 86; in postcolonial Englishes 30
- washback effect **125**, 228
- weak forms **92**
- West Africa **8**; pidgins and creoles in 11
- West African English: consonant sounds in 30; distinctiveness of 117; grammar of 32; vocabulary of 33
- West African languages, and Atlantic Pidgins 39
- West Indian English, dental fricatives in 29
- West of England, influence on North American Englishes 6
- wh-clefting 132
- word-building 87
- word groups **130**
- word order 31, 132, 142
- words, invention of 23–4; *see also coinages*
- World Englishes: circles of 14; and colonialism 58; correctness in 126; diversification in 67; and ELF 42, 45, 247; in ELT training 124; future development of 107–9; paradigm of **42**
- World Standard English 13, 19
- World Standard Spoken English (WSSE) 108
- writing *see speech and writing*
- Yorkshire **8**, 13
- Yoruba 35, 84, 119
- Zambia **8**, 106
- Zimbabwe **8**, 106